

**G.VENKATASWAMY NAIDU COLLEGE****(Autonomous)**

(Re-accredited by NAAC with 'A' Grade)

(STAR College Status by DBT-MST, Govt. of India)

**Kovilpatti – 628 502****DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION**

(For those admitted from the academic year 2021 and onwards)

Category	Course Type	Course Code	Course Title	Lecture (L)	Tutorial (T)	Practical (P)	Credit (C)
Part - IV	Open Elective - Self Study Course	U21BB6OE	Inspiring Leaders	-	-	-	3

**Preamble**

Through this course the students will be able to understand the Leadership Concepts and principles and also they will be influenced by success stories of Business and revolutionary leaders.

On successful completion of the course, the learners will be able to

S.No	Course Outcome	Knowledge Level (RBT)
CO1	remember the basic concepts of Leadership	K1,
CO2	understand the basic structure of leadership and its concepts	K2
CO3	extract the real time business ideas from the inspiring stories of contemporary Business Leaders	K3
CO4	Get practical exposures by analyzing from the success stories of business leaders b	K4
CO5	Evaluate the strategies and philosophies of successful Leaders.	K5

**K1 – Remember; K2 – Understand; K3 – Apply; K4 – Analyze;  
K5 – Evaluate; K6 – Create.**

**CO-PO Mapping (Course Articulation Matrix)**

<b>POs COs</b>	<b>PO1</b>	<b>PO2</b>	<b>PO3</b>	<b>PO4</b>	<b>PO5</b>	<b>PO6</b>	<b>PO7</b>
<b>CO1</b>	3	2	1	-	2	-	1
<b>CO2</b>	3	2	1	1	3	2	2
<b>CO3</b>	3	2	-	3	1	2	1
<b>CO4</b>	2	1	1	2		-	1
<b>CO5</b>	1	1	2	1	1	-	-
<b>Total Contribution of COs to POs</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Weighted Percentage of COs Contribution to POs</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>26.6</b>	<b>33.3</b>

### **3-Strongly Correlated, 2-Moderately Correlated, 1-Slightly Correlated**

Analysis various roles, Types and Styles of leaders and leadership

## **COURSE CONTENT**

### **Unit I – Leadership Introduction**

**Leadership** – Definition, Meaning, Nature, Importance, Merits of Leadership.

### **Unit II – Leadership Styles**

Qualities and Roles of Leader – Leadership Styles – Types of Leaders.

### **Unit III - Contemporary Business Leaders**

**Success story** – Mr.Bill Gates (Microsoft) – Mr.Jeff Bezos (Amazon) – Mr.Mark Zuckerberg (Facebook ) - Mr.Mukesh Ambani (Reliance Industries Ltd)

### **Unit IV - Tamil Business Leaders**

**Success story** – Mr.G.Kuppuswamy Naidu (Lakshmi Mills Group) – Mr.V. R. Muthu (Idhayam oil Groups) – Mrs.Indra Nooyi (PepsiCo) – Mr.Shiv Nadar (HCL)

### **Unit V – Political and Revolutionary Leaders**

**Success story** – Mahatma Gandhi – Fidel Castro- Martin Luther King Jr –Ernesto Rafael Che Guevara.

### **TEXT BOOK:**

- **Study Material Prepared by Department Of Business Administration**

### **REFERENCE BOOKS:**

- Organizational Behavior – Dr.P.C.Sekar, ENPEE Publications, Madurai, Second edition.
- Organizational Behavior – K.Aswathappa, Himalaya Publishing house, Mumbai,Fourth revised edition.

### **WEB REFERENCES:**

- 1.[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Che\\_Guevara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Che_Guevara)
2. <https://www.thegreatcourses.com/courses/36-revolutionary-figures-of-history.html>
- 3.[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary\\_movement\\_for\\_Indian\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_movement_for_Indian_independence)
- 4.<https://ambition.com/blog/entry/2016-5-12-business-team-leader-icons/>

## **Unit - I**

### **LEADERSHIP INTRODUCTION**

#### ***What is Leadership? – Meaning & Definition***

Leadership is a process by which an executive can direct, guide and influence the behavior and work of others towards accomplishment of specific goals in a given situation. Leadership is the ability of a manager to induce the subordinates to work with confidence and zeal.

Leadership is the potential to influence behaviour of others. It is also defined as the capacity to influence a group towards the realization of a goal. Leaders are required to develop future visions, and to motivate the organizational members to want to achieve the visions.

According to Keith Davis, “Leadership is the ability to persuade others to seek defined objectives enthusiastically. It is the human factor which binds a group together and motivates it towards goals.”

#### **Nature / Characteristics of Leadership**

1. It is a inter-personal process in which a manager is into influencing and guiding workers towards attainment of goals.
2. It denotes a few qualities to be present in a person which includes intelligence, maturity and personality.
3. It is a group process. It involves two or more people interacting with each other.
4. A leader is involved in shaping and moulding the behaviour of the group towards accomplishment of organizational goals.
5. Leadership is situation bound. There is no best style of leadership. It all depends upon tackling with the situations.

## ***Importance of Leadership***

Leadership is an important function of management which helps to maximize efficiency and to achieve organizational goals. The following points justify the importance of leadership in a concern.

1. **Initiates action-** Leader is a person who starts the work by communicating the policies and plans to the subordinates from where the work actually starts.
2. **Motivation-** A leader proves to be playing an incentive role in the concern's working. He motivates the employees with economic and non-economic rewards and thereby gets the work from the subordinates.
3. **Providing guidance-** A leader has to not only supervise but also play a guiding role for the subordinates. Guidance here means instructing the subordinates the way they have to perform their work effectively and efficiently.
4. **Creating confidence-** Confidence is an important factor which can be achieved through expressing the work efforts to the subordinates, explaining them clearly their role and giving them guidelines to achieve the goals effectively. It is also important to hear the employees with regards to their complaints and problems.
5. **Building morale-** Morale denotes willing co-operation of the employees towards their work and getting them into confidence and winning their trust. A leader can be a morale booster by achieving full co-operation so that they perform with best of their abilities as they work to achieve goals.
6. **Builds work environment-** Management is getting things done from people. An efficient work environment helps in sound and stable growth. Therefore, human relations should be kept into mind by a leader. He should have personal contacts with employees and should listen to their problems and solve them. He should treat employees on humanitarian terms.
7. **Co-ordination-** Co-ordination can be achieved through reconciling personal interests with organizational goals. This synchronization can be achieved through proper and effective co-ordination which should be primary motive of a leader.

## Unit II

### LEADERSHIP STYLES

#### *Qualities of Leader*

A leader has got multidimensional traits in him which makes him appealing and effective in behavior. The following are the requisites to be present in a good leader:

1. **Physical appearance-** A leader must have a pleasing appearance. Physique and health are very important for a good leader.
2. **Vision and foresight-** A leader cannot maintain influence unless he exhibits that he is forward looking. He has to visualize situations and thereby has to frame logical programmes.
3. **Intelligence-** A leader should be intelligent enough to examine problems and difficult situations. He should be analytical who weighs pros and cons and then summarizes the situation. Therefore, a positive bent of mind and mature outlook is very important.
4. **Communicative skills-** A leader must be able to communicate the policies and procedures clearly, precisely and effectively. This can be helpful in persuasion and stimulation.
5. **Objective-** A leader has to be having a fair outlook which is free from bias and which does not reflect his willingness towards a particular individual. He should develop his own opinion and should base his judgement on facts and logic.
6. **Knowledge of work-** A leader should be very precisely knowing the nature of work of his subordinates because it is then he can win the trust and confidence of his subordinates.
7. **Sense of responsibility-** Responsibility and accountability towards an individual's work is very important to bring a sense of influence. A leader must have a sense of responsibility towards organizational goals because only then he can get maximum of capabilities exploited in a real sense. For this, he has to motivate himself and arouse and urge to give best of his abilities. Only then he can motivate the subordinates to the best.
8. **Self-confidence and will-power-** Confidence in himself is important to earn the confidence of the subordinates. He should be trustworthy and should handle the situations with full will power.
9. **Humanist-** This trait to be present in a leader is essential because he deals with human beings and is in personal contact with them. He has to handle the personal problems of his

subordinates with great care and attention. Therefore, treating the human beings on humanitarian grounds is essential for building a congenial environment.

10. **Empathy-** It is an old adage “Stepping into the shoes of others”. This is very important because fair judgement and objectivity comes only then. A leader should understand the problems and complaints of employees and should also have a complete view of the needs and aspirations of the employees. This helps in improving human relations and personal contacts with the employees.

From the above qualities present in a leader, one can understand the scope of leadership and its importance for scope of business. A leader cannot have all traits at one time. But a few of them helps in achieving effective results.

### ***Role of a Leader***

Following are the main roles of a leader in an organization:

1. **Required at all levels-** Leadership is a function which is important at all [levels of management](#). In the top level, it is important for getting co-operation in formulation of plans and policies. In the middle and lower level, it is required for interpretation and execution of plans and programmes framed by the top management. Leadership can be exercised through guidance and counseling of the subordinates at the time of execution of plans.
2. **Representative of the organization-** A leader, i.e., a manager is said to be the representative of the enterprise. He has to represent the concern at seminars, conferences, general meetings, etc. His role is to communicate the rationale of the enterprise to outside public. He is also representative of the own department which he leads.
3. **Integrates and reconciles the personal goals with organizational goals-** A leader through leadership traits helps in reconciling/ integrating the personal goals of the employees with the organizational goals. He is trying to co-ordinate the efforts of people towards a common purpose and thereby achieves objectives. This can be done only if he can influence and get willing co-operation and urge to accomplish the objectives.
4. **He solicits support-** A leader is a manager and besides that he is a person who entertains and invites support and co-operation of subordinates. This he can do by his personality, intelligence, maturity and experience which can provide him positive result. In this regard, a leader has to invite suggestions and if possible implement them into plans and programmes of enterprise. This way, he can solicit full support of employees which results in willingness to work and thereby effectiveness in running of a concern.

5. **As a friend, philosopher and guide-** A leader must possess the three dimensional traits in him. He can be a friend by sharing the feelings, opinions and desires with the employees. He can be a philosopher by utilizing his intelligence and experience and thereby guiding the employees as and when time requires. He can be a guide by supervising and communicating the employees the plans and policies of top management and secure their co-operation to achieve the goals of a concern. At times he can also play the role of a counselor by counseling and a problem-solving approach. He can listen to the problems of the employees and try to solve them

*Leadership style/types:*

1. Leadership style based on the use of authority:

a. Autocratic leadership:

This type of leadership is based on the use of coercive power. An autocratic leader gives orders and expects compliance. He is dogmatic and leads by the ability to withhold or give punishment or reward.

b. Democratic leadership:

A democratic leader usually consults with subordinates on proposed actions and decisions encourage participation from them and respect their opinion.

c. Free- rein leadership:

A free rein leader gives followers a high degree of independence in their operations. In this type, the leader is considered irresponsible. He keeps minimum controlling and directing authority in his hands. So, he is regarded as one of the members of the group.

2. Management style by Rensis Likert:

a. Exploitative-authoritative:

(Managers/leaders are highly autocratic)

b. Benevolent-authoritative:

(Managers/leaders use both reward and punishment to motivate.)

c. Consultative:

(Managers/leaders try to make use of sub-ordinates ideas by allowing them some participation.)

d. Participative:



(Managers/Leaders have complete trust and confidence in subordinates.)

### 3. Leadership style in Managerial Grid:

A most useful approach to describing leadership style is the managerial grid, developed by Robert Blake and Jane Mouton. the Grid has two dimensions- concern for people and concern for production. Concern for people may included such elements as provision of good working conditions, placement or responsibility on the basis of trust rather than obedience, maintenance of self esteem of workers and good interpersonal relations. Concern for production may also include the attitudes of a supervisor toward a wide variety of things, such a quality of staff services, work efficiency, volume and quality of output etc.

## **Unit – III**

### **CONTEMPORARY BUSINESS LEADERS**

#### **SUCCESS STORY OF BILL GATES**

Bill Gates was born on October 28, 1955 in Seattle in a family having rich business, political and community service background. His great-grandfather was a state legislator and a mayor, his grandfather was vice president of national bank and his father was a lawyer.

Bill believed in achieving his goals through hard work. He also believes that if you are intelligent and know how to use your intelligence, you can reach your goals and targets. From his early days Bill was ambitious, competitive and intelligent. These qualities helped him to attain great position in the profession he chose also Bill was deemed by his peers and his teachers as the smartest kid on campus; Bill's parents came to know their son's intelligence and decided to enroll him in a private school, known for its intense academic environment. That was the most important decision in Bill Gate's life where he was first introduced to computers. Bill Gates and his friends were very much interested in computer and formed "Programmers Group" in late 1968. Being in this group, they found a new way to apply their computer skill in university of Washington. In the next year, they got their first opportunity in Information Sciences Inc. in which they were selected as programmers. ISI (Information Sciences Inc.) agreed to give them royalties, whenever it made money from any of the group's program. As a result of the business deal signed with Information Sciences Inc., the group also became a legal business.

Bill Gates and his close friend Allen formed a new company of their own, Traf-O-Data. They developed a small computer to measure traffic flow. From this project they earned around \$20,000. The era of Traf-O-Data came to an end when Gates left the college. Upon graduating from Lakeside Bill enrolled in Harvard University in 1973, one of the best universities in the country, He didn't know what to do, so he enrolled his name for pre-law. He took the standard freshman courses with the exception of signing up for one of Harvard's toughest mathematics courses. He

did well over there, but he couldn't find it interesting too. He spent many long nights in front of the school's computer and the next day asleep in class. After leaving school, he almost lost himself from the world of computers. Gates and his friend Paul Allen remained in close contact even though they were away from school. They would often discuss new ideas for future projects and the possibility of starting a business one fine day. At the end of Bill's first year, Allen came close to him so that they could follow some of their ideas. That summer they got job in Honeywell. Allen kept on pushing Bill for opening a new software company.

Within a year, Bill Gates dropped out from Harvard. Then he formed Microsoft. Microsoft's vision is "A computer on every desk and Microsoft software on every computer". Bill is a visionary person and works very hard to achieve his vision. His belief in high intelligence and hard work has put him where he is today. He does not believe in mere luck or God's grace, but just hard work and competitiveness. Bill's Microsoft is good competition for other software companies and he will continue to stomp out (challenge) the competition until he dies. He likes to play the game of Risk and the game of world domination. His beliefs are so powerful, which have helped him increase his wealth and his monopoly in the industry.

Bill Gates is not a greedy person. In fact, he is quite giving person when it comes to computers, internet and any kind of funding. Some years back, he visited Chicago's Einstein Elementary School and announced grants benefiting Chicago's schools and museums where he donated a total of \$110,000, a bunch of computers, and provided internet connectivity to number of schools. Secondly, Bill Gates donated 38 million dollars for the building of a computer institute at Stanford University.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF JEFF BEZOS**

In the success story, we are going to share the Jeff Bezos biography, an American entrepreneur and e-commerce pioneer, the creator of online store Amazon.com. He is also the founder and CEO of Blue Origin, a company that aims to make space travel affordable to ordinary people.

Bezos always has his customer approach in mind, no matter what he is working on. His number one priority is making it as available and easily accessible as possible. A hyper-intelligent, ultra driven individual, Bezos, a dual personality, can turn him from a compassionate person to a rough executive within seconds. An extraordinary ambitious person, Jeff Bezos, to this day, seeks to push the possibilities of modern technology beyond the imaginable.

### *Early Life*

Jeffrey Preston "Jeff Bezos" was born on the 12th of January 1964 in Albuquerque, New Mexico. His biological father is Ted Jorgenson, was one of the top unicyclists and part of a local troupe the Unicycle Wranglers who put on a performance at county fairs and circuses while Jeff was still a baby. Jeff's mother, Jacklyn Bezos, was still in her teens when she married Ted, and their marriage lasted for little more than one year only.

### *Education*

Jeff Bezos attended River Oaks Elementary School in Houston from the fourth to sixth grade. He would spend summers at the ranch working on varied tasks such as fixing windmills, laying pipe, vaccinating cattle, and other farm work. His grandfather, Lawrence Gise, was a huge role model

in his life, with this wide-ranging knowledge of science and constant presence on the ranch as well. In the year 2010 commencement speech, Jeff told graduates that his grandfather taught him how “it is harder to be kind than clever.”

Bezos started his first business at school. It was called The Dream Institute, and it was an educational summer camp for fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. There were some books that Bezos required his participants to read.

After a few periods of time, Jeff’s family was moved to Florida and was transferred to Miami Palmetto Senior High School, where he excelled at his studies and realized his love for computers. He was even invited to participate in the Student Science Training Program at the University of Florida, where he won a Silver Knight Award in 1982 and was a National Merit Scholar. Bezos graduated as the school valedictorian and a National Merit Scholar, securing his spot at Princeton University.

Bezos planned to study physics at Princeton University, but he soon decided to return to his love of computers. He graduates with two Bachelor of Science degrees in computer science and electrical engineering from Princeton University.

### *Early Career*

After graduating, Bezos went to Wall Street, where computer science was increasingly in demand and worked in several firms. The Job at Fitel had him flying every week between New York and London.

Bezos stayed in the finance realm with the Bankers Trust, where he rose to vice president and the investment firm D.E. Shaw. The company specialized in the application of computer sciences to the stock market, and Bezos was hired for his overall talent in the field At D.E Shaw.

### *Amazon.com*

Bezos quit D.E Shaw in 1994 and moved to Seattle to click into the potentials of the internet market by opening an online bookstore. He made the decision by drawing up a list of possible products that he could sell with the help of the internet, including software, CDs, and hardware. In the end, books were the choice because of the wide range of titles in existence. Another advantage of an internet store was a then-recent US Supreme Court ruling that mail-order catalogs did not have to pay taxes in states where they did not have a physical presence. In other words, Bezos paid zero tax for the product he sold via the internet.

Bezos decided that Seattle would be a perfect place for his new business at the time because of the tremendous pool of hi-tech talent. Bezos managed to secure \$1 million from his friends and family, enough to set up his business in the garage of his Seattle home.

Bezos initially incorporated the company as “Cadabra” on the 5th of July 1994. Moreover, a year later, he considered changing it when his lawyer misheard the word as “Cadaver,” but that as not the worst one. Another alternative was “MakeltSo.com,” a catchphrase from Captain Picard in Jeff beloved Star Trek.it could have also been “aard.com,” which would help push the company to the front of the website listings. Jeff also registered the domain names Awake.com, Browse.com, Bookmall.com, and Relentless.com. Eventually, Bezos decided on Amazon after looking through

the words that start with A in the dictionary. Bezos liked the resonance between one of the planet's longest rivers and largest bookstore.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF MARK ZUCKERBERG**

Mark Zuckerberg, the man who came up with an idea that helped people to connect with each other around the world. Facebook has not just changed the entire social networking landscape but it has also been successful in the way how millions of people are communicating and keeping in touch with their dear ones.

### *Early Life of Mark Zuckerberg*

Mark Elliot Zuckerberg was born in White Plains, New York, on May 14th, 1984. He was born to an educated family, being the second of four children and the only son to the family. Edward Zuckerberg is Mark's father, he is a dentist who also had a dental practice next to the family house, and his mother, Karen Zuckerberg is a psychiatrist. Arielle, Randi and Donna are Mark's three sisters and all of them were raised in Dobbs Ferry, New York.

Mark at an early age had developed an interest in computer programming. At the age of twelve, Mark Zuckerberg had created a messaging program that was named 'ZuckNet', which was implemented by him as an inter-office communication system for his father's dental practice.

He showed signs of success in his early age, due to which his parents hired a computer programming tutor at the time when he was still in high school in order to provide him with some private lessons. His parents made him enrolled in a prep school in Hampshire. There he showed excellent results in literature and science, also received a degree in classics. After getting graduated from prep school, Mark Zuckerberg enrolled himself at Harvard University.

### *The step towards success*

At the time when Mark Zuckerberg was at Harvard University, he built programs like CourseMatch that helped students to choose their subjects according to the lists of courses from other users. The other program that he built was FaceMash, he created this by hacking the database of Harvard. Both the programs had become wildly popular, but it was supposed to be inappropriate due to which the university made it shut.

Mark Zuckerberg had partnered with his friends in order to create a social networking site. The website was only allowed within Harvard students to connect with each other. It officially went live in June 2004 and was named as "The Facebook".

After the second year, Mark Zuckerberg dropped out from the college as his focus was to pursue Facebook for full-time. By the end of 2004, the website had reached to one million users. Facebook grew from a company that experienced various legal troubles to a company that is being used worldwide.

With the easiest way of communication, Facebook is a medium that helps you to connect with a family member or a friend that is far away from you. Since the inception of Facebook, it has come across many issues including settling of numerous lawsuits but it didn't stop Facebook from growing.

Mark Zuckerberg, the founder of Facebook was successful in not only turning Facebook into a billion-dollar company before the age of thirty but also he made it all while being sued by his former colleagues and business partners.

After the extraordinary success of Facebook, the man behind the social media platform was being noticed by people. Mark Zuckerberg is also known as one of the most influential people in the world and, in terms of net worth, he is also one of the richest person.

### *Conclusion*

Eight years ago, it all started with a coding project in Mark Zuckerberg's dorm room and now that coding project made Mark being the Facebook owner. Facebook is known as the world's largest social networking platform, which helps in connecting people. A single Facebook search will help you to reach someone who is far away.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF MUKESH AMBANI**

We have divided this Mukesh Ambani's Success Story in five parts to cover his success at different stages of life starting from his early life, dropping out from Stanford University, Split between the Ambani Brothers to taking Reliance Industries to new heights.

### *Early Life*

Mukesh Ambani was born on 19 April 1957 in Yemen. This was because his late father and Indian legend Dhirubhai Ambani then worked as a petrol station attendant there.

The family soon moved to India where their standard of living improved as they now lived in a 2 bedroom apartment. It was good times from here as his father successfully set up his business in the textile industry under the brand Vimal. His father soon purchased a 14 story building for the family to live in. Despite this, his father believed that it was best for Mukesh to have a normal childhood. He would use public transport to go to school and never received any allowance. He went onto graduate as a Chemical Engineer from the Institute of Chemical Technology, Mumbai.

### *Dropping out for Reliance*

Mukesh went onto pursue his MBA from Stanford. It was at the same time that his father had successfully beaten the Tata's and Birla's to secure a license for PFY (Polyester Filament Yarn) manufacturing. His father always believed that real-life skills were harnessed through experience, not by sitting in a classroom. Due to this belief, he asked Mukesh to drop out and join him in setting up the plant. Mukesh played an important role in setting up a plant that was way ahead of its time. This was possible because his father always considered him as a business partner and allowed him to contribute without the experience. He went on to further the Reliance footprint by establishing the world's largest petroleum refinery at Jamnagar, Gujarat. Mukesh however did not stop here as he also set up their telecom arm Reliance Communication.

### *Anil vs Mukesh Ambani*

To everyone's surprise, Dhirubhai Ambani passed away from a stroke in 2002. This was the second time he had suffered a stroke. The first time in 1986 post which the company was run by brothers Mukesh and Anil. Their father however passed away without a will. Soon cracks began to develop

in the brothers' relationship which blew up to become a public feud. Their mother decided it was time for the assets of the company to be split between the two brothers. This was necessary to end the feud. Mukesh received Oil and Gas, Refining, and petrochemical companies in the split. Whereas Anil got what was called the rising sun companies – Electricity, Telecom, and Financial services segment. This was a blow to Mukesh as Anil received some companies that Mukesh had worked hard to create and which had a higher growth rate. Mukesh couldn't even enter these industries as the split also came with a non-compete clause. Mukesh however saw his opportunity to get rid of the clause post the crisis of 2008. Anil had found himself in trouble as many of his projects were stuck and required gas at reasonable rates. Mukesh stepped in to supply the gas on the condition that the non-compete clause was annulled. This however cannot be mistaken for brotherly love. What ensued soon after was Mukesh playing a hand to ensure that the deal between Anil's Rcom and South Africa's MTN never took place. This deal would have catapulted RCom to become one of the world's largest mobile companies. Mukesh's quest for the telecom sector was clearly not for business purposes alone. After all, RCom was a company whose creation and early growth was owed to Mukesh. Sadly he had unjustly lost the company in the split. Mukesh spent the next 5 years pouring money he earned from his oil and petrochemical business to create a competitive company in the telecom sector. This seemed to be a crazy decision at the time as the telecom sector was already dominated by a number of giants competing for every morsel in the industry.

### *Jio*

Eventually, Mukesh launched Jio with 4G. What followed was Jio offering the lowest prices possible in the industry making them impossible to compete with. Mukesh's business acumen was clearly visible here. He took advantage of the industry as it had for years benefitted from expensive products in return for poor 2G and 3G services. Jio even forced other players now to offer their products at lower margins. The pricing war that followed soon saw Anil's Reliance Communication wash away. However, Anil wasn't the only one affected. Giants like Bharti Airtel soon realised that Jio was there to dominate. In addition unlike others in the sector, Jio had deep pockets thanks to Reliance's petrol business. Vodafone and Idea barely even managed to survive and their position hasn't improved since. It took the combined efforts of the telecom sector 25 years to build a 2G network across India. It is noteworthy that Jio managed to do this in just 3 years thanks to Mukesh's drive and successful execution.

### *Taking Reliance to new heights*

MukeshAmbani successfully diversified Reliance into a conglomerate that owns businesses across India engaged in energy, petrochemicals, textiles, natural resources, retail, and telecommunications. Apart from setting up Telecomm Giant 'JIO', MukeshAmbani is also slowly venturing into the Retail and e-commerce industry by Partnering with Mark Zuckerberg's Whatsapp. In April 2020, Facebook had invested \$5.7 Bn in Reliance Jio by acquiring a 9.99% stake at a pre-money valuation of \$65.95 Bn. Further to deepen its roots in the Retail segment, Reliance Retail Ventures Ltd (RRVL), a subsidiary of Reliance Industries also acquired Kishore Biyani's Future Group in a ₹24,713 crore deal (which is currently engaged in a legal battle with Amazon). RIL also acquired a majority stake in online pharmacy 'Netmeds' for about ₹620 crores in the same month. Under his leadership, Reliance became the first Indian

company to exceed \$100 billion in market capitalization. It is also currently the most profitable company in India.

The company has been responsible for almost 5% of the revenue the government of India earns from Customs and Excise duty. The growth also propelled him to become the richest man in Asia. His net worth as of 2021 stands at \$76.3 billion. Although being India's richest man for several years now, Mukesh never rested on his laurels and still doesn't. It can be seen in his pursuit to turn Reliance into a zero-carbon company. This is despite Reliance's petrochemical being one of its strongest pillars. Ambani is also often heard saying "Data is the new oil". This highlights a shift in his focus towards the tech sector.

### *Brothers Reunite*

In 2020, Mukesh also stepped up to help his brother Anil who was now broke upon the request of his mother. It was reported by Bloomberg that Mukesh had made Anil beg to receive this favour. To further salt his wounds Anil even furthered his humiliation by publicly thanking his rival. Mukesh goes where business takes him. This can be clearly seen when between 2019-20 period. He had clearly supported data nationalism in order to curb the outflow of Indian user data to companies like Facebook and Google. This soon turned to cooperation with the two companies when Reliance sold stakes to the two in order to become debt-free.

### *Closing Thoughts*

Mukesh Ambani's success story for the better or worse is also India's success story today. This is because the growth of the company today also plays a crucial role in India's growth. What is even more astonishing is that Mukesh not only has managed to make a name for himself. He also has managed to step out of his father's shadow of which towered the country in the last century. It is very rare to come across a second-generation success story. Most of them end up messing up the wealth left behind by their forefathers. This can easily be seen in Anil Ambani's case.

## **Unit – IV**

### **TAMIL BUSINESS LEADERS**

#### **SUCCESS STORY OF G. KUPPUSWAMY NAIDU**

Lakshmi Mills stands for the strong values on which it was incorporated. Starting with the founder, G. Kuppuswamy Naidu, the company has strengthened its integrity and vision over time.

Today, the name Lakshmi is a celebration of a legend, a success that brought prosperity to all who were associated with it. And all this began with the fiery passion of one man, G. Kuppuswamy Naidu, a visionary who made sure his values were taught to the generations that came after him. Values that were adhered to, no matter what the situation. He was the guiding light of the group, and continues to shine on and lead the way even after his passing on in 1942.

The company was started by the visionary promoter Mr. G Kuppuswamy Naidu in the year 1910. India was under the British Rule and the textile industry was dominated by the factories owned

and managed by them. Starting out as suppliers of raw material, Mr. Naidu established one of the country's first Indian owned textile companies.

100 years later, the stellar reputation of the Lakshmi Group of Companies in Coimbatore, is a tribute to his timeless vision of sustainable standards of excellence.

It has two composite textile units in Coimbatore: Avinashi Road and Palladam and one in Kovilpatti. The promoters of the mill were also instrumental in starting various textile machinery companies notably LMW and medical and educational institutions. The unit in Coimbatore in Papanayakanpalayam is also a well-known famous landmark of the city.

The founder G. Kuppuswami Naidu born in Papanayakanpalayam, Coimbatore was into cotton ginning and trading. Lakshmi Mills was incorporated in 1910 as a composite textile mill to produce cotton yarn and fabric cloth under 'Lakshmi Mills' label in Avinashi Road. In mid-1940s second unit was started at Kovilpatti, Tamil Nadu and in mid-1960s Palladam unit commenced operations. In 1977, Coimbatore Cotton Mills, established in the 1930s as a composite textile unit Singanailur was merged into Lakshmi Mills. This unit was under Lakshmi Mills management since the 1950s. By 1960s staple fibre production was added to the product line. The company had showrooms in prominent cities and town in South India to sell suiting, shirts, sarees and other textile products

Lakshmi Mills was also instrumental in the group's expansion into textile machinery companies like LMW, Lakshmi Automatic Looms, Lakshmi Card Clothing, Lakshmi Ring Travellers. The management along with R.Venkataswamy family set up the viscose staple yarn production unit South India Viscose with technology license from SNIA Viscosa of Milan, Italy.

Lakshmi Mills manufactures 100% combed cotton yarns in NE 50s to NE 120s, polyester cotton blended yarns in NE 40s to NE 100s. In addition, the Company manufactures 100% lenzing micro modal/modal/tencel yarns, micro modal/modal cotton blended yarns, 100% micro tencel yarn, tencel/cotton blended yarn.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF V R MUTHU**

V. V. Vanniaperumal had an exemplary track record in the business world of Tamil Nadu, South India since 1943. He had three illustrious sons who built up the business empire in edible sesame (Gingelly) oil as traditional family business. Their business base was constructed in the Business town – Virudhunagar, 30 Kms from Madurai Airport.

Mr. V.V.V. Rajendran, son of Mr. V.V. Vanniaperumal was the founder of the IDHAYAM Group in the year 1986. With an experience of more than 43 years, launched sesame oil in a new consumer packing in the brand name 'IDHAYAM Sesame Oil'. 'IDHAYAM', the name gets its origin from 'Hriday' a Sanskrit word, which means 'heart'. IDHAYAM sesame oil is a natural cooking medium. It does not affect the heart, hence the name. IDHAYAM also reduces blood cholesterol. Today just the word 'IDHAYAM', has almost become synonymous with Sesame Oil. The Group was built with the main objective of 'Grow with Truth, Hard Work and Committed Quality' was their key to success.

Within a short span of its launch 'IDHAYAM' entered into millions of homes and also into the hearts of its occupants.



After the demise of the founder of IDHAYAM Mr. V.V.V. Rajendran in 1994 the business onus fell on Mr. Muthu and his able and efficient brothers Mr. Sathyam and Mr. Thendral. They collectively took charge of reins of the Group following the same principles of Mr. V.V.V. Rajendran.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF INDRA NOOYI**

IndraNooyi(born October 28, 1955) is an Indian-American business executive and former chairperson and chief executive officer (CEO) of PepsiCo. In 2017, her final year at PepsiCo, her pay was \$31 million. She has consistently ranked among the world's 100 most powerful women. In 2014, she was ranked at number 13 on the Forbes list of The World's 100 Most Powerful Women and was ranked the second most powerful woman on the Fortune list in 2015. In 2017, she was ranked the second most powerful woman once more on the Forbes list of The 19 Most Powerful Women in Business. She serves on the boards of Amazon and the International Cricket Council. Philips has proposed that Nooyi join their board in May 2021.

### *Early life*

Nooyi was born in Madras (now known as Chennai), Tamil Nadu, India.Nooyi did her schooling in Holy Angels Anglo Indian Higher Secondary School in T. Nagar.

### *Education*

Nooyi received bachelor's degrees in physics, chemistry and mathematics from Madras Christian College of the University of Madras in 1974, and a Post Graduate Programme Diploma from Indian Institute of Management Calcutta in 1976.

In 1978, Nooyi was admitted to Yale School of Management and moved to United States of America (USA) where she earned a Master's degree in Public and Private Management in 1980.

### *Career*

Beginning her career in India, Nooyi held product manager positions at Johnson & Johnson and the textile firm Beardsell Ltd. While attending Yale School of Management, Nooyi completed her summer internship with Booz Allen Hamilton. In 1980, Nooyi joined the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) as a strategy consultant, and then worked at Motorola as Vice President and Director of Corporate Strategy and Planning, followed by a stint at Asea Brown Boveri.

### *PepsiCo*

Nooyi joined PepsiCo in 1994, and was named CEO in 2006, replacing Steven Reinemund, becoming the fifth CEO in PepsiCo's 44-year history. Prior to becoming CEO, Nooyi served as President and Chief Financial Officer, beginning in 2001, she was also named to PepsiCo's Board of Directors. Between February 2000 and April 2001, Nooyi was Senior Vice President, and Chief Financial Officer of PepsiCo. She also served as PepsiCo's Senior Vice President, Corporate Strategy and Development from 1996 until 2000, and as PepsiCo's Senior Vice President, Strategic Planning from 1994 until 1996. Nooyi has directed the company's global strategy for more than a decade and led PepsiCo's restructuring, including the 1997 divestiture of Tricon, now known as Yum! Brands. Tricon included companies like Pizza Hut, KFC, and Taco Bell under its umbrella.

The financial gains from this spinoff allowed the company to increase the pace of its share buyback strategy, thereby giving it more leverage to pursue future acquisitions without as much shareholder backlash. Nooyi also took the lead in the acquisition of Tropicana in 1998, and the merger with Quaker Oats Company, which also brought Gatorade in 2001. The \$3.3 billion acquisition of Tropicana initially faced opposition from other PepsiCo executives and Wall Street critics.[citation needed] Acquiring Tropicana allowed PepsiCo to gain a competitive edge; Tropicana at the time captured 44% of the chilled orange juice segment, the fastest growing segment of the juice market, an especially positive metric when compared to Coca-Cola's Minute Maid which captured less than half of Tropicana's market share.[citation needed] The Quaker Oats Company's ownership of Gatorade was a positive strategic move for PepsiCo, since Gatorade was responsible for 80% of sports drink sales at the time. Similar to the Tropicana acquisition, this strategic move gave PepsiCo leverage against Coca-Cola, owner of Powerade – second in the sports drink segment. PepsiCo's annual net profit rose from \$2.7 billion to \$6.5 billion.

Nooyi was named on Wall Street Journal's list of 50 women to watch in 2007 and 2008, and was listed among Time's 100 Most Influential People in The World in 2007 and 2008. Forbes named her the #3 most powerful woman in 2008. In 2014, she was ranked #13 by Forbes. Fortune ranked her the #1 in the list of Most Powerful Women in Business in 2009 and 2010. On 7 October 2010, Fortune magazine ranked her the 6th most powerful woman in the world. In Fortune's Most Powerful Women List of 2015, Nooyi ranked second.

Nooyi's strategic redirection of PepsiCo, called Performance with a Purpose, has been largely successful and involved creating long-term growth while leaving a positive impact on society and the environment. She reclassified PepsiCo's products into three categories: "fun for you" (such as potato chips and regular soda), "better for you" (diet or low-fat versions of snacks and sodas), and "good for you" (items such as oatmeal). Her initiative was backed up with ample funding. She moved corporate spending away from junk foods and into the healthier alternatives, with the aim of improving the healthiness of even the "fun" offerings. In 2015, Nooyi removed aspartame from Diet Pepsi, furthering the shift towards healthier foods, despite lack of evidence of aspartame's harmful effects.

As part of Performance with a Purpose, Nooyi also focused on environmental concerns and sustainability, redesigning packaging to reduce waste, conserving water, switching to renewable energy sources and recycling. In 2020, company-operated U.S. facilities are using 100% renewable electricity. The third component of Performance with a Purpose involved creating a culture where workers were encouraged to stay with the company. As one example, Nooyi wrote to the parents of her leadership team and visited their homes to create the personal connection. Nooyi has stated an intent to develop a line of snacks marketed specifically for women, feeling that it is a hitherto unexplored category. In a radio interview, Nooyi stated that PepsiCo is getting ready to launch products designed and packaged as per women's preferences, and based on behavioral differences in the way men and women consume snacks. On August 6, 2018, Nooyi stepped down as CEO, and Ramon Laguarta, a 22-year veteran of PepsiCo, replaced her on October 3, as well as becoming a member of the board of directors. However, Nooyi continued to serve as the chairman of the company until early 2019. During her tenure, the company's sales grew 80%. Nooyi served as CEO for 12 years, 7 years longer than the average CEO tenure at large companies according to an Equilar study.

### *Connecticut public service*

In 2019, Nooyi became the co-director of the newly created Connecticut Economic Resource Center, a public-private partnership with the Connecticut Department of Economic and Community Development. She will help draft the state's new economic development strategy. Nooyi is a resident of Connecticut and a Yale SOM classmate of Connecticut Governor Ned Lamont. In April 2020, it was announced that Nooyi – along with Yale epidemiologist Dr. Albert Ko – will represent Connecticut on the six-state working group planning for the careful easing of COVID-19 restrictions. Both Nooyi and Ko will also co-chair the Reopen Connecticut Advisory Group. Nooyi is also the co-chair of Connecticut-based nonprofit organization AdvanceCT.

### *Remuneration*

While CEO of PepsiCo in 2011, Nooyi earned \$17 million, which included a base salary of \$1.9 million, a cash bonus of \$2.5 million, pension value and deferred remuneration of \$3 million. By 2014, her total remuneration had grown to \$19,087,832, including \$5.5 million of equity.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF SHIV NADAR**

Shiv Nadar, a billionaire industrialist and philanthropist from India, is the founder of Hindustan Computers Limited (HCL) and currently serves as Chairman of the IT giant. Today HCL has a global presence in 42 countries in the form of offices, delivery centres and innovation labs with an employee strength of more than 1,37,000 professionals serving in various positions. What began in a modest Delhi ‘barsati’ (small shed) today boasts of revenue worth \$8.3 billion and more, with each passing year. Under his watchful eye, HCL began producing first generation microprocessors in the 1980s when his only worldwide contemporary in the industry was Steve Jobs. The company steadily grew its product range to include PCs, computer hardware, UNIX based operating system and the first relational database management system. He funded India’s pioneer computer education institution, NIIT that succeeded in producing the first wave of proficient human resource for the country’s future IT industry. As a philanthropist, he created Shiv Nadar Foundation, which on the back of his donations (more than \$62 million to date) has created schools and institutions that provide quality education to thousands of under-privileged kids and deserving students across the country.

### *Childhood & Early Life*

Shiv Nadar was born on 14th July 1945, to Sivasubramaniya and Vamasundari Devi in Tiruchendur, Tamil Nadu India. He did his schooling from Town Higher Secondary School, Kumbakonam and got his bachelor's degree from PSG College of Technology, Coimbatore in the field of electrical and electronics engineering.

### *Career*

Shiv Nadar began his career working at Pune based Walchand Group's Cooper Engineering in 1967 but soon moved north to Delhi Cloth Mills (DCM) joining their calculator division as an engineer. He, along with six other colleagues; AjaiChowdhry, Arjun Malhotra, Subhash Arora, D.S. Puri and Yogesh Vaidya, quit DCM in 1976 and founded Microcomp Limited. The company sold tele-digital calculators under the brand name ‘Televista’. Microcomp was renamed Hindustan Computers Limited (HCL) on August 1976, which was set up on land given to them by the Uttar

Pradesh state government, and a starting capital of Rs. 187,000 cumulated by the founding group. When George Fernandez became the country's industry minister in 1977, it led to the exit of multinational companies like IBM and Coca-Cola. On the flipside, it gave HCL a wider market space to sell their microcomputers in India.

In 1980, Shiv Nadar set up Far East Computers in Singapore to sell computer hardware in the region. The company achieved sales worth Rs.10,00,000 in the first year alone. When NIIT (National Institute of Information Technology) was setup in 1981 to address the growing need for computer education in the country, Nadar invested heavily into the institution. He was its biggest shareholder till 2003. By 1983, HCL was not only producing in-house 16-bit microprocessors but also developed its own relational data base management system, and a client-server architecture the very next year.

As the Indian government decided to permit technology imports in 1984, HCL flew across the globe to source computer parts and launched 'Busybee', a personal computer running a native UNIX based operating system developed by the company. In 1989, he formed HCL America to take advantage of the mammoth computer hardware market of USA. But the machines failed to get American environmental clearance, which was remedied in 1991 when HCL partnered with Hewlett Packard to form HCL HP Limited and finally began seeing positive revenue figures in the country. Under his stewardship, HCL made forays into the telecommunications market in 1994 by partnering with Nokia and Eriksson to distribute cell phones and mobile switches in India.

In 1998, HCL lost one of its largest shareholders in Arjun Malhotra when he left the company to start his own venture. To counteract this, Shiv Nadar listed HCL in the Indian Stock Exchange in 1999 thus making funds available for the IT giant once again. From 2000 to 2006, Shiv Nadar went into even more partnerships and acquisitions to make HCL a global software venture. It began with a BPO in Ireland in 2001 in partnership with British Telecom, and involved agreements with Boeing, Japan based NEC and Deutsche Bank. In 2007, VineetNayar was named CEO of HCL Technologies, thus letting Nadar move away from day-to-day corporate affairs and focus on his philanthropic dreams. He however continues to be Chairman of HCL and its largest shareholder.

### *Major Works*

HCL began producing microcomputers in the 1980s, its only global counterpart at the time was Steve Job's Macintosh.

### *Philanthropic Works*

He created the Shiv Nadar Foundation in 1994 to realise his dream in empowering the future generations of India through merit-based, quality education. The foundation's first initiative was Sri SivasubramaniyaNadar (SSN) College of Engineering which opened in Chennai in 1996 and is named after his father. In North India, he opened 'VidyaGyan' and 'Shiv Nadar School' to offer the best school education to underprivileged children in that region. Shiv Nadar University, established in 2011 in Greater Noida, Delhi-NCR identifies as India's Ivy-League institution. Other projects of the foundation include the SHIKSHA initiative for adult education and KiranNadar Museum of Art.

### *Awards & Achievements*

- ✓ In 2008, Shiv Nadar was awarded the Padma Bhushan by the President of India recognizing his pioneering work and influence in the field of trade and industry.
- ✓ He received the 'BNP Paribas Grand Prize for Individual Philanthropy' in 2013 for Shiv Nadar Foundation, a pan-India educational initiative based on meritocracy.
- ✓ He was named 'The Outstanding Philanthropist of the Year' by Forbes International in 2015.
- ✓ He topped the Philanthropy list of Hurun India in 2016 and again in 2019.

### *Family & Personal Life*

Shiv Nadar is married to KiranNadar and they have a daughter, RoshniNadar, who is the Vice-Chairman of HCL.

## **Unit – V**

### **POLITICAL AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS**

#### **SUCCESS STORY OF MAHATMA GANDHI**

Mohandas Gandhi (October 2, 1869–January 30, 1948) was the father of the Indian independence movement. While fighting discrimination in South Africa, Gandhi developed satyagraha, a

nonviolent way of protesting injustice. Returning to his birthplace of India, Gandhi spent his remaining years working to end British rule of his country and to better the lives of India's poorest classes.

### *Fast Facts: Mohandas Gandhi*

- ✓ Known For: Leader of India's independence movement
- ✓ Also Known As: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Mahatma ("Great Soul"), Father of the Nation, Bapu ("Father"), Gandhiji
- ✓ Born: October 2, 1869 in Porbandar, India
- ✓ Parents: Karamchand and Putlibai Gandhi
- ✓ Died: January 30, 1948 in New Delhi, India
- ✓ Education: Law degree, Inner Temple, London, England
- ✓ Published Works: Mohandas K. Gandhi, Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Freedom's Battle
- ✓ Spouse: Kasturba Kapadia
- ✓ Children: Harilal Gandhi, Manilal Gandhi, Ramdas Gandhi, Devdas Gandhi

### *Early Life*

Mohandas Gandhi was born October 2, 1869, in Porbandar, India, the last child of his father Karamchand Gandhi and his fourth wife Putlibai. Young Gandhi was a shy, mediocre student. At age 13, he married Kasturba Kapadia as part of an arranged marriage. She bore four sons and supported Gandhi's endeavors until her 1944 death.

In September 1888 at age 18, Gandhi left India alone to study law in London. He attempted to become an English gentleman, buying suits, fine-tuning his English accent, learning French, and taking music lessons. Deciding that was a waste of time and money, he spent the rest of his three-year stay as a serious student living a simple lifestyle.

Gandhi also adopted vegetarianism and joined the London Vegetarian Society, whose intellectual crowd introduced Gandhi to authors Henry David Thoreau and Leo Tolstoy. He also studied the "Bhagavad Gita," an epic poem sacred to Hindus. These books' concepts set the foundation for his later beliefs.

Gandhi passed the bar on June 10, 1891, and returned to India. For two years, he attempted to practice law but lacked the knowledge of Indian law and the self-confidence necessary to be a trial lawyer. Instead, he took on a year-long case in South Africa.

### *South Africa*

At 23, Gandhi again left his family and set off for the British-governed Natal province in South Africa in May 1893. After a week, Gandhi was asked to go to the Dutch-governed Transvaal

province. When Gandhi boarded the train, railroad officials ordered him to move to the third-class car. Gandhi, holding first-class tickets, refused. A policeman threw him off the train.

As Gandhi talked to Indians in South Africa, he learned that such experiences were common. Sitting in the cold depot that first night of his trip, Gandhi debated returning to India or fighting the discrimination. He decided that he couldn't ignore these injustices.

Gandhi spent 20 years bettering Indians' rights in South Africa, becoming a resilient, potent leader against discrimination. He learned about Indian grievances, studied the law, wrote letters to officials, and organized petitions. On May 22, 1894, Gandhi established the Natal Indian Congress (NIC). Although it began as an organization for wealthy Indians, Gandhi expanded it to all classes and castes. He became a leader of South Africa's Indian community, his activism covered by newspapers in England and India.

### *Return to India*

In 1896 after three years in South Africa, Gandhi sailed to India to bring his wife and two sons back with him, returning in November. Gandhi's ship was quarantined at the harbor for 23 days, but the real reason for the delay was an angry mob of whites at the dock who believed Gandhi was returning with Indians who would overrun South Africa.

Gandhi sent his family to safety, but he was assaulted with bricks, rotten eggs, and fists. Police escorted him away. Gandhi refuted the claims against him but refused to prosecute those involved. The violence stopped, strengthening Gandhi's prestige.

Influenced by the "Gita," Gandhi wanted to purify his life by following the concepts of aparigraha (nonpossession) and samabhava (equitability). A friend gave him "Unto This Last" by John Ruskin, which inspired Gandhi to establish Phoenix Settlement, a community outside Durban, in June 1904. The settlement focused on eliminating needless possessions and living in full equality. Gandhi moved his family and his newspaper, the Indian Opinion, to the settlement.

In 1906, believing that family life was detracting from his potential as a public advocate, Gandhi took the vow of brahmacharya (abstinence from sex). He simplified his vegetarianism to unspiced, usually uncooked foods—mostly fruits and nuts, which he believed would help quiet his urges.

### *Satyagraha*

Gandhi believed that his vow of brahmacharya allowed him the focus to devise the concept of satyagraha in late 1906. In the simplest sense, satyagraha is passive resistance, but Gandhi described it as "truth force," or natural right. He believed exploitation was possible only if the exploited and the exploiter accepted it, so seeing beyond the current situation provided power to change it.

In practice, satyagraha is nonviolent resistance to injustice. A person using satyagraha could resist injustice by refusing to follow an unjust law or putting up with physical assaults and/or confiscation of his property without anger. There would be no winners or losers; all would understand the "truth" and agree to rescind the unjust law.

Gandhi first organized satyagraha against the Asiatic Registration Law, or Black Act, which passed in March 1907. It required all Indians to be fingerprinted and carry registration documents at all times. Indians refused fingerprinting and picketed documentation offices. Protests were organized, miners went on strike, and Indians illegally traveled from Natal to the Transvaal in opposition to the act. Many protesters, including Gandhi, were beaten and arrested. After seven years of protest, the Black Act was repealed. The nonviolent protest had succeeded.

### *Back to India*

After 20 years in South Africa, Gandhi returned to India. By the time he arrived, press reports of his South African triumphs had made him a national hero. He traveled the country for a year before beginning reforms. Gandhi found that his fame conflicted with observing conditions of the poor, so he wore a loincloth (dhoti) and sandals, the garb of the masses, during this journey. In cold weather, he added a shawl. This became his lifetime wardrobe.

Gandhi founded another communal settlement in Ahmadabad called Sabarmati Ashram. For the next 16 years, Gandhi lived there with his family.

He was also given the honorary title of Mahatma, or "Great Soul." Many credit Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, winner of the 1913 Nobel Prize for Literature, for awarding Gandhi this name. Peasants viewed Gandhi as a holy man, but he disliked the title because it implied he was special. He viewed himself as ordinary.

After the year ended, Gandhi still felt stifled because of World War I. As part of satyagraha, Gandhi had vowed never to take advantage of an opponent's troubles. With the British in a major conflict, Gandhi couldn't fight them for Indian freedom. Instead, he used satyagraha to erase inequities among Indians. Gandhi persuaded landlords to stop forcing tenant farmers to pay increased rent by appealing to their morals and fasted to convince mill owners to settle a strike. Because of Gandhi's prestige, people didn't want to be responsible for his death from fasting.

### *Confronting British*

When the war ended, Gandhi focused on the fight for Indian self-rule (swaraj). In 1919, the British handed Gandhi a cause: the Rowlatt Act, which gave the British nearly free rein to detain "revolutionary" elements without trial. Gandhi organized a hartal (strike), which began on March 30, 1919. Unfortunately, the protest turned violent.

Gandhi ended the hartal once he heard about the violence, but more than 300 Indians had died and more than 1,100 were injured from British reprisals in the city of Amritsar. Satyagraha hadn't been achieved, but the Amritsar Massacre fueled Indian opinions against the British. The violence showed Gandhi that the Indian people didn't fully believe in satyagraha. He spent much of the 1920s advocating for it and struggling to keep protests peaceful.

Gandhi also began advocating self-reliance as a path to freedom. Since the British established India as a colony, Indians had supplied Britain with raw fiber and then imported the resulting cloth from England. Gandhi advocated that Indians spin their own cloth, popularizing the idea by traveling with a spinning wheel, often spinning yarn while giving a speech. The image of the spinning wheel (charkha) became a symbol for independence.



In March 1922, Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in prison for sedition. After two years, he was released following surgery to find his country embroiled in violence between Muslims and Hindus. When Gandhi began a 21-day fast still ill from surgery, many thought he would die, but he rallied. The fast created a temporary peace.

### *Salt March*

In December 1928, Gandhi and the Indian National Congress (INC) announced a challenge to the British government. If India wasn't granted Commonwealth status by December 31, 1929, they would organize a nationwide protest against British taxes. The deadline passed without change.

Gandhi chose to protest the British salt tax because salt was used in everyday cooking, even by the poorest. The Salt March began a nationwide boycott starting March 12, 1930, when Gandhi and 78 followers walked 200 miles from the Sabarmati Ashram to the sea. The group grew along the way, reaching 2,000 to 3,000. When they reached the coastal town of Dandi on April 5, they prayed all night. In the morning, Gandhi made a presentation of picking up a piece of sea salt from the beach. Technically, he had broken the law.

Thus began an endeavor for Indians to make salt. Some picked up loose salt on the beaches, while others evaporated saltwater. Indian-made salt soon was sold nationwide. Peaceful picketing and marches were conducted. The British responded with mass arrests.

### *Protesters Beaten*

When Gandhi announced a march on the government-owned Dharasana Saltworks, the British imprisoned him without trial. Although they hoped Gandhi's arrest would stop the march, they underestimated his followers. The poet Sarojini Naidu led 2,500 marchers. As they reached the waiting police, the marchers were beaten with clubs. News of the brutal beating of peaceful protesters shocked the world.

British viceroy Lord Irwin met with Gandhi and they agreed on the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which granted limited salt production and freedom for the protesters if Gandhi called off the protests. While many Indians believed that Gandhi hadn't gotten enough from the negotiations, he viewed it as a step toward independence.

### *Independence*

After the success of the Salt March, Gandhi conducted another fast that enhanced his image as a holy man or prophet. Dismayed at the adulation, Gandhi retired from politics in 1934 at age 64. He came out of retirement five years later when the British viceroy announced, without consulting Indian leaders, that India would side with England during World War II. This revitalized the Indian independence movement.

Many British parliamentarians realized they were facing mass protests and began discussing an independent India. Although Prime Minister Winston Churchill opposed losing India as a colony, the British announced in March 1941 that it would free India after World War II. Gandhi wanted independence sooner and organized a "Quit India" campaign in 1942. The British again jailed Gandhi.

## *Hindu-Muslim Conflict*

When Gandhi was released in 1944, independence seemed near. Huge disagreements, however, arose between Hindus and Muslims. Because the majority of Indians were Hindu, Muslims feared losing political power if India became independent. The Muslims wanted six provinces in northwest India, where Muslims predominated, to become an independent country. Gandhi opposed partitioning India and tried to bring the sides together, but that proved too difficult even for the Mahatma. Violence erupted; entire towns were burned. Gandhi toured India, hoping his presence could curb the violence. Although violence stopped where Gandhi visited, he couldn't be everywhere.

## *Partition*

The British, seeing India headed for civil war, decided to leave in August 1947. Before leaving, they got the Hindus, against Gandhi's wishes, to agree to a partition plan. On August 15, 1947, Britain granted independence to India and to the newly formed Muslim country of Pakistan.

Millions of Muslims marched from India to Pakistan, and millions of Hindus in Pakistan walked to India. Many refugees died from illness, exposure, and dehydration. As 15 million Indians became uprooted from their homes, Hindus and Muslims attacked each other.

Gandhi once again went on a fast. He would only eat again, he stated, once he saw clear plans to stop the violence. The fast began on January 13, 1948. Realizing that the frail, aged Gandhi couldn't withstand a long fast, the sides collaborated. On January 18, more than 100 representatives approached Gandhi with a promise for peace, ending his fast.

## *Assassination*

Not everyone approved of the plan. Some radical Hindu groups believed that India shouldn't have been partitioned, blaming Gandhi. On January 30, 1948, the 78-year-old Gandhi spent his day discussing issues. Just past 5 p.m., Gandhi began the walk, supported by two grandnieces, to the Birla House, where he was staying in New Delhi, for a prayer meeting. A crowd surrounded him. A young Hindu named Nathuram Godse stopped before him and bowed. Gandhi bowed back. Godse shot Gandhi three times. Although Gandhi had survived five other assassination attempts, he fell to the ground, dead.

## *Legacy*

Gandhi's concept of nonviolent protest attracted the organizers of numerous demonstrations and movements. Civil rights leaders, especially Martin Luther King Jr., adopted Gandhi's model for their own struggles.

Research in the second half of the 20th century established Gandhi as a great mediator and reconciler, resolving conflicts between older moderate politicians and young radicals, political terrorists and parliamentarians, urban intelligentsia and rural masses, Hindus and Muslims, as well as Indians and British. He was the catalyst, if not the initiator, of three major revolutions of the 20th century: movements against colonialism, racism, and violence.

His deepest strivings were spiritual, but unlike many fellow Indians with such aspirations, he didn't retire to a Himalayan cave to meditate. Rather, he took his cave with him everywhere he went. And, he left his thoughts to posterity: His collected writings had reached 100 volumes by the early 21st century.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF FIDEL CASTRO**

Fidel Castro, in full Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz, (born August 13, 1926, near Birán, Cuba—died November 25, 2016, Cuba), political leader of Cuba (1959–2008) who transformed his country into the first communist state in the Western Hemisphere. Castro became a symbol of communist revolution in Latin America. He held the title of premier until 1976 and then began a long tenure as president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers. He handed over provisional power in July 2006 because of health problems and formally relinquished the presidency in February 2008.

Castro was born in southeastern Cuba. His father, Ángel Castro y Argiz, an immigrant from Spain, was a fairly prosperous sugarcane farmer in a locality that had long been dominated by estates of the U.S.-owned United Fruit Company. While married to his first wife, Ángel Castro began an affair with one of his servants, Lina Ruz González, whom he later also married. Together they had seven children; Fidel was one of them, and Raúl, who later became his brother's chief associate in Cuban affairs, was another.

Fidel Castro attended Roman Catholic boarding schools in Santiago de Cuba and then the Catholic high school Belén in Havana, where he proved an accomplished athlete. He was named Havana's outstanding schoolboy sportsman in 1943–44, and he excelled in track and field (in the high jump and middle-distance running), baseball, basketball, and table tennis. In 1945 he entered the School of Law of the University of Havana, where organized violent gangs sought to advance a mixture of romantic goals, political aims, and personal careers. Castro's main activity at the university was politics, and in 1947 he joined an abortive attempt by Dominican exiles and Cubans to invade the Dominican Republic and overthrow Gen. Rafael Trujillo. He then took part in urban riots that broke out in Bogotá, Colombia, in April 1948.

After his graduation in 1950, Castro began to practice law and became a member of the reformist Cuban People's Party (called Ortodoxos). He became their candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives from a Havana district in the elections scheduled for June 1952. In March of that year, however, the former Cuban president, Gen. Fulgencio Batista, overthrew the government of Pres. Carlos Prío Socarrás and canceled the elections.

After legal means failed to dislodge Batista's new dictatorship, Castro began to organize a rebel force for the task in 1953. On July 26, 1953, he led about 160 men in a suicidal attack on the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba in hopes of sparking a popular uprising. Most of the men were killed, and Castro himself was arrested. After a trial in which he conducted an impassioned defense, he was sentenced by the government to 15 years' imprisonment. He and his brother Raúl were released in a political amnesty in 1955, and they went to Mexico to continue their campaign against the Batista regime. There Fidel Castro organized Cuban exiles into a revolutionary group called the 26th of July Movement.

On December 2, 1956, Castro and an armed expedition of 81 men landed on the eastern coast of Cuba from the yacht Granma. All of them were killed or captured except Fidel and Raúl Castro, Ernesto (“Che”) Guevara, and nine others, who retreated into the Sierra Maestra to wage guerrilla warfare against the Batista forces. With the help of growing numbers of revolutionary volunteers throughout the island, Fidel Castro’s forces won a string of victories over the Batista government’s demoralized and poorly led armed forces. Castro’s propaganda efforts proved particularly effective, and as internal political support waned and military defeats multiplied, Batista fled the country on January 1, 1959. Castro’s force of 800 guerrillas had defeated the Cuban government’s 30,000-man professional army.

As the undisputed revolutionary leader, Castro became commander in chief of the armed forces in Cuba’s new provisional government, which had Manuel Urrutia, a moderate liberal, as its president. In February 1959 Castro became premier and thus head of the government. By the time Urrutia was forced to resign in July 1959, Castro had taken effective political power into his own hands.

Castro had come to power with the support of most Cuban city dwellers on the basis of his promises to restore the 1940 constitution, create an honest administration, reinstate full civil and political liberties, and undertake moderate reforms. But once established as Cuba’s leader he began to pursue more radical policies: Cuba’s private commerce and industry were nationalized; sweeping land reforms were instituted; and American businesses and agricultural estates were expropriated. The United States was alienated by these policies and offended by Castro’s fiery new anti-American rhetoric. His trade agreement with the Soviet Union in February 1960 further deepened American distrust. In 1960 most economic ties between Cuba and the United States were severed, and the United States broke diplomatic relations with the island country in January 1961. In April of that year the U.S. government secretly equipped thousands of Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro’s government; their landing at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961, however, was crushed by Castro’s armed forces.

Cuba also began acquiring weapons from the Soviet Union, which soon became the country’s chief supporter and trade partner. In 1962 the Soviet Union secretly stationed ballistic missiles in Cuba that could deliver nuclear warheads to American cities, and in the ensuing confrontation with the United States, the world came close to a nuclear war. The Cuban Missile Crisis ended when the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw its nuclear weapons from Cuba in exchange for a pledge that the United States would withdraw the nuclear-armed missiles it had stationed in Turkey and no longer seek to overthrow Castro’s regime.

In the meantime Castro created a one-party government to exercise dictatorial control over all aspects of Cuba’s political, economic, and cultural life. All political dissent and opposition were ruthlessly suppressed. Many members of the Cuban upper and middle classes felt betrayed by these measures and chose to immigrate to the United States. At the same time, Castro vastly expanded the country’s social services, extending them to all classes of society on an equal basis. Educational and health services were made available to Cubans free of charge, and every citizen was guaranteed employment. The Cuban economy, however, failed to achieve significant growth or to reduce its dependence on the country’s chief export, cane sugar. Economic decision-making power was concentrated in a centralized bureaucracy headed by Castro, who proved to be an inept economic manager. With inefficient industries and a stagnant agriculture, Cuba became increasingly

dependent on favourable Soviet trade policies to maintain its modest standard of living in the face of the United States' continuing trade embargo.

Castro remained premier until 1976, when a new constitution created a National Assembly and Castro became president of that body's State Council. He retained the posts of commander in chief of the armed forces and secretary-general of the Communist Party of Cuba—the only legal political party—and he continued to exercise unquestioned and total control over the government. Castro's brother Raúl, minister of the armed forces, ranked second to him in all government and party posts.

Fidel Castro's early attempts to foment Marxist revolutions elsewhere in Latin America foundered, but Cuban troops played an important role in various conflicts in other less-developed countries, especially in Africa. It was long held that Cuban forces were acting as surrogates for the Soviet Union in these Cold War conflicts. However, scholarship that emerged in the early 21st century made clear that Cuba had acted at its own behest in Africa as Castro sought to spread the Cuban Revolution internationally and to bolster his standing among nonaligned countries and in the less-developed world. From 1975 to 1989, Cuban expeditionary forces fought in the Angolan civil war on the side of the communistic Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. In 1978 Cuban troops assisted Ethiopia in repelling an invasion by Somalia. By the 1980s Castro had emerged as one of the leaders of nonaligned countries, despite his ties to the Soviet Union. He continued to signify his willingness to renew diplomatic relations with the United States, provided that it end its trade embargo against Cuba. In 1980 Castro released a flood of immigrants to the United States when he opened the port of Mariel for five months. The 125,000 immigrants, including some criminals, strained the capacity of U.S. immigration and resettlement facilities.

In the late 1980s, when the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev began to undertake democratic reforms and eastern European countries were allowed to slip out of the Soviet orbit, Castro retained a hard-line stance, espousing the discipline of communism. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 took him by surprise and meant the end of generous Soviet subsidies to Cuba. Castro countered the resulting economic decline and shortages of consumer goods by allowing some economic liberalization and free-market activities while retaining tight controls over the country's political life.

In late 1993 Castro's daughter sought asylum in the United States, where she openly criticized her father's rule. The following year, economic and social unrest led to antigovernment demonstrations, the size of which had not been seen in Cuba in some 35 years. Shortly thereafter Castro lifted restrictions on those wanting to leave the country, and thousands headed for the United States in the largest exodus since the 1980 Mariel "freedom flotilla." In 1998 Castro allowed Pope John Paul II to visit Cuba for the first time.

In 2003 the National Assembly confirmed Castro as president for another five-year term. During that year the Cuban government arrested dozens of independent journalists and activists in a renewed government crackdown on dissidents, and some 75 activists were convicted for conspiring with the United States to subvert the revolution. The following year Castro strengthened his alliance with Venezuelan Pres. Hugo Chávez by helping him bring to fruition the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (Alternativa Bolivariana para las Américas [ALBA]; Alternativa later changed to Alianza ["Alliance"]), a socialist initiative to promote regional commerce, through which Cuba provided health care professionals to Venezuela in exchange for discounted oil.

On July 31, 2006, Fidel Castro passed power on a provisional basis to his brother Raúl in order to recover from surgery for a serious intestinal illness. It was the first time since the 1959 revolution that he ceded control. In February 2008, just days before the National Assembly was to vote for the country's leader, Fidel Castro (who had not appeared in public for 19 months) officially declared that he would not accept another term as president. His announcement that he was stepping down was made through a letter that was addressed to the country and posted on the Web site of the official Communist Party newspaper, Granma. In part it read, "I do not bid you farewell. My only wish is to fight as a soldier of ideas."

In the succeeding months, official photos were released of Fidel Castro in private meetings, and in July 2010 he made a public visit to the National Centre for Scientific Research in Havana. In September, on the eve of the release of the first volume of his memoirs, *The Strategic Victory*, he remarked to a reporter from the United States that "the Cuban model doesn't even work for us anymore." Many took his comment as an admission of the failure of communism. However, Fidel Castro was quick to qualify his remarks in a speech that followed a few days later. Most analysts saw his remarks as offering support for Raúl's introduction of economic reforms that included a massive layoff of government employees as well as increased toleration of private enterprise. In 2011 Fidel stepped down as secretary-general of the Communist Party of Cuba and was succeeded by Raúl.

In March 2016 Fidel, who seldom had been seen in public in recent years, made a high-profile appearance in print when he responded to U.S. Pres. Barack Obama's historic visit to Cuba with a 1,600-word letter in Granma. In the letter, titled "Brother Obama," he recapped the aggressive U.S. policy toward Cuba during the Cold War and castigated Obama, the first sitting U.S. president to visit the island in nearly 80 years, for not acknowledging the accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution, including its efforts to eradicate racism. Addressing the warming Cuba-U.S. relations, Castro wrote, "Nobody should be under the illusion that the people of this dignified and selfless country will renounce the glory, the rights, or the spiritual wealth they have gained with the development of education, science and culture." In April a frail soon-to-be-90-year-old Castro told the Communist Party Congress that he would be dying soon, and he implored party members to work to fulfill his communist vision for Cuba.

## **SUCCESS STORY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

Martin Luther King, Jr., original name Michael King, Jr., (born January 15, 1929, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.—died April 4, 1968, Memphis, Tennessee), Baptist minister and social activist who led the civil rights movement in the United States from the mid-1950s until his death by assassination in 1968. His leadership was fundamental to that movement's success in ending the legal segregation of African Americans in the South and other parts of the United States. King rose to national prominence as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which promoted nonviolent tactics, such as the massive March on Washington (1963), to achieve civil rights. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

King came from a comfortable middle-class family steeped in the tradition of the Southern Black ministry: both his father and maternal grandfather were Baptist preachers. His parents were college-educated, and King's father had succeeded his father-in-law as pastor of the prestigious Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. The family lived on Auburn Avenue, otherwise known as

“Sweet Auburn,” the bustling “Black Wall Street,” home to some of the country’s largest and most prosperous Black businesses and Black churches in the years before the civil rights movement. Young Martin received a solid education and grew up in a loving extended family.

This secure upbringing, however, did not prevent King from experiencing the prejudices then common in the South. He never forgot the time when, at about age six, one of his white playmates announced that his parents would no longer allow him to play with King, because the children were now attending segregated schools. Dearest to King in these early years was his maternal grandmother, whose death in 1941 left him shaken and unstable. Upset because he had learned of her fatal heart attack while attending a parade without his parents’ permission, the 12-year-old King attempted suicide by jumping from a second-story window.

In 1944, at age 15, King entered Morehouse College in Atlanta under a special wartime program intended to boost enrollment by admitting promising high-school students like King. Before beginning college, however, King spent the summer on a tobacco farm in Connecticut; it was his first extended stay away from home and his first substantial experience of race relations outside the segregated South. He was shocked by how peacefully the races mixed in the North. “Negroes and whites go [to] the same church,” he noted in a letter to his parents. “I never [thought] that a person of my race could eat anywhere.” This summer experience in the North only deepened King’s growing hatred of racial segregation.

At Morehouse, King favoured studies in medicine and law, but these were eclipsed in his senior year by a decision to enter the ministry, as his father had urged. King’s mentor at Morehouse was the college president, Benjamin Mays, a social gospel activist whose rich oratory and progressive ideas had left an indelible imprint on King’s father. Committed to fighting racial inequality, Mays accused the African American community of complacency in the face of oppression, and he prodded the Black church into social action by criticizing its emphasis on the hereafter instead of the here and now; it was a call to service that was not lost on the teenage King. He graduated from Morehouse in 1948.

King spent the next three years at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he became acquainted with Mohandas Gandhi’s philosophy of nonviolence as well as with the thought of contemporary Protestant theologians. He earned a bachelor of divinity degree in 1951. Renowned for his oratorical skills, King was elected president of Crozer’s student body, which was composed almost exclusively of white students. As a professor at Crozer wrote in a letter of recommendation for King, “The fact that with our student body largely Southern in constitution a colored man should be elected to and be popular [in] such a position is in itself no mean recommendation.” From Crozer, King went to Boston University, where, in seeking a firm foundation for his own theological and ethical inclinations, he studied man’s relationship to God and received a doctorate (1955) for a dissertation titled “A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman.”

### *The Montgomery bus boycott of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

While in Boston, King met Coretta Scott, a native Alabamian who was studying at the New England Conservatory of Music. They were married in 1953 and had four children. King had been pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, slightly more than a year when the city’s small group of civil rights advocates decided to contest racial segregation on that

city's public bus system following the incident on December 1, 1955, in which Rosa Parks, an African American woman, had refused to surrender her bus seat to a white passenger and as a consequence was arrested for violating the city's segregation law. Activists formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to boycott the transit system and chose King as their leader. He had the advantage of being a young, well-trained man who was too new in town to have made enemies; he was generally respected, and it was thought that his family connections and professional standing would enable him to find another pastorate should the boycott fail.

*In his first speech to the group as its president, King declared:*

We have no alternative but to protest. For many years we have shown an amazing patience. We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were being treated. But we come here tonight to be saved from that patience that makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice.

These words introduced to the country a fresh voice, a skillful rhetoric, an inspiring personality, and in time a dynamic new doctrine of civil struggle. Although King's home was dynamited and his family's safety threatened, he continued to lead the boycott until, one year and a few weeks later, the city's buses were desegregated.

*The Southern Christian Leadership Conference*

Recognizing the need for a mass movement to capitalize on the successful Montgomery action, King set about organizing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which gave him a base of operation throughout the South, as well as a national platform from which to speak. King lectured in all parts of the country and discussed race-related issues with religious and civil rights leaders at home and abroad. In February 1959 he and his party were warmly received by India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and others; as the result of a brief discussion with followers of Gandhi about the Gandhian concepts of peaceful noncompliance (satyagraha), King became increasingly convinced that nonviolent resistance was the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. King also looked to Africa for inspiration. "The liberation struggle in Africa has been the greatest single international influence on American Negro students," he wrote. "Frequently I hear them say that if their African brothers can break the bonds of colonialism, surely the American Negro can break Jim Crow."

In 1960 King and his family moved to his native city of Atlanta, where he became co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. At this post he devoted most of his time to the SCLC and the civil rights movement, declaring that the "psychological moment has come when a concentrated drive against injustice can bring great, tangible gains." His thesis was soon tested as he agreed to support the sit-in demonstrations undertaken by local Black college students. In late October he was arrested with 33 young people protesting segregation at the lunch counter in an Atlanta department store. Charges were dropped, but King was sentenced to Reidsville State Prison Farm on the pretext that he had violated his probation on a minor traffic offense committed several months earlier. The case assumed national proportions, with widespread concern over his safety, outrage at Georgia's flouting of legal forms, and the failure of Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower to intervene. King was released only upon the intercession of Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy—an action so widely publicized that it was felt to have contributed substantially to Kennedy's slender election victory eight days later.



n the years from 1960 to 1965, King's influence reached its zenith. Handsome, eloquent, and doggedly determined, King quickly caught the attention of the news media, particularly of the producers of that budding medium of social change—television. He understood the power of television to nationalize and internationalize the struggle for civil rights, and his well-publicized tactics of active nonviolence (sit-ins, protest marches) aroused the devoted allegiance of many African Americans and liberal whites in all parts of the country, as well as support from the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. But there were also notable failures, as in Albany, Georgia (1961–62), when King and his colleagues failed to achieve their desegregation goals for public parks and other facilities.

*The letter from the Birmingham jail of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

In Birmingham, Alabama, in the spring of 1963, King's campaign to end segregation at lunch counters and in hiring practices drew nationwide attention when police turned dogs and fire hoses on the demonstrators. King was jailed along with large numbers of his supporters, including hundreds of schoolchildren. His supporters did not, however, include all the Black clergy of Birmingham, and he was strongly opposed by some of the white clergy who had issued a statement urging African Americans not to support the demonstrations. From the Birmingham jail, King wrote a letter of great eloquence in which he spelled out his philosophy of nonviolence:

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue.

Near the end of the Birmingham campaign, in an effort to draw together the multiple forces for peaceful change and to dramatize to the country and to the world the importance of solving the U.S. racial problem, King joined other civil rights leaders in organizing the historic March on Washington. On August 28, 1963, an interracial assembly of more than 200,000 gathered peaceably in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial to demand equal justice for all citizens under the law. Here the crowds were uplifted by the emotional strength and prophetic quality of King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech, in which he emphasized his faith that all men, someday, would be brothers.

American civil rights leaders meeting with government officials at the White House on the day of the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. From left to right, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, Mathew Ahmann, Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Joachim Prinz, Eugene Carson Blake, A. Philip Randolph, Pres. John F. Kennedy, Vice Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson, Walter Reuther, Whitney M. Young, Jr., and Floyd McKissick.

The rising tide of civil rights agitation produced, as King had hoped, a strong effect on national opinion and resulted in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, authorizing the federal government to enforce desegregation of public accommodations and outlawing discrimination in publicly owned facilities, as well as in employment. That eventful year was climaxed by the award to King of the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in December. "I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind," said King in his acceptance speech. "I refuse to accept the idea that the 'isness' of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal 'oughtness' that forever confronts him."

### *Challenges of the final years of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

The first signs of opposition to King's tactics from within the civil rights movement surfaced during the March 1965 demonstrations in Selma, Alabama, which were aimed at dramatizing the need for a federal voting-rights law that would provide legal support for the enfranchisement of African Americans in the South. King organized an initial march from Selma to the state capitol building in Montgomery but did not lead it himself. The marchers were turned back by state troopers with nightsticks and tear gas. He was determined to lead a second march, despite an injunction by a federal court and efforts from Washington to persuade him to cancel it. Heading a procession of 1,500 marchers, Black and white, he set out across Pettus Bridge outside Selma until the group came to a barricade of state troopers. But, instead of going on and forcing a confrontation, he led his followers to kneel in prayer and then unexpectedly turned back. This decision cost King the support of many young radicals who were already faulting him for being too cautious. The suspicion of an "arrangement" with federal and local authorities—vigorously but not entirely convincingly denied—clung to the Selma affair. The country was nevertheless aroused, resulting in the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

### *A brief history of the Selma March*

This infographic provides maps and a timeline of the Selma March, which occurred March 21–25, 1965, and was a landmark event of the American civil rights movement. Throughout the nation, impatience with the lack of greater substantive progress encouraged the growth of Black militancy. Especially in the slums of the large Northern cities, King's religious philosophy of nonviolence was increasingly questioned. The rioting in the Watts district of Los Angeles in August 1965 demonstrated the depth of unrest among urban African Americans. In an effort to meet the challenge of the ghetto, King and his forces initiated a drive against racial discrimination in Chicago at the beginning of the following year. The chief target was to be segregation in housing. After a spring and summer of rallies, marches, and demonstrations, an agreement was signed between the city and a coalition of African Americans, liberals, and labour organizations, calling for various measures to enforce the existing laws and regulations with respect to housing. But this agreement was to have little effect; the impression remained that King's Chicago campaign was nullified partly because of the opposition of that city's powerful mayor, Richard J. Daley, and partly because of the unexpected complexities of Northern racism.

### **SUCCESS STORY OF ERNESTO RAFAEL CHE GUEVARA**

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna ( June 14, 1928 – October 9, 1967), commonly known as Che Guevara or el Che, was an Argentine-born Marxist revolutionary, political figure, and leader of Cuban and internationalist guerrillas. As a young man studying medicine, Guevara traveled rough throughout Latin America, bringing him into direct contact with the impoverished conditions in which many people lived. His experiences and observations during these trips led him to the conclusion that the region's socioeconomic inequalities could only be remedied by revolution, prompting him to intensify his study of Marxism and travel to Guatemala to learn about the reforms being implemented there by President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán.

Some time later, Guevara joined Fidel Castro's paramilitary 26th of July Movement, which seized power in Cuba in 1959. After serving in various important posts in the new government and writing a number of articles and books on the theory and practice of guerrilla warfare, Guevara left Cuba

in 1965 with the intention of fomenting revolutions first in Congo-Kinshasa, and then in Bolivia, where he was captured in a CIA/ U.S. Army Special Forces-organized military operation. Guevara was summarily executed by the Bolivian Army in La Higuera near Vallegrande on October 9, 1967.

After his death, Guevara became an icon of socialist revolutionary movements worldwide. An Alberto Korda photo of him (shown) has received wide distribution and modification. The Maryland Institute College of Art called this picture "the most famous photograph in the world and a symbol of the 20th century."

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was born in Rosario, Argentina, the eldest of five children in a family of Spanish and Irish descent; both his father and mother were of Basque ancestry. The date of birth recorded on his birth certificate was June 14, 1928, although one tertiary source (Julia Constenla, quoted by Jon Lee Anderson) asserts that he was actually born on May 14 of that year (Constenla alleges that she was told by an unidentified astrologer that his mother, Celia de la Serna, was already pregnant when she and Ernesto Guevara Lynch were married and that the birthdate of their son was forged a month later than the actual date to avoid scandal). One of Guevara's forebears, Patrick Lynch, was born in Galway, Ireland, in 1715. He left for Bilbao, Spain, and traveled from there to Argentina. Francisco Lynch (Guevara's great-grandfather) was born in 1817, and Ana Lynch (his beloved grandmother) in 1868. Her son, Ernesto Guevara Lynch (Guevara's father) was born in 1900. Guevara Lynch married Celia de la Serna y Llosa in 1927, and they had three sons and two daughters.

Growing up in this upper-class family with leftist leanings, Guevara became known for his dynamic personality and radical perspective even as a boy. He idolized Francisco Pizarro and yearned to have been one of his soldiers. Though suffering from the crippling bouts of asthma that were to afflict him throughout his life, he excelled as an athlete. He was an avid rugby union player despite his handicap and earned himself the nickname "Fuser" — a contraction of "El Furibundo" (English: "The Raging") and his mother's surname, "Serna" — for his aggressive style of play.

Guevara learned chess from his father and began participating in local tournaments by the age of 12. During his adolescence he became passionate about poetry, especially that of Pablo Neruda. Guevara, as is common practice among Latin Americans of his class, also wrote poems throughout his life. He was an enthusiastic and eclectic reader, with interests ranging from adventure classics by Jack London, Emilio Salgari and Jules Verne to essays on sexuality by Sigmund Freud and treatises on social philosophy by Bertrand Russell. In his late teens, he developed a keen interest in photography and spent many hours photographing people, places and, during later travels, archaeological sites.

In 1948 Guevara entered the University of Buenos Aires to study medicine. While a student, he spent long periods traveling around Latin America. In 1951 his older friend, Alberto Granado, a biochemist, suggested that Guevara take a year off from his medical studies to embark on a trip they had talked of making for years, traversing South America. Guevara and the 29-year-old Granado soon set off from their hometown of Alta Gracia astride a 1939 Norton 500 cc motorcycle they named La Poderosa II (English: "the Mighty One, the Second") with the idea of spending a few weeks volunteering at the San Pablo Leper colony in Peru on the banks of the Amazon River.

Guevara narrated this journey in *The Motorcycle Diaries*, which was translated into English in 1996 and used in 2004 as the basis for a motion picture of the same name.

Witnessing the widespread poverty, oppression and disenfranchisement throughout Latin America, and influenced by his readings of Marxist literature, Guevara decided that the only solution for the region's inequalities was armed revolution. His travels and readings also led him to view Latin America not as a group of separate nations but as a single entity requiring a continent-wide strategy for liberation. His conception of a borderless, united Ibero-America sharing a common 'mestizo' culture was a theme that would prominently recur during his later revolutionary activities. Upon returning to Argentina, he expedited the completion of his medical studies in order to resume his travels in Central and South America and received his diploma on 12 June 1953.

### *Guatemala*

On 7 July 1953, Guevara set out on a trip through Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador. During the final days of December 1953 he arrived in Guatemala where leftist President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán headed a populist government that, through land reform and other initiatives, was attempting to bring an end to the U.S.-dominated latifundia system. In a contemporaneous letter to his Aunt Beatriz, Guevara explained his motivation for settling down for a time in Guatemala: "In Guatemala", he wrote, "I will perfect myself and accomplish whatever may be necessary in order to become a true revolutionary."

Shortly after reaching Guatemala City, Guevara acted upon the suggestion of a mutual friend that he seek out Hilda Gadea Acosta, a Peruvian economist who was living and working there. Gadea, whom he would later marry, was well-connected politically as a result of her membership in the socialist American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) led by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, and she introduced Guevara to a number of high-level officials in the Arbenz government. He also re-established contact with a group of Cuban exiles linked to Fidel Castro whom he had initially met in Costa Rica; among them was Antonio "Ñico" López, associated with the attack on the "Carlos Manuel de Céspedes" barracks in Bayamo in the Cuban province of Oriente, and who would die at Ojo del Toro bridge soon after the Granma landed in Cuba. Guevara joined these "moncadistas" in the sale of religious objects related to the Black Christ of Esquipulas, and he also assisted two Venezuelan malaria specialists at a local hospital. It was during this period that he acquired his famous nickname, "Che", due to his frequent use of the Argentine interjection Che (pronounced /tʃe/), which is utilized in much the same way as "hey", "pal", "eh", or "mate" are employed colloquially in various English-speaking countries. Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil (where the interjection is rendered 'chê' or 'ché' in written Portuguese) are the only areas where this expression is used, making it a trademark of the Rioplatense region.

Guevara's attempts to obtain a medical internship were unsuccessful and his economic situation was often precarious, leading him to pawn some of Hilda's jewelry. Political events in the country began to move quickly after May 15, 1954 when a shipment of Skoda infantry and light artillery weapons sent from Communist Czechoslovakia for the Arbenz Government arrived in Puerto Barrios aboard the Swedish ship *Alfhem*. The amount of Czech weaponry was estimated to be 2000 tons by the CIA though only 2 tons by Jon Lee Anderson. (Anderson's tonnage estimate is thought to be a typographical error due to how few scholarly sources support it.) Guevara briefly left Guatemala for El Salvador to pick up a new visa, then returned to Guatemala only a few days

before the CIA-sponsored coup attempt led by Carlos Castillo Armas began. The anti-Arbenz forces tried, but failed, to stop the trans-shipment of the Czechoslovak weapons by train. However, after pausing to regroup and recover energy, Castillo Armas' column seized the initiative and, apparently with the assistance of US air support, started to gain ground. Guevara was eager to fight on behalf of Arbenz and joined an armed militia organized by the Communist Youth for that purpose; but, frustrated with the group's inaction, he soon returned to medical duties. Following the coup, he again volunteered to fight but his efforts were thwarted when Arbenz took refuge in the Mexican Embassy and told his foreign supporters to leave the country. After Gadea was arrested, Guevara sought protection inside the Argentine consulate where he remained until he received a safe-conduct pass some weeks later. At that point, he turned down a free seat on a flight back to Argentina that was proffered to him by the Embassy, preferring instead to make his way to Mexico.

The overthrow of the Arbenz regime by a coup d'état backed by the Central Intelligence Agency cemented Guevara's view of the United States as an imperialist power that would implacably oppose and attempt to destroy any government that sought to redress the socioeconomic inequality endemic to Latin America and other developing countries. This strengthened his conviction that socialism achieved through armed struggle and defended by an armed populace was the only way to rectify such conditions.

### *Cuba*

Guevara arrived in Mexico City in early September 1954, and shortly thereafter renewed his friendship with Nicolás López and the other Cuban exiles whom he had known in Guatemala. In June 1955, López introduced him to Raúl Castro. Several weeks later, Fidel Castro arrived in Mexico City after having been amnestied from prison in Cuba, and on the evening of 8 July 1955 Raúl introduced Guevara to the older Castro brother. During a fervid overnight conversation, Guevara became convinced that Fidel was the inspirational revolutionary leader for whom he had been searching, and he immediately joined the "26th of July Movement" that intended to overthrow the government of Fulgencio Batista. Although it was planned that he would be the group's medic, Guevara participated in the military training alongside the other members of the 26J Movement, and at the end of the course was singled out by their instructor, Col. Alberto Bayo, as his most outstanding student. Meanwhile, Hilda Gadea had arrived from Guatemala and she and Guevara resumed their relationship. In the summer of 1955 she informed him that she was pregnant and he immediately suggested that they marry. The wedding took place on August 18, 1955, and their daughter, whom they named Hilda Beatriz, was born on February 15, 1956.

When the cabin cruiser Granma set out from Tuxpan, Veracruz for Cuba on November 25, 1956, Guevara was one of only four non-Cubans aboard. Attacked by Batista's military soon after landing, about half of the expeditionaries were killed or executed upon capture. Guevara writes that it was during this confrontation that he laid down his knapsack containing medical supplies in order to pick up a box of ammunition dropped by a fleeing comrade, a moment which he later recalled as marking his transition from physician to combatant. Only 15–20 rebels survived as a battered fighting force; they re-grouped and fled into the mountains of the Sierra Maestra to wage guerrilla warfare against the Batista regime.

Guevara became a leader among the rebels, a Comandante (English translation: Major), respected by his comrades in arms for his courage and military prowess, and feared for what some have described as ruthlessness: He was responsible for the execution of many men accused of being informers, deserters or spies. In the final days of December 1958, he directed his "suicide squad" (which undertook the most dangerous tasks in the rebel army) in the attack on Santa Clara that turned out to be one of the decisive events of the revolution, although the bloody series of ambushes first during la ofensiva in the heights of the Sierra Maestra, then at Guisa, and the whole Cauto Plains campaign that followed probably had more military significance. Batista, upon learning that his generals — especially General Cantillo, who had visited Castro at the inactive sugar mill "Central America" — were negotiating a separate peace with the rebel leader, fled to the Dominican Republic on January 1, 1959.

On February 7, 1959, the victorious government proclaimed Guevara "a Cuban citizen by birth" in recognition of his role in the triumph of the revolutionary forces. Shortly thereafter, he initiated divorce proceedings to put a formal end to his marriage with Gadea, from whom he had been separated since before leaving Mexico on the Granma, and on June 2, 1959, he married Aleida March, a Cuban-born member of the 26th of July movement with whom he had been living since late 1958.

He was appointed commander of the La Cabaña Fortress prison, and during his five-month tenure in that post (January 2 through June 12, 1959), he oversaw the trial and execution of many people, among whom were former Batista regime officials and members of the "Bureau for the Repression of Communist Activities" (a unit of the secret police known by its Spanish acronym BRAC). According to José Vilasuso, an attorney who worked under Guevara at La Cabaña preparing indictments, these were lawless proceedings where "the facts were judged without any consideration to general juridical principles" and the findings were pre-determined by Guevara.

Later, Guevara became an official at the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, and President of the National Bank of Cuba (somewhat ironically, as he often condemned money, favored its abolition, and showed his disdain by signing Cuban banknotes with his nickname, "Che"). It is sometimes said that Guevara ended up in this position because Fidel Castro asked if there were any economists in the room and Che, thinking Castro had asked for Communists, put his hand up.

During this time his fondness for chess was rekindled, and he attended and participated in most national and international tournaments held in Cuba. He was particularly eager to encourage young Cubans to take up the game, and organized various activities designed to stimulate their interest in it.

Even as early as 1959, Guevara helped organize revolutionary expeditions overseas, all of which failed. The first attempt was made in Panama; another in the Dominican Republic (led by Henry Fuerte, also known as "El Argelino", and Enrique Jiménez Moya) took place on 14 June of that same year.

In 1960 Guevara provided first aid to victims during the La Coubre arms shipment rescue operation that went further awry when a second explosion occurred, resulting in well over a hundred dead. It was at the memorial service for the victims of this explosion that Alberto Korda took the most famous photograph of him. Whether La Coubre was sabotaged or merely exploded by accident is not clear. Those who favour the sabotage theory sometimes attribute this to the Central Intelligence

Agency and sometimes name William Alexander Morgan, a former rival of Guevara's in the anti-Batista forces of the central provinces and later a putative CIA agent, as the perpetrator. Cuban exiles have put forth the theory that it was done by Guevara's USSR-loyalist rivals.

Guevara later served as Minister of Industries, in which post he helped formulate Cuban socialism, and became one of the country's most prominent figures. In his book *Guerrilla Warfare*, he advocated replicating the Cuban model of revolution initiated by a small group ( *foco*) of guerrillas without the need for broad organizations to precede armed insurrection. His essay *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba* (1965) (Man and Socialism in Cuba) advocates the need to shape a "new man" (*hombre nuevo*) in conjunction with a socialist state. Some saw Guevara as the simultaneously glamorous and austere model of that "new man."

During the 1961 Bay of Pigs Invasion Guevara did not participate in the fighting, having been ordered by Castro to a command post in Cuba's westernmost Pinar del Río province where he was involved in fending off a decoy force. He did, however, suffer a bullet wound to the face during this deployment, which he said had been caused by the accidental discharge of his own gun.

Guevara played a key role in bringing to Cuba the Soviet nuclear-armed ballistic missiles that precipitated the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. During an interview with the British newspaper *Daily Worker* some weeks later, he stated that, if the missiles had been under Cuban control, they would have fired them against major U.S. cities.

### *Disappearance from Cuba*

In December 1964 Che Guevara traveled to New York City as the head of the Cuban delegation to speak at the UN ( listen, requires RealPlayer; or read). He also appeared on the CBS Sunday news program *Face the Nation*, met with a gamut of individuals and groups including U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy, several associates of Malcolm X, and Canadian radical Michelle Duclos, and dined at the home of the Rockefellers. On 17 December, he flew to Paris and from there embarked on a three-month international tour during which he visited the People's Republic of China, the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Dahomey, Congo-Brazzaville and Tanzania, with stops in Ireland, Paris and Prague. In Algiers on 24 February 1965, he made what turned out to be his last public appearance on the international stage when he delivered a speech to the "Second Economic Seminar on Afro-Asian Solidarity" in which he declared, "There are no frontiers in this struggle to the death. We cannot remain indifferent in the face of what occurs in any part of the world. A victory for any country against imperialism is our victory, just as any country's defeat is our defeat." He then astonished his audience by proclaiming, "The socialist countries have the moral duty of liquidating their tacit complicity with the exploiting countries of the West." He proceeded to outline a number of measures which he said the communist-bloc countries should implement in order to accomplish this objective. He returned to Cuba on 14 March to a solemn reception by Fidel and Raúl Castro, Osvaldo Dorticós and Carlos Rafael Rodríguez at the Havana airport.

Two weeks later, Guevara dropped out of public life and then vanished altogether. His whereabouts were the great mystery of 1965 in Cuba, as he was generally regarded as second in power to Castro himself. His disappearance was variously attributed to the relative failure of the industrialization scheme he had advocated while minister of industry, to pressure exerted on Castro by Soviet officials disapproving of Guevara's pro- Chinese Communist bent as the Sino-Soviet

split grew more pronounced, and to serious differences between Guevara and the Cuban leadership regarding Cuba's economic development and ideological line. Others suggested that Castro had grown increasingly wary of Guevara's popularity and considered him a potential threat. Castro's critics sometimes say his explanations for Guevara's disappearance have always been suspect (see below), and many found it surprising that Guevara never announced his intentions publicly, but only through an undated and uncharacteristically obsequious letter to Castro.

The coincidence of Guevara's views with those expounded by the Chinese Communist leadership had become increasingly problematic for Cuba as the nation's economic dependence on the Soviet Union deepened. Since the early days of the Cuban revolution, Guevara had been considered by many an advocate of Maoist strategy in Latin America and the originator of a plan for the rapid industrialization of Cuba which was frequently compared to China's "Great Leap Forward". According to Western "observers" of the Cuban situation, the fact that Guevara was opposed to Soviet conditions and recommendations that Castro seemed obliged to accept might have been the reason for his disappearance. However, both Guevara and Castro were supportive of the idea of a "united anti-imperialist front" intended to include both the Soviet Union and China, and had made several unsuccessful attempts to reconcile the feuding parties.

Following the Cuban Missile Crisis and what he perceived as a Soviet betrayal of Cuba when Khrushchev agreed to withdraw the missiles from Cuban territory without consulting Castro, Guevara had grown more skeptical of the Soviet Union. As revealed in his last speech in Algiers, he had come to view the Northern Hemisphere, led by the U.S. in the West and the Soviet Union in the East, as the exploiter of the Southern Hemisphere. He strongly supported Communist North Vietnam in the Vietnam War, and urged the peoples of other developing countries to take up arms and create "many Vietnams".

Pressed by international speculation regarding Guevara's fate, Castro stated on 16 June 1965, that the people would be informed about Guevara when Guevara himself wished to let them know. Numerous rumors about his disappearance spread both inside and outside Cuba. On 3 October of that year, Castro revealed an undated letter purportedly written to him by Guevara some months earlier in which Guevara reaffirmed his enduring solidarity with the Cuban Revolution but declared his intention to leave Cuba to fight abroad for the cause of the revolution. He explained that "Other nations of the world summon my modest efforts," and that he had therefore decided to go and fight as a guerrilla "on new battlefields". In the letter Guevara announced his resignation from all his positions in the government, in the party, and in the Army, and renounced his Cuban citizenship, which had been granted to him in 1959 in recognition of his efforts on behalf of the revolution.

During an interview with four foreign correspondents on 1 November, Castro remarked that he knew where Guevara was but would not disclose his location, and added, denying reports that his former comrade-in-arms was dead, that "he is in the best of health." Despite Castro's assurances, Guevara's fate remained a mystery at the end of 1965 and his movements and whereabouts continued to be a closely held secret for the next two years.

During their all-night meeting on March 14–March 15, 1965, Guevara and Castro had agreed that the former would personally lead Cuba's first military action in Sub-Saharan Africa. Some usually reliable sources state that Guevara persuaded Castro to back him in this effort, while other sources



of equal reliability maintain that Castro convinced Guevara to undertake the mission, arguing that conditions in the various Latin American countries that had been under consideration for the possible establishment of guerrilla focos were not yet optimal. Castro himself has said the latter is true. According to Ahmed Ben Bella, who was president of Algeria at the time and had recently held extended conversations with Guevara, "The situation prevailing in Africa, which seemed to have enormous revolutionary potential, led Che to the conclusion that Africa was imperialism's weak link. It was to Africa that he now decided to devote his efforts."

The Cuban operation was to be carried out in support of the pro- Patrice Lumumba Marxist Simba movement in the Congo-Kinshasa (formerly Belgian Congo, later Zaire and currently the Democratic Republic of the Congo). Guevara, his second-in-command Victor Dreke, and twelve of the Cuban expeditionaries arrived in the Congo on 24 April 1965; a contingent of approximately 100 Afro-Cubans joined them soon afterwards. They collaborated for a time with guerrilla leader Laurent-Désiré Kabila, who helped Lumumba supporters lead a revolt that was suppressed in November of that same year by the Congolese army. Guevara dismissed Kabila as insignificant. "Nothing leads me to believe he is the man of the hour," Guevara wrote.

Although Guevara was 37 at the time and had no formal military training, he had the experiences of the Cuban revolution, including his successful march on Santa Clara, which was central to Batista finally being overthrown by Castro's forces. His asthma had prevented him from being drafted into military service in Argentina, a fact of which he was proud given his opposition to Perón's government.

South African mercenaries including Mike Hoare and Cuban exiles worked with the Congolese army to thwart Guevara. They were able to monitor his communications, arrange to ambush the rebels and the Cubans whenever they attempted to attack, and interdict his supply lines. Despite the fact that Guevara sought to conceal his presence in the Congo, the U.S. government was fully aware of his location and activities: The National Security Agency (NSA) was intercepting all of his incoming and outgoing transmissions via equipment aboard the USNS Valdez, a floating listening post which continuously cruised the Indian Ocean off Dar-es-Salaam for that purpose.

Guevara's aim was to export the Cuban Revolution by instructing local Simba fighters in communist ideology and strategies of guerrilla warfare. In his Congo Diary, he cites the incompetence, intransigence, and infighting of the local Congolese forces as the key reasons for the revolt's failure. Later that same year, ill with dysentery, suffering from his asthma, and disheartened after seven months of frustrations, Guevara left the Congo with the Cuban survivors (six members of his column had died). At one point Guevara had considered sending the wounded back to Cuba, then standing alone and fighting until the end in the Congo as a revolutionary example; however, after being urged by his comrades in arms and pressured by two emissaries sent by Castro, at the last moment he reluctantly agreed to leave the Congo. A few weeks later, when writing the preface to the diary he had kept during the Congo venture, he began it with the words: "This is the history of a failure."

### *Interlude*

Because Castro had made public Guevara's "farewell letter" to him — a letter Guevara had intended should only be revealed in case of his death — wherein he had written that he was severing all ties to Cuba in order to devote himself to revolutionary activities in other parts of the

world, he felt that he could not return to Cuba with the other surviving combatants for moral reasons, and he spent the next six months living clandestinely in Dar-es-Salaam, and Prague. During this time he compiled his memoirs of the Congo experience, and wrote the drafts of two more books, one on philosophy and the other on economics. He also visited several countries in Western Europe in order to "test" a new false identity and the corresponding documentation (passport, etc.) created for him by Cuban Intelligence that he planned to use to travel to South America. Throughout this period Castro continued to importune him to return to Cuba, but Guevara only agreed to do so when it was understood that he would be there on a strictly temporary basis for the few months needed to prepare a new revolutionary effort somewhere in Latin America, and that his presence on the island would be cloaked in the tightest secrecy.