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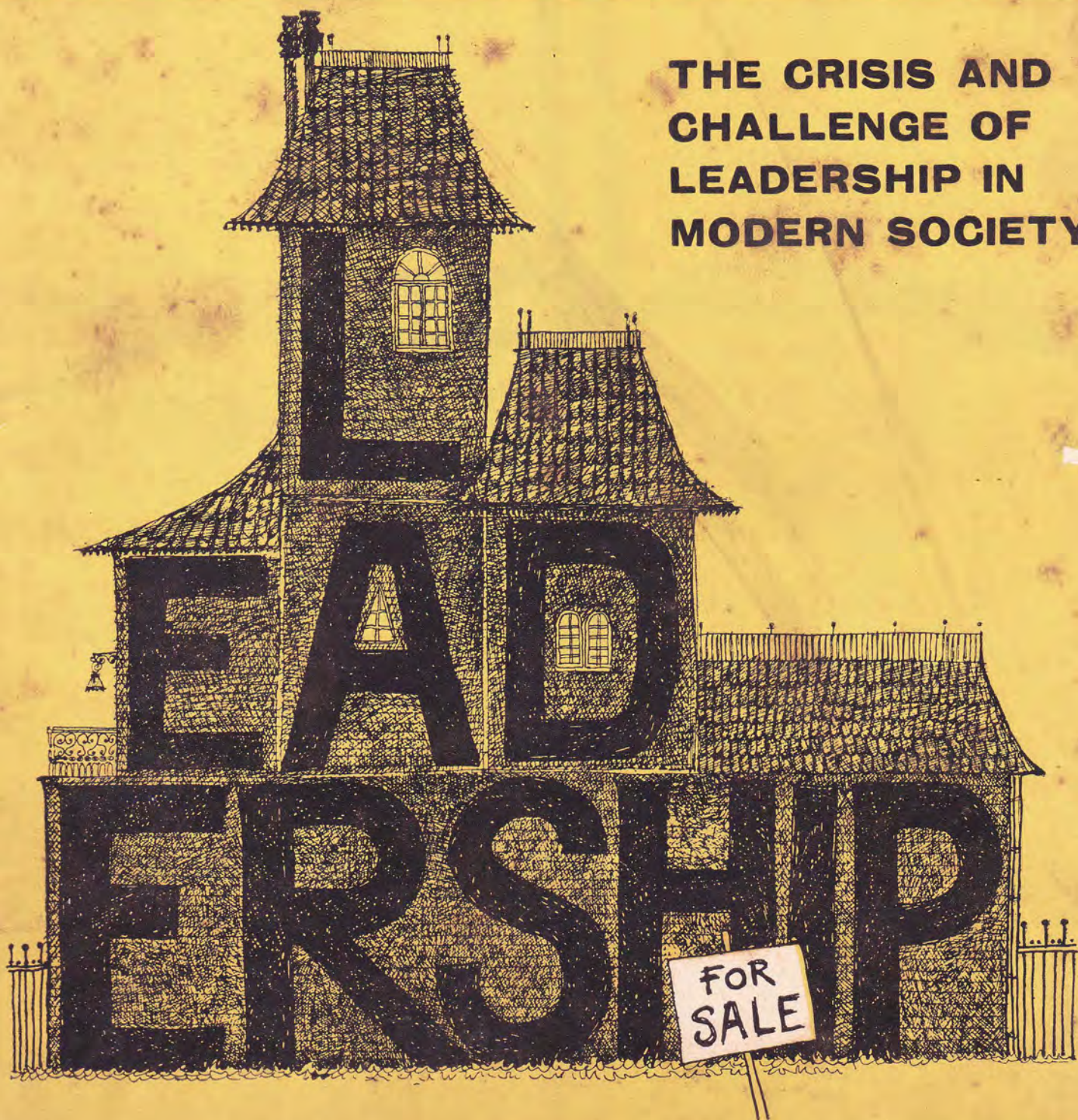
326

JANUARY 1980

freedom first

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

THE CRISIS AND  
CHALLENGE OF  
LEADERSHIP IN  
MODERN SOCIETY





## God Give Us Men !

God give us Men ! A time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands ;  
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;  
Men who possess opinions and a will ;  
Men who have honour ; men who will not lie ;  
Men who can stand before a demagogue  
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking !  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty and in private thinking.

Josiah Gilbert Holland  
( 1819-81 )

28th Year of Publication

# freedom first

326

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

JANUARY 1980

Price : Rs. 3

EDITORS : S. V. RAJU

GEETA DOCTOR

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# The Crisis and Challenge of Leadership in Modern Society

As India enters the decade of the eighties faced by the stupendous problems of nation-building, crisis is writ large in every direction and everywhere it is a crisis of character, a crisis of leadership.

"In the times to come", said Mahatma Gandhi, "the people will not judge us by the creed we profess or the label we wear or the slogans we shout but by our work, industry, sacrifice, honesty and purity of character".

Gandhiji was the embodiment of that ideal; he led and inspired many others who were true leaders in their own light.

That period of our history is now part of memory and may soon cease to be even that!

A nation cannot live wholly on its past; it must work for the present and the future. Much depends on the character of leadership and on having a leadership with character.

Will India rise to face this crisis of leadership in her national life? This, it will be conceded, is a challenging thought and *Freedom First* decided to explore it.

We felt that this important and crucial issue ought to be examined from different perspectives and we therefore approached a large number of eminent personalities, experts in their respective areas of activity. We are grateful to those who responded to our invitation and contributed articles which form part of this special number.

With this issue, both your editors retire. By a coincidence the requirements of earning a livelihood have necessitated our having to leave the city. We enjoyed our association with *Freedom First* and would like to believe that our readers found the contents worthwhile. We are happy that we are handing over this 29-year journal to the competent and distinguished hands of Mr. Nissim Ezekiel the new Managing Editor, whose statement and appeal we carry with pleasure on page 4.

We wish all our readers, advertisers and well wishers of *Freedom First* a very happy new year and hope that 1980 will see the emergence of men and women who can give this great country the leadership it deserves.

S. V. Raju      Geeta Doctor

## A STATEMENT AND AN APPEAL

As the new Managing Editor of *Freedom First*, my main responsibility is to maintain its standards and to confirm its central convictions. It has had a continuous existence for 29 years. I shall remember what it owes to those who started it and kept it going in the face of heavy odds. Its founder, Mr. M. R. Masani, continues to be its mentor, and his voice will be frequently heard in its pages. Its contributors are invited to keep up the good work, and to suggest others who may like to join them. Mrs. Geeta Doctor and Mr. S. V. Raju, who edited *Freedom First* with maturity and distinction during the last two years, have promised, I am glad to announce, to maintain their association with the journal as contributors.

I would like *Freedom First* to remain essentially political. Its value depends on its politics. At the same time, issues concerning literature and the arts will be often discussed. There may be no room for reviews of individual literary works, art exhibitions, productions of plays and music or dance concerts but critical articles on their relevance to the cultural scene and to current social problems would be welcome.

I've been a subscriber of *Freedom First* from the beginning and an occasional contributor from the early issues to the present day. I would naturally like to see a great new growth in the number of its readers and the extent as well as the power of its influence. In the effort to accomplish that, I intend to rely initially on the present subscribers of *Freedom First*, many of whom have been loyal to it for years. I appeal to them for active co-operation. Their suggestions would be seriously considered. I think virtually every one of them could enrol at least one subscriber. That alone would double our readership.

I see a link between the problems of editing *Freedom First* and the problems of enlarging its circulation. The changes I have in mind, assuming they can be effectively carried out, imply an integrated mode of functioning. It is therefore very important for me to feel closer to the present readers of the journal and to reflect their aspirations for it. Much attention will be devoted to making *Freedom First* speak in a loud and clear voice, but the voice must be widely heard.

I have made this double commitment to *Freedom First*, and not the editorial commitment only. I like to share it with my readers as a state of mind,

a will to set goals for the journal and to achieve them, an enthusiasm which will be futile unless communicated to its readers.

So far as the specific ideas and viewpoints of the journal are concerned, I need not restate them. They have been sharply defined in every number so far, and I hope to keep them so. At the same time, I would like to make room for new viewpoints and ideas, in consonance with the liberal spirit, to provide a platform for a variety of opinion, with the same or similar basic aims, to accommodate different kinds of personality and temperament within the common love of freedom.

To place freedom first does not entail the absurdity of committing suicide to satisfy its enemies. That is not a service to freedom but a parody of it. In fact, one of its unpleasant duties is to identify the enemies of freedom, to expose their masks, sophistries and manoeuvres.

This does not mean that freedom already exists, in India or elsewhere, calling only for a defence. The task of those who believe in it is also to make it more real, to help extend it where it is limited, and to suggest ways of giving it a meaning where social and economic conditions tend to reduce its relevance. The unacceptable proposition is that in certain circumstances freedom may be sacrificed, in the interest of some temporary, urgent or general purpose, such as the abolition of poverty, the stamping out of exploitation, and the "reconstruction of society on more just lines." There can be no freedom without justice. Poverty can be abolished without abolishing freedom. Exploitation can be ended without abdicating human rights.

Ideally, *Freedom First* should attract large numbers of readers who may not be fully in agreement with its political comments on men and events in this country and in other countries. They should still feel a greater affinity with its ideas than to those to which it is opposed. If I can create that sense of affinity, I shall be satisfied, to some extent. *Freedom First* does not seek "conversion" to its point of view from every reader but only understanding and sympathy. It is confident of offering sufficient intellectual stimulus through thoughtful analysis to claim the allegiance of many thousands.

*Freedom First* has been politically unique in many ways, and that is one of its major attractions. I shall try to keep it unique.

NISSIM EZEKIEL



# THE RIDDLE OF LEADERSHIP

S. P. Aiyar

Although the phenomenon of leadership figures large in the story of all nations it is only in recent decades that social scientists and men of public affairs have begun to give serious thought to its protean manifestations, the styles of leadership, the conditions under which leaders arise and transform the situation, the subtlety of their influence over the minds and behaviour of their followers and their general attitude to the laws and institutions within which they function. It is no surprise that *Kratology*—the study of leadership—has come to be recognised as a distinct branch of political analysis.

Yet if one takes a survey of the great leaders of history in every field one finds such wide variations in personality traits that one is unable to generalise about the qualities that make for effective leadership. Moreover, the historical circumstances under which leaders rise to prominence are often so different that one cannot theorize about the factors determining leadership. Social scientists, however, rightly reject the common view that leaders are born and not made. It is no part of my present concern here to explore what Col. Lyndal Urwick once described as the "Obstetrics of Leadership".

## Typologies of Leadership

Typologies of leadership have generally cracked on the hard rock of historical experience. One may speak broadly of democratic and authoritarian types, of titular or non-leaders (how many Indian examples suddenly spring into our view!) who occupy the position and on whom greatness has not been thrust; there are those who drive themselves with messianic zeal, convinced that they are the chosen instruments of History to accomplish a great purpose. Not to be forgotten are the monsters who figure in the history of all nations from Caligula to Idi Amin!

One concept of leadership—the charismatic—may be examined briefly because it is often asserted that a country like India requires charismatic leaders to hold it together and bring the blessings of peace, stability and order. Charismatic leadership rests upon certain qualities of the individual personality by virtue of which he casts a spell over the people. But these are no ordinary virtues; by these inborn qualities the leader is set apart "from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically excep-

tional powers or qualities. These are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader". Charismatic leadership may manifest itself in the politics of societies predominantly traditional or in times of widespread political disorder or social crisis. The mass of people come to believe that the leader has the god-given energy to lead them to the Promised Land.

There are at least two special features of charismatic leadership which should hold us back from advocating it as a solution. First, charismatic leadership is transitory and the fall of such a leader may be as dramatic as the rise. The leader is blindly followed and this is hardly the way to lay the foundations of a democratic public life in the country. In Nehru's time, S. K. Dey is reported to have said, "We are a nation of hero-worshippers. Why not? If Panditji asked me to drown myself in the well tomorrow morning I would do it". The line that divides such an attitude from rank sycophancy is very thin indeed. We have seen in more recent years the editor of a national illustrated weekly picturize Mrs. Gandhi as a Trimurthi of the Hindu pantheon!

Secondly, the leader convinced that he has a special mission to perform becomes careless of the means employed. He becomes impatient of established authority, legally constituted. Himself the source of power the charismatic leader bends everything to the service of his mission. Thus on both counts charismatic leadership is hardly the way through which a modern democratic society can be created. We must also remember that those who are essentially dictatorial by temperament can—if they have some charming qualities and photogenic features—use the mass media cleverly to set themselves up as charismatic leaders. In fact, the concept of charismatic leadership is so ill-defined and lends itself so easily to careless use in political analysis that it would be better if the term is abandoned altogether.

But the riddle of leadership remains with us. Can we at least speak of some qualities which leaders in all walks of life should possess to be effective?

Writers on management have listed some important qualities and I shall draw upon their writings for my present purpose. It will be possible for the

reader, however, to cast them in his own scale of priorities; but together they do help us to unravel partly at least, the riddle of leadership.

### Knowledge

Leaders in any field must have as complete a knowledge as possible of the situation which confronts them and the problems they are required to solve. It is the study and analysis of problems that suggest the decisions to be taken; when there is a crisis, this is all the more important. It is interesting to know that the word crisis itself derives from a Greek word which means 'to decide'. Moreover, knowledge is the basis of authority—he who has knowledge can command. It is possible that people in leadership positions often lack elementary knowledge of their own field; they are not *leaders* in any genuine sense but, to use the language of Robert Hutchins, mere office-holders. The history of cabinet Government in India is replete with such examples!

It must also be useful to keep in mind that our knowledge of any situation—political, military or any other—is constantly changing and the knowledge which the leader possesses may be precariously partial, giving no indication of the underlying forces shaping the situation. In an interesting essay, Mary Follett says, "The leader sees one situation melting into another and has learned the mastery of that moment." He must seize that moment and make it the centre of his directing power as a leader. Without this insight which all great leaders have possessed leadership will fail at the crucial moment. That is what happened to Mrs. Gandhi in the early crucial months of 1977. The mood of the times had changed but she continued to live in her own world, the main sources of her information being frightened intelligence officers and professional sycophants.

The close link between knowledge and leadership is specially important in the development of a backward country where demagoguery swamps moderation and reason and leaders succumb to organized populist movements. The ideal of Gopal Krishna Gokhale embodied in the creation of the Servants of India Society now seems to belong to a different world altogether. Today knowledge and power are often divorced from each other in Indian public life with consequences for every one to see.

### Imagination

Leaders must have foresight if they have to use their knowledge to plan for the future. In military

affairs this becomes a crucial quality and in politics it makes all the difference between the ordinary politician and a statesman. The reader may wonder why I subsume "foresight" under imagination. The latter is the capacity to see things in their totality, sense the hidden forces in the situation. Unless a teacher has these qualities he cannot transform the situation for the future which is concealed in the present. Still in his twenties, Napoleon took independent command of an army to wage a successful war in Northern Italy. Field Marshal Montgomery writes about him, "He was a genius who made tremendous use of the initial instruction he received as an officer of artillery, and he was able to put into practice the military theories *which were then beginning to emerge* (Italics mine). At the age of 20 he became involved in the French Revolution and in 1794, when only 25, he was a general. In October 1795 he subdued a violent mob in Paris; by his quick grasp of the situation, his rapid issue of orders, and his ruthless shooting down of the insurgents, he saved the Republic." In the political sphere the most remarkable illustration is that of Mahatma Gandhi who quickly grasped the changing situation in India after World War I and the mood of the people at that time; he seized that moment and transformed the national movement. He created power, as every great leader does and directed it with unwavering confidence. Little wonder that those who joined him thought of themselves as soldiers in a battle!

### Courage

Courage is an important and indispensable element in all leadership situations. It may be physical courage in times of war and moral courage at other times. This is not a quality which can be acquired in the training schools—either one has it or one does not. But it is necessary that courage manifests itself at the required time and inspires the followers. The leader may at times of crisis articulate the nation's spirit. In 1940 at the time of the Battle of Dunkirk Winston Churchill gave expression to the spirit of the people: "We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets; and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle until in God's good time the new world with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and liberation of the old!"

Moral courage is seen in a large variety of leadership situations. But think of the greatest and

subtlety of them all—the courage that Gandhi showed both in South Africa and in India. Perhaps his most significant achievement was to instil courage in the hearts of his followers till they became a mighty and irresistible force. But in less dramatic situations—as in administration for instance—moral courage is needed in taking decisions which affect other people. The administrator who tries to please everyone is lost; the administrator who postpones unpleasant decisions is no leader—he is that ridiculous creature who clings to his seat till the day of his retirement. Such people pass on unpleasant decisions for others to take after their time. But an administrator who has the qualities of leadership must take all the decisions, however hard and unpleasant. In the wider field of politics, specially in a country like India courage is important because most political, economic and social decisions are likely to affect some sections of the people adversely. And they have a moral side too. It is here that Indian political leadership has shown its greatest weakness. Expediency over-rides every other consideration; survival in office becomes an end in itself. “Know Thyself” said the ancient *rishis* of the land; our politicians know *themselves* so well that they make fullest use of their knowledge.

### Practical Wisdom

Courage is not to be confused with obstinacy and bravado which have made a laughing-stock of many a politician. In politics, perhaps more than in other spheres, one must ascertain what is likely to work. The leader must compromise (a terrible word that!) if he must carry his people with him. But compromise is not the same as surrendering one's principles or adopting the easy ways of the harlot which has given rise to what we in India euphemistically call defections!

### The Human Touch

Leadership, it will be seen, is not just a combination of rare qualities. It is a *relationship* for there

can be no leader without followers. One of the mysteries of leadership is whether the leader creates his followers or the people create the leader. But once a leader, he must draw his strength from his followers and be sensitive to the welter of emotions that move them. These he must transform into power. But he cannot do this unless there is a sense of identification, face to face contact if that is possible. The leader must be seen and known to people. As Northcote Parkinson once observed, the leader must be an extrovert and take an interest in people. The greatest compliment a leader can pay to his people is to show that he is interested in them for all people are interested in themselves. One remarkable instance of total identification from political history comes to my mind at the moment. Early in the sixteenth century Babur still in his 23rd year marched into Kabul to suppress a revolt there. But the passes were filled with the winter snow. Babur's men would have perished in the snow drift but they soon discovered a cave but Babur refused to take shelter. He wrote in his Diary, “I felt that for me to be in a warm dwelling and in comfort while my men were in the midst of snow and drift—for me to be within, enjoying sleep and ease, while my followers were in trouble and distress, would be inconsistent with what I owed them, and a deviation from that society of suffering that was their due. So I remained sitting in the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four hands thick on my head, back and ears.”

I have no intention of taking my readers along in an endless quest of qualities to unravel the riddle of leadership. Different combination of qualities manifest themselves in the great leaders of history; some of them may be contradictory to each other, in some fads and idiosyncracies may stand out prominently concealing other qualities. But the theme of leadership itself is a fascinating one and no one who undertakes to study it seriously can fail to be inspired as well puzzled by what I have called The Riddle of Leadership.

---

“There are two ways of destroying a people. Either condemn them *en bloc* or force them to repudiate the leaders they adopted. The second is the worse.”

Jean Paul Sartre



# PLAY SAFE



## CARRY CENTRAL BANK'S SUPERMONEY TRAVELLERS CHEQUES



### Central Bank of India

(A Government of India Undertaking)

The Bank that moves out to people and places

Interpub/CBI/6/78

# TWO STYLES OF LEADERSHIP

M. R. Masani

"Pundits and pollsters have decreed already the theme for next year's Presidential election. It is to be about leadership."

These are the opening sentences of an article in the *Guardian* (London) about the American Presidential election. They show that the problems of leadership, including the lack of leadership, are not a monopoly of this country.

In India, the word "leader" and its Hindi derivative "lideri" have become dirty words. What a pity! Because, if India needs anything today, it is good leadership. This is true not only in political life, where it is so obvious, but also in the fields of education, management and various other walks of life.

## Short Supply

There are perhaps special reasons to account for the fact that leadership in India is in short supply. Our tradition and culture contain elements which do not exactly encourage the qualities of courage, dissent and adventure, which are essential parts of the bundle of qualities that go to make a leader.

Thus, for example, there is often the somewhat exaggerated and hypocritical respect for the aged and for those in authority. Grown up men and women will smoke, but not in the presence of their parents, and we are all loyal to those who are at the head of our Government until they are removed and then turn our backs on them. On the one hand, there is the cult of personality and on the other the absence of what in England is called "the non-conformist conscience" which takes the form, when necessary, of saying: "I am damned if I can see it that way."

Since the English poet wrote long ago:

"They are slaves who dare not be

In the right with two or three".

it is obvious that the number of those who are prepared to stick their necks out for an unpopular or unpalatable cause is limited even in Britain. Unfortunately, such men are even more scarce in India.

Then there is what the historians have described as the dialectical nature of the Indian mind which is unable to see things in terms of black and white but can only see grey all round. Pandit Nehru's speeches, when he was the Prime Minister, followed a wellknown pattern of saying: "At the same time,

we must remember....." and then a little later "on the other hand, it is also true that". No wonder this trait of not coming down on one or the other side of the fence led in due course to the evolution of what is grandiloquently described as the policy of "non-alignment."

The result of this background is that as Gandhiji remarked, "India has to learn to say 'no'". This is still valid and a lack of decision making in regard to matters big and small is omnipresent.

One of the biggest weaknesses of Indian Management at the top is a weakness in decision making. In politics, this takes the form of "tailism", to use Lenin's phrase, on the part of political leaders, which means not leading one's party but carrying out the behest of the dominant trend in the party, whether it is right or wrong. Gandhiji, of course, was an exception to this case. As is well known, he resigned even his four-annas membership in the Congress rather than compromise his own principles.

## Stipulating Terms

I personally happen to agree with the view of leadership that was practised by Winston Churchill and General De Gaulle, which was that they were only available to lead their parties so long as the parties were prepared to follow them. In other words, they were prepared to be leaders on their own terms. Compare that with the record of Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Charan Singh as Prime Ministers from April 1977 till now, and one sees the contrast between the two styles of leadership.

Most politicians in India believe that a leader who asks to be relieved from his position if the Party does not follow his lead on a major issue behaves like a dictator, whilst a democrat will bow to the party's decision, however, injurious it may be to the national interest.

In the result, we have certainly have had big government but not strong government. We have had, since Independence, a meddlesome but ineffective government which passes laws which we cannot enforce. We are a country, where, as somebody put it, we have a bullock cart economy with labour laws which are more "progressive" than those in the most advanced democracies of the world.

Many years ago, Walter Lippman in his book *The Public Philosophy* wrote :

"If the people find that they must choose whether they will be represented in an assembly which is incompetent to govern or whether they will be governed without being represented, there is no doubt at all as to how the issue will be decided. They will choose authority which promises to be paternal in preference to freedom which threatens to be fratricidal. For large communities cannot do without being governed. No ideal freedom or democracy will long be allowed to stand in the way of their being governed....."

If Indian democracy today is in danger and the country faces the possibility of authoritarian government, it is because those who call themselves democrats cannot, or will not, lead.

#### No Short Cut

There is no short cut out of this predicament. What is needed is education—education in Indian

citizenship, education in leadership. A small but modest effort on these lines has been made by the Leslie Sawhney Programme of Training in Democracy which came into existence in 1968 and has since trained some five or six thousand men and women in the importance and skills of grass roots activity.

Those who seek to promote the qualities of leadership can do no better than remember some pertinent things which were said twenty-six centuries back by a Chinese Philosopher, Lao Tze who set down the criteria for judging a good leader :

"A leader is best

When people barely know that he exists

Not so good when people obey and acclaim him

Worst when they despise him.

'Fail to honour people

They fail to honour you',

But of a good leader, who talks little

When his work is done, his aim fulfilled

They will all say : "We did this ourselves."

To make leadership possible, the essential link between leaders and followers must be restored : trust. As Toynbee has put it, the leader must "make his fellows his followers." This can happen only if they trust him enough not to examine or attack each of his individual actions and are willing to go along with him for a while. At what point does this partly automatic following, which Toynbee calls mimesis (literally imitation), turn into blind obedience and abdication of responsibility? That is the crucial problem in a democracy, and it can be solved only if leaders and would-be leaders are far more open in their dealings than is customary in U.S. politics.

But for leaders to be open, followers must help. They must pay serious attention to the issues, for otherwise leaders have no incentive to take them into their confidence. Followers must be willing to forgo the cliches and platitudes that an indifferent

or impatient public almost forces its leaders to utter. On the personal side, followers must also be more willing to accept their leaders as they are and less ready to buy the tiresome public relations conventions that require the American politician to be always one of the boys and hide every trait that might cause alarm—from intellectuality to a bad temper—behind a smiling mask. True, most politicians have an instinct for the phony, but the American public need not accept it.

In sum, in a democracy, to be led is not a passive exercise; it takes work, and work by many people. As John Gardner put it : "Leadership in the U.S. is not a matter of scores of key individuals. It is a matter of tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of influential men and women (who) create the climate in which public opinion is formed."

— *Time*, July 15, 1974



# LEADERSHIP YESTERDAY AND TODAY

R. M. Lala

William Ewart Gladstone, four times Prime Minister of Britain in its heyday, could manage to run an Empire spending six months in a year at his country home in Cheshire, 200 miles from London. There in the forests he felled trees in the afternoons. He also found time to teach his grandchildren Latin. Even conceding Gladstone's prodigious energy, it is hard to imagine any Prime Minister today being able to govern a nation with that sense of leisure. Pressures have multiplied more so in the last years with jet travel and instant news communication. The quantum of legislation too has grown enormously in this country. All the laws passed by the British Parliament in 1911 occupied one volume of about 450 pages. Sixty-five years later there were thirteen volumes in its place.

Consider President Roosevelt ruling the United States till April 1945. Think of the issues he did not have to tackle which his successors have to. President Truman triggered off the nuclear age, and ever since then nuclear war and proliferation is one more subject in a statesman's thinking. President Carter has the added problem of energy, which neither Roosevelt nor Churchill thought twice about, and that problem alone is enough to occupy Carter's personal energies.

## First-rate Problems, Second-rate Leaders

Another problem of our times is growing terrorism. When a Lufthansa plane was hijacked to Somalia, Chancellor Schmidt had to set aside all other work and struggle to rescue the airliner. Hijacking was unheard of until ten years ago. Further problems bedeviling statesmen are the growth in pollution and the staggering rise of population. We face a world with first-rate problems and by-and-large, second-rate leaders.

Apart from being subjected to greater pressures than their predecessors, they are also more exposed to the media, as Nixon's Watergate episode showed. A decline in the quality of political leadership is not restricted to India, although it may be safely said that Indian leaders have touched depths that few democracies can boast of. And guess who said these words?

"Our leaders appear as exceptional.....not for their greatness but their depths, not for their capacity to inspire but for their capacity to depress us.... To be a giant in public life today is almost impossible, and even those who do not start off as pygmies are too likely to be reduced to that stature

in the end.... As a result potential rulers tend to take their talents to other fields." The writer is Peregrine Worsthorne in the *Daily Telegraph*, London, October 15th 1978.

This flight from political leadership of talented men is nowhere more evident than in India. One has only to compare the galaxy of our stalwarts of the Independence struggle to the puny characters that strut the stage today.

## Great Men

Great times, it is said, throw up great men. This is true, but great men can also give a turn to their times and make them distinguished. In recent years President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer brought lustre to their respective countries, France and West Germany. De Gaulle developed his own theory of leadership, according to which the leader dwelt on what he called "pinnacles of loneliness". The Shah of Iran, it is said, had de Gaulle as his hero. De Gaulle had supreme confidence in himself. In imitating him the Shah mistook this confidence of de Gaulle, born of inner strength, for arrogance. In a forthcoming book, "The Fall of the Shah", Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda, brother of the former Iranian Prime Minister who was assassinated, writes that the Shah accomplished great things for Iran during the White Revolution. In 1960 only 270,000 children attended primary school. By the late 1970's ten million children did so. "Tragically the Shah's reforms were eclipsed within a few years by his increasing authoritarianism, which stemmed in part from sheer isolation.... Whereas during the early 1960's he would listen to the advice of his experts, by the later years of the decade he was laying down the law in a way that brooked no opposition." Mr. F. Hoveyda notes that ironically Ayatollah Khomeini and the Shah, who hate each other, "are oddly alike. They are both stubborn and vindictive.... Neither brooks any contradiction. Both consider themselves guided by the Almighty.... Their dictatorial spirit knows no bounds." The odd thing about history is that leaders of today fail to learn from the leaders of yesterday — even their predecessors!

Power intoxicates. President Idi Amin, on the evidence of his first wife, was a caring husband who brought her tea in the mornings. But power, she said, went into his head until he became a ruthless killer. There have been evil rulers in the

past, but this century has witnessed evil ideologues like Pol Pot of Kampuchea who has murdered, through starvation and ill-treatment, a quarter of the population and has brought a large part of the rest to a pathetic condition. That the Idi Amins of life and the Pol Pots have been ousted from power is a mercy, but the evil leadership that they have given has cost their nations greatly.

### Contemporary Leadership

When one sees the kind of leadership that Uganda and Kampuchea have had lately, one appreciates even more the value of democracy in spite of all its limitations. The demands of democratic leadership today are of a very high order. In his soul-searching speech last August President Carter quoted a friend who told him, "Mr. President, you are not giving leadership to this nation. You are satisfied in running an administration." There is a great difference between running a government and giving leadership. Very few statesmen today can do both, and very many lack the ability to do either. A brief survey of the situation facing some of today's leaders will not be out of place. President Carter has, in spite of very fine personal qualities, failed to give imaginative leadership to America. Where he should have gone to the hustings and summoned his nation against Congressional obstacles to his legislation (as Truman did), he has satisfied himself by letting his administrative officials snipe feebly at the lawmakers of the Congress. President Giscard d'Estaing of France, after a fairly settled term, has run into rough waters on the eve of elections. He and his relatives have been accused of receiving diamonds as a gift from Emperor Bokassa, the brutish ruler whom France finally helped to remove. Chancellor Schmidt has so far done well, but the advantage he has is to rule a vigorous and disciplined nation. Mrs. Thatcher has shown decisive leadership, but it is too early to judge her yet. Mr. Brezhnev may not be all that the outside world would like to have, but as reports of his ill-health come before the Soviet public, there is great insecurity that worse days may be in store for them from his successors.

There is a law in economics that bad money drives out the good. In India "bad politicians have driven out the good." Those who are still in the political game believe that they are a law unto themselves. But there are certain moral laws as there are natural laws, and you can disobey them only at a price to yourself and to your country. Some simple rules for effective leadership are:

### Some Simple Rules

1. A life of discipline.
2. The ability to practise what you preach. The Shah of Iran preached morals but his personal life and that of his relatives spoke louder than his words.
3. Enough time to think and to contemplate. The world is full of mad-hatters in politics — as in business — who run around waving a clock and crying, "No time, no time." Such men have chosen the second-best and are unlikely to give the leadership the nation requires.
4. A pre-occupation with high aims rather than self. Part of the reason why the divergent and able men of pre-independent India could work together was that their aim was big enough to make them subordinate their self-interest.
5. The ability to be friends with those whom we oppose. There is a difference between an enemy and an opponent, and an opponent on an issue may actually be your friend. When Rajaji disagreed with Gandhi at the time of "Quit India", they had the gift of disagreeing without being disagreeable. Acharya Kripalani once told this writer that however much he opposed Nehru till the end of Nehru's life, every letter was addressed to him "My dear Jeewan". He also mentioned that when Sardar Patel was angry with him he would begin his letter without the "my"!

The challenge of leadership is even greater in India than in other democracies, for the leaders of the future need to rebuild the essential values of human decency and, if possible, even of courtesy.

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"They asked for a leader and they were given a public relations officer...."

Malcolm Muggeridge.

# RECIPE FOR MAKING LEADERS

S. K. Ookerjee

To teach a person to be a leader is as impossible, perhaps, as to teach him to be a lover or a saint. About a decade ago an enterprising educationist established, on the plains of the Deccan, a Training for Leadership Centre, but I do not know of any leader who has emerged from it and I believe the centre was soon wound up. And naturally. For you cannot have a course in leadership as you can in chemical technology or business management or typing and short-hand. Such courses help one to acquire and develop certain skills. The qualities required of a leader are not skills, but qualities of mind and character — in the broad sense, moral qualities. By their very nature, they cannot be produced by following rules and instructions.

I shall consider these qualities later. I shall first clear up three matters about which there are some popular misconceptions.

## Some Misconceptions

1. Leadership is a morally neutral concept. There are leaders and leaders, and every kind of leader is not necessarily worth having. There have been leaders in all fields who have done wonderful things and conferred great benefits on the human race. But leaders, like politicians, can be (in the words of a famous *acharya*) 'the dirtiest things that exist'. One has only to think of the Hitlers and Mussolinis and Idi Amins and other fanatics and megalomaniacs, gentlemen as well as ladies, who are still with us<sup>1</sup>. In the midst of a chaotic social and political situation, when we feel that we are sinking, we tend to cry out for a superman or a super-person who will 'raise us up again', but we must be careful that, in our desperation, we do not raise up a monster in place of a saviour (as has not infrequently happened in the history of the world), a King Stork who, after initially giving us some food, will gobble us up.

2. Even if we have managed to get a leader who is not a monster, there is a grave danger which men, and particularly we Indians, must guard against. 'To lead' and 'to follow' are (like 'teacher' and 'pupil') correlative terms; they imply each other. Therein lies the danger. There is a way in which one person can follow another which is necessary for civilized life and perfectly respectable. There is another way which is disreputable and mischievous. If one follows a lawfully established

authority one does what is necessary and right. One can follow and yet be one's own man. If, however, one surrenders one's individuality and will to a person who has no lawful authority or, even having it, exercises it beyond its proper jurisdiction or in matters wherein one person should never succumb to another, then one follows, not as a man, but as a sheep, one is led by the nose — perhaps to the slaughter-house.

Once we have found a leader, the temptation is very strong to let him make decisions on our behalf. Most people are intellectually and morally lazy, which explains the widespread sprouting among us of *gurus* and *babas* and all varieties of 'spiritual mentors'. An adult should be able to puzzle out his own emotional and spiritual problems and make his own decisions. One must not allow one's individual judgement to be dominated by another human being, however outstanding or exalted. Even when following the orders of an authority one has recognized as such, it is one's duty to voice one's own opinion when one is morally called upon to do so.<sup>2</sup> Hero-worship or leader-worship deadens the critical attitude, and that way democracy, whether in politics or any other sphere, cannot survive. Because a leader may have many fine qualities, it does not follow that he has all good qualities in a superlative degree. He may be revered but he should not be followed blindly or transformed into a little god. Plato's cautionary words are worth quoting:

It would be the most dreadful disgrace...to keep sheep dogs so badly bred and trained, that... hunger or some bad trait or other led them to worry the sheep and behave more like wolves than dogs... We must therefore take every possible precaution to prevent our Auxiliaries [rulers] treating our citizens like that...and behaving more like savage tyrants than partners and friends.<sup>3</sup>

3. Not only must we resist taking the easy way out of our perplexities by surrendering our judgement and will to the leader, but the leader, if he is worth his salt, must curb any temptation on his part to dominate his followers. Leadership must be complemented by co-operation. While guiding his

1. It is interesting that Mussolini's term for himself — 'duce' (leader) — is similar to the English word, 'deuce' (the Devil).

2. How far and under what circumstances one would be justified in disobeying the orders of even a lawful authority is very delicate matter, which, I cannot discuss here. But if such disobedience can be justified, it rather fortifies my argument here.

3. Plato, *Republic*, 416.



people according to his lights, he should be ready to co-operate with them and should encourage them to co-operate with him in pursuing the task they have jointly undertaken and in achieving its objective—be it governing a state, running a university, producing a commodity or making music. Conductor Thomas Beecham, it is said, got such excellent results from his players because he made them feel that he and they 'were in the same profession', that 'what they were doing was worth while', and, writes his biographer, 'though his standards were of the highest, he never made the players feel that they were beyond them.'<sup>4</sup> This is the mark and the secret of the true leader. He is only 'the first among equals' and seeks a common goal with his followers. The false leader seeks only his (or her) own selfish advancement by reducing all others, in course of time, to slavery.

In considering the role of education in producing a true leader one must not forget that education must also save us from that thoughtless leader-worship which leads to servitude. Education, therefore, must not only attempt to produce true leaders but also to create citizens who would value their liberty and independence of judgement.

### Qualities of a True Leader

I come now to the qualities that a true leader should have. They are qualities (as they say) of head and heart and, I may add, of liver too.

*Qualities of head:* intelligence, alertness (quick to see a problem or a danger, quick in working out a solution, quick in taking a decision), wisdom, vision, respect for knowledge and culture, self-criticism and a sense of humour (particularly the ability to laugh at himself).

*Qualities of heart and liver:* a sense of, and respect for, justice, respect for law, absolute integrity and incorruptibility, sincerity, courage, ability to withstand illegitimate pressures, self-control and self-discipline, absence of cruelty, consideration for others and sensitivity, magnanimity, pride without conceit, humility without obsequiousness, absence of favouritism or proneness to flattery, tolerance, willingness to seek advice, and an ability to guide and command.

These lists are not exhaustive, but I think I have got in the most important qualities. My contention is that these qualities cannot be *taught* through set courses of instruction. When, from time to time, things seem to be going very wrong, someone comes out with the recommendation that moral instruction

should be given in schools and colleges. In Lucknow recently the Government decided 'to introduce moral education in the syllabus' of its educational institutions and also decided 'not to admit students or appoint teachers who smoke'<sup>5</sup> Such unrealistic and unimaginative efforts have never been known to be effective in making anybody moral. They cannot be, in the nature of the case; in fact, they are likely to have the very opposite effect, making young people come to think that morality is an awfully boring and useless commodity. Those who think that 'moral instruction' can produce moral qualities, perhaps do not know the true nature of morality. It is a 'sensitive plant' and can take root and blossom only under a gentle and unobtrusive touch.

### Education's Role

I am not denying the role of education. An educated man is believed (perhaps no longer) to be a cultivated, refined man, a man of principles. 'Culture,' says Meredith, 'is half-way to heaven.' But refinement cannot be produced *directly* by means of lectures, sermons and goody-goody texts. There is some chance of doing it *indirectly*. I give the following recipe.

The genuine study of a science would be a good beginning. A great scientist usually possesses respect for knowledge, alertness, vision, self-criticism, integrity, grit, humility. How has he acquired or developed them? Not, surely, through 'moral instruction' but through his scientific work. He must have realised that without them his scientific work would not succeed. If, then, a science can be taught in such a way that it grips the students so that they want to pursue it further, the moral qualities are likely to be the *side-effects* of such teaching. The infinite wonders of Nature which the physical sciences reveal, as well as the amazing ability of the scientist to discover and understand them, would produce in the student—unless he is far gone—a healthy humility and raise him above the mean and the petty. Great literature, if taught with imagination and sensitivity (avoiding those details and technicalities which usually kill the students' interest), could go a good way to produce in the student breadth of vision and a sympathetic understanding of the sorrows, joys and passions of other human beings, a good-humoured tolerance of their failings and a degree of self-examination. It is not impossible to enjoy a great book, and moral qualities should and could be born through joy. A

4. H. Proctor-Gregg, *Beecham Remembered*.

5. *The Times of India*, 20-11-79, p 3.

similar plea could be made on behalf of the other arts, particularly music, which, once it grips you, works so subtly and has such an impact.

Using didactic writing or moralising must be scrupulously avoided. The pill must be sugar-coated very cunningly, for the slightest suspicion that there is a pill to be swallowed will scare the patients away from goodness for good. This calls for the utmost insight, perceptiveness and imagination on the part of the teacher. It must be admitted, of course, that with all this one may fail to produce the qualities of the true leader. But this is the best we can do by way of formal education.

### Teaching by Example

There is, however, another way of teaching—by example. One can learn a science or a technique from a teacher of dubious morals, but one cannot learn one's morality from such a teacher. Writing about Abe Lincoln, the playwright says that when we

worship greatness passing by,  
ourselves are great.

It may not be quite so simple. But it seems

certainly true that, if in the routine college life, our students see only insincerity, corruption, cowardice and dishonesty passing up and down, there is not much chance that they grow up to be sincere, upright, brave and honest. I am not asking for heroes and heroic deeds, but in the normal course of one's duties it is not impossible to do the decent thing. An examiner, who under heavy pressure, refuses to increase the marks of an unfit candidate, a teacher who teaches a doctrine he knows to be unpopular but true, a vice-chancellor who declines to change a decision because of a 'gherao'—such persons and such acts have far greater educative value than all the homilies dished out in 'moral instruction' classes, college-day functions and convocations, particularly by persons whose lack of moral qualities is demonstrated in their daily life.

You cannot teach a man to be a leader, but, through the right kind of education given in the right kind of way by the right kind of teachers, a man has a fair chance of growing into a leader—a leader of whom we are justly proud and under whom we are happy, a leader who is proud of us and happy to be our leader.

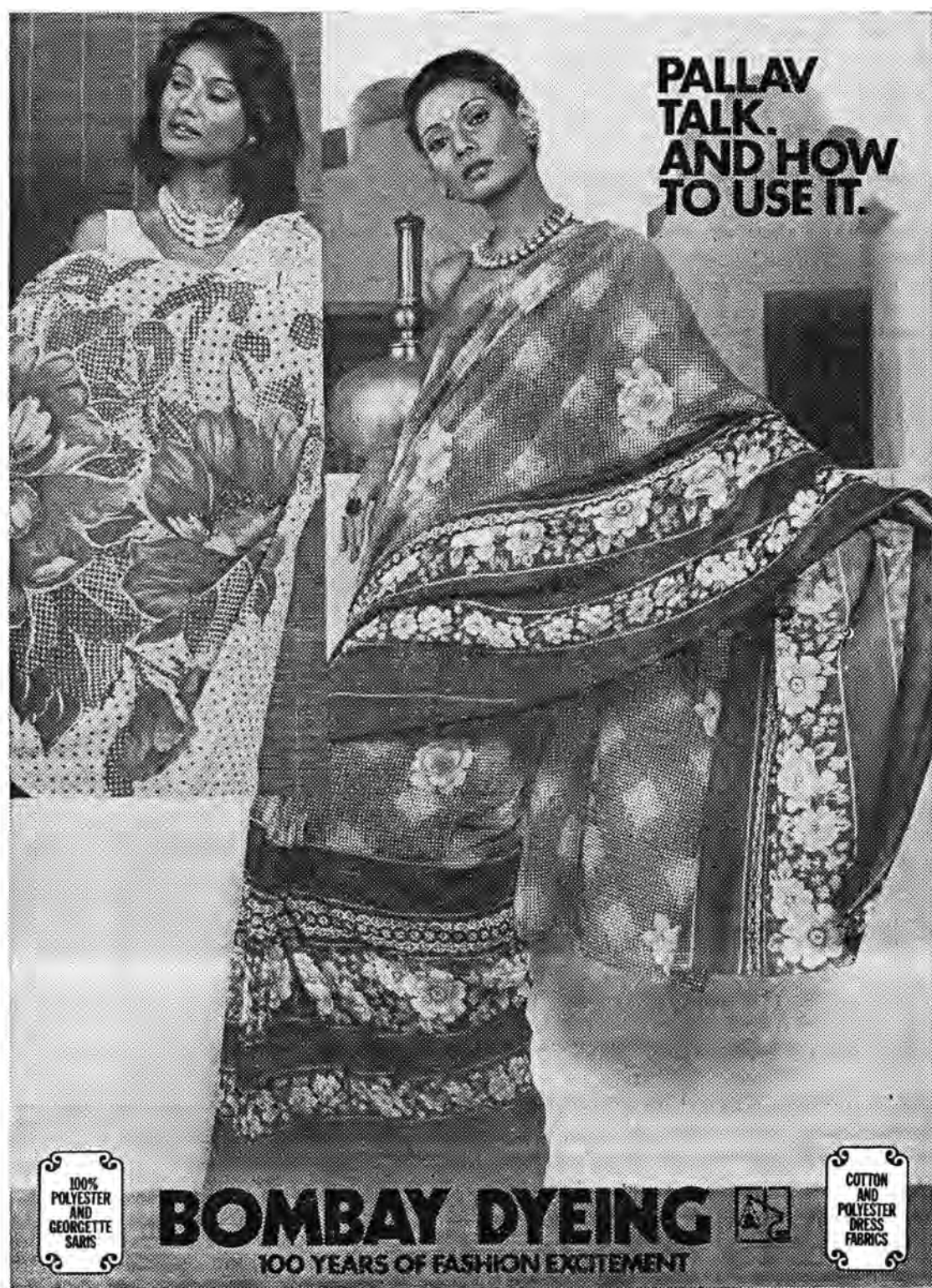
Among the most lucid and sweeping definitions (of leadership) is this one, proposed by the French critic Henri Peyre: "Leadership can be but a broad ideal proposed by the culture of a country, instilled into the young through the schools, but also through the family, the intellectual atmosphere, the literature, the history, the ethical teaching of that country. Will power, sensitivity to the age, clear thinking rather than profound thinking, the ability to experience the emotions of a group and to voice their aspirations, joined with control over those emotions in oneself, a sense of the dramatic...are among the ingredients of the power to lead men."

Most definitions emphasize honesty, candour and vision combined with sheer physical stamina and courage. Not that courage without brains was ever sufficient. An episode from British history emphasizes the point. When the British Cabinet summoned the Duke of Wellington and asked him who was the ablest general to take Rangoon, the unhesitating reply was "Lord Combermere." "But we have always understood that your Grace thought Lord Combermere a fool," the Cabinet protested. "So he is a fool, and a damned fool," said Wellington. "But he can take Rangoon."

Some reasons for the loss of leadership...Institutions are changing in ways that their leaders cannot always grasp. Churches have been dramatically altered by internal disputes over questions of social activism, morals and even creed. Educators have grown uncertain about the social and intellectual purpose of education. Politicians throughout the West have trouble determining the boundaries involved in a free enterprise system mixed with government control...

Such changes have contributed to the fact that leaders are increasingly naked and vulnerable. Newspapers, magazines and especially television subject potential leaders to devastating scrutiny. Says Columbia University Historian Henry Graff: "we have become a nation of Madame Defarges. We sit in judgement on our political leaders because we know them so well. We have a kind of Naderism in politics. For the first time since man came down from the trees, government no longer operates in a cocoon of mystery. I suppose the world changed a lot when Eisenhower's bowel movements were described by Paul Dudley White."

— Time, July 15, 1974



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# THE CIVIL SERVANT AS A LEADER

Taya Zinkin

The Concise Oxford Dictionary's definition of "civil" is "polite, not rude". That of "servant" is "a person who has undertaken, usually in return for stipulated pay, to carry out the orders of" (in this case) "the corporate employer", (i.e. the State). "Civil Servant" is defined as "a member of one of the non-warlike branches of State administration". "To lead" is defined as "to conduct, to guide, especially by going in front, to direct by example".

I thought that before tackling the role of the Civil Servant as a Leader it might be a good idea to refer to the dictionary to see what is involved in both leadership and the Civil Service. My search was in fact rewarded. It is quite clear that members of the Civil Service must be both "civil", i.e. polite, not rude, which of course involves not throwing their weight about, and that they are also servants, i.e. people who have undertaken to carry out the orders of the State.

Before a Civil Servant can be a leader, which is something the taxpaying public can expect of him, he has to prove himself to be a good Civil Servant, which means that he has to be efficient, honest, impartial and accessible, I think in that order.

## Efficiency

Efficiency comes before honesty because an inefficient administrator is inevitable a dishonest one. Lack of efficiency creates bottle-necks and delays which tempt underlings to be dishonest. They get bribed by supplicants to speed up matters which would have been dealt with without delay had the administration been efficient. The same obviously applies to impartiality. Accessibility in Civil Servants is extremely important because it is one of the ways through which members of the public can vent their grievances, and it also provides the administrator with a check on the way his subordinates carry out their orders.

All of this seems pretty elementary. However in practice and in my experience of the Indian administrative services, these guidelines need to be reiterated from time to time because it is so easy for things to go wrong, and once things have gone wrong it is so difficult to put them right.

Let us look at efficiency first. What does efficiency consist of? I would suggest that efficiency consists of three things. The first is knowledge of the rules and the instruments of implementation at one's disposal; not just knowledge of what the rules

are and of the people available, but also knowledge of the limitations inherent in the system. I have never forgotten listening to a long complaint by the late Pandit Nehru about the ineptitude of registrars of rural co-operative societies and the trials and hardships the Government's rules imposed on these societies. He had been Prime Minister of India for eleven years when he complained to me about something which was totally beyond the scope of the registrars of the co-operative societies who were implementing the rules. Had he been truly efficient, instead of complaining, he would have changed the rules.

Next, to be efficient one has to be able to delegate because one cannot be everywhere at all times and bottle-necks, as I have already said, are the key causes of bad administration with all that it entails. But to be efficient it is not enough to be able to delegate, one has to be constantly checking to see that the orders one has issued have been carried out in the way in which they were intended to be carried out.

It is very easy for a Civil Servant to enforce efficiency in his department. All he has to do is to go in for spot checks and ask for explanations whenever a file which should have been dealt with is still lying around. I have never forgotten the way in which James Walmsley, with whom I had the privilege of working at the time of Partition, made sure that things were carried out. He had a list on his desk of all the things which had to be dealt with that day. On the next day he would cross out everything that had been dealt with; if anything was still outstanding the day after somebody was answerable.

## Honesty

Now let us turn to honesty. It is obvious that a Civil Servant has to be honest; indeed the Indian tradition is that honesty is expected of the Service's higher ranks. However, it is not enough to be honest, one has to be *seen* to be honest otherwise no matter how honest one is, one may be believed to be dishonest. I remember what happened to my husband when he was first in the District and his bearer, who was an artful rogue, used to take bribes from everybody right, left and centre, saying that he would speak to the sahib on their behalf. Of course Sheikh Hussein never said a word to my husband. He simply pocketed the money. This went on for some time unbeknown to the sahib. Then

his court clerk told him an accused in a case had bribed Sheikh Hussein. He cancelled the accused's bail and had him paraded through the town in handcuffs. My first reaction was to say that, in his place, I would have sacked the bearer. (Prosecution would not have stood up.) However, on second thoughts, I think what my husband did was much more effective. Sacking the bearer would merely have meant that he would have to keep an eye on the next bearer. Having blackened Sheikh Hussein's face and made it clear to all and sundry that giving that rascal money would get them nowhere was a much more efficient way of scotching bribery at source. Indeed, no longer able to extort bribes, Sheikh Hussein was reduced to stealing from my husband; this, dreadful as it might be, was however doing no harm to the reputation of the government.

I do not think it is necessary to go into detail about the need for impartiality and open-mindedness in the Civil Service because, like accessibility, it is pretty obvious that these are essential attributes. Indeed, had my husband not been accessible he would never have learnt that his bearer was taking bribes.

Those who live in ivory towers depend on intermediaries to know what is going on, and the people they administer have to depend on intermediaries to get their case put forward. The latter leads to bribery and corruption, while the former leads to ignorance. Perhaps the best example of what happens when the powerful become accessible only through intermediaries is Mrs. Gandhi's decision to end the emergency with a General Election. Had she been in touch with the public, and by that I mean had the public had free access to her, she would have known what was going on and would either have done something about it or continued the emergency. It is unlikely that she would have volunteered a General Election which resulted in her Himalayan land-slide.

So much for what makes a good Civil Servant.

### Leading by Example

Now what about leadership. As the Concise Oxford Dictionary implies, leadership is not just giving orders, but setting an example sufficiently attractive for people to wish to emulate it. When I was a child I remember thinking that there were no bad pupils only bad teachers. Never, in the whole of my school career, did a teacher who kept us interested have any problem in enforcing discipline. An inspiring teacher could get any amount of work out of his class, whereas a bad teacher

needs to fall back on disciplinary methods to keep them quiet, and the chance that, even when they do keep quiet, his pupils will actually learn a great deal, is limited.

Similarly, a good Civil Servant has an automatic effect on his subordinates, his being efficient, honest, impartial and accessible makes them work better and, whether they like it or not, practically forces them to follow his example. However, it is important that leadership should be of the right kind, especially since the Civil Servant, particularly in India, is a very important and focal figure who can exert a great deal of influence. I would like to quote here the story of Captain Mohite who was Collector in Sholapur.

Captain Mohite managed to transform his subdivision in a very short time by sheer dint of example. He, of course, began with the great advantage of being a Maratha in a Maratha district. For example, once Mohite decided to put his wife through college, no Maratha father could argue to his daughter that college education was wrong for girls. When Mohite began to dig latrines, together with the villagers, no Maratha could argue that digging latrines is a job which ought to be left to untouchables. When Mohite said that everybody should put aside a certain amount of his time and his money, and by everybody he included himself and his family, to build approach roads, schools, a high school, dig wells etc. all the villagers followed his example.

However, the story has a sad ending. The moment he was removed from the District and sent to headquarters his projects flopped; the approach roads were left to decay, the wells fell into disrepair and the high school was, I think, never finished. His successor did not have his power of leadership.

The Indian people are very quick to respond to genuine leadership of the right kind. The honest Civil Servant never gets the opportunity to turn down a bribe, he is never offered one. The people of Sind still talk about "Gorwala Justice" because many years ago they had an Indian Civil Servant called A. D. Gorwala who was not only just but efficient, honest, impartial and accessible. This was a long time ago, but there is a whole generation of people who were trained either by Gorwala or by those he trained, a generation which still carries on "Gorwala justice" which is what the Indian people expect from their Civil Servants.

# LEADERSHIP AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Mehra Masani

The failure to develop leadership in the community through the mass media has been due to the failure of the leaders in mass communication. In the Indian situation, where all the mass media except the Press, are controlled by the Government, leadership could only have come from politicians who were in power. Successive Ministers of Information and Broadcasting have failed to provide it as is obvious from the very small impact which the media have made on Indian life and society.

Gandhiji was an exceptional one-man mass communicator. This was because he appreciated that unless the common man was approached communication was incomplete and ineffective. Gandhiji did not ignore the urban middle class but he concentrated on padayatras through villages, meeting people at wayside railway stations in his third class compartment, travelling third class deliberately to be in touch with the people, living in Harijan colonies for the same reason, and so forth. Thus he brought into his orbit the common people of India and many future leaders in politics, journalism and social reform were discovered in this process.

But the followers of Mahatma Gandhi, all the Ministers who, until 1977, were members of the Congress party, could not be bothered to trudge dusty roads and travel third class. Such austeries were not for them. Of course, ordinary mortals cannot live up to Gandhiji's standards, but if those Ministers had imagination and had cared to concentrate on the real problems of communication, they could have found ways of using the powerful media at their disposal to establish contact with the common man and to build up leadership from among ordinary men and women. But being men of small stature Ministers of Information and Broadcasting failed to do so.

## Ineffective Use of Media

How could they have used the media under their control more effectively? The media under government control adds up to quite a substantial quantity — radio, T.V., films, exhibitions and visual publicity, publications, field publicity, etc. In none of these was priority given to the rural areas; all of them have been urban based and oriented.

Let us consider the case of radio. Among the various media, it had the best potential for development as a mass medium but all the transmitters of All India Radio are located in the big cities except

for a very few which, in recent years, have been located outside them.

If the programme content of AIR stations is examined, it will be apparent that the programmes are meant for the urban middle class in terms of duration and content. The rural programme from each station is broadcast for not more than one hour per day and must include information, entertainment and instruction. Small wonder if the rural community finds the programme scrappy and ineffective.

If the budget is examined, it will show that the smallest amount of money is allotted for programmes for the rural community and the bulk of the expenditure is on programmes of interest to educated middle class listeners.

The staffing of AIR is another indication of its urban bias. The recruitment and selection of staff is entirely from the urban educated young men and women and the training given to them is for the performance of duties related to the urban programmes.

All these defects could not be avoided with the highly centralised bureaucratic organisation which is common to all the media under Government control. If these had genuinely desired to cater to the masses, the organisation would have had to be decentralised, with transmitters in the districts, catering for the rural community for at least three or four hours a day, with a staff locally selected and trained and with much more money allotted for such programmes. If the question is asked, where so much money could have been found, the answer is by reducing the programmes for urban listeners and by not spending large sums of money on such programmes as Sahitya Samaroh for which listening is confined to 0.01% of the total listening public.

In the case of films, vans to take films to the rural areas should have been much greater in number; money for petrol and other accessories should have been found by making less documentary films of interest for the urban cinemas. So also with exhibitions, visual publicity, field publicity, and the rest.

## Why the Urban Bias?

Why was the bias in favour of cities? Because, the kind of politicians who became Ministers for Information and Broadcasting were concerned with building up their own image and that of the Party.



Thus, their main interest lay in exercising the vast patronage at their disposal, in making appointments, in giving engagements for broadcasts, in the location of transmitters for political considerations and so forth. And yet, advice was given throughout the last thirty years to make the media more appropriate for a country with a vast rural population.

### Catching 'em Young

Ignoring the rural problem for the moment, what success did the media have in the urban areas? To develop leadership among the young people, programme for Youth were started from all stations, and Yuvavani is now a regular service from each Centre, but research shows that only Vividh Bharati and light entertainment attract the young.

The Indian Institute of Mass Communication undertook a survey in 1978 to discover the extent to which young people were exposed to the media, their programme preferences, and other related matters. The majority of the persons interviewed were educated, only 5% were illiterate. About 25% were in service and 8% were unemployed. The results are disappointing in the extreme. Half of those interviewed did not take part in sports, while three fourths said they had no extra-curricular activity. They spent their time in chatting with their family members and friends. (80% of the 550 persons interviewed had a radio in the house and about 1/3rd also had TV sets. Almost 50% subscribed to a newspaper and 60% listened to the radio daily. Only 4% said they did not listen at all. 60% said they listened to film songs regularly and 45% said they listened to the news, but 80% said that they never listened to spotlight, discussions, talks, features etc. Radio quiz and Yuvavani programmes were not even known to 60% of the sample. Only 13% listened to Yuvavani.

TV programmes met with the same fate. 97% saw feature films regularly, but programmes like Youth Forum, meant specially for developing leadership among young people, were watched by only about 14% of the respondents.

In the case of newspapers, 56% read political news, but editorials were read by only 6%. Articles on education, training, etc., were not popular at all but sports news was read by about 25%. Articles on crime, sports and films were the most widely

read in periodicals. Features on politics or other social issues were read by a very few. Only 20% of the students interviewed said that they read books regularly other than their school and college reading.

Strange to say that 50% said that they preferred advertisement films in cinemas to the documentaries made by the Films Division!

### Decontrol by Government

Finally, though exposure to radio was more or less equal among the young people, irrespective of their family backgrounds, those from the lower income groups preferred programmes with a high entertainment component while those from the more privileged classes preferred programmes with higher information and educational matter. So the youth from the poorer families are doubly deprived because they are less exposed to the media and, when exposed, they care only to listen to programmes of very little significance.

The results are not surprising because the talks and discussions of an educational nature are dull, unimaginative in content, and badly presented by unimpressive persons who deliver homilies rather than talks. Moreover what is the example set by the "leaders" who use the media? Their cynical attitude to work, to study, to public service, can hardly provide inspiration.

Unless control over the communication media is taken away from the professional politicians and vested in men and women capable of inspiring young people, it is not likely that the media will succeed in planning and projecting the kind of programmes and material which could develop qualities of leadership which the country so badly needs. Such men and women must be drawn from the academic, scientific, cultural, political and industrial fields and of course, several of them must have very strong rural roots and orientation and the correct sense of values and priorities.

So we come back to the importance of changing the structure and the organisation of the media under government control, but unless the Government itself is willing to divest itself of such control, it is difficult to see how this change can be brought about.

# CAN INDIA'S PRESS PROVIDE LEADERSHIP?

Rajan Narayan

Does the awesome power and prestige attributed to the press have any basis in reality? Does the press in India really qualify for the expression, 'the fourth estate'? Is the press, as it is organised in the country, capable of fulfilling the role assigned to it in a democratic framework? Are we all, perhaps, being rather unrealistic in expecting the press to champion the cause of freedom? What special privileges or status does the press enjoy that will permit it to exercise the kind of influence it is expected to?

The press in the country is a paper tiger. It is a sheep masquerading in lion's clothing. The press is toothless. Its power and prestige are illusory. These are myths sustained by all parties. The press is not even the first among equals of the democratic institutions in the country. It is subject to all the limitations that other democratic institutions in the country have to face. I have always believed that the press in the country is a totally impotent entity and is incapable of influencing or engendering change.

## "Idiotorials"

I have been a working journalist for a little more than 12 years. I have worked in varied capacities. I have been a sub-editor, involved in the actual nitty-gritty of producing a paper night after night. I have worked as a reporter and quite often have been specifically instructed on how a particular story was to be slanted. I have written many scores of idiotorials (editorials written by an idiot). Looking back, the leader writing phase is particularly amusing, as I have raved and ranted against the government—not just the Indian government, but even the US government and the UK government in rhetorical inane prose. But the exhortations and the condemnations that passed off as editorials were always liberally sprinkled with conditional clauses. Leader writing is possibly the most absurd exercise in a newspaper. Pick up any editorial in any newspaper and if you read between the lines, you will discover that an editorial says nothing.

In my leader writing phase, when I was younger, and harboured idealistic illusions about the power and the grandeur of the press, I have been repeatedly reprimanded for my lack of perspective. And lack of perspective invariably implied that discretion at all times was the better part of valour. Don't come down too harshly on industry. It may be true that the Green Revolution was a hoax and only the rich farmer benefited. But, it would not do to

say so in print. Managements never instigate strikes or lock-outs. Go easy on the State Government and forgive them their sins of omission and commission. lest the office have problems with electricity or water supply or the odd favour here and there.

It does not really matter very much that Bombay Telephones are grossly inefficient. It is more important to interview the General Manager of Bombay Telephones once in a way and even applaud his daughter's non-existent talent for dancing. After all, you never know when you will need a new telephone connection in a hurry. May be, it does not really matter that editorials should be vague, ambivalent and ambiguous. Nobody reads them anyway, excepting the Assistant Editor who writes them and the Proof Reader who makes sure that the English is unflawed. But, what of news coverage?

## A Myth

One of the great myths the press swears by, is that news is free, while comment may have a bias. The reality is quite different. Take the two leading newspapers in the country today, the *Indian Express* and the *Times of India*. You can clearly see that the *Indian Express* will tend to highlight the Janata Party and the *Times of India*, the Indira Congress. Instances have not been uncommon, of photographs of crowds being edited to suggest that a particular leader attracted large crowds, and another leader's meeting, where the turnout was poor was shown to be inflated. One newspaper may vilify the Jan Sangh and the other may paint it lily white. All newspapers uniformly take the side of big industry in any dispute. The labourer's point of view in any dispute is unimportant, unless there are exceptional circumstances, where it is politically advantageous for the newspaper group to play it up. Editors have been known to be appointed at the instance of powerful politicians at the State and Central level. The politician, of course, is in a position to offer all kinds of *quid pro quo* to the concerned newspaper group. Do not presume for a moment that all these things happen only during an emergency. It happens all the time, and at the best of times.

The freedom exercised in a newspaper is not the freedom of the journalist, but of the employer. It is not the freedom of the reporter or the assistant editor, or the sub-editor, but the freedom of the man who controls the purse-strings. The press is like any other industry. Newspapers and magazines are not any different from toothpaste and soap.

Are we saying that the press cannot be free? Are we saying that the press, by its very nature can only be the handmaiden of the power structure? What, then, you may ask of 'Watergate'. Will this hypothesis hold true for the media in advanced countries, like the United States of America and U. K.

### Need for Support Structures

The press no doubt yields much greater power in the more evolved democracies. It is for the reason that in the more evolved democracies, there are supporting structures, which can strengthen the hand of the press. Public opinion is not passive, but active. When the press exposes malpractices in the consumer area, then there are consumer groups like the one headed by the unredoubtable Ralph Nader to carry the fight forward. Evolved democracies are pluralistic societies, where there are a multiplicity of democratic institutions, which can complement and supplement the press. In sharp contrast, in an underdeveloped democracy, where there is a total absence of such structures and institutions and the relational nexus is purely feudal the press is severely limited in fulfilling its assigned role. Several objective observers have gone on record that Watergate may possibly not have happened at all, if it were not for the fact that the media in the USA is largely controlled by the democrats, whereas the administration under attack was republican!

Let me try to concretise what I have been saying, with an example. The January issue of *Imprint* carried a very exhaustive investigation into corruption in hospitals. We named names; we gave specific instances of corruption; we revealed how the canker of corruption had spread through the medical establishment, embracing all levels, from the Minister downwards. All that we got for our pains were a few legal notices. We knew that what we had discovered was true. We could, however, substantiate the charges only if we had access to government files. We approached the State Minister for Health and offered to co-operate with the administration if it ordered an enquiry. The Health Minister gave us a patient hearing and promised to do the needful. Thereafter, we did not hear from her for three months.

We approached the Chief Minister and brought the situation to his notice. He also mumbled promises, but no action was taken. In effect, all our efforts were a total waste of time and energy. The guilty were never brought to book. Even the fact

that all the allegations were in cold print did not create a whimper in the corridors of power. This is not an isolated instance and I have yet to find a case where an expose by the press has yielded any tangible results. In fact, the total impotence of the press has been never more clearly demonstrated than in the fact that Mrs. Gandhi, undeterred by all the allegations of emergency excesses made against her party faithful, has nominated Shri Bansi Lal, Shri Sanjay Gandhi and even Mrs. Bhinder, the wife of the notorious Inspector General of Police in Delhi against whom the Shah Commission have made so many adverse remarks, to contest the coming elections on an Indira Congress ticket.

### A kind of Guerilla Warfare

Does this mean that the press has no role to play at all? That the ladies and gentlemen of the press have no more power than those Lower Division clerks in the Sachivalaya? Perhaps not. But, very few journalists know how to exercise even the limited freedom they have. The practice of journalism in our context is akin to guerilla warfare. To achieve any impact, the press has to be as adept at manipulating the political forces, as other power centres in the country. Campaigns in the press yield results only when they coincide with the aspirations and ambitions of elements in the power centres.

As for instance, if we had timed the "Corruption in Hospitals" story referred to earlier for election time and approached the opposition party instead of the Health Minister, it would have given the opposition a handle to exploit the situation. This in turn would have put pressure on the government and may have compelled them to act. Therefore, the journalist has to be vigilant to see what the alignment of forces are at any point of time and must space his reports or investigations with the right timing. This is possibly the only way that the journalist can be effective in our context.

In the long run, of course, one does not rule out the evolution or development of suitable support structures, like an active public opinion and pluralistic bodies which would support and complement the press. Given the existing structure and pattern of ownership of the media, there is very little the individual journalist or editor can do. Freedom of the press in the country will remain for some time to come to be the freedom or the expediency of the newspaper proprietor. To expect the press to play any independent or major role, would be to nurture illusions about the potential of the press.



# LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

V. B. Karnik

Leadership in the labour movement is always a crown of thorns. The crown is also not a long-time possession; it may be there today and may disappear the next day. This is particularly so in a country like India where trade unions are yet to grow into stable organisations and where it is still open to dissatisfied groups of workers to leave one union and form a rival one. Such changes take place often in the Indian trade union movement. Workers change from one union to another or from one leadership to another, hoping thereby to gain a larger advantage in the form of a wage rise or increased bonus or other allowances. The hope may or may not be fulfilled; there may even be a return to the old leadership; but the relationship is spoilt and the leadership remains doubtful of the loyalty of its followers.

A movement cannot grow and become strong unless it has a leadership which is stable and confident of the continuing support of the rank and file. In the earlier years it could count upon that support because the large mass of workers was so backward and helpless that it clutched at any leadership that was available and followed it through fair weather or foul. Things have changed considerably since then. Workers are now far more sophisticated; are fully conscious of their rights and strength; and there are many leaders to choose from. Now-a-days workers exercise that right, though not always intelligently.

## **Demagogy, Force and Intimidation**

Sometimes, workers get carried away by demagogy by promises of big gains and by sharp talk against employers. The demagogue cannot remain in leadership long unless he produces results from time to time. Eventually, his capacity to produce results comes to an end and he loses his glamour. Sometimes he is won over by an employer. Workers then leave him and begin to look around for another leader—they have not yet learnt to find a leader amongst themselves. Meanwhile, the union withers away and ceases to be a force.

In some other cases workers are coerced into joining a union or accept someone's leadership. Force and intimidation are used for the purpose. This happens particularly in backward areas like the coal fields. A few months back startling information appeared in the newspaper about the terroristic and anti-social activities of some so-called labour leaders who had taken possession of some of the

miners' unions. They use their muscleman to ensure that miners were members of their unions and misused them for selfish purposes. The evil is, however, not restricted to backward areas. Sometimes, it appears even in cities like Bombay. This is essentially a question of law and order. The police must intervene energetically to put down such use of force and intimidation and save workers from their so-called protectors.

Barring these, which, incidentally, are to be found in most countries, the rest of the labour leaders of the country are as devoted and intelligent as any in the world. The gains secured by them do not appear as impressive as those secured in industrially advanced countries. But that is mainly due to economic conditions which are beyond their control. Industrial growth is slow and haphazard, and unemployment and population growth retard all attempts to raise the people's standard of living. Labour leaders of industrially advanced countries do not have to contend with these two big obstacles.

The conditions in which our labour leaders work are markedly different from the conditions in which others work. The latter are provided with fairly satisfactory salaries (not to speak of those few at the top who draw enormous salaries and allowances); are provided with pensions and other benefits and work in offices which are well furnished and well-staffed. Our labour leaders began with a tradition of honorary work, and it is only in recent years that they have begun to draw from their unions a meagre allowance often less than the salary drawn by senior workers in industry. Provision for old age and sickness usually do not exist. A few, labour leaders, no doubt, are much better off; but they are so few that they do not affect the general rule.

## **Precarious Existence**

Indian unions are not able to pay their leaders and full-time workers better because they have no financial security. Union income is always insecure as most of them do not enjoy recognition, and union security provisions like union-shop and check-off are almost unknown. They have to depend on uncertain sources of income like donations from members when a bonus, a pay rise or arrears are secured. It is a precarious day-to-day existence that most of our labour leaders have to accept.

An usual complaint against the leaders is that they are outsiders and that they inject politics into

their trade union work. The first thing that must be said about this complaint is that the presence of outsiders is not now as widespread as it once was. More and more, inside leaders are coming forth and displacing the outsider. In some kinds of unions, as for example of white collar employees, leadership is mostly in the hands of insiders. However desirable this change may be, it may not give employers what they desire, namely, a less demanding or a less militant union. One more fact may be kept in mind. Trade union work has now become a full-time job. It cannot be combined with work as an operator or a clerk. Besides it needs special skills, knowledge and experience. To acquire these there has to be a certain amount of continuity. Some, insiders or outsiders, must take it up as a profession. In the case of insiders, it may mean loss of a job or loss of the prospect of promotion. In some enterprises workers are allowed to be on deputation for union work without loss of seniority or promotion. That gives some protection; but is not altogether a satisfactory system as the worker-leader still remains subject to the discretion of the top officers and cannot, under the circumstances adopt too tough a line if the situation called for such a stance.

### Cause of Strikes

One serious charge against outside leadership is—that it can as well be made against inside leadership—that it encourages workers to making exaggerated demands and to go on strike. It is difficult to determine what is an exaggerated demand. What is exaggerated from an employer's point of view may be very reasonable from the workers' point of view. Workers now have a fair idea of what an establishment can afford to pay and they also know what workers in nearby factories are getting. They are generally prepared for a reasonable settlement. It is only when they see no prospect of getting it that they get excited and begin to think in terms of a strike. In fact more strikes are precipitated by workers than by leaders. Many a time leaders are compelled to declare or continue a strike under rank and file pressure. A leader knows the risks of a strike, the danger of losing it as well as the danger of workers losing confidence in him. Moreover, he will not be able to bring them out on strike unless there is widespread discontentment in their ranks. So, instead of blaming leaders, employers should set their houses in order and secure the co-operation of workers through healthy industrial relations.

Trade union leaders are connected with various political parties and their political sympathies and antipathies have some influence on their trade union work. But gone are the days when politics was everything, and unions were made or unmade for political reasons. Unions are now independent organisations with wills of their own. Leaders have to recognise this, and it is only when the will of a union coincides with the general political direction of a leader, that he can persuade a union to go along with him in the political field. Political influence may be used sometimes to secure the settlement of a strike but that is the weakness or inadequacy of our industrial relations law. Strikes for political purposes take place rarely, though political demonstrations like Bandhs take place more often. They take place because workers are a part of society and whatever affects society affects them as well. Leaders are, however, aware of their limitations and do not now-a-days put upon unions the pressure that they are unwilling to bear.

### Social Responsibilities

A new danger that has emerged is that unions may go too far in the other direction. They may become so absorbed in their day-to-day work, in collective bargaining and in grievance-redressal that they may lose all interest in wider social issues. They may forget their social responsibilities and the urge for the creation of a new social order. They may become rich and powerful organisations, but will have no role to play in the development of the social revolution which is the need of the hour. They may become part and parcel of the establishment which is blocking the progress and prosperity of the large masses. A wise and dedicated leadership dedicated to the cause of social revolution must save trade unions from this ignoble fate.

Workers occupy a strategic position in an industrial society. Their leaders are important because workers are important. The leaders must provide an enlightened leadership to workers, a leadership that will enable workers to improve their position without doing any damage to industry or society. The leadership will have to maintain a delicate balance between the demands of workers and the needs of development. It will need a good deal of intelligence, patience and courage—virtues which are not in ample supply. It will also need a good deal of education of workers so that they may provide the necessary support to the leadership.

# LEADERSHIP IN THE ARMED FORCES

Major General E. D'Souza (Retd.)

It was Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein who defined leadership as the ability of an individual to influence others to do his or her will. This definition, by this Great Captain of the Second World War, has special relevance to leadership in the Armed Forces as will become manifest as this theme is developed. If this article has a pronounced tilt towards leadership in the Army, the largest single service in our country yesterday and today, it is only but inevitable, having served the better part of three decades in it, firstly under British tutelage for five years and thereafter in the transitional stage from Indo-British to purely Indian.

A political leader derives his power from his party and the patronage he is able to give. He attains and holds on to power by fair means and foul, through funds available to him. He is not required to expose himself or his constituency to any physical hazards and his ethics to stay in power are too well known to be repeated. A leader in business or industry devotes his leadership talents to amassing wealth and more often than not depends on the Board of Directors' for decisions. Leadership in the Armed Forces, however, demands certain special qualities.

## The Essence of Military Leadership

In October 1942, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in an address to Indian Officer Cadets at the Datta Officers Training School located in the Forman Christian College Lahore said: "Gentlemen, the day you are commissioned you have opted for the unique privilege of dying for your country or to order men you will soon have the honour to command, to certain death". This then is the essence of military leadership: to be able to order a soldier, sailor or airman to undertake a task in war which may result in death, being wounded and maimed or being captured; to lead a bayonet charge across an enemy minefield or obstacle in the final assault, to patrol the high seas in submarine and mine infested waters constantly subjected to air attacks or to fly a lone mission deep into enemy territory in a Canberra Bomber in the face of anti-aircraft and missile fire and enemy interceptors: in all cases survival is a matter of chance. To be able to make a servicemen bend to your will, to implicitly obey an order needs leadership qualities of an exceptional order be it a Company commander leading an assault, a Captain of an Indian Naval Ship on patrol on the high seas or an Air Force Pilot in the skies

or the higher echelons in the three Services who plan and order the execution of an operation.

In India today, the popular image of a Military Leader runs somewhat on these lines: physically well built, fit, well turned-out, clipped accent, generally arrogant, accustomed to using highly coloured language and a hard drinker who has merely to give an order and things get done. Intellectually, such an individual is considered to be just about average. This mind picture is highly misleading. Admittedly, Mountbatten and MacArthur had charisma and were both powerful personalities. Montgomery on the other hand was Cromwellian in outlook, absolutely abstemious and possessed of a very high pitched voice. Tipu Sultan, Babar, Shivaji and Ranjit Singh were by no means impressive physical specimens nor for that matter was Mao. Yet each, in his own way had definite leadership qualities to rally vast numbers to the cause and lead their Armies successfully over vast distances and against unimaginable odds. What special leadership qualities did they possess to make them and our military leaders great Captains?

Qualities required of a military leader to which men will respond willingly and unquestioningly are many: very few leaders possess all these qualities. Some are born with them whereas others acquire them or are 'made'. Personality or a good presence is one; professional competence and sound professional knowledge is another. Physical fitness, moral courage, impartiality, decisiveness, honesty of purpose, physical and mental resilience, personal example, courage, and last but not least humility are the many others. Once a soldier identifies some or most of these qualities in a leader, no task becomes impossible and no risk not worth taking. History is replete with examples.

## The British Legacy

The development of Indian Military leadership in the current context took root in the British era. Our British mentors eulogised the qualities of integrity, impartiality, fairplay, physical fitness, personal example, man management and courage. In their own imperial interests they were not unduly worried about the need for sound professional knowledge in their Indian Officers. It is because of these qualities that military leaders like Clive, Stringer Lawrence, Outram, Napier, Chetwode and Birdwood were spawned to enable them to conquer, consolidate and rule in an Empire where the sun never



set, mainly with 'native' troops who responded well to their sense of fairplay, impartiality, personal example and man management. The exploits of Indian troops in the numerous wars fought by the British in India and abroad bear eloquent testimony to these leadership qualities. Thus after World War I, when selected Indians were granted Kings Commissions, many of these leadership qualities were absorbed first by KCIO's (Kings Commissioned Indian Officers) like Generals Cariappa, Thimaya, Thorat, Shrinagesh, Kumaramangalam, Chaudhury and others, and passed on to Indian Commissioned Officers from the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun like Field Marshal Manekshaw and General Bewoor and finally to Indian Emergency Commissioned Officers/ Indian Commissioned Officers like Generals Raina and Malhotra to our present day Lieutenant Generals and Major Generals. These officers and others in their footsteps carried on these traditions of leadership qualities adding to the list sound professional knowledge. Admittedly there was a period in the early sixties in the heydays of Krishna Menonism that politics began to rear its ugly head in the otherwise apolitical Armed Forces. Fortunately, for the country, this was a temporary aberration which made no serious dent in the traditional leadership qualities: we have produced Military Leaders of world renown like the late lamented General K. S. Thimaya.

### Well Rounded Training

These qualities of leadership are developed and nurtured from the date a young man is selected for the Armed Forces and, in many cases, our Military leaders have been 'made'. Earlier, in British and the Indo-British era, a good public school background, good blood lines and being from the so called martial races helped. Today, selection has become more broadbased though the possession of leadership qualities continue to be given the same importance. Thereafter maximum stress is paid to this development in Service Academies by participation in sports, adventure training, a sound education and so on. The need for discipline and unquestioned (not slavish as many fondly believe) obedience is demanded. Every opportunity is given to gaining and improving sound professional knowledge the premise being what the jawan can do, his leader must do better. After commissioning, an officer is given, in turn, command of a sub-unit, 'platoon' (4) or company/squadron (100). He then graduates after fifteen odd years to command of a unit (800), brigade (5000), division (17000) and Corps (60,000 to 70,000). In between these command assignments,

he attends various specialist and general courses of instruction to improve his professional knowledge. He may secure a competitive vacancy for the Defence Services Staff College Wellington. He could, depending on his ability, be given instructional and staff appointments to widen his outlook and improve his employability. Later, as he advances in service he may be sent to the Institute of Defence Management, Secunderabad or the School of Land Air Warfare. Finally, he may be nominated for the National Defence College, New Delhi or its equivalent in U.K. which is attended by officers of Brigadier or Deputy Secretary rank from the three Services, IAS, Foreign Service, IPS, IA & AS, P & T, DGOF and so on. He may be sent abroad to countries like UK, USA, USSR, Canada, Australia, Nigeria, Sudan, Iraq to attend courses or as an instructor. Upto the rank of Lt. Col., he is required to physically lead men into battle. Thereafter, he is involved in planning and execution of operations, civil liaison and higher command. As he advances in service he becomes more and more exposed to dealing with government officials and politicians. Eventually, he may become an Army Commander covering, for instance in Southern Command, the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Goa. Thus, throughout his service career, a military leader at junior, middle piece and senior levels is constantly exposed to operations, training, administration, man management, liaison and superlative organisation. To enable him to do all this and more demands all the many qualities of leadership listed earlier. Most military leaders, especially in the Army, in addition to being able to speak English and Hindi are encouraged to learn the language spoken by the men to establish closer and better rapport. Special attention is paid to promotion boards so that the weaker leaders are weeded out. Outstanding leaders at all levels are recognised by the grant of awards. Thus, a leader in the Armed Forces is constantly groomed to his responsibilities through the methods stated above and, unlike a politician or a businessman, is not pitchforked into positions of power by virtue of family ties or financial clout. A Lt. Col. or equivalent becomes one after 14 to 17 years, a Brigadier after about 23-25 years and an Army Commander after 32 years or so. It takes 34 odd years of service to become a Chief of Staff. This is certainly not so in the IPS, IAS, politics or business! Most Managing Directors are in their early forties and do not possess half the responsibilities of a military leader.

As a leader in the Armed Forces gains in experience and maturity, he graduates from physical to moral leadership, from small tactical situations involving a handful of men to grand strategy involving a nation, from the narrow confines of a unit, to the wide open spaces of national policy.

It is precisely because of these qualities at all levels that the Services have held together after the trauma of partition, participation in four major conflicts and a constant and ceaseless vigil on our borders under ever conceivable handicap of weather, terrain and administrative problems. Year in and year out, in war, cold war and peace, whilst politicians make false promises, civil servants drag their heels and business magnates and industrialists amass wealth in the relative comforts of their homes, men of the Armed Forces, separated from their loved ones from two to three years, spend the best years of their lives exposed to every conceivable hazard be it on land, sea or air. And they do so and will continue to do so for so long as there is positive and just leadership at all levels. For this we must be grateful to leaders like General Cariappa, who, by paying attention to small details, held the Army together at a period when it could have disintegrated. Or to the world known General Thimaya or to the highly articulate and intelligent General J. N. Chaudhuri or the flamboyant Field Marshal Manekshaw who drew the best out of the Army in the 1971 War or to the brave and audacious Lt. Gen. Sagat Singh of Bangla Desh fame or to the Usmans, Keelors, Mangats, Ekkas, Harbaksh Singhs, et al.

We are now in the process of evolving into a truly National Armed Forces. In doing so, the qualities of a good military leader are undergoing subtle changes though the basics remain constant. More attention is being paid to education and professionalism. More is expected of a military leader today than in the uncomplicated past. The advent of mass media communications and closer contact with the mainstream of national life, increasing inter-

ference by politicians, broader based recruitment to meet political whims and the totally unsteady political environment requires a special type of leadership as never before. In the diversity of our Armed Forces and its leaders lies its strength. So long as it remains secular and apolitical, there is little or no chance of a military takeover.

### **A Reservoir of Leadership**

Many ask why retired Armed Forces personnel do not make successful politicians. The answer is obvious; they lack financial resources and they are too straight forward in their dealings. Many business magnates feel reluctant to use this vast reservoir of skilled leaders mainly because the life of a serviceman is not profit oriented and they achieve results through 'harsh' military discipline! This is far from the truth! and one harkens back to what Sir Sikandar Hyatt Khan said many years ago. Armed Forces leadership, built-up and nurtured so assiduously over the years makes available to the nation a vast reservoir of leaders with definite organisational and administrative experience, a meticulous eye for detail, integrity, man management, technical competence and maturity. Yet there is a marked reluctance to use them except immediately after a war! The more's the pity. Big business and industry must realise that it is not management jargon that matters but ability. After all modern management techniques have been developed from the Armed Forces and the Catholic Church!!

It should be evident to the Nation that there exists in our country today a wealth of much needed leaders available in the Armed Forces. These leaders have more often than not been made by exposure to a good system and over a period of time. The qualities that a leader in the Armed Forces possesses at once makes him loyal, just, honest, decisive, well read, intelligent and above all humble. It is because of these qualities that our Armed Forces today remain the only stable organisation in the country.

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Leadership usually begins with a vision of success, a glimmering intuition that solutions are possible. Now, as Critic George Steiner has said, "we no longer experience history as ascendant." At the same time, there seems to be something naggingly excessive about such gloom, out of proportion with the great amount of skill, intelligence and energy

that exists in America and elsewhere. Even while the largest problems (including the largest cities) seem to have grown unmanageable, there have been countless new examples of leadership, imagination and dedication on a lesser scale in smaller communities, in many organizations, in business.

— *Time*, July 15, 1974

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# TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

Arvind A. Deshpande

*"Make no more heroes of gods: only elevate the race"*

— Robert Browning

There are many who maintain that it is presumptuous to talk of training people for leadership. They also hold that most leaders are *born*. There may be a few who *achieve* 'leadership' and there are always quite a few on whom 'leadership' is *thrust* because of some special capabilities or because they are born to wealth, property, influence or social status.

Some others have recounted the following types of leaders :

(a) Superman, persons with unbounded reserves of energy and will-power who create their own new values. These would include most religious leaders and prophets such as Lord Buddha, Jesus Christ, Zarathustra, the Jewish Prophets and Prophet Mohammed.

(b) Heroes and visionaries i.e. persons with a particular vision of society imbued with a sense of mission to which they dedicate their total self. These would include some historic figures like Gandhi and JP.

(c) Statesmen who stand above the common run of men, farseeing and with unusual strength of character. Men like Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle and Rajaji, come to mind.

(d) Princes, in the Machiavellian sense i.e. persons deeply conscious of their energy and power over others and a compulsive urge to maintain that power. Many politicians belong to this category. Persons who are genuinely convinced of their own democratic and pluristic allegiance and yet instinctively authoritarian in their mode of thinking and style of politicking.

(e) Democratic or Organisation Leaders, i.e., persons who organise manpower and material resources for achieving certain well-defined goals. They view things in perspective, take into account conflicting interests and competing claims and promote the interests of their organisation within the overall interests of the community.

## Training for Organisation Leadership

It is obvious that it would certainly be presumptuous to attempt to train leaders who belong to the first three categories, namely, supermen, visionaries, statesmen. When we speak of training for leader-

ship, we are concerned with training people for democratic or organisational leadership. As for the category of 'princes' they are types open societies must learn to cope with and contain.

Dag Hammarskjöld, the late Secretary-General of the United Nations, once said, "the road to holiness necessarily passes through the world of action", and in the twentieth century action means organisation and organisation means organisation leadership.

To be an organisation leader it needs enterprise and resourcefulness and not so much scholastic or individual performance. In any scheme of training for leadership especially in a democratic set up, what one looks for is deep involvement, ability to define goals clearly, plan for results, raise and organise resources, co-ordinate efforts, control and review achievement.

It has been empirically established that a leader who has to carry people along with him needs :

(a) comprehensive intelligence,

(b) social skills, and

(c) the capacity to be a good communicator and teacher (trainer). He has also to have a deep sense of personal responsibility i.e. not only the ability to take decisions but accept the consequences. This sense of personal responsibility along with an accountability of bonafides is what gives him credibility.

## The Approach

In discussing what should be the content and basic approach of training for democracy and leadership, I shall leave out both politics and societies which are governed by totalitarian ideologies or religious ones which provide for a Total Way of Life covering every aspect including 'secular' politics. Whereas the 'democrats' even the radical ones, proceed by debate and discussions and the institutionalised interplay of pressure groups and hold that fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the 'last' man in society is 'revolution' and that the instrument for it should be the 'vote' and the democratic way, ideological or religious politics avoid dialogue and debate altogether. They take their strength, not from the changing of norms and values as a result of reforms, but from the forceful assertion of the ideology or religion concerned with the hope that it will catch the attention of the masses.

Training for leadership in such a situation is a futile and irrelevant exercise. It may in practice become training for slavery, for 'death' or 'suicide'. We can therefore aim at training for leadership only in a pluralistic system, where different groups have a reasonable expectation of power and influence through the system. We cannot afford to train 'leaders', who, while seeking an open democratic society, despise the means to power by which democracy is made possible. The increasing scale and specialisation of modern society make the rigorous demand for democratic rationalism even more difficult. Training for leadership here involves developing the strength and energy to cope with this demand. If in our profound pessimism about emerging world trends — emotive, unrealistic, ideological politics accompanied by intolerance, lack of confidence in the present political system, religious and political hatred, disorder and violence — we give up the task of training citizens for leadership to cope with the complex situation, we shall have lost everything and our children may well ask: "Daddy, what were you doing when democracy still had a chance".

### The Real Challenge

As for the content and basic approach of training for democracy and leadership, the real question in our situation is: Will the democrats be able to hold the masses? Will they manage to bring India out of poverty, free her from attitudes and practices incompatible with the spirit of modernism without advocating drastic discipline or dictatorship of some kind? Development by democratic methods not only pre-supposes the efficiency of the elected rulers but also demands men who find the object of their faith and principles outside politics. To develop such men with such faith and principles is the real challenge.

Thus training for leadership involves identification of decent and educated men cultivating and encouraging them to be enterprising, articulate, disciplined, responsible and to participate in public affairs and help them develop a non-conformist conscience.

### Three Essential Attributes

The three key words in such training are *Awareness*, *Choice* and *Action*. Awareness includes making 'leaders' aware of the reality, what Lord Buddha called "Talhatta", the grasp of the essentials. This means subjecting them to a frank analysis of our constitutional and political development; our people, their strengths, weakness; basic problems of poverty; unemployment; and social factors like caste and

religion. A dispassionate analysis would show certain basic traits of character which are rooted in our history and culture; that we are still essentially a feudal and socially undemocratic society with a callous disregard for the conditions of the underprivileged and the poor; that despite our priceless spiritual and cultural heritage, we are, in practice, worshippers of power and money. Centuries of insecurity and deprivation have made us excessively security-minded and we are unwilling to take risks for the sake of ideas or accepted goals. Centuries of slavery have also destroyed our self respect. While we are excessively meek towards our superiors, we revel in bossing those below us. A democratic 'leader', as the great Lincoln said, would hate to be a 'master' as much as he would hate to be a 'slave'. Our concept of the rights of the individual is very weak and we live happily with the notion that rules and regulations are made for followers and not the rulers. Very often we do not even miss the absence of good, impartial and cost-effective administration. Only by training citizens to grasp the reality and teaching them the techniques of proper expression of demands through the political process can we hope to overcome our weakness and make our democracy work.

As regards *choice*, in terms of solutions to our problems whether they be social, educational or economic, we must tell our would be 'leaders' that the basic article of faith ought to be the principle that means are as important as ends. 'Revolution' which is essentially the fulfilling of the poorest man's aspirations has to be brought about by democratic means. Man is the measure of all things and the State cannot be permitted a course of action which results in oppression and dehumanisation.

Lastly, *Action*. Training here involves teaching techniques of organisation such as effective communication, personality development, organisation of groups, fund raising, public speaking, press and public relations, conduct of meetings and group dynamics. These techniques of organisation and methodology will arm the person who aspires to be a leader with the 'technical' skills that lend permanence to worthwhile efforts whatever be the field of activity.

There was a slogan during the World War II which reminded the English citizen, "It all depends upon me". To the extent we succeed in making our would be 'leaders' and citizens feel and act that way, we shall make training for leadership relevant and rewarding.

# LEADERSHIP IN BUSINESS

Ramu Pandit

Indian industry is in a state of crisis today because of lack of strong leadership at a very critical stage in India's industrial development. India had a galaxy of business leaders in the late 19th and the first-half of the 20th century—Jamshedji Tata, Sir M. Visveswarayya, Walchand Hirachand, Purushottamdas Thakurdas, M. A. Master, Lala Sri Ram, *et al.* — who dreamed great visions of India as an industrial power in her own right. They were entrepreneurs *par excellence*, of restless spirit, tremendous energy, patriotic fervour and a burning desire to put India on the industrial map of the world and all this at a time when they got very little encouragement from the Government and practically no appreciation from their own countrymen. The ones to forecast their doom and who hoped viciously that they would burn their own fingers were their own fellow businessmen.

The Indian business world during the latter part of the British regime, came under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi who utilised their talents for the freedom movement and created a leadership in the business world that was deeply dedicated to the Swadeshi movement. G. D. Birla, Jamnalal Bajaj and the Sarabhai family came under his deep influence and Gandhiji persuaded them to accept some of his thoughts on labour-management relationship and trusteeship.

Business leaders also worked together to prepare the Bombay Plan in 1944 which provided a grand design for the industrial development of the country in the post-war period.

The Congress circles and the new national government that was formed in 1946 started referring to the Bombay Plan as the Tata-Birla Plan or the Capitalists' Plan. The business community had very "properly put away the big stick it had wielded for so long against an alien Government" but those who thought that a National Government was the "culmination of its economic fight against authority" were sadly mistaken.

The fight continued. Sardar Patel and C. Rajagopalachari were pragmatic visionaries who conceded that business and government were inter-dependent. Nehru, despite his Marxist leanings was by no means unsympathetic to the private sector. He wanted to give the Indian economy a thrust and a new dimension in which the existing private sector would co-exist with an expanding public sector.

The die of the new economic policy was cast in the very first year after Independence. The debate, almost overnight, turned into a State *versus* private

enterprise affair. All pleas of the private sector that it provided the best and speediest means for rapid industrial development and expansion fell on deaf ears. The need for the regulation of private enterprise in the larger national economic interest was accepted but the debate on "public vs. private" sector continues. The Indian business world has failed to provide a leadership that would bring to an end this acrimonious debate and hammer out a workable solution which would help accelerate India's industrial growth.

## Business—Politics Nexus

A curious phenomenon regarding working rules between business and political authority that has gradually developed in the last thirty years is that the institutional relationship (i.e. political authority *vis-a-vis* employers' bodies) has degenerated into a fractional and linguistic relationship—(i.e. Maharashtrians, Marwari, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, etc.)—and again further down to purely personal mutual-help relationships i.e. industry house of Mr. X being hand-in-glove with key politician, Mr. Y who can pass on favours through the corridors of power in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta or Madras.

The Congress party while in power, articulated the game of telling businessmen privately that it will protect their interests against demands for 'take-over', 'nationalisation' and 'economic controls' even while publicly telling the poor that business and industry were their real exploiters and that if the economy was not performing well, it was due to these monopolists and black-marketeers. Good businessmen were aghast and bad businessmen were unconcerned with the buying over of key politicians who went on telling them that this was only a 'gimmick' to catch votes.

This moral crisis is the consequence of collusion between bad politicians and self-centred businessmen. It is writ large on our entire national scene. Mr. Nani Palkhivala has rightly stated: "In the fifties, we had many eminent men in public life who were every inch a gentleman. In the sixties, we had many public figures who were every alternate inch a gentleman. Unfortunately in the seventies, we have an unacceptably large number of politicians who are no inch a gentleman." It is alleged that what is true of politicians in the seventies is equally true of businessmen and industrialists.

Because of the visible failure of business and industrial leadership in the country, the reliance on informal influence has increased. The belief general-



ly is that industry in the private sector seeks to influence the policy maker informally and, therefore, is almost totally unconcerned about communicating with the public. This has created a major barrier between industry and the community at large. Some people think that corporate bodies seek to establish their individual identities with people in power and get away with what they want without creating public opinion in their favour. The private sector is, therefore, perceived as an 'untrustworthy institution'.

To change the attitude of the public towards the private sector, the country needs a business leader who not only can speak truth to the powers that be but is also able to influence the behaviour of fellow businessmen, who have developed tremendous faith in their own money power and its magic quality to get anything done.

There is no dearth of dynamic and aggressive industrialists in our country. They, as a class, have achieved marvellous results for our economy within three decades of Independence. Their enterprising spirit is largely responsible for putting India on the industrial map of the world. There is nothing that India, with its entrepreneurial talent, cannot manufacture. But in their terrific urge to expand their business houses, they have perhaps sought too many short cuts. The consequence is that every industrialist is too busy today to devote any time for a larger social cause or to provide leadership to fellow industrialists, even if he has long passed the age of retirement and crossed *Vanprasthashram* or entered *Sanyasashram*. There undoubtedly are some who are very enlightened but they are so disillusioned with their fellow industrialists that they do not want to get involved in any institutional or organisational effort to project a better image of the entrepreneurial class. Their own public image, however, is very high despite vicious political propaganda carried on against them by a few rabid politicians. Consequently business and industry collectively have failed to influence the broad outline and direction of public policy. As Stanley Kochanek has observed, "...business associations in India are still too insufficiently organised, internally fragmented, oligarchically controlled, defensive, and reactive to exert maximum potential political influence".

Leadership of the apex body of businessmen, Kochanek states, is very often chosen "solely on the basis of the size of an individual's economic holding rather than on the basis of personal and professional competence". This tendency perpetuates 'oligarchy' instead of providing a strong leadership for the organisation in its encounter with gov-

ernment and society at large. In its public performance, this leadership, composed of the older traditionalist industrialists, has become too preoccupied with an extremely narrow range of problems. Because of the patterns of leadership selection and because of the multiplicity of organisations, each one controlled by one group of businessmen or the other, Indian business remain disunited and weak. The powerful amongst them represent the interests of the dominant elite rather than the business community as a whole.

We therefore witness the peculiar phenomenon in our country where the class-war spirit is being promoted, with some degree of success, not only between the haves and the have nots, but also between big and small industrialists, between wholesalers and retailers and between owners of industry and owners of trade.

A small group of enlightened industrialists do realise the existence and seriousness of these problems but they feel helpless and powerless to effect a change. They are also preoccupied with their own day to day problems to launch a crusade.

### Social Responsibility

A large number of businessmen, unfortunately, never stop to ponder what they are doing; they seek short-term compromises with the political authority but do not care to examine the long-term implications of such compromise, both for themselves as well as for their children. They are satisfied to be clever when they need to be wise. Many of them are not concerned sufficiently with the risk of the social framework within which they work collapsing. Our late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri had rightly observed: "The importance of the role to be played by the businessmen in the establishment of the new order cannot be over-emphasised. It is, I venture to think, even greater than that of the economist and politician. Too often the community views the businessmen's aims as selfish gain rather than advancement of the general welfare. That impression can be removed only if business is fully alive to its social responsibilities and helps our society to function in harmony as one organic whole."

If his advice had been heeded, Indian business and industry would not have been in such a sorry state of affairs as they find themselves today.

A leader arises, some one has said, when there is a combination of circumstances and a personality responsive to that set of circumstances. "Circumstances" have arisen, but where is the "responsive personality" hiding?

# WHO LEADS IN THE ARTS?

Nissim Ezekiel

Leadership in the arts can be provided only by artists. Critics, editors, policy makers, gallery owners and others involved can only supplement it. What is needed first is the poem, the painting, the building, the novel or the play which takes a step forward in terms of quality, and suggests a direction to those in the same field. The function of those who write about it is to recognise the product, to bring out its significance and to promote it.

If this premise is accepted, a measure of scepticism is in order when an artist makes it in the newspapers or receives good notices, because that is a sign of success in the modern sense rather than of achievement. There are also fashions in the arts, which come and go, there are waves of enthusiasm, destined, like all waves, to be lost on the sands of time, and even some genuine expansion of interest that is a credit to the community. The crucial questions of leadership remain unanswered. To pose them, the artist needs to transcend the current idiom and to create a new one which copes more effectively with the demands of a changing environment. Needless to say, such an artist is a rare phenomenon.

## Low Standards

In India today, artistic standards, like the educational, intellectual, economic and political ones, are generally low. He who accepts them, consciously or sub-consciously, and is content to measure his excellence by the prevailing expectations, is not and cannot be a leader. The temptation to make a self-image corresponding to the public one is overwhelming. Our artists see themselves in the vocabulary of their publicity, appropriating reviews as a faithful reflection of their aims and expression. It would pay them more, in the long run to be critical of their own work, to seek greater range and depth in their prospective creation instead of living in a state of perpetual self-congratulation. The impression most Indian artists give me is that they have "arrived"; the note of dissatisfaction is rarely struck. How can they hope to move well above the level of their own past accomplishments, such as they are, if persuaded by adulation that they have already attained the heights?

No one would deny an artist the confidence and faith that come from the realisation of talent. But the danger of complacency is always present, particularly when competition is poor, and the response of those who matter unreliable.

What we need most in India at the present moment among our artists are standards and aims that

have become independent of the local, the regional and the national ethos. Our "First Class" B.A.'s and M.A.'s head for a lifetime of mediocrity because they never realise that their education is incurably without class. Similarly, our artists are not interested in their weaknesses and limitations because they refuse to note the poverty of the culture which has elevated them to say eminence. By sheer quantity of production, and by repetition of effects, they maintain the position they think they have deservedly attained. To question this is to invoke their righteous indignation, which often becomes personally malicious. There is a case for being an enemy of the artists' tribe when it seems steeped in that euphoria.

## Futile Adaptation

The Indian poet or playwright, painter or architect has often been international in the wrong way, by adopting ideas and techniques that have their rationale in a different culture. They have not as a rule, assimilated the essentials of that culture, and so their use of its forms fails to interpret, in a different context, the spirit and circumstance of those forms. So, the abstract movement abroad breeds abstractions here, and when it turns to abstract expressionism, our abstractions feebly follow.

The true test of an artist's abilities is not this pathetic up-to-dateness but the strength of character and will to use everything available for one's own purposes, in relating with immediacy to the milieu. This is a problem in consciousness raising and consciousness expansion, to borrow a popular phrase from contemporary psychological therapies, a phrase also traditionally used in Indian spiritual disciplines.

It is true that many Indian artists have explored the Indian tradition and sometimes found elements in it that have served them well. On the other hand, the early exhaustion of these elements in their work is a comment on the very limited resourcefulness and flexibility of these Indian artists. It seems that they have appropriated a formula which brings them immediate returns, but they cannot modify and vary it sufficiently to imply a living modern creativity. They soon arrive at a dead-end and either repeat themselves or abandon one formula for another. What is gained on the swings is lost on the round-about-the metaphor is peculiarly apt here.

The only way to be genuinely international in the present Indian cultural situation is to match the power of the international leadership. It has not always ambitiously attempted to arrive at that posi-

(Continued on page 37)

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# THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP

Geeta Doctor

"A negative education or any training that is based on negation is worse than death" wrote Vivekananda almost a century ago and returning to the theme again and again he added, "Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character building assimilation of ideas."

What ideas do we give our children? It is a question we must ask at this point in time when an entire generation of people in this country seem to have run out of ideas and even our so called leaders, themselves confused and reduced to conjuring ghosts, turn to the past and cry. "But where are the leaders, where are men like Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi today?" only to be answered by the empty echoes of their own rhetoric. Every society evolves its own methods in building up the character of the people that go to make it, based on climate, environment, historical necessity and so on. In a country that has been systematically subjugated for so many centuries it is more than likely that the cultural conditioning is one that inclines its members into a perpetual pose of submission or failure.

## **"Don't" the Operative Word**

One recalls the treatment, considered perfectly normal, given to a small infant in the West. Every morning the child is bathed, fed and dressed and put into a pram in such a manner that though he is fully protected from the elements, the child even at this age, is left to his own resources. If we take a child from a similar social strata in India, that is upper middle class, we can appreciate how different his training would be. From the moment that he makes his appearance, it is certain, particularly in the case of a male child, that not only will he never be left alone without the vigilant eye of a servant, mother, grandmother, uncles or aunts, but that most likely he will be constantly in the arms (clutches?) of any one of them. Indeed there is every reason to believe that the conditioning starts even before the child is born, with the prohibitions placed on the mother—"Must not eat this...Don't look at the eclipse...Don't lift...Don't walk," all the negative injunctions that are programmed to follow him all through his life. Nor is it surprising that such fears should exist in a country where such a small percentage of children live to reach the age of five in complete possession of all their normal faculties. One would only like to point out that the result of these terrible statistics is that the average

child is brought up in an atmosphere where "Don't" is the operative word.

"Don't run out into the street the bogeyman will catch you and put you in his bag." If the parents forget to say this the servants will.

"Don't eat ice lollies you'll get typhoid."

"Don't stand like that when the guests are here." Early in life the child learns that quite apart from the don'ts that will save him from external threats there are don'ts that he must follow so as not to let the side down. To a "well-brought up" Indian child this is not much of a problem. He is so well grafted from infancy to the accommodating hip of a female relative or forms such a perfect extension of a grandfatherly ego that generally he will be left with very little desire to express his own individuality except in terms that are acceptable within the context of his family or community traditions.

"The result" remarks a psychiatrist "is that the Indian child is almost incapable of taking any risks for fear of failing." From the first steps that he takes, watched with anxious eagerness by a host of relatives to the moment that he selects a career for himself, the unseen chorus is there reminding him, "Don't fail, Don't fail, because if you do, we do." The interest that parents and immediate relatives display towards a promising offspring can be seen in their close monitoring of his academic progress. If he passes well even in a minor exam, telegrams are struck, neighbours and friends are continually reminded of the prodigy in the midst and an image is built up around the individual projecting him as a very promising portent for the future. The parents acquire special lustre at having produced a winner and though such attention may appear gratifying to all concerned, it is in fact deadly to the individual for it condemns him permanently into a "success" mould from which he can neither move nor grow. At the most he will achieve a limited success such as scoring a "first class first" in his exams, but after this peak performance such an individual will be under such a strain to live up to his ideal image that it is more than likely that he will never be able to attempt any original or truly worthwhile course of action.

The converse of this cushioning process is that should an individual fail to make the grade, there are a host of relatives to catch him, to make sure that he will not even have a chance to learn from his mistakes. "Judgement" it has been said, "comes from experience and experience comes from bad

judgement". An Indian child is rarely allowed to learn from his mistakes for he is never given a chance to make them in the first place. He has to be content from learning what not to do, based on the experience of others who may have failed, a situation that creates a sense of timidity and fear rather than of courage and self reliance born from the confidence of facing the worst and surviving it.

"If you don't pass your exams you are going to end up a clerk/peon/waster like your uncle A." Such a threat has a curious double edge to it. Apart from the obvious dire warning there is an escape clause which implies that should the person indeed fail, the catastrophe will not be so terrible so as to cut him off from the family completely but that there will be a place for him in the family pantheon in the place allotted to failures like his uncle A.

### Scripting

This is a process which the psychiatrist and transactional analyst Eric Berne describes as "scripting". Most families, and by extension societies, have a number of fixed scripts or patterns of behaviour which are followed with lemming-like fidelity by its members. Indeed Indians who believe in the karma theory will have no difficulty in believing that their script has been written for them by their past actions in their earlier lives. Very few societies in fact have such cast iron scripts as have been programmed into traditional Indian society with its emphasis on dharma and the rigid discipline of the caste system. There is even a certain manic grandeur about it, in the thoroughness with which it has made provisions for every segment of society, to grow and flourish within the confines of its own particular script, stamping it with a seal of divine authority so that to stray, or even take a peep at an alternative script, would be considered a terrible sin. "A single wheel alone does not move" wrote Kautilya in his justly famous "Arthashastra" enunciating the principles of statecraft that would allow all the wheels to move the entire elaborate structure of society forward, much as one sees even today, the gigantic wooden chariots being propelled on their annual run around a temple.

The question of, how far did such a system go, is one that need not be debated here, for the end result as far as the present society is concerned is not so much elaboration of a machine that has mastered the secret of perpetual motion but one that is stuck seemingly in endless inaction. All the wheels turn around in a nightmare vision of meaninglessness with nothing to propel the whole edifice forward. Observing this phenomenon more than

one Western psychiatrist has declared that the entire Indian society suffers from schizophrenia or to put it more kindly a fragmented consciousness that makes it difficult for individuals to function as fully integrated human beings. The American sociologist Milton Singer even sees this process, which he describes as "compartmentalization", as one of the ways in which Indians have been able to assimilate Western influences without regressing into the sort of extreme reaction that has led towards the revival of Islamic fundamentalism in some parts of the world today. In his study of entrepreneurs in South India for instance he describes how many of the men in his study are able to keep up dual roles that allow them to function efficiently according to the requirements of their part in a modern industrial society in their professional capacity and yet revert to totally traditional norms in their private lives without apparently suffering any sense of contradiction in their attitudes.

### Obstacles

On a larger national scale these contradictions however, become all too apparent. There is much talk of democracy and freedom but the inclinations of both leaders and led are towards authoritarianism. The psychologist H. J. Eysenck has devised a psychological scale to test people's attitudes in the U.K. and though it is not fair to take his observations out of their specific context it is interesting to note that one of his basic observations is that "Age seems to make people both more conservative and tough minded", the tough minded here, implying a certain resistance to change and an innate preference for authoritarian attitudes. One has only to calculate the average age of our politicians either today, or in what is now being regarded as the golden era of independence, when all leaders were ten feet high and as idealized as the statues raised in their memory, to understand what this could mean for the progress of Indian society. Let us not forget that even Gandhi, though he may have had his own persuasive methods, said in 1919 that "he expected implicit obedience and blind compliance with his orders" and looked for complete allegiance from his lieutenants. It is hardly any wonder that persons who today find it difficult to adhere to the norms of parliamentary procedure should hark back to the leaders of the past. They were no doubt extraordinary persons performing great tasks in a period of extraordinary change and upheaval when such gestures were needed. It would be foolish to imagine that they would be necessarily as effective today. Until now the tendency has been for leaders to arise in response to negative or crisis situations.

The need today is for persons who have the flexibility, imagination and knowledge to function in quite the opposite situation, or rather in situations which are so different from the hitherto known and familiar ones as to require an entirely new and innovative approach. The old generation of politicians who are in positions of leadership today do not appear to be the persons most suited in performing this task, while the younger ones, whether due to a lack of opportunity or training, seem not to care.

### Providing the Right Script

The remedies are manifold, suggested in the opening remarks made by Vivekananda who more than anyone else realised that what was wanting in the Indian character was a belief in itself. This together with self awareness could lead to the regeneration of the Indian people that he so passionately believed in. Eric Berne also observes that "There are winners and losers in every layer of society and in every country, and they go about fulfilling their destinies in much the same way all over the world. For example the prevalence of mental illness in any large group of people is pretty much the same all over, and there are suicides everywhere. Every large group in the world also has its leaders and its rich men." The problem then is not so much that there are no leaders but to find those that are there and provide them with the right scripts that will make them come out as winners.

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tion, only to solve its own artistic problems in the most radical way and on the scale of effort that makes all the difference. It is the secret of artistic power, and it eludes us, as the secret of eliminating economic poverty, educational confusion and intellectual dissipation eludes us. A common weakness can be found in all areas of Indian life, where leadership is desperately wanting. I believe it is at the root of our artistic as of other failures, if that is any consolation to the artists.

### Absence of Restlessness

A masterpiece in any of the arts is more than a work of great merit. It is a norm, an influence, sometimes a break-through, often a direction and invariably an inspiration. The Indian art scene awaits creations of that order. To insist on the proposition is not to diminish the value of the good work that has been and is being done. When the inadequacy of the product is experienced by its creators, they are restlessly ready to improve it. This restlessness is not a feature of our art scene; suffering is notably absent from it, both in subject and in treatment. Considering how much suffering there is around the Indian artist, this is surely disheartening. We may do without conventional images of misery, but when the artist is insensitive to it, *all* his images reflect some of that insensitivity. He is an aesthete rather than an artist. He cannot produce the kind of masterpiece I have briefly defined. We ought to feel at least that he is capable of producing it.

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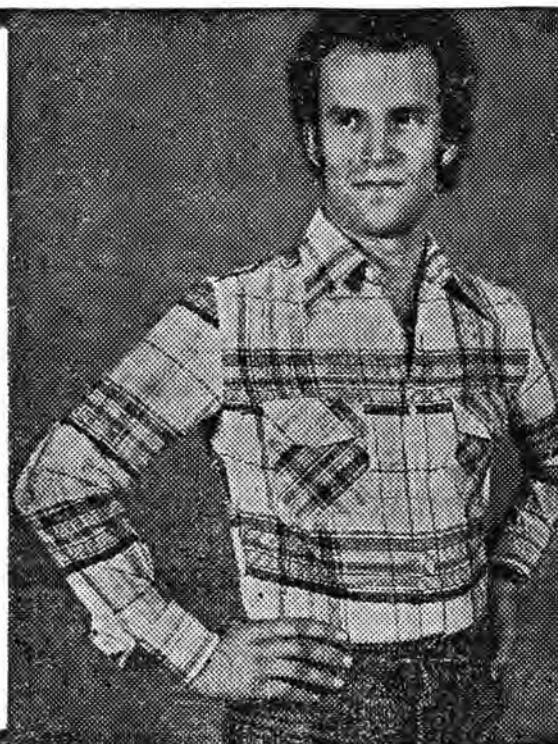
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# OF LEADERS AND SURVIVORS

S. V. Raju

*Water, water, everywhere,  
Nor any drop to drink*

— Coleridge

A disgusted observer of the Indian scene might well write a *Rime of the Disgusted Citizen*: "Leaders, leaders, everywhere nor a man to lead".

If Gandhiji turned men of clay into mighty personalities, self proclaimed leaders today turn out, even on a cursory examination, to be men with feet of clay. Indeed, we have come a long way from the good old days when we could boast of a Gokhale, a Satyamurthy, a Tagore, a Bannerjee, a Naoroji, a Shastri, a Rajaji or a Gandhiji. It is doubtful if our children will ever hearken with pride to a Fernandes, a Limaye, a Charan Singh, a Raj Narain, a Jagjivan Ram, or a Bahuguna! Just as too much money in circulation debases a currency, too many self styled leaders have debased the concept of leadership itself. What we have today are not leaders but 'Netas'—the Hindi equivalent often used as a term of derision to describe anyone who puts on airs and pretends to knowledge and influence just not there.

## Small Men

In a fairly long innings as executive secretary of the Swatantra Party, I have had the opportunity to observe so-called leaders from close quarters, to obtain a worm's eye view as it were. I can assure readers that the view is quite different from what one sees of the same person, say, on a public platform. Not a few of them are mean, quarrelsome, petty minded, vain-glorious, incompetent little men, strutting about with an air of self-importance and motivated by no other desire than to be popular, to be in positions of power and influence, and, having reached there to survive as long as possible. And these, unfortunately are the men, from among who we are called upon to choose once every five years and now, oftener.

It is not as if competent, diligent, knowledgeable and modest people are not available. But because they are unwilling to join the rat race for power and pelf, they do not emerge in the limelight. And, I make bold to say, if such persons are 'born to blush unseen', the fault lies with the public at large. For, often, men are judged by outward characteristics of deportment, appearance and styles of speech.

There was this liftman I knew. A very casual and lackadaisical person if there was one, he would wait for the lift to be full before taking his transport up the floors. Once dressed in a jacket and tie (as against my usual attire of a mere shirt and trousers)

I stood before the self-same liftman. And lo and behold! He threw me a smart salute, and without much ado shot the lift up without the usual wait for more passengers. He was honouring my dress and appearance. It is all very well for the egalitarians to tote high falutin principles. The fact is that even the have-nots are a pretty status-conscious lot. Multiply the attitude of the liftman a million times and you will understand how leaders are made on the shallowest of considerations. It is a fact of life that most of us fall for the wrapping even if the material inside is substandard. Take any area of human activity and you will find this to be so. Only, in politics it acquires sharp public contours.

Leadership is a much sought after quality. The perusal of the appointments page of any daily will provide examples of advertisements which ask *inter alia*: "Should possess qualities of leadership to be able to lead a team of executives..." etc. In my profession as management consultant, it has been my chore to interview scores of aspirants for a variety of positions. Many of them at crucial levels of responsibility. I never found it easy to assess a person's leadership potential. Not easy in terms of unearthing the intangibles. For, leadership qualities can be assessed in two ways—what is seen and noticeable and what is inside the wrapper. More often than not the wrapper misleads.

## Leadership Indian Style

Here is how leaders are 'popularly' gauged. Generally speaking a leader carries himself with an air of confidence. He possesses the gift of the gab, which carries a kind of surface plausibility. He is flexible, taking the line of least resistance when confronted by a situation which requires some effort. He has demonstrable suppleness of loyalties. An ability to switch positions or sides without much difficulty which he rationalises as 'pragmatism' or an acceptance of 'reality'. In public life such a leader never goes about alone. He always has one or more people in tow. Generally they are yes-men or side-kicks always at the ready to bolster his ego if need be. The Hindi term 'Chamcha' (spoon) is delightfully appropriate to characterise such hangers-on. A leader never carries his own attache or brief case. His 'Chamcha' is there to lighten the burden. A leader, as far as possible, never travels by such

plebeian modes of transport as trains or buses. He prefers planes or cars. Nowadays helicopters are the new status symbols. And, in India, he always partakes of orange juice or some other soft drink, perhaps good old tea or coffee. But never, never hard liquor—in public that is. And finally it is his manner of responding to a question that marks him out. He puts on a grave or smiling mien, depending on the question, looks around to make sure he has an audience, sighs as if it is a pain and sacrifice to unload his mind, and proceeds to give an ambivalent answer. A leader worth his salt always has two opinions on any given subject—one for public consumption and another a private one.

'But surely', I can hear you say, 'these are bogus people, charlatans masquerading as leaders.' Of course they are. The above caricature may indeed sound ridiculous but look around, read the newspapers and you will understand that they are there in large numbers disgracing every field of activity. Therefore when you come across such persons, my advice to you—head for the nearest exit. Keep as far away from them as possible. Give them no countenance. Avoid them like the plague.

### Spotting the Real Leader

Seriously, how does one spot a *real* leader? There is no sure fire formula. But one can provide indications. As I said earlier wrappers can mislead. Therefore tip number one: ignore the wrapper, and insist on examining the contents! A genuine leader makes no effort to behave like one. I have often noticed a sudden hush that falls in a room when an outstanding personality walks in. The whole atmosphere changes. If in a state of confusion, order seems suddenly restored. He has made no special effort, nor has he deliberately staged an entry.

Secondly he is no loudmouth. He is soft-spoken yet says whatever he has to with conviction. He either admits that he does not know or if he does have an opinion, puts it forth as his personal point of view which his audience is free to accept or reject. He does not throw a tantrum if his views do not find acceptance. He has the courage of his convictions. This is not the same as obstinacy or mulishness. He believes in certain values and norms and is willing to swim or sink with them.

If there is any single quality at a premium in India today it is this thing called conviction. Survival, or fence sitting has been developed into a fine art. Indeed we have expert practitioners. There is no need for names. There are so many and some of them so well-known, that readers can choose examples of their choice! We have them in the bureaucracy, in well-established enterprises, in

sports, in public institutions and of course in politics. They have no use for convictions. They are here today, there tomorrow and equally comfortable in both places. Nothing seems to discomfort them. They are never embarrassed, never at a loss to provide explanations. They are the survival experts. The *real* leader we have in mind does not belong to the tribe of survivors.

Consequently our real leader does not go after the chimera of popularity. He is happy if his ideas catch on and helps him become popular. But he does not do or say something merely to curry the favour of the populace. He is not one who will initiate anything that means short term attraction and long term disaster. Confronted between being right or being popular he will prefer to be in the right. Again this does not mean that he refuses to change his view in the light of fresh facts. He will, to that extent, have an open mind. If the choice is between popularity and effectiveness, he will choose the latter. Very often the term 'popular' is itself misleading. Quite often what is 'popular' is decided by a vocal minority. The silent majority may approve an action or policy not favoured by a vocal section. But their silence is often mistaken as acceptance of the minority point of view.

There is yet another quality that distinguishes the real leader from the fake one. It lies in his ability to identify himself with people. He lives in no ivory tower. Not only does he speak in a language that everyone understands but lives a life style not far different from that of the people who follow him. This does not mean gimmickry. He does not have to use a bicycle, for instance to prove his concern for the have nots, nor live in a one-room tenement just because his poorer followers do so. People do not object if their leader lives in comfort. What they object to are double standards.

And finally the leader not only gives the impression that he cares for people but is seen to be so. An officer in the Armed Forces is not only respected but followed to the ends of the earth if need be. The officer cares for his men even while ensuring discipline. His men know that their officer may be a hard man but is with them even during difficult times.

These qualities are not by any means extraordinary. They are present in most decent men and women. What is needed is for our people to distinguish the wheat from the chaff, to encourage the growth in stature of people of substance from among themselves. They need to cultivate the habit of looking inside the wrapper before choosing the man they are prepared to follow.



# THE ADMINISTRATOR

Robert Hutchins

The minimum qualifications of an administrator are four. They are courage, fortitude, justice, and prudence or practical wisdom. For reasons which will appear later I regard patience as a delusion and a trap and think that administrators have far too much of it rather than too little.

When I say that the administrator should have courage, fortitude, justice, and prudence, I am saying only that he should be a good man. The characteristic function of the administrator is to order means to ends, and his characteristic virtue, therefore, is prudence or practical wisdom, the habit of selecting the right means to a given end. But the administrator's life reveals that, though the virtues may be separated for purposes of analysis, they are one in practice. The administrator cannot exercise without courage, which is the habit of taking responsibility; fortitude, which is the habit of bearing the consequences; and justice, which is the habit of giving equal treatment to equals.

Habits are formed by action. The way to become a good administrator is to administer. But this is also the way to become a bad administrator; for vice is a habit, too. The minimum function of the administrator is to decide, and, since he has to make more decisions, affecting more people, than most men, he has the chance to be either an especially good and an especially bad man.

\* \* \*

The administrator is a man who decides. If he fails to decide, he may be an office holder; he is not an administrator. The shifts and dodges and downright dishonesty to which administrators will resort in the effort to become office-holders are an element of low comedy in the high tragedy of university administration. The chairman of a department, long since gone to his reward, told me once that a member of his staff was so inferior that he should leave the University, and two weeks later recommended that the same man be placed on permanent tenure at a large increase in salary. The reason, of course, was that he knew I would turn down the recommendation. I would bear the onus of blighting the hopes of the man in question, and the chairman could avoid the exercise of the virtues. I will admit that this came close to exercising their opposites; for it was cowardly, pusillanimous, unjust and unwise. But it is more charitable and more nearly decided that he did not want to administer. Administration was unpleasant, and he would leave it to me.

Administration is unpleasant, as anything which requires the exercise of the virtues must be. It is doubtful whether the virtues can be exercised without divine aid. And the happiness which they give is not, I fear, a happiness in this life. The pressure upon a university administrator to become an office-holder is enormous. But there is an easy way of avoiding these troubles, and that is not to take the job. No man of mature years who accepts an administrator's position in a university can claim that he did not know what his troubles would be. If there is such a man, he still has a way out; he can resign.

An air of martyrdom is unbecoming to the administrator. If he stays in office he has only himself to blame, and his failures will always be his own fault. They will result from his lack of moral stamina or mental capacity, or from his neglect of Bismarck's dictum that politics is the art of the possible. That it is possible in any given situation depends to some extent on the material resources at the administrator's disposal, but far more on the abilities and spirit of his constituency. The administrator who makes the wrong appraisal of either his material resources or of the abilities and spirit of his constituency, or who overestimates his power to enlarge his material resources or to enhance the abilities and spirit of his constituency has attempted the impossible and deserves to fail. If he fails, he should resign. He should not become an office-holder.

The administrator who is willing to be an administrator and not merely an office-holder will find that the strain is chiefly upon his character, rather than his mind. Administration is a work of the mind, because it is ordering the means to the end, and the principles of order is the intellect. Prudence or practical wisdom is a habit of the practical intellect. It involves knowledge of the available means and some rational notion of the effectiveness of the available means to promote the end in view. But such knowledge is not difficult to come by, and much of what passes for administrative knowledge is not knowledge at all. Knowledge is not information. The characteristic of knowledge is organization. There are few principles of administration, and they are simple and easy.

Prudence cannot be taught any more than courage, fortitude, or justice can be taught. You can be told what these things are. You can be shown exam-

ples of their exercise. But you develop courage, too. I do not minimize the intellectual difficulties involved in reaching an important practical decision ordering means to ends. Prudence is, after all, a habit of the mind. I merely say that these difficulties are of such nature that previous formal instruction will do little to assist in their resolution, and that, compared with the strain on the character which administration carries with it, the strain on the mind is insignificant.

The strain on the character is very great. The administrator who is afraid of any body or anything, is lost. The administrator who cannot stand criticism, including slander and libel, is lost. The administrator who cannot give equal treatment to equals is lost. . . .

The administrator has all these ways to lose, and he has no way to win. Almost every decision an administrator makes is a decision against somebody. This is true even of decisions that look as though they were for somebody, like a decision to raise a man's salary. The administrator quickly learns that such a decision is really a decision not to raise the salaries of other men in the same department. In a university the administrator must appeal for support to those whom he has alienated in the course of his duty. Some idea of his situation may be obtained by asking what sort of support the President of the United States would get from Congress in his second term if he had the duty, and had conscientiously performed it, of fixing the salary and rank of the members of that body for four years. If the administrator were a judge, he could expect the litigants to go away and leave him alone after he had reached his decision. As an administrator he must expect that those whom he has decided against will remain with him and view his labours as something less than inspired.

The natural course, then, is to become an officeholder. Your life will be much easier, and you may even become popular. A university is a gigantic conspiracy to turn the administrator into an officeholder. The trustees have accepted membership on the board because it is an honour. They are interested and pleased as long as the institution is prosperous and peaceful. An administrator who administers is bound to cause trouble. Administrative decisions affect the lives, the fortunes, and even the sacred honour, of members of the faculty. An administrator who wants the support of the faculty will make as few decisions as he can. He will try to develop automatic rules of retirement, of promotion, of salary increases, to avoid the embarrassment which decisions on individual cases must cause him

In the case of new appointments he will seek to escape responsibility by having committees appointed to advise him. He will resort to every undercover technique he can think of in order to have it appear that he did not make the decision, even when he did.

\* \* \*

There are few sins of omission in administration, at least in university administration. Since the administrator's salary, prestige, and perquisites are high, he will be criticised under any conditions. But he will seldom be seriously disliked if he does nothing. People will say that he is a weak man and that he does not give the institution the leadership it should have. But everybody secretly yearns for the days of Coolidge, and academic communities, whatever their protestations to the contrary, really prefer anarchy to any form of government.

The temptation, of course, is to bury yourself in routine. There is so much routine—so many reports, so many signatures, so many people to see—all of some value to the institution, that you can conscientiously take your salary and never administer at all. You can spend your entire time doing things which any 25-a-week clerk could do better and go home at night exhausted to report to your wife that you have had a hard day wrestling with university problems. The administrator who is determined to administer will find that the strain on his character is very great.

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The administrator who wants to administer will find that he cannot put in his time to the best advantage. On the one side are those things which are inevitable and urgent. On the other are those things which are important. The administrator should be devoting himself to those things which are important. But by definition he must devote himself to those things which are inevitable and urgent. The question whether an assistant professor should have an increase in salary of \$ 250 is not important, at least in an institution which has a deficit of one million dollars, which every well-regulated university should have. A deficit of \$ 1,000,250 does not differ significantly from one of \$ 1,000,000. But this question must be settled, while more important questions are postponed, because an offer from another university must be accepted or declined, or because the budget must go to the trustees at a certain time. And it must be settled by the administrator ultimately responsible, because, though \$ 250 is not important, the quality of the staff is.

In every institution somebody must select the means to the end and must make the necessary decisions. It would be an advantage if he could think as much as possible about what he was doing. His thinking will derive its value, not so much from his extraordinary knowledge or intellectual capacity, but from his locus in the institution. Like the architect, his view encompasses the whole and the inter-relations of the parts. He is the only person who can see the institution as a whole. He is likely to take a more detached view of the whole its parts than any of the staff. Though he will not have much time to think, the time he has is devoted to thinking as objectively as possible about the whole. He is the only person who has the knowledge, the position, and the duty to do so. Meager as his qualifications to decide may be, they are greater than those of any body else.

\* \* \*

The minimum task of the administrator is to keep the institution up to its own standards. These standards are a reflection of the end. The curse of universities is easy standards. The relations among the members of the academic community are such that the failure to appoint or promote congenial men is bound to create much unpleasantness. The temptation to yield is very great; but, if the administrator yields in one instance, he must yield in more, and, before who knows it, a new and lower standard has been established, which is lowered in turn by the same process. The commitments thus made by the administrator—and whatever his virtues he is bound to make some—gradually reduce his effectiveness and combine with the gradual alienation of his constituency to bring his usefulness to a close. The administrator has many ways to lose, and no way to win.

\* \* \*

Nevertheless, the essence of administration is responsibility. Decisions must be made, they must be made by somebody, everybody must know who makes them, the person who makes them must be held responsible for them, and removed if they are wrong. How does the administrator or his constituency know whether his decisions are right or wrong? Since he is deciding upon the means to a given end, his decisions are right or wrong depending on whether they help or hinder the institution in its effort to achieve the end. Where the end is simple and clear, the appraisal of the administrator is easy. If the end of an army is victory, a general who wins is good. If the end of a business is profit, an executive who makes money is good. But the mea-

sure of the statesman can be taken only in the light of some defensible conception of the end of the state, and the measure of the university administrator only in the light of some rational view of the end of the university.

The administrator can make his decisions only by the aid of some similar illumination. How can he decide on the means if he has no clear vision of the end. It is impossible for the administrator who understands the end to achieve it unless he has the character to select the right means, and impossible for him to select the right means unless he has the mind to understand the end. The difficulty of understanding the end of a university or perhaps the lack of mind of university administrators is suggested by the fact that the leading characteristic of educational institutions to-day is aimlessness.

The end of institutions gets lost as they mature. The institution goes on because it was established and runs for the sake of running. If any other consideration than that of self-maintenance is allowed to enter, it is usually that of prestige. Let us be famous for the sake of fame. We see a similar phenomenon in the case of states which have lost any conception of the end of political organization. They say, let us be powerful for the sake of power.

\* \* \*

As it is easy and tempting to become an office-holder rather than an administrator, so it is easy and tempting not to think about the end. As everybody in the institution prefers an office-holder to an administrator, so everybody in the institution prefers not to be reminded that the university has, or should have, a purpose. The worst kind of troublemaker is the man who insists upon raising questions about first principles, and the first principle of any activity is the end. The last question that will be asked about a prospective academic administrator is whether he has any ideas. If it appears that he has, he is unlikely to be appointed, for he will rightly be regarded as a dangerous man. The situation in American education is much the same as that in American politics; the men who are needed most cannot be chosen; the qualifications to do the job disqualify the candidate for the post.

Yet somebody in the institution must think about the end, the administrator must do it because nobody else has the requisite knowledge of the institution, nobody else is in a position to state the end for the institution, and nobody else has the responsibility of determining the disposition of means. But the administrator does not own the institution. In addition to having the intelligence to discover the



end, he must have the persuasiveness to lead his constituency to see it, too. And he must have the courage and fortitude to keep everlastingly at it, in spite of the fact that his constituency does not want to hear him. . . .

\* \* \*

The administrator who is willing to submit to the strain on his mind involved in becoming a philosopher will find that he lacks the time, the atmosphere, and the education for creative thought. It is suggestive that since Saint Augustine, who was, after all, a saint as well as a bishop, no administrator who carried any major responsibilities has published anything of any significance. In our own time Hawthorne, Arnold, Trollope, and Mill have held administrative posts and done creative work. But Hawthorne was an office-holder, than an administrator, and the other three did not carry major responsibilities. Nor did any of them do any important thinking about the end of their administrative activity. There is little published evidence that any administrative officer has done so since Marcus Aurelius.

The administrator who is attempting to select the right end must deal with those matters which are inevitable and urgent rather than with those which are important. The end is the most important matter he can deal with, but its consideration can always be postponed; everybody would like to have it postponed indefinitely, so that all pre-existing habits could be preserved and all vested interests maintained. The administrator who is going to wrestle with the end must not only have time to think, he must also have time to educate himself. His lack of education he shares with his contemporaries, associates, and fellow-citizens; but they may be able to do something about their inadequacy in their leisure hours. The administrator's leisure hours are few, his administrative problems follow him home and plague his dreams, and his intellectual condition at the end of the day's work is such that he is barely able to cope with a detective story. The university administrator can force himself to do some reading and thinking by teaching; but this is bad for the students.

\* \* \*

Plato . . . tells us what kind of education is needed to produce the administrator we are seeking. Until the age of thirty five the candidate devotes himself to his education, spending the last five years in the most profound metaphysical studies. Then for fifteen years he acquires practical experience in offices which Plato describes as those suit-

able to youth. The object is, of course, to develop the habit of practical wisdom, but even more to develop the moral virtues. In Plato's words, "and in these offices, too, they are to be tested to see whether they will remain steadfast under diverse solicitations or whether they will flinch and swerve".

At the age of fifty those candidates who have survived all tests and shown themselves the best in every task and every form of knowledge are ready to become administrators. But each will serve only for a limited term. The philosopher kings alternate between periods of philosophical study and administration, with the longer periods devoted to philosophy. When the turn comes for each they toil in the service of the state, holding office for the city's sake, regarding the task not as a fine thing but as a necessity. As a reward for these sacrifices they depart eventually for the Islands of the Blest, and the state establishes public memorials and religious rites in their honour as though they were divinities, or at least divine and godlike men.

I view this picture with some natural skepticism. I share Plato's enthusiasm for the Islands of the Blest, but question whether administration is the best way to get there. After almost a quarter of a century in administration, I may be permitted to doubt whether it is the way to a general understanding on the part of your constituency that you are a divine and godlike man.

\* \* \*

But Plato was writing a utopia. Utopias are the products of desperate situations. They are written when everybody sees that nothing can be done, except perhaps to indicate the ideals which future generations should strive. We look to Plato not for the specifications of a practical program to be taken over intact, but for guidance in the formation by our own efforts of a practical program for our own day.

The essential points are that the administrator should not want to administer but should be forced to do so for the public good; that he should undergo a great variety of practical experience to form his character and develop the habit of practical wisdom; and that he should serve for a limited term, after which he should resume his studies if he expects at some later time to have another. This is the kind of scheme which is called for to give the administrator the moral qualities he needs to insist upon the right means and the intellectual qualities he needs to select the right means and discover the right end.

*Abridged version of a Speech delivered at the University of Chicago.*

## **Leadership Profile**

### **Mother Teresa**

**Muriel Wasi**

Professionalism is a concept of leadership. But of its nature it is impersonal. In order to be perennially dependable, it has to be automatic, and so it is, in a sense, the reverse of what Mother Teresa is attempting.

When we consider the typical social worker of India, whether in voluntary organisations such as the YMCA or in the professional schools of social work, we are again struck by the difference between the most efficient social worker, on the one hand and Mother Teresa, on the other. For she says quite simply of her Missionaries of Charity: "We are not social workers though we do social work."

Not a professional because professionalism implies impersonality. Not a social worker because social workers are concerned to improve society in the mass. What, then, is Mother Teresa's work about?

#### **Not Development but Relief**

In the first place, she is concerned with love. She is concerned with the individual, locatable child or woman or man who is in need of love. She is concerned specifically with the poor, whom she is not setting out to make less materially poor, but to make less lonely. For, as she sees it, there is no misery quite so miserable as being deprived of human love. She is bothered not about social development but about individual relief. This is the crux of her identity. She is not an over-powering social force that revolutionises through the volume of work that she encompasses. She is a startling force that drives irresistibly by her example in action.

#### **Love in Action**

Talking recently about what she conceives to be the work of her Missionaries of Charity, Mother Teresa said: "It is love-in-action." And that is an admirable summary of what she and her Sisters and Brothers are about. She has constantly said that personalities do not matter. Beatrice Webb said the same thing, but did not mean quite what Mother Teresa means. As Mrs. Webb was concerned with large numbers, no single individual or small group of individuals could shape or alter the conclusions she was about to reach in confronting social problems. But Mother Teresa is not concerned with statistics any more than Christianity has ever been concerned with statistics. The Good Shepherd, it will be remembered, went out in search of a single lost sheep. There would, said Christ, be more rejoicing in Heaven over one lost sheep that was

found, than over the thousands that had never strayed.

#### **Mother Teresa's Relevance**

Mother Teresa is an excellent refresher course for us all in the essential tenets of Christianity. Love God; love thy neighbour as thyself for God's sake; these two commandments sum up all that Christ taught. Through the centuries in which, in practice, these two fundamental commandments have been contravened, overlooked and cynically set aside by Christian nations, governments and peoples, it has been necessary for a saint to underscore by his or her life what requires to be recalled. Francis of Assisi was one such saint; Mother Teresa is another. Both love the poor, neither hates poverty, and so neither qualifies as developmental asset. Both place the needs of the human spirit first.

Mother Teresa is concerned to relieve the wounds of both body and soul. Her special relevance for us lies in the fact that she has chosen, as the arena of her dynamism, a typically distressed Indian city to exemplify what she has learnt for life from Christ. The love-in-action principle that she pursues affects lepers, the destitute and sick of all ages and, most movingly, abandoned children, the most consistently exploited element in our society. In every group it is the helpless that she helps, 'the poorest of the poor', the truly desperate cases that no hospital will take in. In consequence she does not tread on anyone's corns. She rescues the 'garbage of humanity' that no person or institution competes with her to handle.

#### **Blend of Rationality and Mysticism**

The impact of this work on those who set out to observe her (no one is compelled to do so and many probably turn a blind eye to it in order to remain themselves) is one of, at first, incredulity that one small woman can undertake anything so stupendous and strenuous and, then, a total re-ordering of our own essential values. And this is precisely the impact that the saints, as distinguished from other leaders, have always made. There is in Mother Teresa's method, however, a curious blend of rationality and mysticism that suits India. The rationality lies in the organisation that she brings to bear upon her work. The Pope, for instance, donates a limousine to her for her work. She raffles the limousine, gets a handsome sum for it and ploughs the money back into her priority needs as

she sees them. No doubt she will use the Nobel Prize money with the same admirable sanity. She will take no government aid because she hasn't the time or the expertise to provide returns in the forms in which government require these returns to be made. When, some years ago, she met hundreds of nuns belonging to various religious orders, most of whom, impressed by her success, told her that they wished to abandon teaching (in which they were then engaged) in order to go into her 'sort of work', she heard them out, then said: "But since no one wants any longer to teach, perhaps I had better go back to teaching." The teaching nuns stayed out. She will not be drawn into political discussion. "I haven't the time for politics", she says. "It confuses me".

Over and above her rationality, however, or perhaps underlying it, is undoubtedly an element of mysticism that not everyone can or will understand. Everyone who has come into physical contact with Mother Teresa, including natural debunkers like Malcolm Muggeridge and factual reporters like Desmond Doig, are moved by the radiance that surrounds her. She is a plain woman with an old crumpled skin and no remarkable feature, but she moves in beauty, radiantly happy about what she is doing. I have rarely known a radiantly happy social worker, I would be suspicious of a radiantly happy teacher or doctor. What, then, is the source of Mother Teresa's unending happiness?

She says: "I see Christ in every person I touch because he has said: 'I was hungry, I was thirsty, I was naked, I was sick, I was suffering. I was homeless, and you took me...' It is as simple as that. Everytime I give a piece of bread, I give it to Him. That is why we must find a hungry one and a naked one. That is why we are totally bound to the poor".

It is not everyone who can live life in communion with an unseen but unending source of inspiration. Teresa of Avila, the Eagle, did this but in the wholly different and intensely Catholic environment of 16th Century Spain. Therese of Lisieu (the Little Flower of Jesus) did it, but within a carmelite convent of 19th Century France, that was also Catholic. The third Teresa has left the Loreto Order to go down into the highways and byways of non-Christian Calcutta with her swarming, diseased and destitute millions, and has brought Christ-in-action to a city and a country to whom Christ is, for the most part, a "foreign" prophet.

## A Charted Life

Mother Teresa is an Indian citizen today but she was born a Yugoslavian, discovered her religious vocation at 12, 'knew' with her unerring brand of certainty that she must come as a missionary to India, 'knew' that she must abandon the relative comforts of Loreto teaching for the arena of the city where she would come into direct contact with India's poor, the poorest in the world. All the landmarks of her life have about them a species of other-world charting, as if someone with authority outside our ken had said: "For this and this purpose has this woman been created: that in the worst of times, in the most troubled of cities, she should renew faith, restore hope and so make charity possible". This is her special relevance to us in India, it is what makes Malcolm Muggeridge call her 'Mother Teresa of Calcutta' She will go down the ages as this, reflecting glory on her adopted city.

## Language of the Heart

We train for leadership in most professional fields. But the sort of leadership that Mother Teresa provides is not provided by any college or institution I know of. You can take no degree or diploma in it, you can acquire no accomplishment in it merely by taking thought, for Mother Teresa is not a great intellect. Her expertise springs of the heart, naked, unashamed. To help the dying to die with dignity implies an emotional recognition. It is to recognise that poverty and failure are not so terrible after all. The really terrible thing is to allow men and women and children to die believing that they have failed, that is, to die in the loneliness of despair. Mother Teresa demonstrates the power of love without reason, instinctively. The only way to acquire her sort of skill is to work with her.

There may be other saints among the Missionaries of Charity, for their ambition to be saints is seemingly unbounded. They take four vows: Poverty, Chastity, Obedience and Charity (free service to the poor). The commitment is total. Interestingly, where other religious orders including the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) have experienced a falling off in the number of vocations, the Missionaries of Charity are multiplying. In 1947 there were four sisters and Mother Teresa. In 1979 there are 250 sisters in Calcutta alone, 1800 spread over 20 countries. There are 87 orphanages in India, 40 abroad. There are 213 free dispensaries, 54 leprosariums and 60 free schools. Missionaries of Charity serve the poor in Calcutta, Ranchi, Venezuela, Sri



Lanka, Tanzania, Australia, Jordan, the U.K., South Bronx, New York, and Rome, in the shadow of St. Peter's. In addition to the Sisters, there are now Brothers associated with the work. At Nirmal Hriday, that Mother Teresa renders into English as 'The Immaculate Soul', opposite Kalighat, is an 110-bed centre that has become almost a place of pilgrimage.

The first two Teresas celebrated in the history of the Catholic Church are undoubtedly saints. Teresa of Avila, the Eagle, Therese of Lisieux, the Dove, exemplify contrasting facets of Catholicism. The third Teresa has grown out of a more unorthodox environment, the sufferings of India, to blaze a new trail of saintliness, that would seem to belong

predominantly to the 20th Century and to the developing world. This saintliness is the rarest kind of leadership; it seems, upon consideration, to dwarf every other kind of leadership and even to outshine other movements of its own *genre*. Even the well-loved Little Sisters of the Poor are outdistanced, as they would be the first to admit, by the Missionaries of Charity—in audacity, in relevance and in dimension of service. But in the last analysis, the splendour of Mother Teresa's leadership must be judged not by the numbers she enrolls or even by the numbers that she saves from loneliness and despair. It must be measured by the enduring contagion among Indians of her own virtue of compassion.

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## Leadership Profile

### Jomo Kenyatta

Padma Srinivasan

The Kikuyu have always been lovers of freedom. They had practised a remarkably democratic form of self-government for untold centuries. No king or chief had ever imposed his petty will upon the Kikuyu. They lived as proud and free groups in a land that is physically marked by many narrow ridges and valleys. It was only through keen competition in sports and debates that a boy could rise above his peers, and become a leader or *muthamaki*. The Kikuyu recognize leadership qualities even in children and praise them. "A *Muthamaki* appoints himself in childhood". They say that a *muthamaki* is governed by reason and is not carried away by emotion, he is cautious and balanced and never loses his temper. The very word *muthamaki* means 'adviser' or 'ruler' and the root — *thamaka* — means "to lead intellectually". A "leader" in the political ethos of the Kikuyu, is always first among equals because of his great courage and upright character. Traditional Kikuyu society was open to talent and there was keen political competition among the young men. As leadership was a matter of personality and ability, rather than birth or wealth, a leader could rise up to a senior grade very fast. Because of his quiet manner and keen intelligence the elders of the *Kiama* (or council) may invite him to sit with them on the judicial bench. In small cases, they may ask him to give his views, thus giving him training in law-suits. If he pleases them, he will be recognized as *muthamaki wa chira*, i.e., leader-in-law.

The Kikuyu, like many other peoples in Africa, look upon leadership as a quality and not as a rank; hence, it can exist at many levels. And leadership is of as many kinds as there are aptitudes. The geography of the country, broken up as it is, into hills and valleys, must certainly have discouraged the growth of a strong central government and favoured the argumentative individualism which is characteristic of the Kikuyu. Like most of the other peoples on the continent, they have a passion for politics and law. Every man must have his say and the group under a council-tree will normally talk till all agree.

#### The Young Kenyatta

Into this lively, democratic society was born Kamau, son of Ngengi, who was to become Kenya's man of destiny. His early years were marked by the struggle to earn and learn as a "mission boy" and come to terms with the white man's religious and

cultural hypocrisies. The Church of Scotland Mission at the village of Kikuyu taught him only the Bible, English and some mathematics; all this besides his earlier acquaintance with the customs of his people and the ideals of their seers and divines ill equipped him to meet the challenge of western civilization with its wide complexity, its utilitarian attitudes, superficial observance of Christian principles and cultural superciliousness.

As a young man Kenyatta learned of how more than 16,000 square miles of the most fertile parts of the country, in the white Highlands, had been stolen from his people. It was the land that had been given to the Kikuyu, in day of yore, by Almighty God Himself — Ngai, whose throne is among the snows of Mount Kere Nyaga (Kenya). The Kikuyu became trespassers on their own land and could stay on only with the permission of the white settlers as squatters, on condition that they worked for them. Whole groups of Kikuyu were forced to live in infertile areas, marked as reserves. Areas of Kikuyuland with over two hundred people to the square mile bordered on wide areas of rich farmland occupied by a few European farmers. By the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, all "Reserve" lands became "Crown" lands and the Kikuyu became tenants of the crown on the land they actually occupied. Land became the most desperate problem in the life of the Kikuyu. It came to symbolize all that they had lost to the British Settlers — their freedom and dignity as free men and women and indeed their very survival. They were subjected to every manner of insult and cruelty imaginable; they were beaten with Kibokos (or whips) till their flesh was torn into ribbons and made to slave for white men through the daylight hours so that they could not help their own families. Further, the Native Registration Ordinance of 1915 introduced the hated "Kipande" system by which every adult male had to wear, in a small container round his neck, a card bearing his finger prints. After the First World War the hut and poll taxes were increased and living conditions worsened. The grim sufferings of the Kikuyu was matched by the complacency of the settlers.

#### The Struggle Begins

The Kikuyu had begun to organize themselves to strike a blow in the face of wrong. The Kikuyu Central Association was formed in 1924. Kenyatta became its General Secretary in 1928 and launched



a journal called *Mwigwithania* (The Reconciler). In February 1929, Kenyatta left for England. The KCA were convinced that they could get nowhere with their claims in Kenya. They believed, rather naively, that the British Government would act once it knew the real facts of the situation in the Colony. Though he could not meet the Secretary of State, the equanimity of the Colonial Office was shaken by the petition that it received. Kenyatta gained friends in Charles Freer Andrews and McGregor Ross. With burning sincerity Kenyatta worked to rouse British public opinion. In his speeches at the League against Imperialism he told of the land hunger of the Kikuyu and the harsh pass laws in Kenya. After a visit to Europe and the U.S.S.R., he returned to Kenya in 1930. Six months later the KCA decided to send Kenyatta and Parmenas Githendu Mockerie to present its views to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Closer Union in East Africa. The Committee refused to see them but their memorandum was presented to it.

Kenyatta's second visit to England lasted for sixteen years. Behind an intermittent political life in which he appeared before various Commissions on East African Affairs, he lived in a state of constant tension. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia, which did much to stimulate African Nationalism after 1934, fired his imagination. He became Honorary Secretary of the International African Friends of Abyssinia Society in London. In 1936, he went to the London School of Economics to take the Diploma in Anthropology under Professor Malinowski. He won the praise of some of the world's leading anthropologists like Raymond Firth. Professor Malinowski thought so highly of Kenyatta's efforts that he encouraged him to expand his work into a book, to which he himself wrote the preface. This book, *Facing Mount Kenya*, marked Kenyatta's debut in the intellectual world of Europe. It was a justification, in a modern garb, of the ancient ways of his people.

Kenyatta's mission in England was no longer very effective. It had only a limited success in the conversion of liberals and intellectuals to the Kikuyu cause. And it was most ineffective in influencing the policies of the British Government. After all, how much could a leader accomplish alone by himself? Only the battering rams of massive popular organizations could be effective against the colonial power. Kenya awaited the return of its leader.

### Magnetic Personality

Kenyatta landed at Mombasa in September 1946. He found the air charged with the emotion of nationalism; to harness this and direct it against the government he would need a strong organization. There was an embryonic Kenya African Union which he set about to strengthen. He became its elected President in 1947. In the following, was a large group of peasants who responded simply to leadership from a man who was intellectually powerful and who had a magnetic personality. In his speeches he rose above tribal differences and appealed to the African in every man in front of him. As the *mau mau* was a tribal revolt involving violence, he had nothing to do with it. He found himself, on arrival, at the centre of an emotional maelstrom; but now, he was riding it. Fenner Brockway accompanied Kenyatta to a political meeting in Nairobi. There were six hundred inside the hall and about six thousand outside. The usual political points were made, after which Kenyatta drove off, waving excitedly to the adoring crowds, like a king among royalists. Whenever he entered a hall, people stood up in thousands in reverence. He was already much more to them than just a political leader. He had become a deeply revered elder of the Kenya nation. In a thundering speech, only three months before his arrest, he said: "...I am the leader of *Mumbi* and I ask you yet again to keep quiet. (Thunderous applause and the crowd becomes more orderly). What God has told me to say to you today I will now say.... You are the earth and the earth is ours so listen to me and don't interrupt any more...."

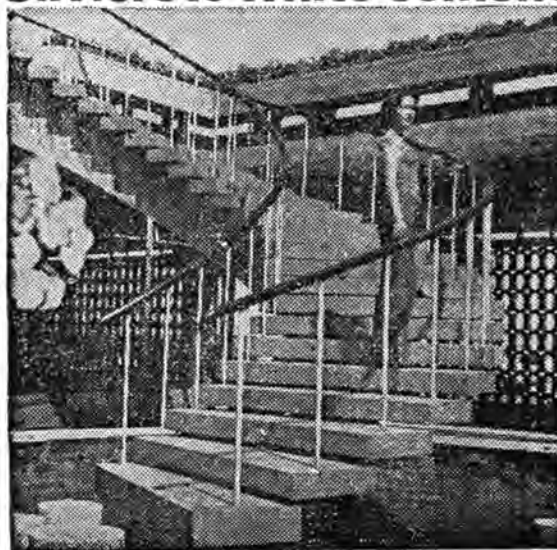
After the Kapenguria trial, he was arrested on October 20, 1952; on his release on October 14, 1961, he was already an elderly man, the *Mzee*, the Father of the Kenyan Nation. His sufferings in prison for eight years and eight months went a long way towards making a legend of him in his life time.

Kenya became free in December 1963. Till 1978, Kenyatta presided over the destinies of the new state like a glorious monarch and left his mark on the Constitution, its Government and its politics. His was a powerful personality that would brook no dissent. Strong opposition parties, a neutral civil service and an out-spoken press were not very evident in the Kenyatta era. Loud voices could be raised on the back-benches of Parliament for they could do no harm. Severe preventive detention laws kept the President from sleepless nights.

Of course, there was no reign of fear; only prudent silence everywhere.

During a struggle against a colonizer a leader has to stress unity and strength and single-mindedness. But after the coming of independence, the stress has to be within the larger unity and strength of the new State — on individual freedom, local rights of federating units, diversities and, above all, the right to disagree. The emotion of nationalism must give way to rational debate within and without the nation's assemblies. The challenge to leadership as a concept lies in the capacity of the leader to step down from his position and take his place — as a Kikuyu elder would do — as one among equals. Only a leader of a very high moral calibre can do this. This is a moral challenge... and if it is not recognized and taken up, the sacrifice of blood, toil and tears for 'freedom' has been in vain. Independence Day dawns only to find the people still in chains.

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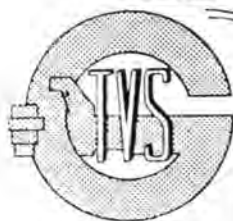
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## **Leadership Profile**

### **Sir M. Visvesvaraya**

If the average man is asked to name his hero, or someone he considers a leader, he would almost certainly name a conqueror or a king in the first category, and a politician in the second. Yet, this is very short sighted assessment. If the conqueror has no more to his credit than the winning of victories in battle, his achievement is almost entirely a destructive one, unless like Caesar, who gave the Pax Romana and the Lex Romana to the world, he adds a constructive side to his prowess in battle. As for the politician, nothing is more ephemeral than the office he holds. Unless he attains the stature of a statesman and leaves behind enduring contributions to the sum total of human welfare, he too cannot be considered a leader in the real sense of the term, the proof being that those who designate him as a leader while he is in office would not consider him one, when out of it. A leadership dependant on the accident of office is no real leadership at all. This preamble is particularly necessary in the Indian context, as Indians over-value mere political office, which not only rarely adds to their welfare, but in most cases, actively detracts from it! In fact since the beginning of time, it is the thinker, and the reformer who consciously or unconsciously changes the structure, beliefs or lifestyle of the society in which he lives.

#### **Genuine Leadership**

However, while the political thinker or religious reformer may do this consciously, the artisan (like the first man to discover fire) or the scientist like Newton or Faraday may do this merely by doing his job, and doing it with outstanding competence. Generally speaking, however, genuine leadership manifests certain common characteristics, which are, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica, "a generous endowment of physical and nervous energy; a compelling urge to some specific purpose or goal; a mastery of the technical ways for achieving this aim, and the ability to command the loyalty even the affection of others."

Visvesvaraya would himself have been the last person to claim that he was a leader. But his long life exemplifies all the characteristics of leadership listed above, though his particular style of arriving at leadership was to do with meticulous perfection the work which came to hand.

In tracing the origins of leadership or genius, it is hard statistically to pin down whether any particular environment helps. Leadership whether

### **Louella Lobo Prabhu**

political or intellectual, has blossomed from the highest and the lowest ranks. Visvesvaraya's origin was somewhere in between. Sententious as it sounds, however, this was the environment eulogised by the Victorians as expressed in the philosophy of Samuel Smiles: namely, that of plain living and high thinking. Born on 15th September 1861, in the little village of Muddenahalli, Kolar, he was the son of a poor but learned Sanskrit scholar, and was from the first, a studious and academically brilliant student, eager, earnest, painstaking. Indeed a lad almost too good to be true. He seems, also, to have had a gift for enthusing his teachers, whether Indian or foreign, as Rajaji, his great but political contemporary also did. Like Rajaji, the political upheaval which was slowly simmering as he came to manhood did not poison his relationship with his European teachers, and it is pleasant to relate that the Principal of his College wrote of him in 1880, that "he bore the highest character; was a capital mathematician and good English scholar". He went further and secured Visvesvaraya a scholarship to study engineering in Poona. Although it is anticipating events a bit, the Principal bequeathed his gold cuff-links to his student, specially asking his wife to meet Visvesvaraya and to present them personally when she was visiting India. Even his early life therefore manifests the nucleus of the qualities listed as the pre-requisites of leadership: the versatile intellect which fared as well in the Humanities as in Mathematics, and also, the ability to recognise the worth in other human beings irrespective of the labels "white" or "brown" so that without exploitation, in the negative sense of that term, he was able to use their knowledge, and good will to help himself acquire the basic necessities of expertise and experience in the discipline which would be the main body of his life's work.

#### **The Young Engineer**

The "Discipline" was in fact, Engineering, a field almost exclusively dominated by Europeans. Predictably, he advanced along an even keel of progress, completing his course in less than its prescribed duration topping its list of successful candidates; winning an invitation to lecture in the very halls where he was a student and, solely on the basis of merit, entering the Bombay Public Works Department as an Engineer. This was the beginning of his long and constructive labours for the country in a field which is vital to the largest number of

its people. Irrigation was his forte, and after designing the massive Sukkur project in Sind, he came back to Poona as Executive-Engineer, Irrigation, in which post he had his first experience of political interference in technical matters. His technically sound scheme to reduce wastage of precious water by a system of regulated supply drew the fire of Tilak, and his paper, "*Kesari*". Although it was a well known nationalist leader opposing him, and he himself was a relatively junior member of the service, he quietly but firmly stood by his point of view; called a meeting of the affected agriculturists to whom he explained the rationale and the working of the scheme, ultimately winning their enthusiastic co-operation, in the teeth of Tilak's opposition. This is not to say that he was pro-White and anti-nationalist. Eventually, he retired from the service of the Bombay government, because the post of Chief Engineer was barred purely for reasons of colour, to an Indian. It is typical of his quiet, unfussy, yet well reasoned and often unorthodox approach to life that he essayed the role of a social reformer, without fanfare. Long before Mahatma Gandhi was to appear on the scene, he founded a Club in Poona, where caste traditions were broken, when he insisted that members not only meet but eat with each other, in good fellowship. This is once again an example of his being able to see another human being as a man, and to respond to his basic humanity, or to the needs of a situation, brushing aside labels as irrelevancies. This gift seems to be sadly lacking in "leaders" today, who cannot think in any but communal terms.

### An Inventive Mind

In Bombay, where he was himself a working engineer, and to the end of his life, when he was an engineering consultant, he showed remarkable engineering genius in finding original solutions to technical problems. The Block System of Irrigation; automatic sluice gates and the like are just two of many technical feats to emerge from his drawing board. It is typical of his dedication to the job, that even when he was an old man making a preliminary survey for an engineering project in a north Indian State, he insisted on working from a railway carriage in the heat of the summer too, and declined an invitation to work from the airconditioned comfort of Raj Bhavan. It is equally typical, that when the actual survey work was done, he did not make a fetish of such a gesture, but consented to move to Raj Bhavan when it was only a ques-

tion of tabulating his calculations, and not of surveying the terrain on the spot. This, too, is something our leaders could profitably learn. Nothing should stand in the way of a job well done. However, it is hypocrisy to change a lifestyle for public consumption, as Visvesvaraya so well understood.

Visvesvaraya, like most genuine leaders did not suffer from false modesty, either, and in insisting that his recompense was in keeping with his services, struck a blow for his countrymen merely by being himself. So it was that he resigned from the Bombay government when he found his rise to Chief Engineership blocked, though it must be added, in fairness to the British that though he retired prematurely, he was granted a full pension in view of his "exceptionally meritorious services." When invited to take up the assignment of Special Consulting Engineer to the Nizam, he negotiated a salary which in those days was given only to Europeans, indeed one equivalent to that enjoyed by a British Collector of a Revenue Division! While some papers were scandalised, his professional colleagues realised that he had upgraded their status and expectations, too. The same quiet self confidence in his abilities is marked in his acceptance of service under the Mysore Raja. Although he entered it as a Chief Engineer, and though his experience upto this date had been technical, he had no hesitation in accepting the office of Dewan to the Mysore State, which involved mastery of many things outside his subject of specialisation. His tenure proved that an intelligent unblinkered, flexible mind could successfully cope with a variety of subjects. He was in fact a builder of modern Mysore, setting up massive irrigation services: its railway and university, the latter the first of its kind in a Princely State; its first institutions for technical education.... the list is almost endless.

### A Man of Rectitude

He retired prematurely, again on a matter of principle. He himself had never been a man to recognise irrelevant labels of caste and creed, seeing merit as the only criterion of a man's worth. His educational policies too, had ensured that education would be easily available to all who wanted it, and that gifted students would receive all necessary help from the State. Nevertheless, he was a Brahmin, and the anti-Brahmin movement gained momentum, with a Committee appointed by a ruler, to placate non-Brahmin sentiment. He resigned rather than go along with a policy he believed was wrong.

How different a stance from today's spectacle of ministers hanging on to their chairs by publicly swallowing words, and policies uttered only the day before! It is again typical of his rectitude, and his meticulous concern for proprieties, that he went in an official car to tender his resignation to the ruler, and returned in his personal car from the Secretariat to his home.

His life after laying down public office was most fruitfully spent, in writing, in travelling for the purpose of serious study; in setting up the All India Manufacturers' Association, of which he was the Life President; in acting as a Consultant on major engineering projects all over the country. His 100th birthday elicited a stream of tributes from all over the country, and he died, shortly thereafter, rich in honour, esteem, and praise.

Many lessons of his life have been highlighted in the above very brief survey of its main chapters. But the Centenary tribute to him, is loaded with many more, which prove he was a rare spirit, with an instinctive sense for what was the right thing to do in any given circumstances. Two are worth mentioning, because they form such a contrast to procedure and practice today. At the time he first entered the service of the Mysore government, he was given a list of possible appointees, with the names of the hopefuls, and their distinguished connections. He tore up the list, and asked for a new one based on merit. Later, when an uncle who had helped educate him requested a promotion, he refused it, but finding the old man in straitened circumstances, made him a monthly allowance out of his own salary. He was however, an intensely private man, and the record of his public work reveals little of what he as a human being thought and felt about people or events.

### No Hypocrisies

He had at all times, the courage to be himself, whether or not what he did was popular—o expedient. For example, even after Gandhiji had made the mystique of khadi a religion, he continued to dress in elegant Western clothes—surmounted with a lace turban, Mysore style, which became his

distinctive trade mark, the one proclaiming his "Indian-ness"; the other, his ability to absorb what was good in the culture of other lands. To him, love of country was proved by concrete and constructive work in its service; not by sporting or not sporting a certain style of clothes. Moreover, while his style of leadership was to do as perfectly as possible the job of work at hand, he did sometimes theorise on what was good for the country, both in his numerous speeches, and in books like "Reconstructing India." Again, even at a time when Nehru's State capitalism was making private capital a dirty word, he did not hesitate to say — based on his foreign tours and observations — that that government is best, which governs least, and that the State should only undertake what the private individual cannot do himself, as most jobs are better done, when they involve the intelligent self-interest of the owner, small or big, whether in respect of land, or industry. He was at all times a champion of English.

### A True Leader

How then may one evaluate his work as a "leader?" As was stated in my introduction itself, he did not consciously set out to "lead". But his personal example of efficiency and rectitude constituted leadership at least with those who worked for him. Sadly, however, the administrative traditions he created, have long ago been swamped in the fires of communalism and casteism, so that the attitudes he took, seem all the more striking, because they are conspicuous by their absence, today. However, the institutions he created: the Visvesvaraya Iron and Steel Works; the railway lines he laid down, the University he founded; the sluice gates he invented; the bridges and dams he built continue to serve the people, even if many in the younger generation do not know that these owe their existence to him. To that extent, the constructive good he did, is not interred with his bones. His "leadership" (though less conspicuous than that of a man who strides the political stage in brighter limelight) has yielded a great deal more in terms of human happiness and welfare. He is indeed a leader in the truest sense of that term.

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Even the greatest fool can accomplish a task if it be after his heart. But the intelligent man is he who can convert every work into one that suits his taste. No work is petty.

—Swami Vivekananda



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## Leadership Profile

### C. Rajagopalachari

R. Srinivasan

Rajaji might have walked out from the pages of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. For he does remind one of those ancient figures who seemed to have crowded the political scene in classical history and who inspired leaders for centuries. The sense of high purpose, dedication to the commonwealth, personal sacrifice all seem to be a part of him as of many others in the Greco Roman world. Fortunately for us, such men do bestride the contemporary world and we were especially fortunate that we had one such, who till the other day was very much with us. The volume of writing on Rajaji is not impressive and he was partially responsible for this. He did not encourage biographers, for he felt individual biographies in themselves as not important. This is an attitude characteristically in keeping with the Indian tradition. The great Indian masters whether they be in the world of thought or of literature or the traditional arts or statesmanship have publicly eschewed all personal details. Their biography is in their works. So is Rajaji's; no assessment of modern Indian development can ignore him.

#### Unaffected By Office

From the 1920s till the late sixties, for nearly half a century, he did remain a leader, first in the south, and later in the nation. There was no position that he held that he did not adorn; all regalia sat lightly on him. And the pomp and ceremonies that always accompany high office did not affect him at all; he did not disdain them, since he saw their importance. But he was able to lay them lightly aside, once he was released from these august bonds.

While some have written about him, not many knew him in great intimacy. One does not know if he had many friends who were intimate with him as was Navaratna Rama Rao. We do know of the deep affection and loyalty that he had for people whom he knew very well and even of those whom he knew slightly. And people who worked with him seem to have developed a high degree of affection for him. But basically he appears to have been a lonely man.

Admirers have tended to bestow upon him super-human qualities, while those who were against him or who did not like him described him as a Machiavellian and a die-hard conservative. But as long as he was in politics, he remained a centre for acrimonious debate and discussion.

The reference to Plutarch is made deliberately for only if one read of some of the lives in that

monumental work does one see the continuity of political types. He had something of the virtues of Cato, without his obnoxiousness. But he was a humanized, mellowed and a totally altruistic Cato—not the old cynical, grasping person that we read in Plutarch.

#### Moral Leadership

Indian politics ever since the 1820s has been dominated by a type of statesman whom we can characterize as the moralistic. Typified by people like Vidyasagar, Rajaji, along with J.P. and Kripalani remained almost the last of the species. The new type of politics that has dawned upon our land may well see the ushering of another less noble type of politician.

The moral leadership believed in the primacy of moral principles and sought to introduce them in politics and society and undoubtedly there was an impatience in their attitudes towards the less seriously endowed. Generally, the moralist statesman tended to be elitist and was more comfortable in the higher, rarefied heights of administration. People as different as Ranade and Madhava Rao exemplify this type. The moralist-statesmen were basically motivated by high ambition, a belief, that they could do good, and were keen on doing things by their light and intention. The stress was always on purity in personal and public life. Most of them tended to be abstemious in their personal lives and on certain occasions they rose to saintly heights. Rajaji put their case very well:

"We should have leaders who lead and are not leaders who look for popularity. I have often insisted on this in private as well as in public. I have often insisted on the need for moral leadership. Moral leadership as distinguished from playing to the gallery is not dictatorship but the true and stable foundation of democracy."

In contrast to this was the other style of leadership typified by Pherozeshah Mehta which was typically one that was political in that it believed in bargaining, compromise and balancing of different interests. The politics of caste mobilization tended ultimately to go the Pherozeshah way. The theatre of Indian politics could accommodate both these; one supplemented the other. Gandhi and Rajaji were amphibians in that they could live in both worlds without the one affecting the inner life of the other.

Rajaji's ascent to politics was mainly because of his deep moral commitments. His decision to give up his lucrative practice and move into politics was motivated by a concern to improve society. His entry into local government and his successful tenure as chairman of the Salem municipality testified to an extraordinary capacity for both moral principles and practical politics. As in later life, he was to earn the opprobrium and praise of different people.

He now graduated into national politics. Being a close associate of Gandhiji, his position in the top leadership of the Congress Party made it easy for him to dominate the local politics of Tamilnadu Congress. It must be accepted that Rajaji's grass roots base was almost non-existent. He used his position skillfully and made himself a key figure in Tamilnadu politics.

In the non-co-operation movement the only opening available to him was in constructive social work. Here Rajaji was to engage in founding a model colony on Gandhian lines, promoting khaddar, spinning, non-co-operation with the authorities, satyagraha, removing the blight of untouchability and trying to promote prohibition. At the same time, he used his access to central leadership, to strengthen his position in the local Congress organization, and put his adversaries into insignificance. It has been suggested that the methods used by him for this were not highly appreciable.

### Superb Administrator

The two ministries that he headed in Madras, are seen as testifying to his love for power. A convincing case can be easily made for this charge. But the ministry (the first) was noted for its efficiency, its concern for law and order, for promoting industrial peace and above all its furthering of Congress ideals. In pursuing all these, he was to face stiff opposition. "Communalism" as he saw it, was to raise itself in opposition to his promotion of Hindi and in the pressing for a separate Andhra state. In spite of these, Madras was regarded as one of the best governed Provinces and all have testified to his extraordinary administrative ability.

The second ministry, from its formation to his resignation was accompanied by controversy. The threat of the separate Andhra movement being taken over by the Communists made Rajaji adopt a rigid stand against the immediate formation of Andhra. He began to stress the need for a politics of civility in place of populist politics. Decontrol of the distribution of food grains indicated the direc-

tion of his mind. He was ultimately to resign on the charge that he sought to perpetuate casteism in education, a charge that does not stand any careful scrutiny. This was essentially an attempt to put Basic Education into practice and now many recognize its basic soundness. Rajaji counselled gradualism in the attempt to improve the social position of the Scheduled Castes.

Rajaji has been charged as being overbearing in his behaviour as an administrator. It has been alleged that he valued administration and efficiency more than democratic niceties. It is true that he had no patience with second rate intelligence. His moral certitudes, his fine honed intelligence, his extremely high personal moral rectitude and his earnestness could have all made him easily into a Brahmin Torquemada. Also his management of the Andhra issue clearly indicated that he could manipulate politics extraordinarily well. What then prevented him from becoming a saintly totalitarian?

His great capacity for tolerance along with his sense of humour are two of the secrets that explain this. And to have both these one has to be a conservative by temperament. For a conservative is in no hurry to save society and bring the millennium the next day. He sees the complexity of social realities and will not dare to lightly tamper with them. If any one in India shared Burke's great respect for society it was Rajaji:

"...we have consecrated the state, that no man should approach to look into its defects or corruptions but with due caution; that he should never dream of beginning its reformation by its subversion; that he should approach to the faults of the state as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe and trembling solicitude... Society... is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection..."

From this it was easy to glide into the view that all statesmanship is actually a trust, a trust held for the discharge of one's duties to one's fellowmen.

### Two Insights

Not only society but all men were centres of Divinity to this statesman. From the traditional religion which he was heir to, he learnt two insights. One, was that that castes and creeds are essentially artifacts and beneath these there is an oneness that all human beings share. Secondly, Divine grace need not necessarily descend exclusively on the upper castes or the Hindus. All religions are basically to be respected, for they reflect the



one God. Both these made him a total stranger to any exclusive creed or doctrine. He was a champion of social equality and what is more important, practised it in his everybody life.

This sense of trusteeship tinged with religious sensibilities, made personal virtues in the trustee of the utmost importance. Hence, simplicity in life, the importance of Dharma, total personal non-attachment to the material benefits of one's political offices came naturally to him. Along with Jayaprakash, Kripalani and Kamaraj, he remains exclusively a statesman who had no whiff of personal nepotism or favouritism about him, a virtue all too rare in contemporary India. While the others mentioned did not have any family, Rajaji had children and neither they nor his kinsmen acquired any special privilege because of his position.

#### Populism vs. The Good Society

Having never been beholden to any mass support, Rajaji could understand the dangers inherent in populism. The Swatantra Party should be seen as essentially a party extolling the virtues of Constitutionalism because these are rooted in socially tried moral principles; tried for hundreds of years and found to be never failing. States, when already subject to populist pressures take to collectivist activities they can neither be efficient nor can risk unpopular decisions. Hence in such a context the case for a limited state is strong indeed. This again happened to be a central insight that Rajaji hammered home — for to him it was clear that no statesman could forsake his fundamental obligations towards the establishment of a good society, which ultimately are after all moral decisions and which can be unpopular with the masses.

A charge frequently made and which can be argued is that such a view is fundamentally one that is pre-industrial and that it does not take into consideration the happenings of the last three hundred years. But statesmanship and sound principles of government have not been discovered only in the last three hundred years. The concepts of good government, of equality before the Law, Natural Right, or responsibility of governments to their people in a loose sense are not new discoveries but are rooted in antiquity and ultimately are based on moral foundations. Rajaji as leader tried in his own way to assert these and remind the people that "a state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished."

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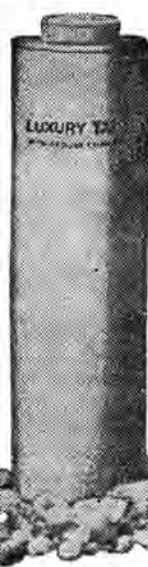
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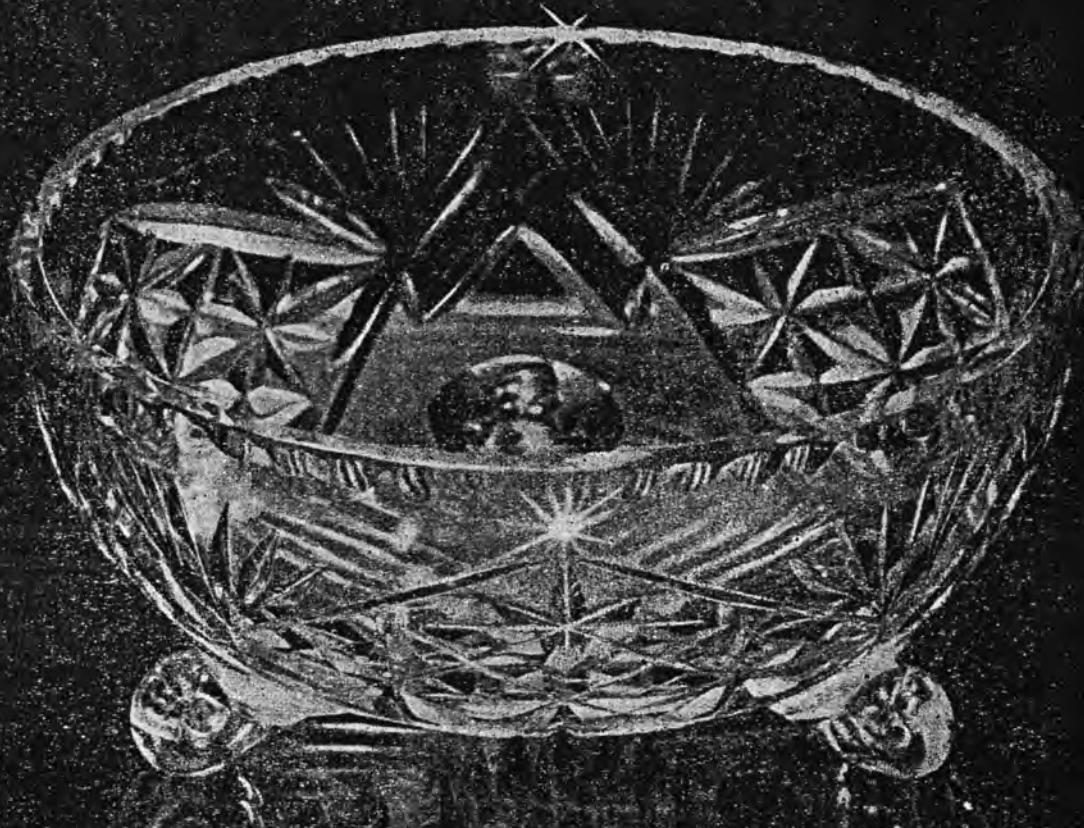
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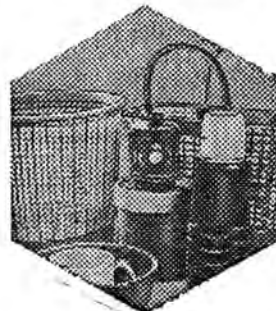
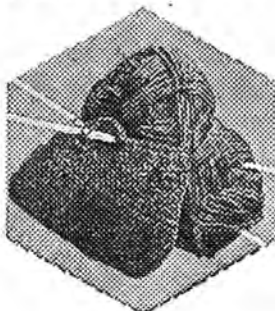
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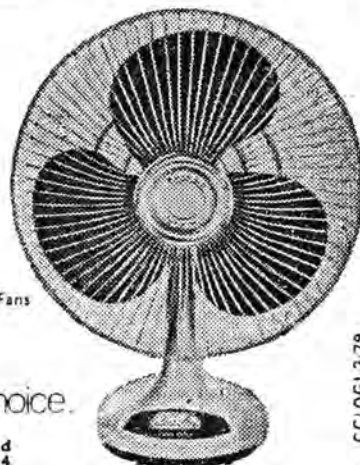
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