

CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I. Political Leadership : The Conceptual framework:

In a democratic set up, social order is always seen as a function of 'leadership dynamics'. It is generally accepted that in modern societies, the nature of the political process needs to be judged in the light of the emergence of leadership positions. In most of the times, the privilege of formulating social policies and decisions - making are enjoyed by those few who possess exceptional qualities. There may be sharp difference of opinion, attitudes and purposes among these leaders, but the fact remains to be discovered how on different compelling circumstances, such conflicting ideologies are condensed into one. The present study seeks to highlight this aspect.

It may not be out of place here to mention that the nature of political leadership is very much dependent on the nature of the political system in which they operate. Depending on this, the political leadership may be broadly classified as aristocratic, oligarchic and democratic. It is also possible that "a combination of these qualities would contribute to the formation of the political elite group".⁽¹⁾ But whatever may be the source of the origin of this group, "everywhere it performs more or less the same function and possesses more or less uniform characteristics drawn mainly from the culture of that society".⁽²⁾ But there may be differences with regard to two important factors, namely (a) the mode of induction

into leadership positions and (b) the nature of power - base. In a democratic set up, it may so happen that a number of different leadership groups with different ideological commitment will be seen looking for gaining the loyalty of the masses. However, these differences in outlook and ideologies, in the long run, "is limited and will be determined largely by the dominant value system of that society". (3)

This brings us to a number of questions regarding leadership issues that require a thorough understanding of the problem as well as an indepth study of factors responsible for the emergence of leadership in a particular society. The questions may of various types, but for the sake of convenience, these may be broadly grouped into three, viz.,

(a) which of these characteristics weights more in determining the position of a leader in a group heirarchy?

(b) Do political groups differ in the combination of qualities that produce a leader and position him in the leadership hierarchy?

(c) what are the factors that contribute to the differences in these leadership groups?

These questions are of vital significance in a political system which is based on the spirit of democracy and liberalism. In other words, it is upon a successful analysis of these questions that the understanding of the system depends to a large extent.

Any study of leadership issue always seeks to highlight the nature and dimension of leadership - dynamics which, in turn, assumes great significance in a democracy where the leaders have the responsibility of mobilizing public opinion through democratic means. The present study proposes to analyse the nature of political leadership and the issue of political dynamics in the general background of constitution - making in India.

The question of leadership - dynamics can be studied from two separate approaches. The first approach is concerned with 'leadership as a phenomenon in all societies' and second deals with 'leadership as being a set of attributes which are required for achieving organizational objectives'. The present study is closely related to the first one as it deals with the nature and impact of leadership of the political elite in a very important phase of nation - building in India.

The role of political elite has been a subject - matter of deep concern for the philosophers since the days of Plato. It was Plato who in his celebrated work the 'Republic' traced the need for "Philosopher Kings" and thought in terms of an ideal state in which this could become a reality. Aristotle also spoke in the same vein as he believed in the natural qualities in a leader in every society. This tradition continued even in the Middle Ages and the importance of a heavenly state can be found in the writings of St. Augustine. Of course, St. Augustine laid greater emphasis on the virtues of the subjects as he held the opinion that only upon

virtues of the citizens that the existence and continuance of a heavenly state depends.

In modern times, the subject - matter of leadership issue has gained such popularity amongst the political sociologists who want to analyse the theme not only from the strict sociological standpoint but from the point of view of its political implications. For example, Pareto follows the long tradition built by Aristotle and Plato in this field. He has classified ruling elite into two broad categories, viz., the governing elite and the 'non-governing elite'.⁽⁴⁾ 'Governing elite' includes labour leaders, industrialists, members of the government, opposition parties and other persons who exert influence directly or indirectly in the management of the affairs of the state. The non-governing elite' consists of the leaders of other walks of life whose influence and activities are not directly connected with political issues.

Another sociologists, Moser, while analysing this concept, observed : "In all societies two classes of people appear -- a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that the power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class is directed and controlled by the first in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first in appearance at least with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the poli-

tical organism.

Mosea, in course of his discussion, has supported oligarchy as the only form of government has opposed to Aristotle. He, in this connection, has also emphasized on the role of heredity. In other words, the role and importance of heredity can not be ignored in any study of leadership issue. According to him, it is the tendency of political classes to turn into hereditary one. (6)

According to Mosea, the key to elite - control of the masses lay in its capacity for holding the organization. The position of elite comes as "a result of its members possessing either in fact or in the estimation of others in society some attribute which is valued in the society." (7) This attribute may take the forms of wealth, public good, power, status in religious hierarchy and the like. Elite - control depends on the minority's capacity to weld itself into a cohesive force presenting a common advantage to other forces in society.

Thus elite and the quality of leadership can be seen as the product of the institutional landscape of the society. In modern societies, power seems to be somewhat institutionalized. A few institutions in the society occupy pivotal positions in society and the top-most institutions in the hierarchy constitute "the strategic command posts of the social structure". (8) For this reason, the cohesiveness of the elite is directly linked up with the cohesiveness among the ranks in the hierarchy. (9)

The concept of elite group and leadership issue calls for an in-depth discussion of its influences in the decision-making process in the society. Very often, it may so happen that the minority of population, forming the elite group, may take the majority decisions in society. In other words, the leaders in this elitist group take decisions in the name of the society as a whole. Considering the kind of influence that the elite-group exerts in such a society, Nadal has divided it into three broad categories, viz., the governing elites, the social elites and the specialized elites. (10) The governing elite is composed of society's political rulers and their position is somewhat superior to two other groups. This pre-eminence can be derived from their inherent leadership qualities. The governing elite, by the use of their position in society, exerts the greatest amount of influence in the decision-making process of the political system.

This has led Dahl to think in terms of political notables, the economic notables and the social notables, considering their status and position as well as the extent of their influence in guiding the course of the political events at a particular point of time. (11) The idea that power is heavily concentrated in fewer hands has been severely criticised by the pluralists who hold the view that even in democracies, the governing elites have to utilise their position along with the pressure and interest groups so far as decision-making process is concerned. (12)

But there is a debate whether the elitist theory can be adopted in a framework of pluralist society. That is why, a ten-

gency is clearly visible to concentrate directly on the study of the leadership groups. It has been rightly observed that leadership in every society not only defines, initiates and maintains social structure but also it develops, elaborates and transforms the existing social structure.

The concept of leadership has been sought to be defined from a number of angles. For example, leadership has defined as 'the relative dominance' by one person over others in a given situation. Again it has been defined as "a process of mutual stimulation" between two categories of people, the leaders and followers. Moreover, leader has been regarded as the "symbol of unity" and the "planner" of the group from the functional point of view within his 'unit' of activity. (13)

Fairchild views leadership as "the act of organizing and directing the interests and activities of a group of persons as associated in some projects or enterprise, by a person who develops their co-operation through securing and maintaining their more or less voluntary approval of the ends and methods proposed and adopted in their association." (14)

While analysing the nature of leadership - dynamics, Bass has described leadership as a kind of 'interaction between or among people.' (15)

That power occupies the most significant place in the study of leadership dynamics has been well elaborated by Lasswell and Kaplan when they held that "the leaders of a group are its most active power-holders effectively and in the perspectives of the group. The rank and file are the non-leaders". (16)

In this connection, one can not ignore the categorisation of leadership into traditional, charisma-

tic and legal-rational by Max Weber which he did from the point of view of legitimacy of authority in a given society. Mackenzie Brown has gone a step further and made a distinction between 'leadership', 'authority' and 'demagogy', emphasizing the 'symbolic' and 'creative' aspects of leadership. (17)

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that in every society there are some unique characteristics of leadership position. These may be psychological, organizational, social and the like. But the fact remains that the presence and impact of such political leadership can be observed in the political process of the country in general and decision-making process in particular. This assumes great significance in a country which has the task before it of setting down the goals and objectives of the nation. More precisely, this is revealed in an enormous volume in connection with the task of constitution-making in a country. This study will reveal the nature and impact of political leadership of both Nehru and Patel in guiding the course of political process in general and making the constitution in particular immediately after the attainment of independence.

It is generally admitted that the social context and political culture of a country are very important in shaping a constitution and determining the course of action. It is the prevailing consensus of attitude and beliefs among the political leaders which sustain a constitutional framework, provide the necessary support and give a sense of legitimate authority. The

legitimacy, acceptability and normative quality of the constitution will depend largely on specific methods of constitution-making which is a resultant of the configuration of socio-political forces at that time.

Constitutions may come into being through evolution, through the deliberations of an assembly or by fiat. (18) Of all these three methods, the second, i.e. constitutions by assembly has two distinct advantages over others: the written constitution on the one hand, 'imparts certainty and clarity', (19) while, on the other ~~xxxxxx~~ hand 'the participation of many social groups in its making promises protection for the interests and objectives of the ordinary citizen.' (20)

The Constitution in India, as will be revealed from the deliberations in the Constituent Assembly, has been regarded as 'a vehicle for social revolution'. (21) That is why, the Constitution-makers at the time of drafting the Constitution, not only considered the variety in the material circumstances that emerged after the achievement of independence but also tried to make curious compromise between contradictory principles, attitudes and values-preferences of the political leaders in the body of the Constitution.

It is within this broader historical perspective, the present study seeks to analyse in depth the role played by both Nehru and Patel during the formative period of the constitution-making process in India. It is to be mentioned here that it is meaningless to judge and analyse the activities of any leader without

a proper historical perspective. There are many important theories for the study of leadership - issue, namely, psychologically oriented studies, study of socio-economic factors, situational factors, the 'greatman theory' and so on. But each of these theories has its own limitations. It is now commonly accepted that leadership studies should embrace within itself a study of the proper historical perspective with a definite bias towards the socio-economic conditions at a given time.

Keeping this view, the present study seeks to trace the socio-economic background, historical forces, intellectual foundations, main currents of thinking and the leadership qualities of these two leaders and their impact on the framing of the Constitution of India. It tries to project specifically the role of Nehru and Patel in the making of the Constitution in general and the provisions for Fundamental Rights in particular. The study seeks to look beyond the debates of the Constituent Assembly to see the forces that compelled these two leaders to make compromise on vital issues in the Constituent Assembly.

2. Over-view of the Existing Literature:

It should be made clear at the very outset that no specific attempt has so far been made to find out the actual role of Nehru and Patel in the Constituent Assembly in general and in the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee in particular. There are scores of books on Nehru and Patel and their political thinking. But no such specific study has even been accomplished.

On the making of India's Constitution as well as on the working of the Constituent Assembly, apart from the CAB, a number of books deserve special mentioning. Of these, the book, entitled *The Framing of India's Constitution* by B. Shiva Rao should be mentioned at outset. The first four volumes contain a great mass of source-material gathered from papers, reports and other sources. The fifth volume contains the analysis of the progress made by the Constituent Assembly in this regard. Mention should also be mentioned of the following books:

1. Austin - *The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a nation.*
2. Pratap Kr. Ghosh - *The Constitution of India : How it has been framed?*
3. K. M. Munshi - *Indian Constitutional Documents.*
4. B. R. Misra - *Economic Aspects of the Indian Constitution.*
5. P. B. Gejendragadaker - *The Constitution of India, Its Philosophy and Basic Postulates.*

Apart from these titles, there are other important books which are ^{included} intended in the list of 'Select Bibliography'.

But with regard to the study of the role played by Nehru and Patel in the Constituent Assembly, nothing important has been done so far. It is to be noted that in most cases, the studies are of biographical nature and hence no attempt has been made to find out the impact of the political thinking of both these lea-

ders on the making of the Constitution of India in general and the Fundamental Rights in particular.

On the question of leadership quality of Nehru, the book, entitled "Nehru - A Political Biography" by Mr. Brecher should be mentioned at the outset. Apart from this, there are a number of books, covering life and work of Nehru have been published from time to time. But as said, most of these books are biographical in nature and hence do not try to focus on this specific aspect of constitution-making in India.

It is true in the case of Patel also. Since Patel did not have any book to his credit, this researcher has to depend heavily on his speeches and correspondence and other related source-materials for this purpose. In this regard, special mention should be made of 'Sardar Patel's Correspondence' (Ten-volumes) by Durga Das. Extensive references have been made to Patel's speeches found in Sardar Patel - In tune with the million I & II, edited by Manabehn Patel. These books are of primary importance to any researchers. Besides this, mention must be made of K. L. Panjabi's 'The Indomitable Sardar', L. N. Sarin's - 'Sardar Patel', H. K. Muthni's 'Sardar Patel -- The Man and his contemporaries' and V. Shankar's - 'My Reminiscence of Sardar Patel.'

From this brief survey, it is clear that nothing specific has been done in this area. There is a wide research - gap in this area and if successfully explored, it would open further areas of research on this vital aspect where an in-depth study of leadership would be possible.

3. Chapterwise Arrangements.

The following plan has been adopted in connection of the present study.

Chapter I of the present study deals with the conceptual framework and the theoretical foundations of leadership - dynamics. A brief reference has also been made to throw some light on the theoretical framework for the study of constitution-making in a general way.

Chapter II analyzes the nature of the then Indian society, taking into account the nature of dynamism that operated at the societal level. It also seeks to explore the historical background of the constitution-making in India.

Chapter III deals with the philosophical bases of constitutionalism in India. The meaning of the term 'Philosophical bases' differs from the scientific type of theory, if one looks to the traditional philosophers of the past. It is also obvious that the philosophical bases are 'normative' instead of 'positive'. Any 'normative' study appears to have many dimensions and since it is not value-free, controversy may very often arise. The philosophical bases of constitutionalism in India are not free from such controversy. For a proper understanding of the concept, attempts have been made to highlight certain key ideas like Democracy, secularism, socialism, Humanism and Fundamental Rights of the citizens. It may not be out of place here to mention that India, like many other developing countries of the world have incorporated in its

systems the democratic values and norms of Western Constitutionalism. It seeks to uphold the principles of nationalism, democracy and limited government. A detailed study of this aspect has been made in this Chapter.

In Chapter IV, an elaborate study of the nature of Nehru's leadership has been made. For the sake of convenience, it has been divided into a number of sections, starting from socio-economic background of Nehru family and ending with his political ideals. The study has been made in this way for analysing the impact of certain socio-economic and political factors which had tremendous bearing on Nehru's mental make-up and leadership dynamics.

Chapter V deals with the issue of emergence of Patel as a political leader on the national scene. In this Chapter, a detailed study has been made to find out the factors responsible for Patel's emergence on the national scene and to highlight the different aspects of Patel's political thinking.

Chapter VI has been devoted to an in depth analysis of the roles of Nehru and Patel in the Constituent Assembly. In the framing of the Constitution of India, both Nehru and Patel (along with Dr. Ambedkar and other leaders) played a very important role. What is noteworthy at that stage was the manner in which five basic postulates -- federalism, secularism, democratic socialism, parliamentary government and independence of the judiciary -- were sought to be incorporated in the basic framework by both Nehru and Patel.

Chapter VII attempts to make a comparative study of Nehru and Patel as political leaders. In Chapters IV and V, it has been well established that socio-economic and political factors responsible for their emergence had not been similar. Naturally there had been wide differences in outlook, philosophy and value-preferences in case of these two leaders. In spite of this, these two leaders did a remarkable job in making a reconciliation between Fabianism and democratic socialism and nationalism. It has been clearly reflected in the drafting of the Constitution in general and the Chapter on Fundamental Rights in particular.

Chapter VIII deals with concluding observation and it has been established that it is meaningless or futile to judge or analyse the activities of any leader without taking into account the proper historical perspective, economic condition and political milieu of that time. Moreover, the roots of variation in individual outlook and value preferences can be traced in the family condition, educational background and the influence of other national and international events. The importance of these factors can not be ignored in any study of Nehru and Patel.

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