CHAPTER-1
INTRODUCTION
"When we think we lead we are most led."

-Lord Byron

In Indian federal polity states are part of the Indian union. They do not have a separate identity. Yet states play an important role in the socio-economic and political development of the country. With the emergence of coalition politics the role of states has gained more importance than ever before. Politics at the state level in the Indian polity is gaining prominence after the re-organization of states in 1956. As part of the Indian union, Karnataka too has been experiencing changes since its inception. State level politics is affected by political requirements, national leadership & state units. Local politics is influenced by caste, religion and language. Such imperatives are used by state leaders to attain power.

The crisis of politics in India today is the result of the crisis of leadership. A welfare state calls for greater investment in public sector. Such investment consequently results in a dynamic expansion of large and complex organizations. All such organizations need administrative leadership, schools, corporations, industries, steel plants, laboratories whose numbers increase

constantly need one indispensable stabilizer, namely administrative leadership. In the states the Chief Minister and his council of ministers look after the administrative machinery with the Governor being the titular head. In the past, several leaders like Kengal Hanumanthaiah, S. Nijalingappa, Devaraja Urs, all Chief Ministers, shaped the course of Karnataka polity. A significant addition to this chain of leadership in Karnataka is Mr. RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE who won his first legislative assembly election in 1957 from Sirsi constituency. He was the minister of state for finance in Veerendra Patil's cabinet. He shot into limelight as the spokesperson of the Janata Party in 1977. In that very year he published the "Janata Manifesto." Ramakrishna Hegde got a major break when he was elected Chief Minister of Karnataka in 1983 in order to resolve the conflict among splinter groups headed by Mr. Devegowda, Mr. Bommai and Mr. Bangarappa. He became the focal point around which united all conflicting interests.

Mr. Hegde rightly realized the background which had brought the Janata Party to power. Hence his government not only initiated a series of language policy decisions to accord a place of primacy to Kannada language at various levels, but also appointed a number
of committees and commissions to make suitable recommendations in this regard. Notable among them were:

1. The 'Kannada Protection Watchdog' and 'Border Advisory Committee' (or the Patilputtappa Samiti) in 1985 to oversee the implementation of Kannada as administrative language, plus the job of advising on the state's border disputes.

2. Setting up of the Sarojini Mahishi Committee in 1983 to study the position relating to employment of persons belonging to Karnataka in Central Public Sector Undertakings, Banks and other institutions under the control of the Government of India. In order to provide a greater role to the marginalized linguistic minorities residing in the state the Janata Government set up the Directorate of Urdu and other minority languages in 1987.

Mr. Hegde also initiated a series of reformist measures in conformity with the policies of late Devaraj Urs. Chief among them were the "Antyodaya" programs to assist five poor families in every village and the sinking of bore wells in villages to solve the drinking water problem. The Government created an investigating agency called "Lok-Ayukta" to look into the corruption charges made on high political functionaries including the Chief Minister.
It was during Mr. Hegde's tenure as Chief Minister Municipal and Corporation elections were held for the first time after a decade. One needs to mention here the revolutionary changes introduced during 1985 in the Karnataka Pattern of Panchayati Raj System by the then Chief Minister Ramakrishna Hegde. Karnataka brought into practice the four tier system—at the village, mandal (below taluk), taluk and district levels. The district and the mandal level bodies were directly elected with powers to plan and execute development and welfare programmes. It is significant that for the first time in the country all the developmental departments of the state functioning in the district had been brought under the direct and unshared jurisdiction of the elected representatives in the district body. This has been a remarkable achievement as more than 20 development issues under the State Government control were decentralized & transferred. The Karnataka model of decentralization has brought development administration under the control of ZillaParishad, developed planning functions and planning funds on the district level body, appointed a statutory finance

commission to recommend financial devolution, made Gram Sabha the pivot of the entire Panchayati Raj edifice reserved seats for women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and reduced voting age to eighteen.⁴

In order to improve the socio-economic conditions of those people living below poverty line, the Hegde Government introduced 'Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme'. The Government planned to ensure employment under this scheme to any person within the age group of 18-65 years if he/she sought work. To encourage weaker sections of the society in educational field, the Hegde Government directly recruited the meritorious SC & ST students who held ranks at University levels for Class I and Class II posts. In order to improve literacy in rural areas the "Akshara-Sena" Programme was introduced. Supply of subsidized rice for poorer classes in rural and urban areas was also started by the Government.

In spite of many achievements Mr. Hegde could not complete his term. In August 1988 he resigned on the issue of telephone tapping. Mr. Bommai succeeded him. But he could not remain in

power for long president's rule was imposed on the state in April 1989. This lasted for a few months. In the ensuing elections the Janata Party lost to the Congress (I) owing to fighting within the ranks of the parent Janata Party.

The success of Congress (I) was itself the result of a shift in Lingayat votes in favour of the Congress which campaigned aggressively under the leadership of late Mr. Veerendra Patil an ex-Chief Minister. He took the oath of Chief Minister for the second time on 31-10-89. But he could not continue due to his illness and Mr. S Bangarappa succeeded him on 17-10-90. He had to relinquish his charge owing to dissidence on 11-11-1992.

In the early 90's V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister of India as he headed the National Front Government. Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde was appointed Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission. In the Karnataka arena Mr. Veerappa Moily succeeded Bangarappa. It was at this moment that Mr. Bangarappa formed the Karnataka Congress party (KCP). The Congress (I) lost the December election of 1994 in the state. The Janata Dal emerged victorious and the Government was formed under the leadership of Mr. H. D. Devegowda, mean while certain important developments took
place at the national level in early 1996 Thirteen regional parties formed a Co-alition at the centre Mr. Devegowda overran Mr. Hegde who would have been the right choice and who had carved a niche for himself in national level politics to become the Prime Minister of India in June 1996. The unprincipled politics practiced by Mr. Devegowda saw to it that Mr. Hegde was expelled from Janata Dal. The unceremonious exit forced Hegde to float his new party Lok-Shakthi. This period also saw two developments at the state level. The first was Mr. J.H. Patel becoming the Chief Minister of the state and the other was the merger of Mr. Bangarappa's KCP with Congress(I). In the 1998 Lok-Sabha elections Ramakrishna Hegde formed an alliance with Bharatiya Janata Party. Due to his charisma and mass appeal the Lok-Shakthi-BJP combine swept the polls inflicting a heavy blow to the Janata Dal which was reduced to a meagre three MP seat from 14 MP seats which it boasted of in the previous elections.

Thus if we analyse the course of events of Karnataka politics, it is clear that political leaders determine the course of events. Arguably it is the leadership factor which determines the politics of the state more than any other factor. Therefore the intended study
on Ramakrishna Hegde, former Union Commerce Minister, and former Chief Minister of Karnataka helps to reveal the leadership factor and his role in Karnataka politics.

AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is an abundance of literature on leadership pattern and power structure. Barnard in his work 'Organization and Management' remarks that growth in technology and specialization have made leadership complex and that the necessary production has greatly increased. One of the early studies that deserves mention here is 'Power and Personalities' by Harold Lasswell. He finds that there are three layers in the power structure of the society viz., power structure at the top composed of power seekers, unpolitical stratum at the bottom and the political stratum between the two.

Michel's monumental work 'political parties' draws attention to the power concentration in a political party he infers that power comes to be located in the hands of a few leaders who control it. The 'iron law of oligarchy' of Michel's supports the above conclusions.

The studies conducted by Lewis, Beals, Maheshwari, Retzlaff Opler and Dhillon show that caste and kinship still form the core
of village social organization and this splits village communities into groups. Lewis and Dhillon initiated a full length study of factions and leadership in north India and south Indian villages respectively. They bring to light various roles of leadership in the decision making process in rural India. The classic study of Max Weber needs special mention here. Weber identified leadership patterns into three categories namely traditional, charismatic and legal-rational.

Another study of the same substance is done by Robert Dahl in New Haven found that the political system has dominated not by one cohesive set of leaders, but by different set of leaders each having access to a different combinations of political resources.

G. Haragopal looks at leadership as group behaviour and examines the relationship between the elected and appointed groups and inter-personal and inter-group leaders.  

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

A democratic polity like India is shaped by many leaders of the past and the present. Modern India owes its debt to great leaders like, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel etc., Similarly the impact of state leaders like Kengal Hanumanthiah, Nijalingappa, Devaraj Urs cannot be overlooked as their contribution to Karnataka economy, religion, culture, society is invaluable. So also is the case with Ramakrishna Hegde with his leadership abilities. As this study envisages an inquiry into his political profile and dynamic leadership which helps to explain Karnataka politics.

The research is taken up with a view to providing a proper perspective on the leadership pattern in the ever changing political scenario of Karnataka state.

DEFINITION, MEANING AND APPROACHES OF CONCEPTS

As some of the terms in the political usage have become blanket terms it is a precondition to clarify the meaning of the concept which will be discussed in the development of my argument in the thesis. There exists no unanimous opinion about either leader or leadership. Different scholars have opined differently. Barnard
says "Indeed I have never observed any leader who was able to state adequately or intelligently why he was able to be a leader nor any statement of followers that acceptably expressed why they followed."  

Terry G.R. defines leadership as "The activity of influencing people to strive willingly for mutual objectives".  

According to Barnard "Leadership refers to the quality of the behaviour of individuals where by they guide people in the activities in an organized effort".  

Mein kempf the autobiography of Hitler defines leadership as an "Ability to move masses of men" further Hitler comments "For Leadership not only will power is required but also the capability from which energy requires greater weight than by pure genius itself".  

In the opinion of Stalin "The art of leadership is a serious matter. He who wishes to lead a movement must conduct a fight

on two grounds, against those who lag behind and those who reach ahead"

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

While the general objective of the proposed research is to study the role of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde as a leader in the context of Karnataka politics, the specific objectives are as follows:

1. To study the social and political profile of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde.
2. To study the multifaceted ideas and constructive programmes undertaken by Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde for the development of the state.
3. To study the performance of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde as Chief Minister of Karnataka.
4. To analyse the contribution of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde to the Panchayati Raj and Rural development.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH

1. Leadership is a complex process largely influenced by external conditions that is leaders are made not born. Ramakrishna Hegde's leadership is a testimony to this.
2. There are a variety of leadership styles that emerge in different
3. Ramakrishna Hegde's governance created pathways to transform the political, social, economic and cultural condition of Karnataka.

4. Political leadership is a dynamic factor by which persons in power influence their followers, civil society and wider public to accomplish collective action.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION

The study attempts to highlight the significance of political leadership in the context of overall development of the state. It will inquire into the achievements of Ramakrishna Hegde considering his multifarious achievements planning them against the background of socialist philosophy. The scope of this research will be limited to an analysis of Ramakrishna Hegde's contribution to Karnataka people in general.

METHODOLOGY

The proposed study will attempt the survey of literature and scan different journals, books other sources of information. Selected studies on power structure political leadership and
developments with particular reference to Karnataka will be made to give theoretical continuity.

To study the biographical sketch of Mr. R.K. Hegde, his background and village life, various sources like personal dairy, relevant Government documents monographs, writings, speeches, etc., related to Hegde will be consulted. The primary data collected will be verified employing personal interviews with Hegde and reviewing the developmental programmes in operation. Questionnaire and personal interview tools will be used to collect opinions of his counterparts in Karnataka and other states. Opinion of the public in his native village and surrounding villages will also be collected. Interviewing of persons selected on random basis covering party workers, political leaders, administrators and general public is also planned. An attempt to explore the impact of media on building the image of a leader is also contemplated.

The information so collected will be carefully analysed and empirical techniques will be employed to verify and interpret the material. The hypothesis formulated is going to be tested there by arriving at findings.