

# RETURN OF THE PINDHARI RAJ

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# **\*Return of The Pindhari Raj**

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There is a widespread feeling these days that the law and order situation in India is deteriorating progressively – both in urban and rural areas. This aspect is often prefulgently analysed under the label hooliganism, mafia system, etc. The analysis is either moral or political. Consequently, the ultimate conclusion is that the “moral fibre of the society” must be changed” or that a certain political party or persons must be removed from power and to and behold the situation will return to “normal”.

In these lectures, the situation is analysed from the view point of organisational management. The society is made up of organisations and the operational systems of the organisations determine the functioning of the society. An analysis of the organisational management in India prior to British rule, during the British rule and in the post-independence era can provide an insight into the changes that are occurring in the environment as well as indicate the direction in which the society is moving.

## **Conceptual Framework for Organisational Management :**

An organisation is the rational co-ordination of the activities of a number of people for the achievement of some common explicit purpose, through division of labour and function and through a hierarchy of authority and responsibility (Schein 1973). An organisation passes through the following four processes before it becomes a viable unit in the Society (Ganesh, 1979) :

### **1. Birth Process :**

During this process it originates and nurtures its basic ideas chooses the organisational form and location and mobilises the resources and supports.

### **2. Development Process :**

During this process it creates its operating style or “culture”, establishes its identity and expands its scope.

### **3. Renewal Process :**

During this process it provides for change of leadership, restructuring, integration and redefining of original purpose.

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#### 4. Stabilisation Process :

During this process it establishes its relevance to the society around and becomes an integral part of the society.

An organisation would cease to be effective in the society if it is unable to reach the stabilisation process or gets de-stabilised by losing its relevance to the society.

The analysis of organisational management has to consider the following three sets of variable (Ezman, 1966):

1. **Organisation Variables :** Which determine the characteristics of the organisation, e. g. leadership, ideology, programme, resources and structure.
2. **Linkages :** With other organisations which control authority and resources, supply inputs or use output or have similar ideologies or are otherwise sympathetic.
3. **Viability :** Ability to survive, to have an image of relevance to society and to have influence and impact.

Thus, organisational management may be defined as a process of establishing or transforming an organisation in such a way that it will fulfil the purpose of its members and make it viable in the society it operates.

#### Organisational Management Prior to British Rule :

Prior to the British rule, India could be organisationally considered as a group of islands with religious or political linkage which varied in strength from time to time. The basic nature of organisational management may be analysed as follows :

##### 1. Organisational Variables :

- A. **Leadership :** i. e. the group of persons who are actively engaged in the formulation of the organisational doctrine and programme and who direct the operations of the organisation and its relationships with the environment : The leadership in the period prior to the British rule, used to be personalistic and the convergence of such leadership, barring a few exceptions, was restricted to the society in a small geographical area.
- B. **Ideology :** i. e. specification of values, objectives and operational methods underlying the organisational action : Here again, barring a few exceptional situations, the objectives were personal goals of individual rulers generally comprising territories, wealth, wives or vengeance. This limited the influence of the organisation.

- C. **Programme** : i. e. Actions related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the organisation : In view of the generally limited area of operation, the requirement of actions was minimal.
- D. **Resources** : i. e. Financial, physical, human, technological and information inputs of the organisation : The limited scope of operations made it possible to work with minimal resources.
- E. **Structure** : i. e. Authority and responsibility distribution within the organisation : In view of the personalistic characteristic of the leadership, no firm long-term authority-responsibility hierarchy was established. Authority and responsibility distribution depended on the fickle personality equations.

## 2. Linkages :

- A. **Enabling Linkages** : With other organisations which might control the allocation of authority and resources required by the organisation : Traditions had been evolved to bestow limited authority and localised resources upon organisations. For example, typically a temple had traditional devotees and land donated for its upkeep.
- B. **Functional Linkages** : With other organisations supplying the inputs or using the outputs : Such linkages were limited and localised due to underdeveloped infrastructure.
- C. **Normative Linkages** : With other organisations with similar ideologies and/or programmes : Such linkages were rarely effected – partly due to infrastructure problems and partly due to traditional regionalism.

## 3. Viability :

The insulation provided by infra-structure problems made it possible for the organisation to survive as long as it gained acceptance in the local area.

### Organisational Characteristics Prior to British Rule :

Thus, the organisations in India, prior to the British rule, were essentially limited to small geographical areas. Even in empires claiming a wide territory, the actual political rule was restricted to a few political urban centres while the rural areas were blissfully unaware of the political upheavals – unless they accidentally happened to be in the path of the upheavals. Hindu religion has been anarchic in style with no unitary organisation controlling its organisational working. Even Islam or Christianity never managed to get a unitary national organisation with a

Khalipha, Mufti or Cardinal directing the country-wide religious congregation. The social system was ruled by caste-structure – with even other religions like Islam, Christianity, Jainism, etc. fitted into the loose metrics without country-wide organisational system.

### **Emergence of the Pindharis :**

The organisational characteristics prior to the British rule were well-suited to the emergence of the Pindharis. Pindharis were mercenaries who were not direct members of any regular army. They used to associate with the army and help in looting of the people in the conquered territories. They used to work under a leader from the area of their origin. The loot collected by the Pindharis was shared according to a laid-down system with the officers of the victorious army. This enabled the army to reduce their fixed expenses – since the Pindhari were not paid employees. It was also easier to get their share of the loot from the Pindharis than from the normal soldiers.

Since the Pindharis attached themselves to the victorious side and attacked the civil population, their personal risk was minimal and they could operate without a regular salary income. The armies normally stopped their operations in monsoon and that gave the Pindharis opportunity to return home with their portion of the loot.

The Pindhari system worked very well when a strong conquering Sultan or Subhedar moved around with his forces in annual campaigns. However, in the periods of martial inactivity, the Pindharis were left unemployed. This prompted them to start looting on their own. If the political rule was strong, army was sent to quell the Pindharis. If the political rule was weak, the Pindharis systematised their plundering and established a "Pindhari Raj", i.e. a parallel rule which extorted from the people who could not be protected by the nominal rule.

### **Characteristics of the Pindhari Raj :**

Very often Pindharis are confused with the dacoits and the mafia. The dacoits are essentially lawbreakers and operate against the established authority. That is why they are popularly known as "Baghis" i.e. rebels. Pindharis operate with the established authority and consequently create a more viable system. The mafia is essentially an American phenomenon. The Indian parallel is perhaps the "Thugs" who befriended, looted and killed in the name of the Goddess. The mafia and the Thugs have roots in a specific community and operate in relatively small homogeneous groups. The Pindharis are cosmopolitan and consequently are able to establish wider linkages and attain greater viability.



Similarly, Pindharis are different from hoodlum groups like rebellious students, unemployed youths, etc. Who are notorious in the northern and eastern parts of India for chain-pulling in railways, causing disturbances in public places and damaging public and private property indiscriminately. These hooligans cause a lot of damage with very little benefit to themselves. By and large they are venting their frustrations. Pindharis operate for specific personal advantage and are not easily frustrated.

When the "Pindhari Raj" becomes operative, the following characteristics of organisational management become evident :

1. Leaders with strong but localised following emerge. They try to group these followers into gangs with 'total' loyalty to the respective leaders.
2. The leaders openly advocate the narrow goals of their followers without any hindrance from wider or higher values.
3. Actions are unrestricted and violence is used widely to achieve the goals.
4. Resources are converted into money and muscles to facilitate violence and linkages.
5. The organisation structure is person-centred with no scope for debate on internal differences.
6. Linkages are established with other power groups for mutual protection and sharing of loot.

The "Pindhari Raj" becomes a viable system as long as it allows some economic production in agriculture and industry. Linkage with power groups in these sectors makes it possible for these sectors to treat the "Pindhari Raj" as a parallel taxing authority. Very often the "Pindhari Raj" provides sufficient protection to evade the legitimate taxation and then the "Pindhari Raj" is maintained at the cost of the normal administration.

Those who are not the members of any power group are doomed to bear the burden of both the inane statutory administration and the "Pindhari Raj".

### **Organisational Management during British Rule**

The British rule in India sought to unify the country for their administrative and commercial convenience. This involved not only an improvement in the infra-structure (e.g. construction of railways and roads), but also a different style of organisational management which gave rise to "All-India" organisation. Some of these unitary country-wide organisations were created by the Britishers themselves—e.g. defence services,

civil service, judicial service, police service, etc. Other non-government organisations were modelled on the same country-wide basis. Political parties like the the Indian National Congress (with its "All-India" Congress Committee), professional organisations like the Bar Council and Medical Council, trade unions, employer organisations, etc. were country-wide in their character.

This involved a change in organisational management as follows :

## 1. Organisation Variables :

- A. **Leadership** : The leaders sought recognition on a national level trying to set lofty goals that would transcend the narrow interests of the various groups of followers. This required a "Substantive" leadership covering both the setting of goals and defining the procedures—as distinguished from the Purely procedural leadership that characterised the earlier era.
- B. **Ideology** : Specialisation of values, objectives and operational methods had to be based on doctrines and ideologies to provide the lofty ideals that facilitated transcendence of narrow interests.
- C. **Programme** : Actions related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the organisation had to be effective on the national scale. This often meant use of non-violent constitutional means as violent methods were liable to be suppressed ruthlessly even before they could make universal impact.
- D. **Resources** : Nationwide organisations required large resources to support their activities and this meant widening the base and working for grass-root support.
- E. **Structure** : A hierarchial structure allocating authorities and responsibilities become essential to handle the programme and the resources.

## 2. Linkages :

- A. **Enabling Linkages** : A continuous liaison with other national power centres was essential to exert a joint impact, and get the consequent authority and resources.
- B. **Functional Linkages** : The national organisation maintained linkage with the society (which provided the inputs) and other organisations that had an impact of the outputs of the organisation.)
- C. **Normative Linkages** : Linkage with other organisations with similar ideologies and/or programmes became an important exercise.



**3. Viability :** National acceptance became essential to maintain the viability of the organisations.

### **Impact of Changed Organisational Management on the Pindhais.**

The history records the elimination of the Pindharies by the British Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck through police and military action. However, it must be noted that police and military action does not eliminate any groups, unless the organisational management supports the elimination. Dacoits in the Chambal Valley, insurgents in the north-eastern border states, etc. have demonstrated that police or military action succeeds in killing or otherwise immobilising a few individuals – but they are soon replaced by others since their organisational system has viability in the social milieu.

The real elimination of the Pindharies was carried out of the new national organisations set up during the British rule. These organisations made the Pindhari organisations untenable. Narrow-interest leaderships based on violence lost social sympathies and could be crushed through police action.

### **Organisational Management in the Post-independence Era**

During the independence struggle, the organisations created under the British rule become targets of attack. The administrative, defence, police, judicial and educational systems were criticized with particular severity as these were supposed to subserve imperialistic purposes. Fundamental changes in these systems were promised as a part of post-independence programme of national development.

However, after the achievement of independence, the fervour to revolutionise these systems subsided to a great extent amongst our senior leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There were second thoughts even on promised re-organisation of states on linguistic principles. Although the constitution of India was partially federal, many residual powers were left at the Centre to give it a unitary character in actual operation. Thus, there was a distinct reluctance to depart drastically from the unitary organisations created by the British rule.

### **New Organisational Management in the Political Sphere**

- 1. Change in Leadership style :** The environmental pressures for change became stronger and ultimately resulted first in the creation of linguistic states. The process continued with continual demands for balkanisation. Regional leadership was able to give assured and quicker personal benefits to the leaders. Regional parties like D. M. K. and Akali Dal or even sub-regional groups



like the Shiv Sena and Jharkhand Party were able to make a significant political impact. Even national parties had difficulties in keeping their state units under control in the case of regional conflicts of interests like border disputes, river disputes, etc. Thus, leadership became more and more subservient to localised interests in preference to national goals.

2. **Change in Ideology :** The change in leadership style had its impact on doctrines and ideologies. The Political processes became increasingly cynical and continual migration of leaders with their groups of followers from party to party became a part of political life.
3. **Change in Programme :** A similar change occurred in the programme pursued by the parties. With the advent of independence, formation of "Our - own" government and provision of constitutional means for expressing dissent, it was felt that violent action would be unnecessary. However, in practice such action became more commonplace. The police found it difficult to control the violence and military had to be called out occasionally to quell civic disturbances. Perhaps, more people were killed in these police and military actions in the last 34 years of independence as compared to the about 134 years of British rule.
4. **Change in Resources :** The democratic election procedure envisaged in the Indian constitution meant requirement of very large resources by political parties - far beyond their capability of collection from their members. This necessitated alliances with persons ready to provide such resources and the quid pro quo arrangements were invariably included in such alliances.
5. **Change in Structure :** With these changes - and particularly the re-emergence of personalistic leadership - the hierarchical structure with allocated responsibilities and authorities became irrelevant. Democratic elections and institution of party discipline became increasingly difficult and parties became essentially short-term alliances between political pindharis.

#### **Linkages of the Political Pindharis :**

The political changes had their repercussions on other organisations. Persons with Pindhari tendencies in the other organisations readily joined the political Pindharis and these linkage paved the way first to the Pindhari systems and ultimately towards the Pindhari Raj.

Perhaps the first organisation to be affected was the police service. Use of violence becomes safer, if the police are immobilised. Then, the law and order regime gives way to the law of the jungle, where he who cannot resist has to yield to him who cannot be resisted. The police organisation was already being corrupted appreciably due to a plethora of legislation which could not or would not be implemented. A great deal of radicalism in political, social and economic fields was vented through passing of radical statutes. However, the political will and ability to take "hard" decisions was lacking and consequently such laws right from land-reforms to prohibition and untouchability were never enforced seriously. In spite of all threats of "hanging on trees", black-marketing and hoarding continued unabated. If and when strong police officer look action against such operations, he found that the political machinery worked against him - instead of for him. In this situation, the police organisation found it more convenient (and also lucrative) to protect than punish illicit operations. Threats of transfers and inducement of extensions provided the stick and the carrot for the political Pindharis to form linkage with the police organisation. The linkages were progressively extended to cover the administrative service and thus the looters become indentified with the establishment. The only remedy was the use of the judicial organisation - although this was considerably difficult for the common man. However, the pressure to establish the Pindhari linkage with the judiciary kept on increasing. Establishment of this linkage would mean a total lack of recourse from the Pindhari System and the beginning of the Pindhari Raj.

### **Restablishment of the Pindhari System :**

The Pindhari system ushered in the modern era has certain differences with the pre-British rule Pindhari system. In the period prior to the British rule, there were relatively few power-centres in the society. Alliance with the local jagirdar and sawkar (money lender) was adequate for the Pindhari hoardes to loot the ryot. In the current Indian situation, there are several additional power-centres in the Society and an organisational management on a more complex basis is essential to establish the Pindhari System.

First new factor is the emergence of industry with industrialist and trade unions as the new power-centres in the society. There are Pindhari tendencies amongst these power-centres also and these are available for exploitation and formation of linkages. A typical Indian Industrialist is allergic to competition and a Pindhari alliance can protect a monopoly



more effectively than most other means. Trade unions also benefit from Pindhari alliances to eliminate competing trade-unions.

Professionals like doctors and lawyers have been relatively weaker power-centres. But here again protection from income-tax can be a powerful incentive. Even religious organisations can provide useful alliances and religions sanctums have been used effectively as sanctuaries for the Pindharis.

Academics have been easy targets for the Pindharis. The educational system was supposed to be revolutionalised in the post-independence era to subserve the needs of modern India. In actual practice, proliferation of education – particularly at the university level has led to a massive infiltration of Pindharis amongst the students, faculty and administrators.

Dacoits are another vital linkage in the Pindhari system. Police, industrialists and trade unionists are accustomed to use violent methods. However, decoits can add a massive support which can provide a high-powered violence on the tap.

With the formation of these linkages, the only aspect required to establish the Pindhari Raj is a long-term viability. This is possible only if the institutions established under the British rule are destroyed and the society is left with no other recourse but to accept the Pindhari Raj.

#### **Destruction of Unitary Institutions :**

The institutions formed under the British rule as described earlier are now being destroyed as follows :-

- A. Leadership :** Leadership in political, social, economic industrial, labour, academic and professional fields is being devalued and eroded, so that national leadership is replaced by regional Pindharis in each of these fields.
- B. Ideology :** Established codes of conduct have been corrupted and persons are valued by accumulation of assets rather than attainment of reputation amongst fellow-professionals.
- C. Programmes :** Actions in all the fields mentioned above is more often focussed on sycophancy to achieve individual benefit than on actions for long-term benefit of a wider group. Violence plays a major role in these actions as violence even involving murder of police and government officials in public and in broad daylight

goes unpunished due to political patronage and police apathy or even purposeful bungling.

**D. Resources :** The establishment of the parallel economy of black money is a great strength for the parallel regime of the Pindhari Raj – since all the power-centres described above are involved in the black money transactions.

**E. Structure :** All structures are being broken up due to fissiparous tendencies induced by individual greed in absence of belief in a doctrine or an ideology.

### **Varieties of the Pindhari System.**

Since the degree of penetration of the Pindhari System differs in different parts of India, there are several types of Pindhari establishments. However, the common characteristics of all these establishments are :

1. Resort to violence and other illicit actions.
2. Use of these actions to get continuous benefit i.e. the loot.
3. Systematic division of the loot amongst the power-centres constituting the Pindhari System.
4. Mutual protection amongst the linkage groups in the Pindhari System.

The typical Pindhari establishments are outlined below :

#### **1. The industrial Pindharis with Unorganised Labour :**

In several smaller industrial centres, the labour is not organised. In such situations, several employers employ musclemen to exploit the labour suspending implementation of all relevant statutes. Even the statutory minimum wages or overtime are not paid. Needless to say that this is possible because of the linkage of the industrialists with police, factory inspectorate and prominent politicians in that area. In many such cases, the industrialists are themselves politicians controlling the area.

#### **2. The industrial Pindharis with Organised Labour :**

In large industrial centres, some labour leaders have adopted the tactics of hiring musclemen and indulging in violence against the workers, management staff and industrialists. With these tactics, they can 'control' a labour union even with the support of a small minority of workers.



Many of the relatively affluent workers are becoming "White-collarish" and are shy to face violence. In such cases, a union can be captured using totally external hooligan force. In some cases, the Pindhari-type industrialists and labour union leaders have joined hands to exploit the workers from both sides. This type of Pindhari System requires the support of the police and the politicians in power. Withdrawal of the law and order support to the employers or the employees subjects them to the law of the jungle. Typically, such trade union leaders do not belong to any national union. Their "independent" activity facilitates Pindhari linkages.

### **3. The Rural Pindhari :**

In the rural areas, the lower strata of the society including landless labour, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, etc. can be exploited by the upper class – and particularly the landowners – with the protection provided by their linkage with the police, administration and politicians. The upper class is active in politics and forms the base of almost all the political parties. Thus, even a change in the political regime has very little impact on the exploitation.

### **4. The Looting Syndicate :**

Linkage of the decoits with the police and the politicians has created many a Chambal Valley in the rural areas. The combination has now advanced to the urban areas and many cities in the north and east – including the capital of India – are considered unsafe after dark. The dacoits often move in police uniforms reducing further the marginal difference.

### **5. The Academic Pindhari :**

The Pindhari System has taken over the university education – particularly in the north and the east. Pindhari groups amongst students, faculty and university administration have joined the Pindhari from other power groups and institutionalised "mass-copying" which has made a mockery of the total educational process. Student union elections are totally politicalised. Vast sums of money are given by various political parties and as much as Rs. 25,000 are spent by each student contesting to become the President or Secretary of the University Students' Union. Even businessmen finance student elections in return for the muscle-power which can be available on tap (Mehta, 1981). The faculty and the politicians join the examination racket and determine the university ranks of highly connected candidates.

## 6. The Robber Barons :

The cleverest of the Pindhari groups are the Robber Barons who concentrate on looting the national property. Robbing individuals creates a lot of noise. With the level of civic sense in India, robbing the national resources is a quieter operation. Illicit cutting of timber in forests, illegal mining of coal and other minerals, smuggling out ancient sculpture and artifacts, etc. are remunerative activities that arouse very little problems provided linkages are established with the appropriate power centres.

### The "Complete" Pindhari Raj :

When all the Pindhari alliances in a specific geographical area join together, they create the "Complete Pindhari Raj". This phenomenon has already taken place in parts of Bihar and U.P. and is spreading into Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. In such a Pindhari Raj, the normal administration is totally impotent and the Pindhari Groups take over brutally eliminating all opposition.

In such a situation better arms and ammunitions are available to the dacoits than to the police since the dacoits have linkage with the military suppliers and arms smugglers. Consequently, the action to establish the Pindhari Raj is swift and thorough. In the area of Bundelkhand on the border of U.P. and M.P., on an average 50 murders and 30 dacoities are committed every day. In one single police station of Sumerpur village in the Hamirpur district of U.P., between 1st and 23rd April, 1981, 31 murders and 17 dacoities have been registered. The people - particularly the youth staying in this area have come to the conclusion that they can lead a secure life only by joining or cooperating with the Pindhari Raj (Mehta, 1981).

### Contributory Factors leading to the Reestablishment of the Pindhari Raj :

The apparently stable law and order system established under the British rule has proved to be basically unstable. This is not only because of the activities of the Pindharis of the various power centres, but also because of some inherent defects of the Various organisations established in that era. The organisations proved ineffective in the new environment after independence. They lacked the following three essential factors for organisational survival (Jahoda, 1962),

#### 1. Adaptability :

Ability to react with flexibility to changing environmental demands. Most of the organisations created during the British rule essentially for law



and order could not cope with the developmental requirements of the post-independence era.

## **2. Sense of Identity :**

The organisations were elitist and covered less than the top ten percent of the society. As the lower strata became socially, economically and politically active, it could not identify itself with the unitary national organisations. This identity was provided better by the localised Pindhari System.

## **3. Capacity to Test Reality :**

The ability to search out, accurately perceive and correctly interpret the real properties of the environment, particularly those which have relevance for the functioning of the organisation, was lacking in the elitist organisations based essentially in urban - particularly when the centre of gravity of political, economic and social processes shifted to rural areas.

## **The Future of the Pindhari Raj :**

The Pindhari Raj may be analysed with respect to the organisational processes (mentioned earlier in formulating the conceptual framework for organisational management) as follows :

### **1. Birth Process :**

During this process, an organisation originates and nurtures its basic idea, chooses its organisational form and location and mobilises its resources and support. The Pindhari Raj has already undergone this process and there is a widespread incidence of Pindhari philosophy as discussed earlier.

### **2. Development Process :**

During this process, the organisation creates its operating style or "culture", establishes its identity and expands its scope. The Pindhari Raj is now in this process. It has established an extortive style based on violence, instituted a culture of narrow short-term loyalties and is expanding its scope.

### **3. Renewal Process :**

During this process, the organisation provides for change of leadership, restructuring, integration and redefining of original purpose. The Pindhari Raj has not been able to cope with this process so far. The change of leadership has been difficult and often the feudal dynastic succession system has to be resorted to. This feudal approach also makes

the restructuring and reorientation dependent on the personality of the successor.

#### 4. Stabilisation Process :

During this process, the organisation establishes its relevance to the society and becomes its integral Part. Although the Pindhari Raj is being accepted in many areas it is through a realistic acceptance of the failure of the other organisations rather than through a preference for the Pindhari exploitation. This poses the greatest danger to the stability of the Pindhari Raj.

In fact, the long-term survival of an organisation depends upon its ability of effectively coping with the following means (Schein, 1969 and 1973).

1. Ability to take in and communicate information reliably and validly : This is difficult in the Pindhari Raj as the organisation culture based on fear impedes free communication.

2. Internal flexibility and creativity to make the changes are demanded by the information obtained : This also is a difficult task – partly due to lack of reliable information and partly due to linkages which restrict flexibility and creative action.

3. Integration and commitment to the ideology of the organisation, from which comes the willingness to change : Since there is no ideology except personal affluence and power and since the linkages make the system somewhat inflexible, there is very low willingness to change even when the current organisational culture is causing hostile reaction in the society.

4. Internal climate of support and freedom from threat, since being threatened undermines good communication, reduces flexibility and stimulates self-protection rather than concern for the total system : This is the most difficult aspect for the Pindhari Raj since the internal system is invariable autocratic and based on fear. Consequently, self-protection is bound to get precedence over concern for the total system.

#### Conclusion

Winston Churchill criticised the efforts to give freedom to India on the plea that it would herald the return of the Pindhari Raj. In spite of the fact that most Indians are not sympathetic to Churchill's philosophy, we seem to be working vigorously to fulfill his prophecy.



Pindhari Raj will not vanish by moral sermons : The only way to counter it is to strengthen national organisations weeding out the Pindharis. This is a long and strenuous course – but the only one to prevent the return of the Pindhari Raj.

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