transformations in leadership

The Journal of the East-West Center Leadership Certificate Program

Volume 1 / Number 2, Spring 2008
THE EAST-WEST CENTER is an education and research organization established by the United States Congress in 1960 to strengthen relations and understanding among the peoples and nations of Asia, the Pacific and the United States. The Center contributes to a peaceful, prosperous and just Asia Pacific community by serving as a vigorous hub for cooperative research, education and dialogue on critical issues of common concern to the Asia Pacific region and the United States. Funding for the Center comes from the United States government, with additional support provided by private agencies, individuals, foundations, corporations and the governments of the region.

THE EAST-WEST CENTER LEADERSHIP CERTIFICATE PROGRAM is a two-year, interdisciplinary program which enhances the East-West Center experience by bringing together student fellows to learn how to lead and navigate change as engaged citizens in the Asia Pacific region. It helps East-West Center students achieve the following goals:

• Learn about the servant leadership model and civic engagement and apply this knowledge through action plans, community service work and internships.

• Develop in-depth knowledge of historical leaders, classical leadership theories and diverse models of indigenous leadership in the Asia Pacific through international film and literature.

• Develop personal leadership skills and capacity by designing case studies and profiles of contemporary leaders in the Asia Pacific.

• Meet and interact with local leaders, including through the Asia Pacific Leadership Program's Distinguished Leaders Lecture Series.

• Integrate leadership studies into the personal and professional lives of students, including their educational goals at the East-West Center, as engaged citizens and agents of change in the Asia Pacific region.
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Spring 2008

Editors-in-Chief
James Kelley
Mike Bosack

Contributing Editors
Constantino Vrakas
Peggy Britton

Academic Advisor
Stuart H. Coleman

Layout & Design
James Kelley
Carl Polly

Special thanks to:
Hawaii and Pacific Islands Campus Compact
East-West Center Publications Office
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About the Authors & Contributors
A Note from the Editors

The second annual Transformations in Leadership is a compilation of articles from students who have participated in the East-West Center Leadership Certificate Program. Representing over 10 countries, the authors have come together for four semesters to study leadership theories, serve in the community, and write research papers about complex contemporary issues and inspirational leaders. Like a lighthouse, true leadership provides a vision and a way to navigate through the storms of many of today’s social problems.

Transformational leaders are committed to the well-being of others and strive to create opportunities to empower individuals and create social change. These leaders, often called “social entrepreneurs,” typically aim to implement self-sustained programs that minimize unnecessary resources and environmental destruction and utilize innovative business practices to maintain efficiency. This journal’s themes of social entrepreneurship and sustainable development are both timely and timeless. The authors clearly discuss regional social issues, both past and present, and highlight individual leaders who confront these difficult and often complex problems. For example, Mahatma Gandhi is most well known for his efforts to end British colonialism in India, but he also practiced social entrepreneurship by advocating for sustainable agriculture. Also, Kate Zhou, a modern day social entrepreneur, strives to bring education to China’s unregistered “black children” through Educational Advancement Fund International, and Deanna and Daniel Gonda are committed to improving the lives of disadvantaged youth in Hawaii through the Ke Ola Hou Program.

Leadership involves working together with others as a team to successfully overcome challenges. Last Fall, students from the Leadership Certificate Program visited Camp Timberline ropes course on the west coast of Oahu to build leadership skills and strengthen relationships. As a team, we successfully overcame physical obstacles and built-up a team spirit of success. Without that same team spirit, this journal would not have been done. We would like to thank all of those who helped with the formatting, design, and editing, especially Stuart Coleman, Constantino Vrakas and Aggarat Bansong.

As the outside margin of each page indicates, each author’s essay is classified as either a profile, contemporary issue, or personal perspective. All but three of the contributing authors write English as a second language and all have produced compelling compositions. As we study leadership and reflect on leaders and issues that have influenced our lives, seeds of personal growth are planted. And as we experience challenges, we nurture this growth and are gradually transformed into leaders ourselves. Through our class discussions, papers, and projects, we have learned more about the need for social entrepreneurship and sustainable development. It is our hope that you enjoy reading about these inspirational topics as much as we enjoyed discussing and writing about them.

James Kelley and Mike Bosack
Introduction

“Gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country. It measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile.”

– Robert F. Kennedy, March 1968

In his new book Bhutan: Hidden Lands of Happiness, John Wehrheim writes that King Jigme Singye Wangchuk is “one of the most selfless and enlightened leaders in the world.” The king may be best known for creating the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) to protect his people from the pitfalls of globalization and modern development. By guiding his country toward a more sustainable future, this “philosopher king” embraced the ideals of transformational leadership and empowered his people to become more independent. To help achieve this end, the 4th King of Bhutan stunned the nation by abdicating his own throne last year and introducing democratic elections in his country as part of his GNH plan for good governance.

Although the concept of Gross National Happiness might sound naïve, America’s Declaration of Independence was founded on the basic rights of “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Western political leaders would do well to follow Bhutan’s example and move beyond the simplistic measure of Gross National Product. GNP only considers a country’s financial output and ignores the heavy costs of destruction to our environment, culture and the social fabric that holds society together. With the rise of powerful transnational corporations and the spread of globalization, national leaders need to come up with a more sustainable measure of progress.

Along with the theme of transformational leadership, many of the articles in this year’s journal focus on the concepts of social entrepreneurship and sustainable development. In his essay on Bhutan, Gempo Jampel writes about how King Jigme Singye Wangchuk created the four guiding principles of GNH: “The four pillars of GNH not only protect the country’s unique culture and environment, but also postulate guidelines for the socio-economic development of the nation.” In her article on Gandhi, Cedar Louis writes about how the prophetic Indian leader promoted “sustainable” agricultural practices many decades before it became a buzz word. Vanathy Kandeepan expands on this idea, showing how Gandhi’s ideas spread to Sri Lanka through the Sarvodaya Movement. These principles are in line with the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, which was formed years later during the UN’s 1992 Earth Summit. During their internships with the United Nations Association’s Hawaii Chapter last year, Rakib Hosain and Gyanendra Chaudhary concentrated on the issue of globalization and worked to educate people about the UN’s efforts to promote sustainable development.

During our Fall Service Learning Fair last November, the Leadership Certificate students organized a panel on social entrepreneurship with local leaders from the community. Dr. Myaing Thein spoke about how Muhammad Yunus’ wildly successful micro-loan program in Bangladesh inspired her to start a similar program at the Pacific Gateway Center, empowering immigrants and minorities to become more productive members of society. As executive director of the PGC, Dr. Myaing is a transformational leader who works with all sectors of society: she manages a major non-profit organization and partners with companies and government agencies to help her constituents start their own businesses.

During his talk at the Fall Fair, Kevin Vaccarello spoke about how he incorporates the triple bottom line of “people, planet and profits” into all of his work in the public and private sectors. Similar to the four pillars of GNH, this triple bottom line incorporates social, economic and environmental concerns.
into an eco-friendly business model that takes into account all of society’s stakeholders, not just a particular company’s shareholders. As the co-founders of non-profits like Sustain Hawaii and Envision Hawaii, Kevin and his partner Ramsay Taum also use their entrepreneurial business skills to promote more sustainable practices to protect the environment.

At last year’s Spring Leadership Symposium, Gary and Kukui Maunakea-Forth received the Transformational Leadership Award for their work at MA’O Farms in Waianae. During their acceptance speech, Gary and Kukui spoke about how MA’O is not only dedicated to growing healthy, organic food. Through their own leadership development program, they also hope to transform their local students into responsible farmers who are committed to community development as well. At this year’s symposium, Ramsay Taum will receive the Transformational Leadership Award for his work promoting Hawaiian cultural practices and indigenous models of sustainable conservation. During his visits to the EWC’s Leadership Certificate class and the Wednesday Evening Seminar Program, Ramsay spoke about the Hawaiian concept of *ahupua’a*, which refers to the traditional land division system that looks at the entire ecology of a place, from the mountains to the sea. With all the environmental damage that has been done to the Islands in the name of “progress” and “development,” he says that we need to correct the situation by embracing indigenous conservation practices that made Hawaiian culture sustainable for over a thousand years. In stark contrast, Hawaii is now completely dependent on imports and only has 4-6 days’ worth of food and fuel.

Although the United States is one of the richest nations on Earth, its wealth and development have come at a great cost to the environment and its people, creating a widening gap between the rich and the poor. With only 5 percent of the world’s population, the U.S. manages to consume more than a quarter of its natural resources. Although Bhutan and the U.S. seem worlds apart, the small, Himalayan kingdom has much to teach this wealthy nation about sustainability and Gross National Happiness. The concept may sound idealistic, but the King built the four pillars of GNH on sound socio-economic and environmental policies, which have already been successfully implemented. In this year’s coming elections, citizens of both countries will have the opportunity to vote for leaders who will either move toward sustainable development or continue down the same congested freeway toward globalization and global warming.

The world’s catastrophic problems seem insurmountable at times, but a new generation of leaders is emerging to deal with these issues. By doing internships at the United Nations Association, the Pacific Gateway Center, KA HEA and the Eco-Tipping Points Project, the Leadership Certificate Program students are actively engaged in seeking solutions to the pressing problems of our day. By studying and writing about inspiring transformational leaders like Gandhi, Aung San Suu Kyi and King Jigme Singye Wangchuk, they are documenting success stories about indigenous leaders from around the world, while also empowering themselves and others to lead the change. I want to thank all the Leadership Certificate students for their hard work and help in putting together the Fall Service Learning Fair, the Spring Leadership Symposium and the *Transformations in Leadership* Journal. In particular, I want to thank James Kelley and Mike Bosack for editing this Journal, which includes a diverse array of articles that together form an inspiring testimony to the power of leadership.

Stuart H. Coleman

*Coordinator*

*Leadership Certificate Program*

*East-West Center*
Gandhi’s Legacy: The Sustainable Agricultural Movement in India

by Cedar Louis

I confess I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics – That you cannot serve God and Mammon [money] is an economic truth of the highest value. - Gandhi

Gandhi is best known internationally for his campaigns to end British colonialism in India through the use of nonviolence, but this was only a small part of his mission. The bigger part of Gandhi’s struggle was to renew India’s culture and vitality, not simply by exchanging the rule of “white sahibs” by “brown sahibs.” He wanted to dismantle the power structure of the government to devolve most of its power to the local villages. Many of Gandhi’s ideas were first expressed in Hind Swaraj (Home-rule for India), a manifesto, which he wrote in one week while traveling on a steamer from England to South Africa in 1908.

Gandhi’s ideas, vision and values have been translated and transported over the last 60 years into discourses and practices of sustainable agricultural movements in India. His philosophies were adopted by many grassroots development programs and his ideals were adopted by sustainable agricultural movements in their quest for food-sovereignty for India’s small-scale and marginal farmers throughout the country.

Gandhi’s Philosophy and Vision: Response to Colonial Rule

As India was emerging out of 300 years of colonial rule by the British, Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first prime minister, and his supporters in the Congress Party, chose the path of centralized planning and Western-style development through industrialization and modernization. This state-sponsored modernization and massive infrastructure development, which included the construction of large dams and industry, was seen as the only way that India, following in the footsteps of Western countries, could reach an acceptable level of development to feed, clothe, educate and provide basic amenities to millions of its poor. To Nehru, dams were the symbolic new “temples and cathedrals” of a secular India which had been recently torn apart by religious strife and communal violence between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Gandhi, on the other hand, advocated for an alternative development paradigm that was almost diametrically opposed to Nehru’s vision. Having lived and traveled among the rural poor for several years, and witnessed first hand how British policies on agriculture, taxation and extraction of resources had impoverished the rural areas and had increased dependence on imports, he believed that the answer to India’s problems lay in the development of lok-sevaks, or independent village republics, where the adoption of either modernity or tradition had to enhance both the spiritual and the material well-being of the individual and society.1

Nehru dismissed Gandhi’s vision as being unrealistic for a country still struggling to feed its hungry millions. It was too idealistic and spiritual. As Gandhi predicted, this trajectory of all-out modernization has led to the present course of planning that has enslaved and oppressed millions of poor Indians, especially in the agrarian sector.
To Gandhi, the real India was in its 700,000 villages. The rural setting was important to Gandhi and his beliefs on the virtues of a simple life had made him suspicious about the trappings of a modern industrialized civilization. When people lived in close proximity to nature they might realize their full potential by laboring for their needs. He emphasized simple communal living where individual self-interests had to be curbed for the good of all. He challenged the standard European laws of exchange because they did not work in the cultural context of a traditional Indian village. For him, the ideal village was animated by the spirit of service and he disapproved of the very basis of capitalism with its ethic of “buy cheap and sell dear” in order to make a profit. He held that even as a consumer one should act in a spirit of service and make those purchases which will most benefit the poor.2

Gandhi’s philosophy, whose underlying principle was truth, was fundamentally a moral humanistic doctrine that formed a coherent whole, where economics was grounded in his ethical and spiritual view of human nature. He drew on the religious and philosophical texts of the classical Indian tradition as well as the writings of avant-garde Western moralists of the nineteenth century like Tolstoy, Thoreau, Ruskin, Emerson and Carlyle. The core meaning of “truth” for Gandhi was loyalty or reliability. This underlying principle of truth was the basis of all elements of Gandhi’s vision which included: swaraj – home rule or sovereignty for India; sarvodaya – spiritual well-being for all and individual discipline (especially in such matters as consumption) as the underpinning of national strength; swadeshi – consuming and producing locally; satyagraha – nonviolent resistance (not passive resistance or pacifism, but a principled rejection of violence from a position of moral strength); trusteeship – the rich are trustees of their wealth for the good of all; bread labor – opposition to dehumanizing technology; and panchayat raj – the village as central institution, with government by consensus of leaders.3

This idea of truth was also the basis of his vision of the traditional Indian village, in which Gandhi lived in his imagination and to some extent in his youth. Truth was about community bonds. On such a relational and bonded view of truth, the standard European laws of property ownership imposed on India by the British were untruthful and invalid.4

Gandhi’s alternative paradigm of development, envisaged thousands of village republics devoting themselves to the task of tapping the vast reservoir of human power to raise crops primarily to feed the peasants. He advocated for “not mass production, but production by the masses.” This form of labor would make villages self-sufficient and provide gainful employment to all. As a consequence, cultivators and peasants would be motivated to adopt sustainable practices like increasing the productivity of impoverished soils through adoption of scientific methods, and would ensure that agricultural output kept ahead of population increase. He feared that mass production would lead people to leave their villages, and become cogs in the machine of industrialization, abandoning their land, local crafts and homesteads, living in shanty towns, and at the mercy of their bosses. As machines became more efficient, these men and women would be discarded and would become a rootless, jobless population, not members of a self-respecting village community. In swadeshi, the machine would be subordinated to the worker and market forces would serve the community.5

For Gandhi the very essence of India, her “Indianness,” could be found only in her villages and he saw the threat to Indianness in the mass industrialization projects and advocated for appropriate technology that would benefit villages but not enslave the villagers. In his article titled Village Swaraj (Village Sovereignty), Gandhi illustrated his visionary ideas on the effects of mass industrialization on India.

I would say that if the village perishes, India will perish too. India will be no more India. Her own mission in the world will get lost. The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited. Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use. Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villagers using even the modern machines and tools that they can make and can afford to use. Only they should not be used as a means of exploitation of others.6
After Independence: Gandhi’s Heritage in the Sarvodaya Movement

In 1934 Gandhi withdrew from the Congress Party out of discontent with its leadership to devote himself to a constructive program of uplift for the Indian rural population. This program of sharing resources, education, rural industry, in particular weaving, and improvement of the position of the untouchables, stems from his philosophy of sarvodaya (uplift). After his assassination in 1947, his followers gathered in Sevagram, Gandhi’s ashram, in order to continue his work in the spirit of his philosophy of sarvodaya, which gave birth to the Sarvodaya Movement led by Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi’s most faithful follower. Sarvodaya workers undertook various projects aimed at encouraging popular self-organization during the 1950s and 1960s, including Bhoomi (voluntary land redistribution), Gramdan (village collective) movements and khadi, or homespun cloth production. Many groups descended from these networks and continue to function in India today in efforts such as rural projects in housing, irrigation, reforestation, women’s development cooperatives, etc.7

Gandhi’s philosophical heritage has taken a natural progression through institutions and movements that have opposed the dominant political and economic paradigms in India, be it the colonial rule during Gandhi’s time, the State in the postcolonial decades of the 1950s -1980s, and the State and multinational corporations in the last 15 years. The Sarvodaya Movement is still alive today and the different programs that this movement sprouted have provided the foundation for contemporary grassroots development, non-governmental organizations in India. These organizations have adopted much needed, ecologically compatible and socially acceptable alternatives to the mainstream development paradigm of the State.8 Sustainable agricultural movements such as Navdanya, environmental movements such as the Chipko Movement against ongoing forest destruction and the Narmada Bachao Andolan against the widespread opposition to the building of the Narmada dams—which for years have been the focus of the environmental policy debate in India—are some such examples.

Gandhi’s Influence on Sustainable Agricultural Movements in India

As Gandhi feared and predicted, India’s path of development has resulted in increasing marginalization and disenfranchisement of the rural poor, which have given rise to sustainable agricultural movements that work for their basic right of food security.

These contemporary sustainable agricultural movements like Navdanya and Deccan Development Society9 see the solution to India’s massive poverty and food-insecurity in a decentralized, ecologically sustainable, and ethical economy along Gandhian lines. Gandhi’s philosophy on agriculture is very embedded in the discourse and practice of these movements in many developing countries, not just in India. His ideas on agriculture included swadeshi (self-sufficiency), aparigraha (non-acquisitive), bread labor (working manually for one’s life-sustenance), trusteeship (maintaining the environment and community resources for future generations), non-exploitation (not living rich from others’ work), and equality (everyone having enough for vital life). Gandhi understood well that all Indians would get sufficient work only if the means of production of elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses.10

The idea of controlling the means of production (self-reliance) has become an integral part of the philosophy and practice of sustainable agricultural movements. Gandhi’s visionary ideas of swaraj (self rule or sovereignty) are important to these movements as they seek to resist the powerful neo-liberal...
project of the Indian government. This resistance has taken the form of calls for sovereignty—food sovereignty, seed sovereignty, land sovereignty and water sovereignty—in the spirit of Gandhi’s swaraj. Food sovereignty, with its emphasis on local markets and economies, is essential to fight hunger and poverty. These movements aim, like what Gandhi wanted, include but are not limited to: the ability to choose a path of self-reliance; farmers not to be forced to depend on corporations for seed, fertilizers and pesticides or the market to set prices for their crops; and the ability to grow food for subsistence first and food that is culturally and ecologically appropriate. Gandhi held a utopian vision of village republics where people generate most of their inputs from within the community and use their outputs primarily to feed and sustain the community (swadeshi) while selling surplus to other markets only when available. Most well-known supporters of sustainable agricultural movements in India—the most famous of whom is Vandana Shiva—are known for their Gandhian ideals.

While Gandhi viewed the colonial government and later massive, state-sponsored industrialization as threats to rural India and the food security of the humble peasant, sustainable agricultural movements support small farmers and ensure food security in corporate globalization and in the nexus between the neoliberal state and multinational corporations. In the discourse of these movements, the process of colonization has moved from political colonization (British) to economic colonization (multinational corporations). The face of the enemy has changed, but Gandhi’s ideals of resistance and his values remain the same.

Conclusion

As the Mahatma predicted, today the political system in India is seething with corruption. The poor and poorer, rural areas are devitalized, resources are concentrated in the hands of a minority elite, the environment has suffered massive degradation and the middle class is turning away from secularism to local or nationalist parties. More than 60 years after his death, Gandhi’s thoughts on the development of the Indian village and his ideas of decentralized village republics, largely self-sufficient but also networked with each other, and of “development from below,” are highly relevant to critics of modernity in the current debate on globalization. The moral values which Gandhi practically illustrated in his community-oriented experiments in agriculture, persist as the most profound and credible answers to the ever-intensifying crisis now confronting India. The crisis affecting India in its agricultural sector, and for that matter in other areas of its economy, is not entirely structural. The problem is, at its core, a crisis in human values, of which Gandhi never lost sight. He diligently followed and inculcated in his followers certain universal principles ensuring that the fundamental needs of the poorest were kept firmly in sight, and providing basic human necessities.11

However, in India, the teachings of Gandhi are still very much alive, in its people and grassroots movements. The resistance to globalization and corporate hegemony is growing, especially among small farmers and movements such as Navdanya are growing stronger everyday because they are fulfilling a felt need for ethical leadership and a moral economy.

3 Richard G Fox, Gandhian Utopia: Experiments with Culture (Beacon Press, 1989).
4 Richards.
5 Satish Kumar, Gandhi’s Swadeshi: “The Economics of Permanence” in The Case Against the Global Economy, Edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith.
7 Fox.
9 Navdanya and Deccan Development Society are two of the better known sustainable or alternative agricultural movements in India. Both have been around for more than 20 years and have been very vocal supporters of the rights of small farmers.
10 Pinto.
11 Ibid.
Gandhian Principles: 
The Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka

by Vanathy Kandeepan

Sarvodaya is “universal uplift” or “progress of all.”

Introduction

A philosopher is a person who lives a life of reason and equanimity. Philosophers have played an important role in society. Theories of significant philosophers can help change the fates of thousands of people and generate change in the future. Mahatma Gandhi, an accomplished Hindu follower and lawyer, would leave his mark on the world and on the lives of many others through his revolutionary nonviolent philosophies. He lived through the civil rights movement in India. Not only did he contribute to the movement’s progress and believe in its cause, but eventually he helped spread its ideals to countries around the world, including Sri Lanka. In 1927, Gandhi visited Sri Lanka, where he traveled across the island when the nation’s people were calling for greater independence from the British, who since 1815 had taken over the island from the Dutch. His visit caused great excitement, especially for Gandhi’s followers who later started the Sarvodaya Movement. Coming from Sri Lanka, I am very inspired by Gandhi’s works and the Sarvodaya Movement.

Freedom from British Rule

A great man, Gandhi was motivated by religious means: he believed that everyone was equal in God’s eyes. Edward R. Murrow, an American journalist and famous media figure attending Gandhi’s funeral, said:

The object of this massive tribute died as he had always lived, a private man without wealth, without property, without official title or office. Mahatma Gandhi was neither a commander of great armies nor ruler of vast lands. He could boast no scientific achievements or artistic gift. Yet men, governments and dignitaries from all over the world have joined hands to pay homage to the little brown man in the loin cloth who led his country to freedom.

Gandhi was involved in several movements striving for equality, and he very strongly stressed nonviolence. He launched three significant movements, all having one goal: freedom from British rule. The first movement was the Non-Cooperation Movement; the objective was to attain swaraj, or self-rule from Britain, by peaceful and legitimate means. The method was to boycott foreign goods and official durbar, or State receptions, to avoid attending British courts and schools, to give up honors and titles, and to go back to the use of swadeshi, or local goods. The second was the Civil Disobedience Movement, launched on April 6, 1930. It began with the historic Dandi March or the “Salt Satyagraha.” In order to oppose the British salt law, Gandhi marched to Dandi along with hundreds of followers to make their own salt, which was illegal under British rule. The third movement was the Quit India Movement of 1942, which resulted in the “Quit India” resolution on August 8, 1942. The resolution urged the British to leave India. On August 15, 1947, India gained independence.

After independence, national leaders began to abandon Gandhi’s principles of peace and nonviolence. However, many of Gandhi’s “constructive workers”—development experts and community organizers working with agencies Gandhi began—were committed, continuing Gandhi’s mission of transforming Indian society. Leading them was a disciple of Gandhi, who was often regarded as his “spiritual successor.” Initially, the Indian public knew little of this saintly, reserved, and austere individual called Vinoba Bhave. An ardent follower of Gandhi, Vinoba’s Bhoodan, or Gift of the Land, Movement started on April 18, 1951 when he attracted the world’s attention. Untouched by publicity and attention, Vinoba continued Gandhi’s efforts for an equitable society. In fact, his life is a story of commitment to nonviolent ways to bring change, yearning for the highest level of spirituality. With his unwavering faith in human values and love, Vinoba participated with keen interest in the activities at Gandhi’s ashram, or fully sustainable village, such as teaching, studying, spinning and improving the life of the community. He promoted the kind of society that Gandhi envisioned and together their efforts have come to be known as the Sarvodaya Movement.
Sarvodaya Movement

Gandhi coined the term Sarvodaya, or well-being of all. Sarvodaya was the way of life that Gandhi practiced. While living in South Africa, he started two ashrams, the Phoenix Settlement and the Tolstoy Farm. In Ahmedabad, India, he formed the Satyagraha ashram. The aim of these ashrams was plain living and high thinking. Gandhi believed that by living in such a way, the well-being of all men could be secured. Gandhi once said, “A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye was not true religion”— that is, revenge was not the way man should practice religion. Gandhi believed that man should strive to live a truthful and religious life and should strive to establish truth, piety and love in human society. He believed that the power of goodness could transform the worst power on earth.

After Gandhi’s assassination on January 30, 1948, many of Gandhi’s followers looked to Vinoba for direction. Vinoba advised that now that India had reached its goal of Swaraj— independence, or self-rule— the Gandhians’ new goal should be a society dedicated to sarvodaya, or welfare of all. After which, the name, Sarvodaya Movement, remained. A merger of constructive work agencies produced Sarva Seva Sangh, or the Society for the Service of All, which became the core of the Sarvodaya Movement. The society was the primary organization working for broad social change along Gandhian lines.

A writer on peace, Anima Bose once referred to the Sarvodaya Movement’s philosophy as “a fuller and richer concept of people’s democracy than any we have yet known.” In Gandhi’s theory of peace, human values take great prominence. He believed that ahimsa, or nonviolence, is a way of life rather than a tactic, and taken together with satyagraha, or the search for truth, the two practices make the difference between passive submission to injustice and an active struggle against it. This struggle excludes both physical violence and casting the opponent in the role of enemy, and hence presupposes compassion and self-criticism. For me the notion of sarvodaya, or welfare to all, also assumes peace as incompatible with exploitation or inequality of wealth. Peace is not seen as an end state, but as a continuous revolutionary process, where ends cannot be separated from means.

Sarvodaya workers who associated with Vinoba undertook various projects aimed at encouraging popular self-organization during the 1950s and 1960s, including the Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. Today in India and other parts of the world, many movements have stemmed from these networks and continue to function. One of the more popular movements in Sri Lanka is the Sarvodaya Shramadana, or gift of labor, which offers a comprehensive development program. Sri Lanka, a small island off the coast of India, is in the shadow of a 25 year civil war and is home to one of the world’s most dynamic social movements. The Sri Lankan Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is one of the most successful examples of alternative development and nonviolent social change. Inspired by Buddhist values and guided by the principles of Gandhi, the movement exists in over 15,000 villages on the island and includes comprehensive development and conflict resolution programs to self-governing villagers.

A.T. Ariyaratne, a charismatic Sri Lankan leader, was inspired to lead based on Sarvodaya and Gandhian philosophies. Ariyaratne, a devoted Buddhist and world-renowned inspirational leader, has led the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement with great dedication.
speaker, was born on November 5, 1931, and later taught at Nalanda College in Colombo. He’s received numerous community leadership awards—such as the Ramon Magsaysay Award, the Gandhi Peace Prize, the King Beaudoin Award, and other international honors—for his work in peace making and village development. Ari, as he is called by his friends, is the founder of the Sri Lankan Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. His visionary contributions continue to promote ideological and inspirational leadership. A strong believer in Gandhian principles of nonviolence, rural development and self-sacrifice, Ari has been able to link secular principles of development with Buddhist ideals of selflessness and compassion. He saw important socio-economic principles in the Buddhist heritage and utilized them to evolve a development model. He has earned the nickname “Sri Lanka’s Little Gandhi.” Although Ari is a Buddhist and Gandhi was Hindu, the two have much in common. Ahimsa is a doctrine crucial to both religions: as Gandhi discarded his barrister’s gown for a twist of coarse-spun khaki to emphasize his identification with the rural poor, Ari wears a sarong, a large sheet of fabric, often wrapped around the waist and worn as a skirt by men and women throughout much of South Asia. Both keep their material needs to a minimum and spiritual development is always first. Initially, Ari worked in India with Vinoba and other Gandhians and in 1958, he returned to Sri Lanka, where he started the Sarvodaya Movement. Gandhi used the term to mean the awakening of all, but Ari added a distinctly Buddhist meaning to the name, using sarvodaya to mean not only the awakening of all but also the awakening of the whole person, sarvodaya. As a Sri Lankan citizen, I was deeply inspired by how the movement involved Buddha’s teachings to social and economic situations. The movement promotes “awakened development,” which looks at a balance between economic and spiritual growth. It is the model for what is now called “engaged Buddhism.”

The Sarvodaya program begins with an invitation from a village for discussion about what is needed and how it can be done. It proceeds in stages through creating a village council, building a school and clinic, setting up family programs, creating economic opportunity so that the village economy becomes self-sustaining, starting a village bank, and offering help to other villages. In addition, Sarvodaya sponsors public meditations in which tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Christians meditate together on each other’s welfare, using the Buddhist Bramavihara (abode of God) meditations, which are acceptable within all faiths.

On August 29, 1999, Sarvodaya mobilized a peace movement which attracted more than 300,000 people, all dressed in white, to Vihara Maha Devi Park in Central Colombo for three hours of silent meditation. Receiving prominence in the world press, the peace day included participants across ethnic and religious lines in defiance of the polarization being seen in the county at the time. It remains a practice to build awareness in personal consciousness, human rights, development, health care, ecological farming and education. Joanna Macy, the American author of Dharma and Development: Religion as Resource in the Sarvodaya Self-help Movement, commented on the Sarvodaya peace movement:

*When I heard about the plan to bring a quarter million people together for a peace meditation, I dropped everything and traveled to Sri Lanka to participate. I didn’t only go to show solidarity with my beloved Sarvodaya movement, but also for myself. Because of the ongoing violence in the world, including my*
country’s “war on terrorism,” I longed to see a saner dimension of the human spirit. I needed a hit of peace just like I need oxygen.4

As of 2006, Sarvodaya programs are active, with a network covering 15,000 (of 38,000) villages, 345 divisional units, 34 district offices, and 10 specialist Development Education Institutes; over 100,000 youths mobilized for peace-building under Shantisena, the country’s largest micro-credit organization with a cumulative loan portfolio of over 1.6 billion Sri Lankan rupees (through the Sarvodaya Economic Enterprise Development Services, SEEDS).5 It also includes a major welfare service organization serving over 1,000 orphaned and destitute children, under-age mothers and elders (Sarvodaya Suwa Setha), as well as 4,335 preschools serving over 98,000 children. The organization estimates that 11 million citizens benefit from at least one of its programs. It undertakes several empowerment programs and is the largest indigenous organization working in reconstruction from the tsunami caused by the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake.

Conclusion

Today in Sri Lanka, Sarvodaya plays a critical role in modeling the Dharma that is consonant with a pluralistic society. At a time when the Buddhist majority often finds itself in a narrowly defensive posture, acting as if Sri Lanka were by right a Buddhist Sinhalese state, Sarvodaya demonstrates the tolerance and respect for diversity that is integral to Bud-
Bhutan: Toward Socio-economic Development and its Major Challenges

by Gempo Jampel

Bhutan is a small, landlocked country in the Himalayan Mountains with a total area of about 38,000 square kilometers and a population of about 672,000. The country has been isolated from the rest of the world for many centuries and has a very rich and unique culture and well-preserved environment. The farsighted leader and fourth King of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Singay Wangchuck, sensed that many countries face global challenges like loss of national culture and identity, environmental degradation and extinction of endangered species during the process of socio-economic development. To prevent such serious occurrences, the King created a unique model where the development of the nation is based on achieving the aggregate growth of happiness of the citizenry rather than the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Therefore, the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH), sometimes called “Taking the Middle Path of Happiness,” emerged through his practice of servant leadership, which seeks to serve the people at the grassroots level. The concept of GNH is further guided by the four pillars: Sustainable and Equitable Socio-economic Development; Conservation of Environment; Preservation and Promotion of Culture, and Promotion of Good Governance. These pillars fully safeguard the nation’s rich culture, unique identities, and clean environment during Bhutan’s development. Ultimately, the GNH is a servant leadership concept that the Bhutanese king envisioned and Bhutan embraced, and it now continues to guide the country’s socio-economic development.

The first pillar of GNH focuses on Sustainable and Equitable Socio-economic Development, or more simply, balanced economic development. Under the King’s dynamic leadership, this form of development is targeted at the grassroots level. Some of the leading examples include construction of farm roads, provision of free health services, free education, introduction of high-yield agricultural products and mechanized farming tools, access of electricity to each and every household, and construction of balanced development of power projects across the country. The ultimate vision for this pillar is a self-sufficient Bhutan.

The second pillar, Conservation of the Environment, encompasses the need to protect the environment during the process of development. This is purely aimed at the long-term sustainability of the country. His Majesty initiated a system where the environment is the first consideration for any kind of developmental activities taking place in the country. The Bhutanese government passed the Environment Act, Forest Act, and Nature Conservation Act in order to preserve the fragile environment and various endangered species. Bhutan today has about 72 percent forest coverage and its strong government policies require the maintenance of at least 60 percent of forest coverage in the future. The Royal Society for Protection of Nature is working closely toward the protection of rare and endangered species such as the black-necked crane. A total of five national parks have emerged throughout the nation to conserve nature and protect the environment. The National Environmental Commission (NEC) office was established with the responsibility of taking the environmental assessment for any developmental activities occurring in the country. To control air pol-
solution, it is mandatory for every vehicle to undergo emissions testing annually, and there is a ban on the import of secondhand automobiles in the country. Additionally, the government banned the sale and use of plastic bags at shops. Also, industries are required to set up their own pollution treatment plants which are frequently checked by NEC officials. To control forest degradation, electricity and liquid petroleum gas are supplied at subsidized rates to the people. All of these efforts contribute to the conservation principle of development in Bhutan.

Nature is not the only conservation concern, as the third pillar is the Preservation and Promotion of Culture. Many countries lost their unique culture and national identities in the process of modernizing. His Majesty was greatly concerned over losing Bhutan’s rich cultural heritage when exposed to the modern process of development. For example, Bhutan has a unique architectural design for its windows. To preserve this, it is now mandatory to keep this design for every building constructed in the country. Additionally, the number of tourists allowed inside the country every year is restricted even though there is a great demand in the tourist market. The justification for such an action is the safeguarding of culture from overexposure to other cultures and societies. These efforts are also aimed at the personal level, such as with Bhutan’s unique national dress code: the rank of high-level officials is easily recognizable by the scarf they wear in the office. The Bhutanese government is also adopting local, annual events/festivals and instituting them as national holidays to preserve their existence amidst modernization.

In addition, cultural education is a required part of the academic curriculum at schools and universities. To assist in all of these processes, organizations like the National Cultural Commission and Royal Academy of Performing Arts emerged with the goal of promoting and preserving the culture and its unique identity. The idea of preservation of culture is not unique, but its significance as a factor in Bhutanese development certainly is.

The fourth pillar, and most essential to continued success in the context of the first three pillars, is Promotion of Good Governance. The fair, efficient, and transparent system of government is another key element for peace and gaining happiness for the citizens. His Majesty wanted to have a transparent system of government so that people could have a clear understanding of the rules and policies in the government system. The goal of the good governance system is a minimization of corruption so people can achieve their goals more transparently and successfully. Therefore, the king stressed the decentralization process of the entire government system. Since 1998, the head of ministry has been elected by the national assembly members, a legislative body elected for five year terms. The government also established a separate body known as the Anti-corruption Commission in 2005 to serve as a watchdog for corruption with full authority to prosecute any official involved in corruption. Recently, the Position Classification System was introduced for civil servants aimed at providing an efficient, fair, and transparent human resource system in the country.

During the last 30 years of his dynamic leadership, Bhutan has achieved tremendous gains in socio-economic status while preserving its national culture and the environment. It has also stimulated awareness of the importance of culture, the environment and transparency in the political system. Now, the Bhutanese people remain vigilant in protecting the environment during the process of developmental activities. Therefore, the king’s leadership style reflects that of an authentic servant leader because his development strategy is purely based on personal involvement at every level of governance, particularly at the grassroots level. His Majesty experienced various problems and witnessed the people’s basic necessities at the grassroot level through his personal participation and experiencing the real life of common people. For instance, there was a flash flood in the eastern part of Bhutan in 2004 and many of the common people lost their homes and
belongings. His Majesty immediately visited the sites and met with the victims, helping homeless citizens with the provision of relief aid. This is a clear example of servant leadership, where the leader serves his followers, and a perfect complement to GNH-directed development.

His Majesty has maintained a strong passion for directing and motivating the people’s participation in development and instilling in them the importance of choosing a right leader for the country. Though a monarch, he injected the concept of democracy into the public psyche and impressed upon the people the need to choose their own leader who can shape and lead the country in the right direction. In spite of the Bhutanese people’s request to maintain the king as their leader, a surprise declaration was made during the 2005 National Day: His Majesty commanded that there will be an introduction of democracy in the country by 2008. Shortly after His Majesty’s command to “let people decide their government,” came the establishment of the Election Commission of Bhutan in 2005. This was a great shock to the citizenry who now turned their attention to choosing the right leader for their country.

To ensure the present and future interest of the country, a draft Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan was framed under the king’s direct supervision. The copies of the draft constitution have been distributed nationwide explaining to every citizen the importance and purpose of the draft constitution and the introduction of parliamentary democracy in 2008. Afterwards, the Election Commission of Bhutan finalized the electoral rolls and election schedules while preparing the supervision, direction, control and conduct of elections for the Parliament and local governments. Its mandates are to conduct training and familiarize the people with the electoral process over the next two years so that the first general election in the country will be a successful one.

To disseminate information on the situation, the king commanded the national media to instruct the people about the democratic process. Leadership is a key element in Bhutan’s strikingly fast development. Some economists and international agencies predicted that it would take nearly a century for Bhutan to reach its present condition, but it took only about three decades under the dynamic, visionary leadership of the king, who is now placing it in the hands of the people to choose his successor as leader of the country.

In addition to challenges associated with leadership change, the introduction of television and Internet in the country in 1999 brought tremendous challenges to Bhutanese society, particularly the younger generations. When finally introduced, these services threatened the pillar of Preservation and Promotion of Culture.” There is no disputing the tremendous benefit gained from televisions and the Internet, but there are significant negative impacts when misused. This occurred when the Bhutanese government officially launched such facilities in 1999. Soon after its introduction, there was a shift in lifestyle and behavior of the Bhutanese. For instance, the dining ritual is considered an important facet of the Bhutanese lifestyle. At meals, all of the family members get together and the head of family, especially the mother, serves the food to the family. It was during this time that the family discussed and made decisions regarding important issues. It was also a way to pass along important information to fellow family members. Bhutanese consider the dining table a vital forum for the family, but with the introduction of the television
to Bhutan, young people hardly bother to dine with their parents. Even if gathered together, attention is diverted to the television screen and few bother to listen to the discussions around them.

Television has also begun affecting the Bhutanese lifestyle outside of mealtime, as it has become a distraction from other pursuits as well. Middle-aged women are becoming increasingly addicted to serial shows. They tend to be in front of television screens for daily shows, sometimes shifting their focus to those programs from work and family. Similar effects are apparent in younger generations who are highly susceptible to the modern lifestyle and behaviors. For these young Bhutanese, time once used for engagement with books and homework becomes time for watching new shows. Since its introduction in 1999, television has caused the public to be diverted from interest in social gatherings and discussions, which were once very rich cultural practices. This seems at the forefront of the degradation of Bhutan’s unique culture and society.

Just as the television has the potential to yield enormous benefits, the Internet provides a resource for information, a learning tool, and the cheapest mode of communication for individuals. But it too has adverse effects on the society if not used in a positive way. Some Bhutanese consider the Internet primarily as a vehicle for chatting and playing games, leading to addiction in some cases. Even in less extreme cases, people are spending large amounts of time online chatting, neglecting responsibilities that are more important. This even occurs at work, where chatting during office hours has resulted in reduced output by individuals. This impacts efforts to preserve and promote culture, but the Bhutanese government was expecting this.

Immediately after the Internet’s introduction, the Ministry of Communication closely monitored its effects and initiated some suitable measures such as standardization of television channels by eliminating some of the more offensive channels from the systems. Additionally, the Ministry of Education conducted counseling at schools. The ministry also ensured that schools provided regular assignments and extracurricular activities for students to help keep them engaged in more important pursuits. Additionally, the ministry informed parents of the importance of ensuring their children’s engagement with homework assignments after school. These actions indicate the Bhutanese government’s ability to sense the impact of modern influences before its most devastating effects could damage Bhutanese society. Fortunately, GNH-led development helped the Bhutanese government maintain the ideals of the four pillars within its modernization processes, including those as pervasive as television and the Internet.

Guided by the model of GNH, Bhutan has remained a unique and peaceful country in the world in spite of modernizing development. Bhutan sets a stellar example for the developmental activities of other nations. The Bhutanese are proud to have servant leaders shaping the nation and leading the citizens in the right direction. The king’s servant leadership style and desire for participation at the grassroots level helped him develop the concept of GNH and its four guiding principles for Bhutan’s development. The four pillars of GNH not only protect the country’s unique culture and environment, but also postulate guidelines for its socio-economic development. During his 35-years reign, the king’s servant leadership made tremendous changes to the nation’s development and improved people’s standard of living. In the process, Bhutan has been transformed from a third world civilization to a model for modern, sustainable living without losing its cultural and traditional values. The Bhutanese people are confident that the four pillars of GNH will forever remain guiding principles for Bhutanese development activities in the future. As long as the citizenry maintains this view, Bhutan will never lose its rich culture, unique identity, and environmental resources.

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Kofi Annan:  
A Contemporary Leader of International Peace and Development  
by Rakib Hossain

Introduction

Kofi Annan is the first black African Secretary General (SG) of the United Nations (UN), and the first and only leader to rise to the top position from within the ranks of the UN staff. Annan is appreciated not only for his political acumen, but for his respect for and willingness to work collaboratively with his colleagues. As SG of the UN, Kofi Annan gave priority to the following goals: revitalizing the UN through a comprehensive program of reform; strengthening the organization’s traditional work in the areas of development and the maintenance of international peace and security; advocating for human rights, the rule of law and the universal values of equality, tolerance and human dignity; and restoring public confidence in the organization by reaching out to new partners. In his words, he led by "bringing the United Nations closer to the people."¹

As SG, Annan also took a leading role in mobilizing the international community in the battle against HIV/AIDS, and more recently against the global terrorist threat. Annan proved to be an innovative and surprisingly independent SG—far less in thrall to the U.S. than many had anticipated. Though his choices were severely limited by the UN’s financial crisis and by unrelenting pressure from the U.S. and other major powers, Annan won widespread support and learned to maximize his options. He moved quickly to reassert UN central-ity in emergencies across the globe.²

Kofi Annan is among the most cherished leaders in the UN and around the world. What made him such a popular and charismatic leader? How did he reach his position as SG from an ordinary UN staff position? These are some of the questions that this paper hopes to answer through research and personal interviews with UN staffers who have worked with Annan at the UN Secretariat.

Annan’s Family, Education and Early Career

Kofi Annan was born to Victoria and Henry Reginald Annan in the Kofandros section of Kumasi, Ghana. He is a twin, an occurrence that is regarded as special in Ghanaian culture. The name Annan can indicate that a child was the fourth in the family, but at some time in the past it became a family name, which Annan inherited from his parents. Annan's family was part of the country's elite; both of his grandfathers and his uncle were tribal chiefs. Annan is married to Nane Maria Annan, a Swedish lawyer and artist. He has two children, Kojo and Ama, from his previous marriage to a Nigerian woman, Titi Alakija, whom he divorced in the late 1970s. Annan also has one stepchild, Nina Cronstedt de Groot, Nane's daughter from a previous marriage.³

From 1954 to 1957, Annan attended the elite Mfantsipim School, a Methodist boarding school in Cape Coast, founded in the 1870s. In 1957, the year Annan graduated from Mfantsipim, Ghana became the first British colony in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence. In 1958, Annan began studying for a degree in economics at the Kumasi College of Science and Technology, now the
Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology of Ghana. He received a Ford Foundation grant, enabling him to complete his undergraduate studies at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, United States, in 1961. Annan then earned a diploma of advanced studies, or DEA degree, in International Relations at the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales IUHEI) in Geneva, Switzerland, from 1961–62. He also received a Master of Science degree from the MIT Sloan School of Management (1971–72) under the Sloan Fellows program. Annan is fluent in English, French, Kru, and other African languages.

In 1962, Annan started working as a Budget Officer for the World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva, where he later also served with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. From 1974 to 1976, he worked as the Director of Tourism in Ghana. Annan then returned to work for the UN as an Assistant SG in three consecutive positions: Human Resources Management and Security Coordinator, from 1987 to 1990; Program Planning, Budget and Finance, and Controller, from 1990 to 1992; and Peacekeeping Operations, from March 1993 to February 1994. Annan served as Under-Secretary-General until October 1995, when he was made a Special Representative of the SG to the former Yugoslavia, serving for five months in that capacity before returning to his duties as Under-Secretary-General for the UN's Peacekeeping Department in April 1996, during a period of unprecedented growth in the size and scope of UN peacekeeping operations. At its peak in 1995, the UN was fielding almost 70,000 military and civilian "Blue Helmets" from 77 countries.

Annan as the SG of the UN

On December 13, 1996, Annan was recommended by the UN Security Council to be SG, and was confirmed four days later by vote of the General Assembly. Annan took the oath of office without delay, starting his first term on January 1, 1997. Annan replaced outgoing SG Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt, becoming the first person from a black African nation to serve as SG. His election followed a bitterly contested U.S. veto of a second term for his predecessor, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The Security Council recognized it was still Africa's "turn" in the UN's highest office, and eventually selected the U.S.- and French-supported Annan, a soft-spoken Ghanaian then heading the UN's Peacekeeping Department. Annan's tenure as SG was renewed on January 1, 2002, in an unusual deviation from informal policy. The SG office usually rotates among the continents, with two terms each. Since Annan's predecessor Boutros-Ghali was also an African, Annan, who normally would have served only one term, was reappointed, indicating his unusual popularity. UN staffers were largely delighted with their new chief, and morale within the organization soared.

When Annan came into office in 1997, he faced formidable challenges. The organization was near bankruptcy, and it faced serious criticism and hostility in Washington. In his first weeks in office, Annan traveled to Washington to build support in the conservative Congress. He promised to shrink the UN's operating budget, asking in return that the U.S. pay $1.6 billion in back dues.

Annan continued his predecessor's cuts in UN staff and budget. At the same time he introduced many management reforms—a new post of Deputy SG, a new office of financial oversight to keep watch for waste and corruption, and a more efficient cabinet-style management. Still, the U.S. refused to pay its debts, prolonging the financial crisis and keeping Annan's UN very short of resources.

Faced with insufficient funds, Annan sought closer relations between the UN and the private sector. Amid some controversy, he joined the annual gatherings of corporate chief executives in Davos, Switzerland, and called for a strategic partnership between the UN and business. In 1999 he proposed The Global Compact, nine principles on human rights, labor standards and the environment that corporations should adopt. At the same time, the UN muted its criticism of globalization and gave stronger support to corporate-friendly open markets. He thus also set the stage for broader alliances between the UN and its agencies and multinational corporations. Many critics have noted the tarnished environmental, labor and human rights records of some of these partner corporations. Critics were likewise skeptical about the threat to UN decision making inherent in UN reliance on funds from private foundations, corporations or individuals like Ted Turner of CNN. But Annan and his team were strongly committed to this course.

Annan had not hesitated to tackle other con-
troversial issues. Opening the 1999 General Assembly, he spoke in favor of "humanitarian intervention," stating explicitly that national sovereignty could no longer shield governments that massively violate human rights of their citizens. Many developing countries, fearing that only weaker states would face such response, reacted negatively, but Annan persisted in raising this issue, acknowledging the UN Charter's contradictions between sovereignty and human rights. In another controversial field, Annan increasingly spoke out about how economic sanctions against Iraq were causing the UN to be blamed for the humanitarian crisis facing the Iraqi population.10

In April 2001, he issued a five-point Call to Action to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As SG, Annan saw this pandemic as a "personal priority" and proposed the establishment of a Global AIDS and Health Fund in an attempt to stimulate the increased spending needed to help developing countries confront the HIV/AIDS crisis. On December 10, 2001, Annan and the UN were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, "for their work for a better organized and more peaceful world."11

During the buildup to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Annan called on the U.S. and the United Kingdom not to invade without the support of the UN. In a September 2004 interview on the BBC, Annan was asked about the legal authority for the invasion, and responded, "From our point of view, from the charter point of view, it was illegal."12

Annan supported sending a UN peacekeeping mission to Darfur, Sudan, and worked with the government of Sudan to accept a transfer of power from the African Union peacekeeping mission to a UN one. Annan also worked with several Arab and Muslim countries on women's rights and other topics.

Some of Annan's Major Challenges

Rwandan genocide

The chain of events which led up to the 1994 Rwandan genocide unfolded while Annan was heading up Peacekeeping Operations. In his book *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Hu-
manity in Rwanda, Canadian ex-General Roméo Dallaire, who was force commander of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda, claims that Annan was overly passive in his response to the incipient genocide. Gen. Dallaire explicitly asserts that Annan held back UN troops from intervening to settle the conflict, and from providing more logistical and material support. In particular, Dallaire claims that Annan failed to provide any responses to his repeated faxes asking him for access to a weapons depository, something that could have helped defend the endangered Tutsis. Dallaire concedes, however, that Annan was a man whom he found extremely "committed" to the founding principles of the UN.13

Darfur conflict

The conflict in Darfur, Sudan, is considered one of the worst genocides in African history. The conflict happened during Kofi Annan's tenure, and no UN member nation has taken responsibility to actively support humanitarian efforts to prevent the genocide in the region of western Sudan. However, there were negotiations and talks in the Security Council about the UN's intervention in Sudan, but no strong push came from any part. The non-cooperation of the Sudanese government was the other main reason why the UN was late to respond to Darfur's situation. Kofi Annan always acknowledged the dependence of the UN on its member states and that UN's actions are dependent mostly on the willingness of the member states. In an interview with journalist Jim Lehrer, which was aired on PBS Television on May 4, 2006, Annan said that the decision was not his to make.14

LEHRER: Are you satisfied that you, personally—as you said, not only as a human being, an African, you're the secretary general of the UN—that you personally did everything you possibly could to get this thing (Darfur conflict) moving before now?

ANNAN: I have been very active on this, not only in my public pronouncements, but also in my contacts with governments. I've written to almost every African state asking them to work with us, with Sudan, to allow the UN forces to come in. I've reached out to the Arab League and to presidents like Mubarak to seek their help in getting this. And I've been working very closely with the African Union to support their efforts on the ground. And you may recall, last May, we organized the first-ever pledge and donor conference to raise money and logistical support for them, and we are planning a second follow-up one to assist them, but what is important is that governments respond and respond promptly and generously. And as we speak, we are very strapped for cash for humanitarian activities.

Significant Contributions by Annan

One of Annan's main priorities as SG was a comprehensive program of reform aimed at revitalizing the UN and making the international system more effective. He was a constant advocate for human rights, the rule of law, the Millennium Development Goals and Africa, and sought to bring the organization closer to the global public by forging ties with civil society, the private sector and other partners.

At his initiative, UN peacekeeping was strengthened in ways that enabled the UN to cope with a rapid rise in the number of operations and personnel. It was also at Annan's urging that, in 2005, Member States established two new intergovernmental bodies: the Peace-building Commission and the Human Rights Council. Annan likewise played a central role in the creation of several important campaigns: the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; the adoption of the UN's first-ever counter-terrorism strategy; and the acceptance by Member States of the “responsibility to protect” people from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. His Global Compact initiative, launched in 1999, has become the world's largest effort to promote corporate social responsibility.15

Annan undertook wide-ranging diplomatic initiatives. In 1998, he helped to ease the transition to civilian rule in Nigeria. Also that year, he visited Iraq in an effort to resolve an impasse between that country and the Security Council over compliance with resolutions involving weapons inspections and other matters—an effort that helped to avoid an outbreak of hostilities, which was imminent at that time. In 1999, he was deeply involved in the process by which Timor-Leste gained independence from Indonesia. He was responsible for certifying Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000, and in 2006, his efforts contributed to securing a cessation
of hostilities between Israel and Hizbollah. Also in 2006, he mediated a settlement of the dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi peninsula through implementation of the judgment of the International Court of Justice. His efforts to strengthen the organization’s management, coherence, and accountability involved major investments in training and technology, the introduction of a new whistle-blower policy and financial disclosure requirements, and steps aimed at improving coordination among countries.16

In recognition of his significant contributions in international peace keeping and development, Kofi Annan was awarded the 2001 Nobel Prize for Peace, jointly with the Organization. He has also received numerous honorary degrees and many other national and international prizes, medals and honors.17

Annan’s Leadership Qualities

“He [Kofi Annan] was dynamic, visionary, and forward-looking,” said Gilian Sorensen, a former UN Assistant SG for External Relations who now serves as Senior Advisor at the United Nations Foundation. Answering a question about the major strength of Kofi Annan, Sorensen continued, “He always inspired and let other people do what they can and need to do… you do not need to do everything by yourself.” Annan believed in the capabilities of his colleagues; his transformational capacities and visionary speeches always helped build confidence among the UN staff and increased the visibility and image of the UN.

Many leadership theories could be applied to Annan’s accomplishments and his leadership at the UN. He always accepted the challenges of leadership and met them with personal dynamism and teamwork. His way of doing complex things could be a very good example of what Kouzès and Posner described as the five practices of exemplary leadership, which include modeling the way, inspiring a shared vision, challenging the process, enabling others to act and encouraging the heart.18

Whenever a difficult situation arose, Kofi Annan “modeled the way” and ignited the flame of passion in others by expressing enthusiasm for a compelling vision. In many instances, he was able to “inspire a shared vision” among the UN staffers, the Security Council, and the member states. He often “challenged the process” and succeeded with innovative approaches. For example, during the UN’s financial crisis, Annan envisioned new avenues for UN’s operation and called for a wide range of partnerships with the private and corporate sectors. That’s how his leadership enabled corporate and private sectors to act more prominently for international development. Annan “encouraged the hearts” of many to create a more vibrant UN during the period of a growing despair about the UN among the people around the world. As Kouzès and Posner noted, everybody has a set of identifiable leadership skills and practices. Annan used his skills in a proper manner that took the world body’s image to new heights. During his tenure, the UN’s budget and peacekeeping initiatives more than doubled and the Global Compact, established by his initiatives, increased the Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSRs) dramatically.19

Kofi Annan is an admired leader because he was forward-looking; his competence was well acknowledged by many and also proved by his long professional experiences and inspirational speeches. He is known for the dependable, independent nature of his thinking, his decision making, and more importantly, his team building and cooperative capabilities. His credibility as the UN
SG was so high that he was reappointed as the SG for the second term even though it was not a term for Africa. His performance as the UN Peacekeeping department’s head was so praised and his acceptability among the member states was so high that he was the only SG who came from within the UN staff.

A small but meaningful action from persons in higher positions serves as an enormous source of inspiration among others. Immediately after Annan took office, he made the two elevators in the secretariat building open for everybody, though previously they were only for the SG and high profile visitors in the UN. This small but big-hearted initiative of Annan created a sense of equality and ownership among the UN staff.

Kofi Annan was fully aware of his personal competencies; he had enormous self-confidence, a clear assessment of his capabilities and an acute emotional awareness. As proof of his high self-management aptitudes, Annan focused more on transparency and accountability in the UN by making the secretariat more public and down-to-earth. Driven by his optimism and inner standards of excellence, he drove the wider UN system toward increased visibility and credibility in the areas of crisis management, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, reform within the organization, and international development. He was a model of conflict resolution and collaboration as demonstrated by his efforts in the peace-building efforts in post-war Iraq, in East Timor, in Africa, and in the widespread partnership and collaboration between the UN and the corporate sector.

His leadership style was visionary, reflected largely by his search and eventual success in finding new funding sources for the UN’s operations. He proved to be a coach in some instances, like when he guided the UN’s increased role in peacekeeping or used his personal connections in managing incipient conflicts. Both of these examples helped his successors in office. He often proved to be democratic by inspiring other people to act and creating team-building initiatives for world peace. However, he could also be commanding in certain crisis situations; his determination during the U.S. and UK invasion in Iraq was much appreciated at that time by many member states.

Conclusion

Kofi Annan was a paragon of good leadership qualities, and these were reflected by his vast success in leading the UN through its financial crisis and image problems when he took office. Although he faced enormous challenges both inside and outside the UN, he never gave up. Among other things, Annan will be known for his management capacities, mediation and negotiation skills, vision, diplomacy and the credibility that he achieved through years of service. His self-awareness, emotional intelligence and inspiring vision make him a true contemporary leader.

3  Ibid.
4  Ibid.
6  Caroline Kennedy, Profiles in Courage for Our Time (Hyperion, 2003).
8  www.britannica.com/eb/article-9003039.
9  Abrams.
10 news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3661640.stm.
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Social Entrepreneurship in Rural China: Kate Zhou’s Efforts to Empower the ‘Black Children’ of China

by Constantino Vrakas

Education—more than any other single initiative—has the capacity to foster development, awaken talents, empower people, and protect their rights.1

Introduction

It’s not easy to find positive examples of sustainability and social entrepreneurship in China. Just take a look at the recent New York Times series “Choking on Growth” or the documentary Manufactured Landscapes to see what I am talking about. If you have traveled or lived there in the past decade you know first hand of the effects of China’s growth-at-all-costs policies. I was able to find someone who has been a leader in using socially responsible entrepreneurial practices to foster positive change in rural China. Her name is Kate Zhou. She is a University of Hawaii professor of political science, and she runs the Educational Advancement Fund International (EAFI) and its numerous projects in her spare time. “The best way to make the world a better place is by giving kids a better education,” proclaims the organization’s home page. And that is what I witnessed in the mountains of Hunan, learning about rural China while serving the local community in the summer of 2006.

I went to China in order to carry out field research for my thesis, which took me first to Beijing and then to Shanghai. Hovering over the modern steel and glass skyscrapers of these cities is a dome of haze—sometimes yellow, sometimes gray—always present. I was, literally, choking on China’s growth.

But when I was invited to join a volunteer group going to the secluded mountains of Hunan in inner China I jumped at the chance to get away from the congested eastern coast. I did not have much information about the mission of EAFI at that time, but meeting with its representatives revealed that they worked with China’s extremely disempowered rural citizens: ethnic minority women, children from poor farming households that cannot afford to send them to school, and children not allowed to be registered as full citizens because they were born in violation of the one-child policy.

I was intrigued to be able to see how a small grassroots nonprofit organization operates in China. Kate Zhou has dedicated her life to fighting for the rights of China’s extremely impoverished rural citizens. Every year EAFI organizes groups of international students and professionals to travel to rural areas in China to learn about the part of the country that is being left behind. They practice what is known as service learning, “a form of experimental education in which students engage activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development.”2
With such a group of international volunteers, including students from the University of Hawaii, University of London, Princeton University and Shanghai Jiaotong University, I traveled westward night and day, on a 700-mile journey that was scheduled to take 28 hours (only the slowest trains go to western Hunan). By plane it takes one and a half hours, but the vast majority of people who travel to and from this area of China cannot afford to fly. The difference in time, at the best of times, is twenty-six and a half hours. The difference in price is less than $100. My journey ended up taking 35 hours due to flooding of the tracks, a common problem because of the poor rail infrastructure in Hunan.

I began to really understand the problem of China’s growing gap between rich and poor even before I set foot in Hunan: immediately out of Shanghai, with its ultramodern steel and glass skyscrapers, one is abruptly thrust into a landscape of undeveloped farming communities with little or no infrastructure. Into Hunan and the heart of China’s divisive class problem, I witnessed the extreme poverty that affects many of China’s 800 million peasants. Moreover, many of the people I visited did not officially exist as people before the law. They are known as hei haizi, the “black children,” of China.

### The ‘Black Children’ of China

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.3

From a modest beginning in English teacher training, EAFI has developed into a budding organization that has chosen to face one of China’s darkest issues: hei haizi, or “black children.” Also called “unrecognized children,” these are children who have the misfortune of being born illegally, violating China’s family planning policy. Since 1982, in order to curb the exploding population, the government has enforced a one-child policy that limits the number of children per family to one. Exceptions allow rural families to have two if the first is a girl and ethnic minorities two or sometimes three children.4

In the beginning the Chinese government employed draconian methods such as forced sterilization and forced abortion to enforce the policy.5 In recent years, however, such methods have been replaced with education. Violators still have to pay a fine of about $1,000 (no payment plans available), a sum most rural families cannot afford and therefore must bear their children in secret. According to a TIME Asia article, one woman interviewed in a rural town in Guangdong province “plans to have her fourth child at home, as she did her last son. Her youngest three will not be officially registered—which does not bother her because she does not know if she wants them in school anyhow.”6

In many rural villages, including minority villages, it is not uncommon to see families with three or four children. Many of the families we visited in the mountainous countryside had three or four children, all but the first unregistered. But here even children born in line with village quotas...
don’t get the education they deserve. While China’s communist government promises nine years of free public education to all children, the reality is that most rural schools are severely underfunded. To make up for shortfalls in their budget they charge “other fees” (xueza fei), which in the villages we visited amount to $37 (300 yuan) per year for elementary students.

The Chinese government has been trying to play catch-up in its neglect of the inner and western regions of the country, but their efforts continue to be too little, too late. The BBC recently reported that the government has earmarked an additional 15 billion yuan for China’s 150 million rural schoolchildren. This translates into roughly 100 yuan per student per year, or about $12. Even this miniscule amount will likely never reach the people it is intended to help as it trickles down the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Kate’s organization has begun two initiatives to relieve this problem in western Hunan. The first is a scholarship program that awards tuition money to schoolchildren based on need and merit. Currently EAFI is able to provide about 60 scholarships to elementary and middle school children from families that cannot afford education. Some of these are “black children,” although the other project specifically deals with the unregistered children. This project, the Qiaotou Kindergarten, was established in 2003 and currently educates 22 unregistered children. More importantly, Kate has arranged with the local government to normalize the status of these children after they attend her school for three years.

The involvement of EAFI at Qiaotou Kindergarten has brought American instructors to the children during the summer, and increased prominence in the local community. Once ostracized for their “black” status, now even registered children attend the school.

Kate Zhou, Servant Leader

Kate Zhou has been operating as a one-woman force for development in rural China for over 20 years. She began giving out of a desire to repay all the good that people had bestowed upon her after coming to the United States for higher education. Of the two main motivations for devoting her life to helping the poor rural people of China, she says “one is to give back to the community. . .So many people [in the U.S.] helped me, and when I asked them how I could pay them back, they often told me that I could help someone else.”

This notion of general reciprocity is a prime ingredient for being a servant leader, or a leader who believes in serving before leading. Immediately after completing her schooling at Princeton, she started giving back to her home community. With small loans and handouts she first helped the people who left an impression on her heart: friends and family and others who struggled during the Cultural Revolution. “My family suffered a lot during the Cultural Revolution. For 50 years of communist rule. . .the government controlled every part of our lives.” She explains her underlying goal for all the help she provides is to empower people so that they can make decisions for themselves and control their own destinies.

Kate’s giving began with people she knew and could trust, in the rural mountain village where her parents grew up. She has many relatives there and naturally she started at home. But as EAFI was established officially in 2002 and her giving power expanded, she spread the reach of her efforts to several neighboring villages, towns and the prefectural capital.

Any servant leader, whether helping a few people or an entire region, must be wary of the pitfalls of serving. Simply being a “do-gooder” will not help the people one is trying to help, as Emily Morrison warns in her paper “Leadership Insights and Applications: Service-Learning and Leadership:” “Americans travel to third world countries and play the role of expert, often having access to a greater breadth and depth of resources than the local citizens. The local citizens can then become dependant on the services and resources of the local citizens” (5, emphasis added).

Kate, displaying the uncommon quality of reflection that marks a true servant leader, admits that her initial large-scale program was disastrous:

In the beginning I thought they needed English teachers. But I discovered that by sending them a group of English teachers from Hawaii, I created a brain drain. People whose English is good leave the community and never come back. So then I discovered, ok, I need to know who has a stake and will stay in that place. That’s why I set up the kindergarten and some minority, rights-based initiatives for loans and for training. So people will stay in the community, building that community.
During my trip to Hunan, I witnessed Kate’s organization involved in several ventures that are helping to build the community. EAFI is helping one local businessman utilize the region’s kiwi farms to make tasty 100 percent fruit juice. Already a medium-sized company, she wants to help it expand to the U.S. and organized two business students from Hawaii to design labels compliant with U.S. codes. This creates an exchange of culture: the students get experience in the Chinese marketplace and the Chinese businessman can enter new markets, provide a healthy and natural product, and if he is successful, he is likely to use that success to develop his local community.

Always dedicated to education, this cultural exchange permeates all of EAFI’s programs. Each summer EAFI helps organize English training camps for middle school students in Jishou by students from Princeton University, Kate’s alma mater. They teach the Chinese students and in turn learn about China and its culture from them. From these examples we can see Kate takes reciprocity very seriously.

**Conclusion: Faith, Hope, Love**

Kate told me a story about volunteerism during the Cultural Revolution. In the 1960s the Communist Party launched a campaign to motivate young people to help older people in their everyday activities. Kate was a teenager at the time. She was eager to be a model citizen and began helping older people do menial tasks whenever she bumped into them on the street. Usually she ended up helping them carry things. One day, when she could not find any to help, she started helping middle-aged people. She helped them cross streets and get onto busses. They did not need her help. They did not ask for it. The people were ungrateful and angry.

“Are we so old?” they asked. Kate’s generous deeds were not appreciated because she was thinking of fulfilling her own goals, not meeting the needs of the people.

Reflecting on her actions, and the people’s reactions, Kate learned from her mistakes. She would make other mistakes in the future, but those too she would take the time to reflect upon, listen to the people, and correct her actions. This is what being a servant-leader is about. Service the people first. Then leadership may come.

Her goals are lofty but she manages to make progress by focusing on individual empowerment. Each person that she is able to help overcome poverty and government oppression or bureaucratic entanglement is a success in her heart and an inspiration for her and others to continue to help the minorities and children in rural China.

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5. See Stephen W. Mosher, “China’s One-Child Policy: Twenty-five Years Later,” for one story about a whole family that was uprooted when village officials, trying to protect their quota, imprisoned nine family members and destroyed three houses trying to force an abortion on a woman who wanted to keep her second child.
6. Ibid.
8. Personal interview with Dr. Kate Zhou conducted November 19, 2006. Throughout this paper I use only my personal interviews with Dr. Zhou as a source for her quotes.
9. Ibid.
Aung San Suu Kyi: The Power of the Powerless and the Symbol of Fearlessness

Anonymous

The only real prison is fear, and the only real freedom is freedom from fear. - Aung San Suu Kyi

Introduction

No single word can adequately represent Aung San Suu Kyi. A contemporary leader in Myanmar, commonly known as Burma, she is well-known among the international community. Aung San Suu Kyi is the leader of the people’s struggle for human rights and democracy in Burma. For the Burmese people, she represents their sole hope to end military oppression and bring democracy to the country. For her nonviolent and peaceful struggle for democracy and human rights in this Southeast Asian nation, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991.

The Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Francis Sejersted, called her “an outstanding example of the power of the powerless.”1 In a press release, the committee noted, “Suu Kyi’s struggle is one of the most extraordinary examples of civil courage in Asia in recent decades. She has become an important symbol in the struggle against oppression.”2 It is her fearlessness in the face of military oppression that makes her extraordinary among other contemporary leaders. The Nobel Committee acknowledged, “For a doctrine of peace and reconciliation to be translated into practice, one absolute condition is fearlessness...She has shown fearlessness in practice. She opposed herself alone to the rifle barrels.”3

In her famous book, Freedom From Fear, Aung San Suu Kyi wrote, “It is not the power that corrupts, but fear...The only real prison is fear, and the only real freedom is freedom from fear.”4 She set herself as an example of fearlessness by practicing what she preaches. In her opposition to Burma’s ruling military junta, she has been imprisoned and put under house arrest and yet, has remained the symbol of democracy and freedom for her people. Through her actions, she not only transformed herself, but also transformed her people. This essay seeks to identify Aung San Suu Kyi as a transformational leader through her aspirations, devotion, and bravery, all in the pursuit of democracy.

Her Life and Leadership

Born in 1945, as the youngest of three children of Burma’s independence leader General Aung San, Aung San Suu Kyi was influenced by the legacy of her father. Her first name, Aung San, is a constant reminder that she is the daughter of Burma’s nationalist hero. “Suu” comes from her grandmother, and “Kyi” is taken from her mother’s name. She was only 2 when her father was assassinated in 1947. General Aung San was shot to death, just before his country gained independence from the British, a cause for which he dedicated and sacrificed his entire life. He was greatly admired by his people as the Father of Burma’s Liberation, and over the 60 years after his death, he remains an example of bravery and a symbol of freedom.

Growing up with her diplomat mother, Aung San Suu Kyi lived outside of her country between 1960 and 1988. The family moved to India in 1960 when her mother was appointed as the ambassador to the nation. In 1967, Aung San Suu Kyi graduated from Oxford University with a degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics. She worked for the United Nations in New York from 1969 to 1971. In 1972, she married her fiancé, Michael Aris, a British scholar and specialist on Tibet. She then accompanied her husband to Bhutan where he worked as the head of the translation department. While in Bhutan, she worked for the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She and her family returned to London in 1973.

Until 1988, Aung San Suu Kyi had lived an ordinary life, raising her two sons, keeping up her academic work, writing books, and doing research on her father’s life. She was the visiting scholar at the Kyoto University in Japan in 1985 and at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies in India in 1987. While in Japan, she studied her father’s experiences with military training in Japan during the Second World War when he was working toward
leading and supporting Burma’s Independent Army’s fight against the ruling British. When the family moved back to Oxford, she continued her studies at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. In March 1988, she returned to her own country to care for her dying mother.

Her return coincided with the peak of political turmoil in Burma, which led to the outbreak of a student revolution against the Socialist party’s fear-and-repression-based rule. Small groups of politically intelligent university students in Rangoon (the former capital) took the initiative of demanding a radical political change and calling for an end to the 26-year long dictatorship of General Ne Win, who took over the country in a military staged coup in 1962 and transformed the once-richest-country of Asia into one of the poorest in the world. Unprecedented in that 26-year history, the student revolts were brutally cracked down upon, resulting in the death of several students, which created nationwide anger and uprisings. However, the military suppressed all mass uprisings by sending troops with open orders to fire upon unarmed peaceful demonstrators. In the massacre of August 1988, thousands were killed.

After the massacre, Aung San Suu Kyi decided to take part in what she called “the people’s second struggle for national independence.” By joining in the people’s struggle, she embraced her inheritance to lead the Burmese people to the destiny of democracy. She intervened on August 15, 1988, with an open letter to the government, proposing the establishment of a nonmilitary independent consultative committee to organize free and fair democratic elections and demanding the release of political prisoners. During her first public speech on August 26, she announced her decision to half a million people at the Shwedagon Pagoda. “In the footsteps of my father, his legacy, aspiration and inspiration to bring democracy to Burma, I therefore will enter this struggle for democracy to do what I can to fulfill my father’s vision of democratic Burma…I could not, as my father’s daughter, remain indifferent to all that was going on.” In her speech, she presented a political program based on “non-violence, human rights, and democracy.”
Inspired by the spiritual leader Mahatma Gandhi, Aung San Suu Kyi employed the tactics of nonviolence and civil disobedience in her campaigns for human rights and democracy. She began organizing rallies and shared her vision of peaceful, nonviolent, spiritual revolution in the fight for democracy. The military regime responded by tightening the restrictions and establishing the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) on September 18. The SLORC reinstated martial law under which meetings were banned and persons could be sentenced without trial. A curfew was imposed and military tribunals replaced the civil courts. The SLORC announced free and fair multiparty elections in 1990 and allowed the establishment of political parties. Along with her colleagues, Aung San Suu Kyi founded the National League for Democracy (NLD) party on September 24.

Despite the death of her mother in December 1988, Aung San Suu Kyi continued to engage in vigorous political activity. Defying the ban on meetings and military provocations, she traveled all over the country and held mass political meetings. At her political campaigns, she appealed to various ethnic groups for peace and reconciliation. The following citation is from the Nobel Prize Committee:

*In the good fight for peace and reconciliation, we are dependent on persons who set examples, persons who can symbolize what we are seeking and mobilize the best in us. Aung San Suu Kyi is just such a person. She unites deep commitment and tenacity with a vision in which the end and the means form a single unit. Its most important elements are democracy, respect for human rights, non-violence, reconciliation between groups, and personal and collective discipline.*

Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest on July 20, 1989, the day after she delivered a speech to the crowds on Martyr’s Day, the day in which her father and his colleagues were assassinated. Despite her continuing detention, her party, NLD, won a landslide victory with 82 percent of parliamentary seats in the May 1990 election. As the leader of the winning party, Aung San Suu Kyi earned the right to be the prime minister, but the military junta denied the election results. Moreover, the junta instigated a crackdown on all NLD-organized rallies and imprisoned many elected NLD party members.

Nevertheless, the world recognized her tireless efforts for her people. The Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi in 1991. In awarding the prize, the Committee wished “to honor this woman for her unflagging efforts and to show its support for many people throughout the world who are striving to attain democracy, human rights and ethnic conciliation by peaceful means.”

Like the Indian leader Gandhi, the African American leader Martin Luther King Jr., and the South African leader Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi has become an international icon of heroic and nonviolent peaceful resistance in the face of oppression. The Hollywood actor Jim Carrey calls her, in his announcement, “an unsung hero,” and “the world’s only imprisoned Nobel Peace Prize recipient,” finally urging Americans to join his effort to free Aung San Suu Kyi. Knowing that upon leaving Burma she would never be allowed to return, she remained in the detention and rejected the government’s offer to free her if she abandoned politics. Her sons, Alexander and Kim, accepted the Nobel Peace Prize on her behalf. The Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee expressed the Committee’s concern and hope in his award presentation speech:

*The Peace Prize Laureate is unable to be here herself. The great work we are acknowledging has yet to be concluded. She is still fighting the good fight. Her courage and commitment find her a prisoner of conscience in her own country, Burma. Her absence fills us with fear and anxiety...Our fear and anxiety are mixed with a sense of confidence and hope.*

As of this writing, Aung San Suu Kyi has been under house arrest for 12 of the past 19 years. Yet she represents Burma’s best hope in ending military oppression and bringing democracy to the country. She is the symbol of peace and justice for the Burmese people. She represents an international symbol of peaceful resistance in the face of military aggression. Outstandingly, she motivates
people by setting herself as an example of “fearlessness.” The life-threatening situations she has faced prove that she is not afraid to die in the pursuit of democracy.

One incident from the book *The Voice of Hope* illustrates her fearless commitment. The author, Alan Clements, asked her to recount an experience in a town named Danubyu when she walked head-on toward a row of soldiers with their rifles aimed and the captain counting out for the men to shoot. Aung San Suu Kyi described the situation:

*We were accompanied by an army major of the troops in the area. We were walking towards the house where we were to stay for the night. They were behind and I was in front... Then we saw the soldiers across the road, kneeling with their guns trained on us. The captain was shouting to us to get off the road. They said, they were going to fire if we kept on walking in the middle of the road. So I said, “Fine, all right,” we’ll walk on the side of the road and we would divide forces. He replied that he would shoot even if we walked on the side of the road. Now that seemed highly unreasonable to me. I thought, if he’s going to shoot us even if we walk at the road side, well, perhaps it is me they want to shoot. I might as well walk in the middle of the road. While I was walking back, the major came running up and had an argument with the captain. We just walked through the soldiers.*10

There were many other instances of her encountering soldiers with guns and harassments. In these circumstances, people witnessed that she never ran, but rather, faced the guns. Aung San Suu Kyi practices what she says, “Running away is not going to solve any problems.”11 She inspires people not only by her modeling the way of peaceful resistance to tyranny, but also by exemplifying the freedom of fear, even from death. Her courageous leadership is the biggest source of motivation for her people to advance their fight for human rights and democracy. In his book *Leadership*, James M. Burns wrote, “The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.”12

**Conclusion**

The more I examine the leadership quality of Aung San Suu Kyi, the more I am convinced that she is an admirable and extraordinary leader in many ways. She is an authentic leader, according to Bill George’s definition: “Authentic leaders are guided by qualities of the heart, as they are guided by qualities of the mind.”13 Her heart is filled with compassion for her people’s decades-long suffering under military dictatorship, while her mind is filled with a great vision and commitment to bringing democracy and justice to Burma. Her two-decade separation from her family indicates that she is highly determined, forward-looking, and passionate about the fate of the Burmese people. She is also a transformational leader who has lifted the morale of her followers and converted them into leaders. She is highly intelligent in educating people about the beauty of liberty and democracy, and is a spiritual leader who speaks and seeks the truth.

In summary, Aung San Suu Kyi is an unflagging freedom fighter and a symbol of fearlessness. She is a living example of the “power of the powerless”—the rallying point for ordinary people. Moreover, she is the candlelight, igniting the flame of passion in her people for a collective vision of a democratic Burma. Whereas her father used force to drive out the British, she uses nonviolence and democratic reform to reclaim her country. Like Aung San, the Father of Burma’s Liberation, Aung San Suu Kyi has united the Burmese people and has become the Mother of Burma’s struggle for Freedom.

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 47.
Pol Pot and His Leadership
by Kouland Thin

Introduction

Besides being victims of civil wars for more than two decades, Cambodians experienced one of the century’s worst atrocities, which occurred between 1975 and 1979 under the leadership of Pol Pot. For almost four years under his revolutionary leadership, approximately 1.5 million people were either killed or died of disease and starvation as a result of his “great-leap-forward” policy. The death toll was astonishingly high given the total population in the 1970s was only around 6 million. The loss of parents, spouses, children, relatives, and friends has caused immeasurable emotional suffering.

In 2001, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal (KRT) was set up under the commission of the United Nations and the Cambodian government to bring justice to the victims of the regime. Although Pol Pot, the mastermind of the genocide in Cambodia, passed away in 1998 from heart failure, it is his regime and his leadership network that are on trial in the KRT. Furthermore, several top leaders in the Democratic Kampuchea regime have been arrested and will be prosecuted in the forthcoming trials.

This paper seeks to explain why Pol Pot failed to become a good leader. Pol Pot possessed a natural charisma and ability to speak eloquently, but he lacked both practical experience and specific economic and public administration skills to run the country well. In addition, the culture of obedience further weakened Pol Pot’s support network from providing good constructive criticism that could help shape Pol Pot’s policy choices. In her book, Bad Leadership, Kellerman highlights that leaders and followers hold equal value. Followers should empower themselves and stand against a bad leader. The absence of a capable and efficient support network gives leaders an unprecedented authority, which could be detrimental to public welfare if the leader chooses a bad policy. Pol Pot’s support network was both inefficient and culturally submissive. Each policy was carried out thoroughly regardless of social costs. Such a weak support network paired with Pol Pot’s personal incompetence placed Cambodia under volatile experimentation rather than promising prosperity.

Pol Pot’s Background and Personality

From a respectful high school teacher to a dictatorial leader, Pol Pot possessed opposite personalities. His real name was Saloth Sar, but both of his names were normal Cambodian names and had no special meaning. Sar was born on May 19, 1925, to a rather wealthy family in the Prek Sbauv village of the Kompong Thom province, Cambodia. His father was a farmer with nine hectares of rice land and several draft animals. His mother was a devout religious person. Sar was the eighth of nine children. In 1935, Sar and his brothers were sent to live with his relatives in Phnom Penh to pursue education. After moving to Phnom Penh, he attended a religious school at Vat Botum Vaddei pagoda for several months where he learned the rudiments of Buddhism and became literate in Khmer.

His family’s connection with the Royal Palace gave him a chance to take the entrance exam for the lycee system. In 1949, he received a government scholarship to study in France. Many fellows who went to France on similar scholarships received at least one diploma. Sar did not receive any. In France, he was trained in radio electricity. He spent more than three years in Paris for his education and returned home.
due to poor performance that led to the termination of his scholarship. In spite of this rejection, there were no signs yet of the dictatorial attitude he would later embrace.

After returning home, Pol Pot worked as a high school teacher, who was well-liked by the students. One of his students said that Pol Pot was a kind and sociable person. Hearing the horror stories from the Khmer Rouge’s survivors at the refugee camp, Becker, a journalist, thought a cruel person would show his improper behavior. However, she was surprised when meeting Pol Pot personally during her interview in 1978. She said that Pol Pot possessed a charming appearance and a persuasive way of talking. He seemed to have natural leadership qualities along with his ability to speak eloquently. Like other Cambodian men, Pol Pot was a simple and respectful person capable of earning others’ trust.

Starting in 1953, Pol Pot transformed himself from a high school teacher and took up arms. He began his political life by joining the Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party (KPRP) in 1953. From there, he built up his power and gathered people to join his party’s revolutionary ideal. Although he did not have high education and social work experience, Pol Pot was able to lead this revolutionary movement against the Lon Nol regime successfully. Lon Nol was a general who led the country after the overthrow of King Sihanouk in the early 1970s. The Lon Nol regime was known as a corrupt, incompetent, and anti-communist regime. He came to power with the support of the United States of America. The widespread corruption of the Lon Nol regime gradually diminished its legitimacy which allowed an opportunity for Pol Pot’s party to strengthen its power. His party, the Kampuchean Communist Party (KCP), gained full control of the country in 1975 and from then, Pol Pot put Cambodia into a reign of terror under his experiment with communism.

Holding a position as Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Pol Pot and his followers adopted their own version of a Marxist-Leninist ideology, which focused on absolute equality. His ideology was also influenced by his living with the tribal groups in the northwest of Cambodia during the rebellion period. Pol Pot came to know the simple living standards of hill tribe people who had few material possessions. He thought this was the realization of his extreme communist ideal. To achieve the goal of absolute equality, Pol Pot and his followers abolished the idea of private properties and confiscated all personal belongings. People from main cities were evacuated from their homes and were forced to undergo manual labor. Moreover, old elements of the past regime were removed. Pol Pot’s followers arrested and killed former police officers, soldiers, doctors, and government officers who were associated with the previous regime. In addition, religion, education, and currency were abolished. This reign of terror finally ended with the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979.

**Influence of External Factors on Pol Pot’s Leadership**

*Education and work experience*

Although Pol Pot inspired millions to follow him, he had not been trained in management or leadership when he was in France. His leadership was driven by an ideology without any technical knowledge or practical experience on how to govern the country. His natural leadership personality allowed him to gather support and put himself in a position of power, but he weakened his country financially, socially, and diplomatically. As Kourzes and Posner contend in their book *The Leadership Challenge*, “Leadership is not at all about personality; it is about practice.” Without the necessary skills and experiences, Pol Pot put millions of innocent lives under his cruel experiment of extreme communism. In addition, his leadership reigned over a bureaucracy that was good at using violence but technically incapable of governing or even feeding its people.

Pol Pot had an ideology of bringing absolute equality among the people but the hierarchy in his regime was much higher than the previous regimes. Lower class people had to work long hours in the muddy field, under threat of violence, in exchange for a little ration of food. Only Pol Pot’s cadres were well-fed. Instead of bringing equality among people, it created an even bigger division between the rulers and the ruled. In addition, the absence of open border trade, paired with poor economic and social management, led to disastrous consequences. More than a million people died as a result of his bad policy and the incompetent and treacherous bureaucracy.

Pol Pot actually admitted that he lacked experience in leading the regime but seemed not to ad-
mit that he and his followers had killed so many Cambodian people. In a 1997 interview with journalist Nate Thayer, Pol Pot iterated this opinion:

*I want to let you know that I came to join the revolution, not to kill the Cambodian people. Look at me now. Do you think I am a violent person? No. So, as far as my conscience and my mission were concerned, there was no problem. This needs to be clarified. My experience was the same as that of my movement. We were new and inexperienced and events kept occurring one after the other which we had to deal with. In doing that, we made mistakes as I told you. I admit it now and I admitted it in the notes I have written.*

As a leader, Pol Pot lacked self-awareness. In their book *Primal Leadership*, the authors mention that emotional intelligences (EI) are the motives for primal leadership, further identifying self-awareness as one dimension of EI. Self-aware leaders understand their values and know where they are headed. Pol Pot did not understand his goals and dreams well. For him, the atrocity was simply a mistake when confronted with unexpected events.

### Support Network

Pol Pot’s poor leadership was further weakened by his support network. He was surrounded mostly by people who had no idea about how to run a country. Besides a few followers who attained high education from abroad, his bureaucracy was served by ordinary persons who had no education or working experience. Pol Pot prosecuted most of the educated people who were the independent thinkers and embraced uneducated ones. Part of his ideology was to enforce an absolute equality among all people. He, however, had to protect himself and hold his power firmly. To achieve this goal, he had to cripple the future leaders of Cambodia so that he could be the only leader. Future events proved how wrong this way of thinking was.

Pol Pot’s weak leadership, together with the absence of an efficient support network, did not allow him to correct the defected path he had laid. As argued by Burns, the author of *Leadership*, there are two elements of power: motive and resources. Lacking resource, motive goes idle whereas lacking both, power collapses. Pol Pot and his bureaucracy lacked necessary human resources to engineer the regime in the right way and eventually eroded the regime’s motives. No one could help provide him with or persuade him toward the best approach to the problem. Instead of fixing the socio-economic problems by rationalizing economic management, Pol Pot and his cronies viewed weak adherence to communist ideology as a cause of their failure. He and his followers spent more time on chasing the “enemy of the revolution” amidst the low-rank cadres, rather than building up confidence with the people. Purges of cadres led to waves of massacres. This situation created internal feuding that eroded the motive of the regime and contributed to its downfall.

### Culture

The Cambodian culture of obedience toward one’s superiors further degraded the already weak support network and strengthened the consolidation of Pol Pot’s power. It is part of Cambodian culture that followers are obliged to follow their leader and mask their anger and dislikes. Such obedience could have been rationalized if the support network or the large bureaucracy under Pol Pot was made up of groups of knowledgeable people. Kellerman points out that “followers who knowingly and deliberately commit themselves to bad leaders are themselves bad.” Similarly, former Chief of Staff of the United States Army General Shinseki points that that a good follower does not just do what he or she is told.

Pol Pot’s followers simply followed the course of his leadership without proposing any changes. Pol Pot exercised power as a leader and directed national policy according to his own ideology. Ta Mok, a high-ranking officer of Democratic Kampuchea, said that Pol Pot always discussed with lower-ranking officers before setting up a new policy; however, he always formed those ideas in accordance with his original ideology. During the meeting, Pol Pot had the ability to persuade others to adopt his policy. Pol Pot is not an overtly dissonant leader, but he used subtlety and charm to mislead and manipulate his followers.

This culture of obedience is a product of the social hierarchy in Cambodia (also in other Southeast Asian countries). Social hierarchies are determined by age, sex, family background, birth order, occupation, political position and influence, education, personal characteristics, and wealth. A
person has his or her place in the society. The one at the top of the hierarchy can dictate to those at the bottom. The people at the lower rank are obliged to follow. Questioning the authority is an aberration from the norm. Such hierarchical features can still be found in Cambodian villages today. Pol Pot used this social hierarchy and obedience to manipulate the people and created his own hierarchy based on their loyalty to his regime.

Conclusion

Pol Pot did not possess essential components of a great leader with the exception of his natural quality as an eloquent speaker. This natural quality was crucial, but not sufficient to making him a great leader. It allowed him to seize the position of power, but could not help him run the country well. His leadership skills, practical experience, and support network were either weak or absent. In this regard, he was an incompetent dictatorial leader who failed to bring peace and prosperity to the Cambodian people. Instead, he brought death and destruction.

Pol Pot was a dreamer who wanted to achieve an ideal goal of promoting equality. Equality in his mind was not equality before the law but forced equality. Everyone was equal because no one had anything in private. Brute force was used to achieve his goal. He could not have become a great leader because he was incompetent. At the same time, he allowed a large number of illiterate and incompetent people to experiment with his beliefs in communism. An incompetent person leading incompetent people is similar to the blind leading the blind, and all too often, it results in disastrous outcomes.

However incompetent, Pol Pot was armed with unquestionable authority. His power was strengthened by the Cambodian culture of obedience toward superiors. Power combined with a culture that enforces such power is easily transformed into unquestionable authority. Resting too much power in the hands of an incompetent leader without a system that could restrain his behavior resulted in poor outcomes. Unquestionable authority is a dangerous mechanism, and any leader can easily abuse that power.

Now facing trial, top leaders like Noun Chear, Kheiv Samphan, and Kaing Khek Iev have tried to put the blame on Pol Pot, who died in 1998, and claimed that they were not involved in the atrocity. Although they may claim to be carrying out orders, leaders and followers have a relationship not only of power but of mutual needs, aspirations, and value. Therefore, both Pol Pot and his followers should be held responsible for their atrocities.

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2 Refer to http://www.khmerrough.com/ about the tribunal.
3 The formal political regime led by the Khmer Rouge.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Elizabeth Becker, the author of *When the War is Over* and the reporter who interviewed Pot Pot in 1978.
9 Ibid.
10 King Sihanouk was overthrown by Field Marshal Lon Nol in 1970.
12 Ibid.
15 Eric Shinseki, *Be-Know-Do* (Leader to Leader Institute, 2004).
17 Goleman.
19 Burns.
River Protection in Nepal: Lessons from David Brower’s Fight for Wild America
by Denjam Khadka

Introduction

Nepal is currently facing significant environmental issues. Its massive industrial and population growth, paired with the impacts of globalization, highlight water pollution as one of the main environmental concerns. The Bagmati River in Kathmandu is Nepal’s most polluted river. The direct deposit of waste into it without treatment has created pollution so bad that any significant aquatic life cannot survive due to lack of sufficient oxygen in the water. The source of this pollution may be the discharge of hundreds of open drains and sewers dumping raw, untreated, yellow-green sewage into the river, but the reason for the pollution is a system that cannot control it.

Robert Greenleaf once said, “Over 90 percent of problems are due to bad systems, not by bad people.” Good policy and strict regulation and implementation are the keys to avoiding problems that may arise in the future. As such, pollution prevention begins with the system overseeing it. With this in mind, the individual or firm should incorporate pollution control in their production and if they choose not to, so do so at risk of government censure. Also, there is a tendency to shift blame to others, but ultimately, accountability is a necessary requisite to creating positive change. This can be done only by strict implementation of policy, both within the companies and from the government level.

In the Shivapuri hills at Sundarijal, a crystal-line and clear spring trickles into a stream that eventually forms the Bagmati River. By the time the river reaches Thapathali, the water has become murky brown, sluggish, viscous, and polluted with the decaying remains of slaughtered animals, urine, household waste, industrial sewage, and garbage. No fish survive in the Bagmati River now and people who enter its water come out with dermatological problems due to serious contamination of pollutants.

Industrial pollution exists in Kathmandu largely in the form of small-sized industries that are well hidden in residential areas of the city. Industries that are next to rivers and their tributaries commonly dump pollutants into the river system, contaminating the water and making the residents living next to river systems vulnerable to the damaging effects of those pollutants.

The Bagmati has experienced nearly irreparable damage from pollution, but it may not be alone in its fate. The Narayani river of Narayangadh is gradually becoming more and more polluted and if
industries and/or the government do not implement strict regulation soon, it will be the next Bagmati River. In the Narayani, pesticides like Dichloro-Diphenyl-Trichloroethane (DDT) and Aldrin, a banned chemical in developed countries, are still being used in Nepal. Use of these organochlorines still occurs in Nepal extensively in agriculture. They are often sold and used without any knowledge of their hazards. DDT is harmful to birds, especially those that are predatory, because it causes eggshell thinning, increasing the amount of eggs that break and depleting the population of fledglings. The other prevalent organochlorine, Aldrin, is a toxic chemical that has adverse effects on many living organisms. The introduction of chemicals like these to the Narayani River is extremely damaging.

Pesticides leaking from fields to rivers like the Narayani and Bagmati pose a significant problem as they contaminate the drinking water used by people and animals. Particularly, toxic effects of drinking water compound problems with conservation of species that are already endangered, such as the blackbuck. In the case of the Narayani River, the pesticides and discharge of waste from paper mills have threatened endangered species like the Gharial crocodile.

River pollution is one of the most dangerous environmental concerns, harmful not only for human beings, but also detrimental for aquatic life. The most significant cause of pollution is unplanned, unregulated, and haphazard industrial development. Deforestation, erosion, loss of land, inundation of large dams, and loss of cultural heritage are just some negative impacts of this sort of unsustainable development. As described, it is a result of a bad system, one in which there is no group, either within the government or without, that is able to create change.

**Sierra Club and David Brower**

One hundred and twenty years ago, people of Southern California became concerned about the aforementioned impacts of unsustainable development, and in response organized and formed the Sierra Club. These original members were simply hikers and rock climbers who loved the Sierra Mountains and decided to act when they saw the threats to nature that development presented. Many organizations and individuals are aware of the ever-increasing problem of environmental degrada-

**David Brower’s Leadership**

David Ross Brower (1912-2000) was a true environmentalist supporting America's wild lands by leading many Sierra Club movements. Throughout his life he had many accomplishments, including helping to create national parks and seashores in Kings Canyon, the North Cascades, the Redwoods, the Great Basin, Alaska, Cape Cod, Fire Island, the Golden Gate, and Point Reyes, and protecting primeval forests in the Olympic National Park and wilderness in San Gorgonio. Additionally, he helped teach future generations and create awareness through the books he wrote, which include *Reading the Earth: A Story of Wilderness, Let the Mountains Talk, Let The Rivers Run, For Earth’s Sake*. He also produced a 20-minute documentary titled “A Journey into Glen Canyon.” He was nominated for the Nobel Prize three times and received the Blue Planet Prize in 1998—the
greatest prize in the environmental field. It was this sort of action, and the leadership that stemmed from it, that helped the Sierra Club champion conservation and sustainable development.

In many cases, the outlook for leadership is grim. According to Greenleaf, “We are in a crisis of leadership...because so many people who are concerned about the state of the world, or some part of it, and have the opportunity and perhaps the obligation to lead are perplexed and unsure about what to do; and some just don’t try hard enough. As a consequence, the disparity is too great between the promise...and the performance; and our society is vulnerable.” Fortunately, certain people are able to assume the leadership role successfully, and David Brower performed his duty as a leader at a time when it was necessary for the United States. David Brower joined the Sierra Club in 1933, beginning his duty to protect the environment. Brower was a man who led from the front, beginning with his historic mountaineering attempt on Canada's Mt. Waddington, marking the first conservation campaign in the creation of Kings Canyon National Park. Later, he led the first ascent of Shiprock Mountain on the Navajo Reservation in New Mexico. It was this sort of leadership that later led to his ascension in rank within the Sierra Club.

During World War II, David Brower was sent to the 10th Mountain Division, and upon returning, witnessed a deplorable situation which he later would lead the fight against. The government was turning rural roads into highways throughout the country. In addition, the desire for easier access to Yosemite threatened the legendary wilderness of the park. In response to the proposed development within the National Park System, the Sierra Club hired David Brower as its first executive director in 1952. As an indication of his leadership qualities, during his tenure in that position, the Sierra Club membership grew from 2,000 to 77,000. The Wilderness Society's Howard Zahnier drafted a Wilderness bill and enlisted Brower to lobby for its passage. It is said that, “Any person who actively engages with others to accomplish changes is a leader.” In this case, Brower lobbied with so much vigor that it seemed as if Congress had little choice but to pass the Wilderness Act in 1964. The Wilderness Act established areas restricting permanent residents and limiting development to only that for the sake of national security. For the first time, the nation formally expressed its intent to keep a portion of its land permanently wild. Brower's continued diligence later resulted in the establishment of the North Cascades National Park, halting both logging and mining slated for the area. In response to other logging operations, the Sierra Club introduced a bill proposing a Redwood National Park on the coast of Northern California. These accomplishments highlight the effectiveness of Brower’s leadership while serving as executive director of the Sierra Club.

David Brower: Authentic Leader

The most significant test of Brower’s leadership was a test of character. As a concession for Dinosaur National Monument, the Sierra Club agreed not to oppose dam sites outside the national park. When construction of the Glen Canyon Dam began in October 1956, Brower could only regret the fact that he had compromised Glen Canyon, if even for the sake of Dinosaur national park, and resolved never to compromise his ideals again. Years later, the Sierra Club board of directors made a deal with Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E): in order to save the Nipomo Dunes, the Sierra Club would not protest the construction of a nuclear power plant in Diablo Canyon. According to Bill George, “Authentic leaders are consistent and self disciplined. When their principles are tested, they refuse to compromise.” In this test of character, Brower refused to accept the compromise, leading to his dismissal from the Sierra Club leadership but identifying his authentic style of leadership.

The consequence of Brower’s decision in the PG&E deal was his dismissal from the Sierra Club board in 1969, but he immediately formed an organization named Friends of Earth (FOE) along with the League of Conservation Voters, and initiated the founding of independent FOE organizations in other countries. FOE is now multinational, operating in 68 countries. Perhaps as a testament to his inability to compromise, the FOE board of directors fired Brower after 13 years of service. Nevertheless, in 1980, Brower founded the Earth Island Institute, which is best known for its successful efforts to protect ocean wildlife from commercial fishing in international waters. In 1983, the Sierra Club once again elected Brower to
Civic Engagement and Social Entrepreneurship

David Brower was involved in service learning and civic engagement by increasing people’s participation and awareness in conservation of nature. Throughout his career, Brower showed that he knew exactly how to reach the public. He used films, books, and color photographs effectively, and even went beyond those efforts in certain cases. When he became concerned about the possibility that Dinosaur National Monument in Utah might be turned into a lake, Brower organized popular trips to Dinosaur Valley. These trips to Dinosaur Valley showed people its importance and serve as a few examples of Brower’s ability to involve the people in his conservation efforts.

The Sierra Club’s public awareness campaign for Dinosaur National Monument was not wholly successful, as a congressional committee approved dams in the valley as part of the Colorado River project, but Brower did not stop his efforts there. He studied and examined the various impacts of the dams, such as the vastly different evaporation rates the dams might create, but it was his thorough examination of the dam project itself where he found that the Bureau of Reclamation’s budget sheet was not balanced. Brower’s proof of deception lead Congress to drop the dam projects in Dinosaur National Monument on March 9, 1956. For the first time in American history, conservationists halted a major governmental development project.

In the period between 1956 and 1960, Brower got the idea for environmental ethics. He understood that we could not compromise something that we did not create or actually own. He realized that people had to be good stewards of the community they shared. Of course, the American political game centers on the word, “compromise.” However, according to Brower, people should not compromise in the defense of Mother Nature. By 1960, Brower and the Sierra Club set five goals: to establish Redwood National Park, to pass a Wilderness Bill, to establish North Cascades National Park, to stop the construction of two dams in the Grand Canyon, and to establish Point Reyes National Seashore.

Brower and the Sierra Club led the battle to stop the Bureau of Reclamation from building two dams that would flood portions of the Grand Canyon. In June 1966, the Club placed full-page advertisements in the New York Times and the Washington Post asking, "Should we also flood the Sistine Chapel so tourists can get nearer the ceiling?" The campaign brought in many new members, including Martin Litton, but the anti-dam campaign cost the Sierra Club its 501(c)(3) charitable organization status. The board set up the Sierra Club Foundation as an alternative for tax-deductible contributions.

Implications in Nepalese Context

David Brower’s fight for wild America serves as an excellent example for Nepal. Industrial development continued to create wealth and growth in the United States, but it simultaneously degraded the environment badly. David Brower and the Sierra Club started to fight against big corpora-
tions and government agencies for environmental protection. They were defeated in early days, but over time, people became aware and helped establish national parks and protect natural wilderness.

Nepal is experiencing a similar kind of water pollution concerns that the United States had in 1968. Mechanization during the industrial age required large labor forces and led to rapid urban growth near major manufacturing centers in the United States. An increased population created and concentrated human waste since sewage treatment plants remained crude or nonexistent. Population growth and globalization also demanded more production in the factories and led to increased raw (untreated) discharge of pollutants into local watersheds from manufacturing processes. Many local and regional water supplies were exploited and some became widely polluted. Factories were often located near waterways for the purpose of easy disposal of wastes. In 1900, 40 percent of the pollution load of United States’ rivers was from the industrial waste. By 1968, that figure had doubled. Population also continued to boom. The Passaic River of Newark, New Jersey, was once used as a water supply source by the city of Newark, but it became so polluted that during the summer, homes were actually abandoned because of the stench.

Similar types of problems now exist in Nepal. Generally, multinational companies build sites on the riverbank so that they can use the water for production facilities and easily dispose the wastes into the river. Just as Brower educated people through his pictures, films, books and ad campaigns, people are becoming more aware of the toxic condition of the Bagmati River in Nepal. Additionally, Brower lobbied congressmen to protect the rivers from man-made and environmental disasters, and if similar pressure can be pressed upon the government of Nepal, it should be compelled to prevent the deposit of untreated wastewater directly into the Bagmati River. Likewise, if attention of media and general people is drawn properly, the paper mill polluting the Narayani River in Narayangadh would be unable to dispose its untreated wastes.

Conclusion

The environment is the source of all resources used for development, but is also the home for all the waste that comes from it. Everything that is harmful to the environment either goes into the soil, water or air. There is no other place for these pollutants, and it will contaminate groundwater, surface water, soil and/or air. People should be made aware of the conservation of natural resources and good management practices of water resources. The main source of river water pollution in Nepal is the discharge of wastewater directly into the river. The most significant waste is sewage, industrial effluent and agricultural residues and chemicals. There is no treatment plant in any industrial district and this effluent finds its way, untreated, into adjoining rivers or streams. Rivers and watersheds should be protected and raw discharge of wastewater prohibited. Human encroachments into the river are also a real threat. Riverbank encroachment has not only led to the narrowing of the Bagmati, making it deeper but also increased the huge amount of untreated residential and industrial wastes in the river. As evidenced by the conservation efforts of groups like the Sierra Club and leaders like David Brower, river pollution in Nepal can also be controlled by making people aware of the ugly aspects of development and the strict implementation of policy that will not allow development activities that are harmful to the environment.

2 Greenleaf, 287.
The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Commission (BRAC): A Model Institution for Economic Development

by Jahangir Alam

Introduction

Bangladesh depends primarily on an agriculture-based economy. Although the economy in Bangladesh has undergone tremendous change in the last few decades, agriculture continues to support over 20 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and 65 percent of the total labor force. Bangladesh’s economy has been vulnerable since the country’s independence in 1971. Due to the devastation caused by the liberation war, the country’s social and economic structures have been destroyed. Great redevelopment challenges exist. Fazle Hasan Abed, a social entrepreneur, started his mission to transform Bangladesh into a country free from economic uncertainty, poverty and illiteracy; eventually he was successful dealing with the development activities, especially for the vast rural poor women. Founder of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Commission (BRAC), (formerly Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee), Fazle Hasan Abed leads the organization, through various comprehensive programs, toward economic healing.

BRAC

BRAC is a national private organization. Since 1972, soon after the liberation war, BRAC began working to reconstruct the national economy and social infrastructure. BRAC started its first program providing small-scale relief and rehabilitation programs. Eventually, it expanded its programs to include education, health, social development, human rights and legal services, giving emphasis to elimination of gender, religious and ethnic discrimination. Its target group is rural women. BRAC recognized that women were the primary caregivers who would ensure education for their children and the subsequent intergenerational sustainability of their families and households. During its inception, it was an entirely donor-funded agency; nonetheless it has emerged as an independent, virtually self-financed organization for sustainable human development. Currently, BRAC reaches 69,000 villages in all 64 districts; it assists an estimated 110 million Bangladeshi people and since has been called to assist a number of foreign countries including Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. Also, it employs almost 100,000 people all over the country.

BRAC and Economic Development in Bangladesh

BRAC has initiated a multidimensional program to relieve poverty. Poverty in Bangladesh is the result of many factors such as unemployment, low income, population growth, and illiteracy. So, poverty alleviation is quite a challenge as it requires national leaders to deal with all these factors. To ensure sustainable, social and economic develop-
ment, BRAC implements a comprehensive program. Targeting poor rural women, BRAC’s strategy is group participation. Using a participatory, peer-supported and multisectoral strategy, it offers training to boost women’s skills and the opportunity to achieve sustainable improvement, elevating their dignity and self-reliance. Some of BRAC’s programs include micro-finance, income generation and economic development, education and international outreach.

Micro-finance is an important component which BRAC supports to fight poverty. By providing credit to poor women, BRAC hopes to empower them and create self-sufficiency. Also, credit provisions promote national economic development by increasing the income level of the rural poor. Income generation programs include, but are not limited to, several major sectors: fisheries, social forestry, and poultry and livestock. The fisheries program is one of the most promising income-generating activities for rural women, who make up more than 90 percent of the total participation. And the social forestry program increases awareness about maintaining a sustainable supply of high-quality seedlings and reducing the adverse environmental effects of deforestation, while creating income and employment opportunities. Currently, the poultry and livestock program is the most popular program, where about 70 percent of landless rural women are involved in poultry rearing, feed mills, bull stations, and feed analysis and disease diagnosis laboratories.

Some other economic development programs recently initiated include retrenched garment workers, micro-finance for acid victims, and the employment and livelihood program for adolescents. Due to the introduction of quota systems and recent changes in the international trade laws, many of the garment industries operate at reduced activity. This has resulted in layoffs for the female garment workers. To facilitate their rehabilitation into alternative income-generating activities, BRAC has started absorbing a number of these retrenched garment workers into its micro-finance program. Also, acid violence, where acid is used as a tool for punishment, still occurs fairly frequently in Bangladesh. BRAC helps to rehabilitate acid victims through credit and savings facilities. Also, the program supporting the employment and livelihood of adolescents primarily focuses on the financial empowerment of adolescent girls. BRAC provides loans to the adolescent girls to invest primarily in poultry, livestock, nursery, fisheries, and other small businesses.

Education is important to enlighten the rural people. BRAC educates the children through informal, primary education, enabling them to develop literacy, numeric and life skills. In 2003, BRAC operated over 34,000 schools and currently, it takes part in higher education through BRAC University, offering quality education. Also, BRAC has expanded internationally. For example, BRAC has registered as a foreign NGO in Afghanistan, reconstructing infrastructure and supporting the people after decade-long conflict and war. It also works in Sri Lanka to reconstruct infrastructure after destruction by the devastating tsunami. After its successful introduction in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, BRAC launched its development programs in eastern Africa. It has also started programs in Tanzania and Uganda and has been registered in Southern Sudan. With its unique and integrated development approach, BRAC introduces programs for poverty reduction in these countries by incorporating health, water and sanitation components along with micro-finance schemes. Moreover, its program has been replicated in over a dozen countries in the world.

Fazle Hasan Abed: A Social Entrepreneur

Fazle Hasan Abed was born in 1936 at Sylhet in Bangladesh. He was educated at Dhaka and Glasgow Universities. In his thirties, he had a senior corporate executive position at a multinational company, but during the liberation war in Bangladesh, he became discouraged. Driven by patriotism, he left his job, went to London and began working on behalf of the independence of war-affected Bangladesh. He immediately began a campaign to build world sentiment and raise awareness against the genocide in Bangladesh. Soon thereafter, he founded BRAC for the rehabilitation of the returning refugees in a remote area of Bangladesh. After three decades, he led BRAC to become the largest NGO in the world, in terms of its scale and diversity of interaction. Abed has been honored with both national and international awards for his successful entrepreneurship. He received the Ramon Magsaysay Award for the recognition of community leadership. He was honored with The Olof Palme award of Sweden for pioneering work in combating women’s poverty. Queen’s University of Canada honored him for improving the life-quality
of landless poor. He was also given the Gates Award for Global Health for successive massive-scale life-saving health programs, the UNDP Mahbub ul Haq Award for Outstanding Contribution in Human Development, and the Henry R. Kravis Prize for Successful Leadership in 2007. Most recently, he has received the Clinton Global Citizenship Award from the U.S. Government. In addition, he has numerous scholarly publications regarding poverty alleviation, public health and economic development for rural people.

Abed was professionally associated with many positions which include being chairman of the Finance and Audit Committee of International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Philippines; Visiting Scholar, Harvard Institute of International Development and Member, International Commission on Health Research for Development, Harvard University, USA; Chairman, Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh (ADAB); Member, World Bank NGO Committee, Switzerland. He also currently holds many positions including Commissioner, UN Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor (CLEP); Global Chairperson, International Network of Alternative Financial Institutions (INAFI) International; Member, Policy Advisory Group, The Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP), The World Bank, Washington DC.

Abed has also established the Center for Governance Studies at BRAC University with a view to strengthen the public sector, which offers a master’s program in Governance and Development for mid-level civil servants. He had a strong vision for commercial venture which led him to establish the BRAC Bank that is currently functioning as a full-fledged commercial bank. It promotes access for all individuals to economic opportunities and business focusing specially on small & medium enterprises. The other commercial ventures include Aarong, a retail outlet and BRAC Dairy and Food Project. These commercial wings of BRAC juxtapose consumers and poor rural producers.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, under Abed’s leadership, BRAC has combated poverty, working towards social and economic development in Bangladesh. He is considered a model for servant leadership and social entrepreneurship. Through BRAC, he has been fighting the difficult battle against all that afflict the rural poor people. Abed, a servant leader, demonstrated that community partnerships and institution building go a long way in sustainable development, spreading and transferring knowledge to future generations.

1 Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh. (Dhaka. Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 2006).
3 BRAC home page: http://www.brac.net.
The Ke Ola Hou Program:
Empowering Hawaiian Youth-at-Risk through Mentoring
by Dian Mitrayani

Introduction

Historically, education in America has been based upon providing students with basic skills needed for working efficiently in an industrialized manufacturing economy. In the future, youths will need more than just basic skills to compete with global workforces. Today’s youths need a place to access information, work harmoniously with those around them, and utilize their knowledge. A “learning organization,” a place where everyone is a learner, is needed by youths to develop their maximum potential. Unfortunately, not many schools function as learning organizations. Traditional school leadership teachings are driven by business and industry, establishing clear boundaries between leaders and followers. The directors in a school (or organization) lead and teachers (or employees) follow.

Ke Ola Hou (KOH) is a grassroots, faith-based organization located on the west coast of Oahu, Hawaii, in the community of Waimanalo. The Hawaiian translation of Ke Ola Hou is “new life.” The KOH program is a community response to the needs of at-risk and disadvantaged youths and their families; it serves youths through mentoring and is interested primarily in their welfare and interests. All KOH mentors undergo training in cultural awareness, counseling, conflict resolution, and management. KOH targets several areas such as camps, cultural development and exchange, youth leadership development, and school intervention programs. Also, life skills training is incorporated in the programs. KOH founders and leaders, Deanna and Daniel Gonda, had the courage and vision to start something new for at-risk and/or disadvantaged youth, and KOH now provides services to those in need on Oahu, improving the lives of those it serves.

Education and Youth Mentoring: A Need for Leadership

Robert Greenleaf, author of Servant Leadership and a prominent figure in the field of leadership, proposed and expounded on the idea of becoming a true leader by serving others. Servant leadership extends to many areas such as business, education, foundations, churches, and bureaucratic society. In his book, Greenleaf discussed three major faults with the educational system and its inability to promote leadership. First, traditional schooling does not offer explicit preparation for leadership to those who have the potential, and educators seem passive in encouraging the growth of leadership skills. Second, educators’ general attitude toward social mobility—creation of opportunities for poor or disadvantaged people to return to their roots and become leaders among the disadvantaged—is weak. Greenleaf suggests that natural leaders who arise among the at-risk groups will find their way and organize their own efforts. He believes that schools should not try to homogenize disadvantaged groups but help those who have a value orientation that favors developing their ability to lead people toward securing a better life for many.

Third, there is a sense of confusion in traditional education regarding teaching values: schools tend to presume that youth already possess the values needed for integrity. However, schools should be concerned about teaching values outside the family circle as a firm basis for life-long decision making.

The current education system is viewed as counterproductive for many at-risk youth, creating difficulty in their attempts to unlock and achieve potential success in life. Many youths need mentors outside of the family to guide them and help them gain life wisdom and knowledge that many schools may not successfully address. Some of these skills not addressed may include leadership, emotional growth, and personality building. Youths need mentors for positive life development. Mentors can provide many important resources, such as guidance, encouragement, and emotional support. Unfortunately, trained and stable mentors are not always available. Families, schools, and communities have changed, dramatically reducing the availability of caring adults who traditionally have leadership roles for youths, particularly in urban areas where disengagement due to jobs shifts occurs. In Hawaii, at-risk youths are the highest
priority in mentoring programs. Peers transmit positive and negative norms and are the major source for youth deviance. When traditional adult leaders, such as healthy, caring parents, disappear, volunteer mentors are enlisted.

Mentoring programs have been associated with improved emotional and behavioral functioning, academic achievement, and increased interest in career development. Mentoring requires a long-term relationship with the youth, as their relationship is most effective when the mentor is able to understand the child’s difficulties. Other important aspects of a successful mentoring relationship include the ability of youths to disclose personal information and their mentors’ respect of their family, social class and cultural background.

**Ke Ola Hou (KOH)**

Ke Ola Hou (KOH) began as a grassroots, faith-based organization in January 2001 and was developed by Lighthouse Ministry in affiliation with New Zealand’s Te Ora Hou. Its programs span across the island of Oahu from Waimanalo to the North Shore with the purpose of providing mentors to at-risk youth to build positive and long-term relationships. Caring role models support youths through the often-difficult preteen and teen years. Mentors, recruited with similar backgrounds as the youths, live in the same community, and their primary concern is the welfare and interest of the young persons. At the heart of KOH is its belief that a successful mentoring program is not just provided through physical and emotional guidance but also the care of the spirit.

KOH believes that all people are created to realize their God-given potential and that sometimes, particularly youths, need someone to help them in that pursuit. The mentors attempt to reveal all the qualities that the youths possess and their full potential, without fearing what their peers might say or succumbing to the pressure to be popular. KOH members find strength, comfort, and courage in their faith, Christianity, and openly share this with anyone interested. Nevertheless, KOH does not force faith onto others and its mentoring program is open to all youths who are interested in joining without consideration of their race, social class, or religion.

KOH divides its mentoring activities into eight target areas, some of which include small groups, camps, youth leadership development, and life skills programs. Small groups are the front door of the KOH program. It provides opportunities for youths to interact with mentors through positive activities in the hope that relationships and feelings of belonging are produced. Camps encourage and build a strong sense of identity and community along with challenging and encouraging personal growth and leadership development. Many camp activities are culturally centered with a strong Hawaiian and Pacific Islands focus. The goal is to provide youths with identity and pride in heritage. Leadership and development programs are critical for developing youths’ self-confidence through responsibility within the organization. This program helps *keiki* (children) develop and mature into future leaders. KOH’s original founders realized that the sustainability of KOH is dependent upon the next generation. Knowledge and skills are passed from one generation to the next by sharing responsibility within the entire organization. Also, KOH invites and encourages many of the older youths to become junior leaders and share community responsibility. The life skills program conducts activities and character development courses. These courses, such as anger management, are aimed at supporting young people and their families by helping them develop the social, emotional, and life skills necessary for character building, leadership development, vocational training, and the future.

**KOH Leadership Profile of Deanna Gonda**

Deanna and Daniel Gonda developed the idea for KOH while attending a Youth with a Mission...
training school in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1995 for counseling children and youth in crisis. They had the courage and vision to begin this endeavor without funding or any local support. It was based on their faith. Deanna, an inspirational leader, began this journey as a youth who experienced difficult times and trouble herself. Deanna Gonda was born and raised in Kapahulu, Hawaii. Her academic grades were good and she had a fine school life. As a *haole* (white person) among a majority of local Hawaiian and Asian students, she moved into a private school during elementary and middle school. Attending two different schools during her high school years, she began hanging around the wrong crowd and ended up in a lot of trouble; she began to consume drugs and alcohol. Her grades fell. She associates her problems with trouble at home, peer pressure, and low self-image problems. She wanted to fit in and halfway through her senior year of high school, she became pregnant and dropped out of high school one week before graduation.

Deanna felt compelled to share her story and the consequences of her decisions at surrounding high schools, so at the age of 21, she and her husband began working with youth. In 1987, she began working at Lighthouse Ministry in Waimanalo to help at-risk youth; in 2001, they established Ke Ola Hou. Deanna modeled her leadership practices after her personal mentor, Jesus Christ. She believes that her role is to support and nurture youth by facilitating the discovery of their ideas, talents and purpose. She hopes to show youths the bigger picture of life’s choices and fill any void, helping them grow together to become future leaders.

Deanna believes that her role as mentor is to walk side-by-side with today’s youth and guide them to become leaders, especially supporting them when they begin to fall into their old habits or faults. She encourages love and trust and her dream is to see KOH’s youths as happy, successful individuals who know what they want in life. By serving others, she hopes to produce leaders, not followers, and hopes to see them stand alone on what they believe and value, not on what their peers think and say. She hopes that they will be the next generation of leaders in today’s world.

**Conclusion: Educating and Building Leaders through Ke Ola Hou**

Working as an intern at KOH, I learned that the program is fulfilling its role as a learning organization teaching aspects of life that schools are not addressing, especially for today’s at-risk or disadvantaged youths. KOH provides an environment for youths to learn both personal and professional leadership skills that will be useful in future endeavors. Youths are considered at-risk because of domestic situations such as violence, alcoholism, drug abuse, and peer pressure. Having only a limited number of mentors creates a situation where youths walk alone without guidance, encouragement, and emotional support. At-risk youths have limited opportunities to develop their leadership skill in school or to discover their own potential. KOH creates a solution to those conditions and it sees opportunities and potential in all youths. KOH believes that helping youths fully develop now is an investment in the future, and actively proves this investment through the number of junior leaders it trains and involves. These leaders will help nurture future leaders using their own experiences as Deanna did with her experiences in high school. KOH nurtures the seeds of leadership in each youth and helps youths recognize their own talents, values and life purposes. They also pursue new solutions toward correcting the educational weaknesses by giving a chance toward potential leaders. At-risk or disadvantaged youths gain life skills, values, and leadership skills that they do not obtain from school or home. Mentoring requires commitment, hard work, empathy, love and trust, but in the end, the limitless effort is worthwhile as new leaders are born.

2. Ibid, 6.
5. Ibid. 151.
Dr. Deane Neubauer: A Transformational Leader

by Sovicheth Boun

Introduction

In the introduction of his classic book On Becoming a Leader, Bennis (2003) argues that the study of leadership is not orderly or exact. He also suggests that leadership always emerged as a result of going through some kind of rite of passage, especially a stressful one, also known as a crucible. “The crucible is an essential element in the process of becoming a leader.” Bennis is an advocate of the notion that leaders are made, not born, and though you cannot be taught to be a leader, leadership qualities can be learned.

I recently had an opportunity to talk story with Dr. Deane Neubauer at the EWC about his life and experiences. What really inspired me was the way he described how his crucible moments have shaped his life and the way he views leadership. Dr. Neubauer is a respectable and authentic leader whose behavior and attitude have helped transform the life of almost everyone he has worked with. He is an eloquent person whose language represents what Bennis called a “distinctive voice,” a voice filled with a purpose, self-confidence, a sense of self, and emotional intelligence.

To explore a more in-depth understanding of how leadership emerged from the crucible moments Dr. Deane Neubauer underwent, it is necessary that we look at the profile of his life, work, and experiences. In essence, the main purpose of this article is to analyze his experiences and accomplishments and discuss how those experiences make him a transformational leader.

Personal Background and Academic Experiences

Dr. Neubauer was born in 1937 and grew up in the small town of Racine in southeastern Wisconsin. In 1952, he went to high school in Milwaukee, the largest city in Wisconsin. As an athlete at that time, he attributed his positive experiences to attending the high school which was really both academically rigorous and athletically challenging. Upon graduation in 1955, his family moved to California, where he studied pre-engineering at a community college in Pasadena, California. In 1957, he had to quit his study at the community college after being drafted, and ended up being in the Army for two years from 1957 to 1959.

After discharging from the Army, Dr. Neubauer went to the University of California-Riverside to study political science. Although Riverside was a very small liberal arts college, Dr. Neubauer said the political science department was excellent. He attributed his wonderful experience in the department to being among a group of really bright and inquisitive people and very supportive faculty. He graduated from UC Riverside in 1962 and got a teaching assistantship to work there for a semester before he went on to graduate school at Yale University in 1962. Dr. Neubauer graduated from Yale with an MA and a PhD in Political Science in 1966. At that time Yale had a leading political science department, and he wanted to study under a man by the name Robert Dahl, a distinguished political scientist who has written a number of important books on democracy.

Although he started studying engineering, Dr. Neubauer ended up choosing political science as a major and attributed this decision to a concept called “McCarthyism,” which was quite prominent in America in the 1950s. McCarthyism, which he defined as “an attempt to attack people for their political belief without a real foundation for why you’re doing it,” sparked his interests in social causation, politics, power relations and social construction of reality which are the core components of democratic theory and practices. Dr. Neubauer also stated how he was influenced by his two mentors: Professor Robert Dahl at Yale University and Dr. James G. March, his dean at the University of California-Irvine, who later also moved to the political science department in Yale.

Professional Experiences

After he graduated from Yale in 1966, Dr. Neubauer got his first job at the University of California-Irvine, where he served as an assistant professor of political science for four years until 1970. In his last year at UC Irvine, he received a National Science Foundation Faculty Fellowship to
the University College London to study anthropology for a year under a British anthropologist by the name of Mary Douglas, well-known for her writings on human culture and symbolism. It is noteworthy that the underlying factor contributing to the successes in his later professional life appears to be partly attributable to the fact that he constantly sought to learn from famous and inspiring people, e.g., Robert Dahl and Mary Douglas.

Upon completing his study at the University College London in 1970, Dr. Neubauer came to the University of Hawaii at Manoa, where, in addition to other institutions, he has spent more than 30 years teaching and researching. Starting as an associate professor of political science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 1970, Dr. Neubauer became a professor at the university in 1985 served as chair of the Department of Political Science for three years from 1975 to 1978 and as dean of the College of Social Sciences for eight years from 1980 to 1988.

In 1984, Dr. Neubauer accepted a job as a senior fellow at the Institute for Culture and Communication at the East-West Center and from 1990 to 1992 as a researcher at the Social Science Research Institute at the university. In the late 1990s, Dr. Neubauer helped start a Globalization Research Center (GRC) whose goal is to promote interdisciplinary, international and global studies of pressing problems faced by humanity, and to investigate causes, arguments and alternatives to present trends and relationships within the phenomena of globalization. He later became the director of the center for three years from 2000 to 2003. Dr. Neubauer serves as a senior research fellow at the Globalization Research Center and senior advisor for International Forum for Education 2020, positions he has held since 2004 and 2005, respectively. On top of this, he also engages in various other consulting ventures.

Although he has gone through many enriching and rewarding experiences, what has really shaped him as a person were the experiences in his roles as an “accidental” administrator for the last 20 years. One of the roles he assumed was being the department chair in the late 1970s. To summarize his experience as the department chair, he was involved in chairing a committee that ended up reorganizing the 44-unit College of Arts and Sciences at the university, dividing it into four colleges, and he was chosen to be the dean of the College of Social Science. The other experiences which played significant roles in shaping him included his engagement in founding the Globalization Research Center and establishing the Globalization Network. In all of these “accidental” roles and through these experiences, Dr. Neubauer saw himself re-establishing the office and reorganizing the system’s administrative ways, which in turn served to shape his life for the last 20 years. “Much of my adult life in the last 20 years has been involved around these administrative roles which I never saw myself deliberately pursuing.”

Crucibles

Dr. Neubauer has undergone a number of severe crucibles, both personally and institutionally, which served to change his life and to provide a vehicle whereby he developed his leadership. One of the personal crucibles in his life was the fact that he had been very much dependent on alcohol and smoking for more than 20 years after he was drafted into the army. According to him, the realization that he needed to change was a critical moment in his family relationship and personal psychology. He decided to quit drinking and smoking in 1983, and said of his decision, “That was kind of a critical decision for me personally 25 years ago and has changed my life for the better.” He has also been married three times, and his third marriage 29 years ago has been wonderfully successful. In retrospect, it is likely there was a connection between his critical relationships in the first two marriages and his dependency on alcohol, highlighting the importance of his decision to rid his life of substance abuse.

Institutionally, the critical moment he experienced was when the university went through terribly difficult times with serious budget cuts and reorganization in the late 1990s. As a result, he saw himself at the advent of the new millennium trying to rebuild the university. For example, one of the things that he was asked to do was to bargain a six-year contract for university faculty that came to be known throughout the United States as one of the most progressive faculty union contracts. He also got involved in developing various strategic plans for Manoa as well as for the whole system. All of these experiences proved to be difficult; however,
he always attributed all of his successes to the group effort. “You never do anything by yourself; it’s always what you can work out with others.”

**His Leadership Styles**

All of the experiences that he went through have really given him a view of leadership that is based largely on democratic theory and the practice of democracy. In his opinion, the ways in which small-scale democracy functions well include giving everyone a role, allowing people to learn the roles, giving them a chance to become responsible in those roles, and ensuring that the resources are available. Dr. Neubauer is, and has been, an advocate for training and a teacher by modeling. As he articulated, “Often our organizations get into difficulty because we’re asking people to do things on the assumption that they know how to do them, and often they don’t.”

Essentially, he sees himself as a facilitator and a visionary leader. He believes that people learn and gain from the positive values of working together to create a common future. Often, he is more interested in helping the group to form the vision of what they want to do and allowing people into the methodology of “back-casting” versus “forecasting” in doing things. He said, “Forecasting is trying to guess the future; back-casting is saying this is where I want to be and what you have to do to get there.” In a nutshell, Dr. Neubauer is trying to be more practical in what he is doing. Rather than guessing the possible result of an action, he instead hypothesizes it and strategically plans to accomplish it.

In addition, Dr. Neubauer mentioned certain other qualities that underlie his leadership style, including discipline, hard work, listening, and valuing diversity. “What that experience taught me was really the value of discipline and hard work and that’s kind of what happened when I stopped drinking … a good dose of discipline.” He also believes that we function best in groups, and when we come to respect and appreciate diversity, we encourage people to do the things that they are good at and that they can learn. This is perhaps the reason why he enjoys working at the East-West Center, whose mission seeks to enhance diversity among people from the U.S., Asia and the Pacific region. In an organization, he said, this is the best way to motivate others to get things done.

Alternatively, his view of bad leadership is particularly interesting and noteworthy. He claimed that bad leaders are those people who are self-serving, authoritarian, egocentric, and manipulative. They often project themselves upon others, have bad values, encourage people by telling them they do not need to exercise restraint, and, of course, seek to destroy diversity. His example of Adolf Hitler was really illuminating. Enabled, motivating, charismatic, and successful, Hitler, he said, was a good leader in a bad cause and a genius in the politics of resentment. According to him, “A leader who leads people to destruction is not a good leader.”

In their book *Leadership Challenge*, Kouzes and Posner posit that leaders are engaged in Five Practices of Exemplary Leadership when they get extraordinary things done in organizations. These five practices include: model the way, inspire a shared vision, challenge the process, enable others to act, and encourage the heart. Based on the aforementioned details about Dr. Neubauer, it is evident that he embodies these five qualities of leadership. For example, throughout his teaching career, he has been a teacher by modeling. His forward-looking personality has inspired a number of people by helping them to form the vision of what they want to do.

While working as an administrator at the university, Dr. Neubauer came to challenge the process through efforts to rebuild the office and reorganize the system’s administration, particularly in times of serious budget cuts. According to Kouzes and Posner, “Leaders are pioneers—people who are willing to step out into the unknown. They search for opportunities to innovate, grow, and improve.” In Beverly Creamer’s newspaper article, “Neubauer played key role in reshaping UH,” issued August 1, 2003, she wrote, “Neubauer shouldered some of the heavy lifting needed to create a new strategic plan, reorganize the system to boost the community colleges, and he also took some of the flak that comes with change.”

Dr. Neubauer always places a significant emphasis on teamwork and generally he attributes his successes to being involved with a team of like-minded individuals. “You never do anything by yourself; it’s always what you can work out with others.” Teamwork, according to Kouzes and Posner, goes far beyond a few direct reports or close confidants to engaging all those who must make the project work and all those who have a stake in...
the vision.\textsuperscript{10} By fostering teamwork, leaders build trust, empower and enable others to act. “Leaders make it possible for others to do good work. They know that those who are expected to produce the results must feel a sense of personal power and ownership.”\textsuperscript{11}

As a leader, Dr. Neubauer is a good listener who often has respect and appreciation for the diversity of opinions and contributions among the group. Kouzes and Posner maintain that part of the leader’s job is to show appreciation for people’s contributions and to create a culture of celebration.\textsuperscript{12} This is, of course, the way in which a leader encourages the hearts of their constituents to carry on, and Dr. Neubauer has been doing this for the past 20 years or so in his roles as an administrator at the university.

I also see Dr. Neubauer as embodying the qualities of transformational leadership which include a pursuit for change, empowerment, vision, values and empathy, and collaboration. Some of his achievements that demonstrate these characteristics include the division of College of Arts and Sciences into four different colleges, re-establishment of the office of chancellor, reorganization of the university’s administration, and the negotiation of the six-year contract of the university faculty which was known as the most progressive faculty union contract throughout the U.S. Burns states that transformational leaders take the initiative in mobilizing people for participation in the process of change, encouraging a sense of collective identity and efficacy which, as a result, brings a stronger feeling of self-worth and self-efficacy.\textsuperscript{13} Of course, Dr. Neubauer embraces all of these core values in the ways he helped others to form the vision of what they wanted to do, maintained a sense of teamwork and collaboration, and respected the diversity among the group. His ideas of teaching by modeling and learning through training also echo the concept of transforming leadership postulated by Burns.

Conclusion

Very much of what Dr. Neubauer has done really offers an avenue whereby his leadership can be viewed and formed. The most important thing that serves to develop the individual’s capacity of leadership remains the crucible moments in life. This is quite evident in the course of his life in which he has undergone a number of critical mo-

\begin{itemize}
  \item[2] Ibid.
  \item[3] Ibid.
  \item[4] Bennis, 256.
  \item[5] Deane Neubauer, 2007, November 15, 2007 Personal Communication (all quotes following are from Deane Neubauer unless noted otherwise).
  \item[8] Ibid.
  \item[10] Kouzes and Posner, 496.
  \item[11] Ibid.
  \item[12] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Controlling Emerging Infectious Diseases:
The Role of a Transformational Leader

by James Kelley

Introduction

Emerging infectious diseases, also known as EIDs, such as severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) and avian flu, are caused by recently discovered or slightly altered, but known, pathogens. Millions of people around the world are threatened by EIDs. Transforming leaders in science, such as Dr. Duane Gubler of the Asia Pacific Institute of Tropical Medicine and Infectious Disease (APIT-MID) and the National University of Singapore, have an uncanny ability to lead and elevate others into leadership positions in order to control pandemic threats. Gubler has a passion for his purpose, implementing a vision through intellectual, emotional, and cultural skills. He innovates diagnostic techniques and develops strategies to discover EIDs and control their subsequent diseases.

Gubler is a global leader in the field of tropical medicine. Highly respected by his peers, he is a successful transformational leader who empowers and elevates his staff members. A world traveler who has overcome many challenges, Gubler is a culturally and emotionally intelligent leader. Treating his staff as family, he develops genuine relationships and easily persuades others to pursue his vision. Effectively implementing a visionary leadership style, Dr. Gubler came to understand his purpose and vision only after two difficult challenges during his personal and professional development: one as a graduate student and the other while working in India. Dr. Gubler is a highly competent leader with the acute ability to transform followers into leaders.

On the Ranch

Born in 1939 in Santa Clara, Utah, Duane Gubler grew up on a cattle ranch. During a recent interview, he explained how he learned leadership through experience and with little guidance. He explained, “My father wasn’t around much, but he told us what needed to get done and we had to just do it with no questions. Training from the ranch has carried with me all my life.” Also, he said, “Our family was very independent from the outside world. I was 18 years old before eating anything that wasn’t fresh; my mother canned all our vegetables and we butchered cattle to make our soap.” Gubler got married at age 19 and explained that his wife thought she was marrying a cattle rancher. Never encouraged by his family or friends to go to college, he wanted to teach to subsidize the family’s income. After enrolling at Utah State University, Gubler switched from education to ecology and zoology as the result of a mentor who witnessed his strengths in the sciences. He graduated from Utah State and was given an opportunity to enroll at the University of Hawaii to study parasitology.

Finding Purpose and Vision

At the University of Hawaii, Gubler experienced a period of lull and depression. Although he had learned to be independent growing up on the ranch, he had no purpose or vision. Also, he had little guidance as a graduate student. He explained, “I just didn’t have anything to do.” He had to choose: continue the mundane project or quit and return to the ranch in Utah. He, his wife, and newborn child ultimately stayed in Hawaii. It was then that he learned how to prepare for the unexpected and anticipate and plan for next steps in life. He said, “I realized that if you are going to do something, you better do your homework, read and learn what it’s all about so you can anticipate what might come, be prepared.” Gubler made it through this challenging season as a student. As it turned out, he found joy in exploring the Islands; also, he discovered a new species, Drosophila gubleri. He did very well academically and graduated with honors. Next, he attended Johns Hopkins University where he earned his ScD in pathobiology and disease ecology.
He then began work on lymphatic filariasis, a disease transmitted by mosquitoes, in Calcutta, India where his leadership qualities grew both professionally and personally.

It was in Calcutta where Gubler experienced and overcame many challenges. Working at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, he witnessed patients with extreme elephantiasis, or symptoms caused by lymphatic filariasis. Awakened by the severity of disease in India, he became profoundly aware of the suffering with which victims of disease must live. Also, living in India put enormous pressure on his family life. He explained why things were so bad in India:

*The West Bengal Government was taken over by the Communist Front Government two years before our arrival. The Communists shut down all institutions and unionized workers. The entire State was in chaos; there was a child-napping program happening where people would maim children and use them as props for begging. My wife and I, with two young Mormon kids, experienced serious culture shock. We were living in poverty and filth. Every night over 100 people were killed by militant forces. So everyday, bodies with limbs sticking out in all directions were scattered around on the streets. After five months, my family and I were mentally in bad shape. We sat down one night and decided to either go home or get on with life in India; if we stayed it’d be horrible. We looked past the problems and made our decision to stay. Immediately after that, we began seeing the many good things that India had to offer; it was that moment that defined the rest of my career. After that, I could do anything, eat anything, and live anywhere.*

Similar to his decision as a graduate student, he decided to take the more difficult path, strengthening his mental state. After completing his job in India, Gubler crossed paths with an influential mentor named Leon Rosen who said, “You must learn all areas in your field. Don’t just learn to be a virologist or a parasitologist, but learn the clinical aspects of tropical diseases; learn the entomology, the ecology, etc.” He followed Rosen’s advice and he became very successful. Gubler suggested, “We need specialized people in medical research but we’ve lost many people like Leon and myself who just did it all ourselves.” Although leadership qualities develop as we overcome challenges, Gubler also believes that independent learning was critical for his academic and professional success. It is independence to act as a leader that freed him to be innovative and transform others into leaders.

**Gubler’s Multiple Leadership Qualities**

In *Leadership*, the author Gregory Burns described transforming leadership as “resulting in a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.” While working with the U.S. Center for Disease Control in Puerto Rico, Dr. Gubler mentored several lower-ranked individuals, transforming them into leaders. One was Goro Kuno. Talking about Goro, Gubler said, “He was an introverted guy who didn’t talk much or interact with others. We developed rapport and he turned out to be one of the hardest working guys I knew, a walking encyclopedia who read everything and retained the information. He did really well and today is a successful independent researcher.”

In his book *Multiple Intelligence*, Ronald Riggio described cultural intelligence as a “life skill in today’s pluralistic societies...particularly relevant for those that seek to lead.” Riggio continued to de-
scribe cultural intelligence as “the ability to function effectively in a diverse context where the assumptions, values, and traditions of one’s upbringing are not uniformly shared with those one needs to work.”

4 Gubler successfully related with local people, treating them like family. While in Puerto Rico, he had two years to accomplish his goal: either close the laboratory or turn the facility around and start a research program. Gubler said, “I turned a soon-to-close lab into the best dengue reference and research facility in the world; it’s one of the primary WHO collaborating centers today. We turned it around by esprit de corps and leadership.” He went on to explain that before moving, he invested time in learning about Latin culture and the importance of family. He and his staff would have weekly parties; Gubler gained rapport and motivated his staff, who came to respect him. He provided a vision and created ownership within the professional community; the staff was dedicated and hard-working. Gubler commented, “It was all about instilling pride in what they were doing; giving them something they felt was achievable and that they were part of a whole. Leadership is like raising children: combine it with a lot of love and discipline.”

As explained in his book, Primal Leadership, Daniel Goleman discussed self-awareness and self-management as critical skills for emotionally intelligent leaders. Goleman wrote, “From self-awareness—understanding one’s emotions and being clear about one’s purpose—flows self-management.”

5 Gubler gained a solid sense of self-awareness during his most challenging experiences, stimulating awareness of his purpose and vision. As a graduate student, he became more self-confident about completing his research; and in India, he began noticing the “good side of life” and admitted being able to “do anything” after living in such extreme conditions. Also, attributing some of his initial leadership skills to living on the family ranch, Gubler stated, “I learned by doing: finding out what needed to be done and just doing it. No questions!” Gubler is an emotionally stable individual who is able to stay optimistic and upbeat even during challenges and hard times.

A visionary leader “moves people towards shared dreams.”

6 As stated in his interview, Gubler’s current vision “is to develop the type of program with high capacity labs in selected areas where new EIDs are emerging; basically pathogen discovery.” Also, he is now working in Asia, at the National University of Singapore, where the diseases predominantly arise. “The new partnership in Singapore is what we want to do in Hawaii…we’ll have two reference centers of excellence; I envision students in Hawaii working in Singapore, and Asian students going to Singapore, Hawaii, and the Mainland for training.” Linking the East and the West, his vision to control EIDs through early pathogen detection is substantial for protecting human lives, and will certainly play a role in controlling potential pandemic threats. Dr. Gubler is excellent at recruiting others to support his vision. When projects begin, he meticulously explains his purpose, wholeheartedly involving concerned citizens and allowing them to make informed decisions about implementation of disease control programs.

**Conclusion**

From his humble beginnings growing up on a cattle ranch and periods of suffering through personal challenges, Duane Gubler has become an effective transformational leader. By experiencing and overcoming personal and professional challenges, particularly in India and San Juan, Gubler demonstrated how to succeed in unique environmental surroundings, showing cultural and emotional intelligence. Gubler showed integrity during the most challenging times in his life by accepting external circumstances and continuing to lead. He listened to the masters and mentors, found his way, and continues to add value to many who admire and follow his vision. He is a transforming leader who is culturally and emotionally intelligent in promoting his vision and ultimately controlling potentially deadly pathogens.

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1 Interview with Duane Gubler, 2008. (Note: all subsequent quotations from interview unless otherwise cited).
3 Ronald Riggio, Multiple Intelligences and Leadership (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002).
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
The Alliance:
HIV Prevention Among Sex Workers In Myanmar
by Sarabibi Thuzarwin Mayet

A good leader cannot get too far ahead of his followers. - Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Introduction

Myanmar has the second highest prevalence rate of HIV in Southeast Asia. Sexual transmission is the major mode of transmission and the prevalence rate among sex workers is alarming (31 percent in 2003). Though many international and national organizations are working to fight HIV/AIDS, very few are working with sex workers. Female sex workers remain highly stigmatized and marginalized in Myanmar; they are almost inaccessible by national control programs due to legal, political, cultural and social factors. Marginalization makes them particularly vulnerable to HIV and sexually transmitted infections. The international organization, International HIV/AIDS Alliance or simply the Alliance, has taken a lead role targeting sex workers to prevent further HIV transmission. The Alliance’s coordinator in Myanmar, Choo Phuah, designed the project and has a very clear vision. The project focuses on community engagement to empower sex workers and their clients. Director Phuah emphasizes a sustainable program, building capacity of local organizations to control HIV transmission in Myanmar.

HIV/AIDS in Southeast Asia and Myanmar

HIV infection is a serious public health problem in Southeast Asia and Myanmar. Regional estimates reach 3.7 million people and Myanmar estimates reach over 350,000.1 Within the region, Cambodia, Myanmar and Thailand have the highest number of overall infections, with prevalence greater than 1 percent among youth.2 In Myanmar, the annual number of AIDS deaths reached close to 20,000 in 2003. AIDS deaths are expected to constitute a major cause of deaths among young adults over the next decade.

Among sex workers, HIV infections have risen significantly, from about 5 percent in 1992 to 31 percent in 2003.3 The presence of heightened vulnerability and risk factors—such as poverty, internal and external mobility, risky behavior and a generalized lack of response capacity—together with a high prevalence of HIV, equates to a very serious epidemic that may grow out of control unless an effective coordinated response is implemented.

Sex Industry in Myanmar

It is illegal to sell sex in Myanmar; industry operators and women workers are under constant pressure from law enforcement authorities. In order to support their families, many poor women, especially from the rural areas, move to more populated urban areas to look for a job. They can easily find jobs as prostitutes and earn at least 25 percent more money than factory workers.4

It’s difficult to estimate the number of sex workers in Myanmar, but the majority can be found working in brothels, clubs and in the street. These sex workers are extremely vulnerable for HIV transmission as unprotected sex is the primary cause of HIV transmission in Myanmar. Very few in the industry are being reached with appropriate services; deaths amongst female sex workers are significant. Also afflicted are male clients and their wives, partners and children.

Interestingly, sex workers generally know that condoms are a form of protection but they are reluctant to carry them: possession of condoms could be used as prima facie evidence of prostitution and they risk being arrested by the police. Moreover, sex workers perceive their work as a form of economic empowerment but often feel exploited by their clients who express that condom use is unnecessary and undesirable; or clients offer more money for sex without condom use. Therefore, condom use remains low among workers. Behavioral interventions are needed to empower the currently marginalized groups.5

The Alliance: A Sustainable Program

The Alliance, headquartered in the United Kingdom, holds the mission to reduce the spread of HIV and meet the challenges of AIDS. It is currently working in over 30 countries and established its Myanmar office in 2004 with the aim to fight against HIV/AIDS transmission.6 The Myanmar office, led by a visionary leader, Choo Phuah, has
extensive experience working with communities. She has had many challenges implementing The Alliance’s strategy in Myanmar, a very conservative country under the oppressive military regime since 1988. Distributing money and materials to fulfill immediate needs of communities did not bring sustainability or long-term solution for HIV transmission. Therefore, she focused on capacity building to empower the communities and training local leaders to have the skills needed to take charge of the project. She strongly believed in self-efficacy and self-reliance as a way to succeed.

Choo Phuah was born in Malaysia and educated in the U.S. She got her bachelor’s of Engineering from Cornell, and a master’s in Public Administration from Princeton. She joined UNDP in 1990 in Myanmar where she started working on HIV/AIDS. She left UNDP in 1997 as Assistant Resident Representative of Vietnam and later moved to Cambodia where she began working with Alliance. Before becoming the Regional Coordinator for Asia and Eastern Europe in 2001, she worked in Thailand, Mongolia, Bangladesh, and the Philippines providing technical support on community mobilization and organizational development. In 2004, she moved back to Myanmar to set up the program with the Alliance.

As she thought about the problem in Myanmar, Phuah realized that the sex worker’s behavior was the primary concern. The local and community-based organizations (CBOs) were critical for creating a network to reach this marginalized group. The Alliance started motivating local CBOs working for health and development and initiated capacity building by providing technical and financial assistance. The ultimate vision of the Alliance was to reduce HIV transmission in sex workers. A sustainable vision could only be reached if the sex workers changed behavior and increased condom use.

The Alliance Interventions in Myanmar

The Alliance mainly focused on community participation. The Alliance adopted the concept that the sex workers know their own needs best and the CBOs could help sex workers achieve their needs. First, needs-assessment training was conducted for CBOs. Responding to those specific needs, the Alliance assisted CBOs in developing interventions for the sex workers. The Alliance developed several key interventions to be undertaken by the CBOs: health education and awareness, condoms, environment, healthcare, empowerment and social capital.

Training was given to peer-educators, who met sex workers on an individual basis. The educators would promote condom use while working with individual issues as they arose. The project also made available a consistent and adequate condom supply for free distribution or social marketing. The educators would visit brothels and other areas to distribute condoms. To deal with potentially abusive clients and brothel owners regarding condom use, the Alliance gained support of police and local authorities by holding advocacy meetings. Their commitment would help reduce sexual harassment, sexual exploitation and create a safer working environment. Also, the project targeted government health officials to decrease the marginalization gap by conducting workshops. The Alliance promoted nonjudgmental behavior of health staff and a friendly environment for sex workers who sought early treatment.

Additionally, the Alliance partnered with CBOs to form self-help groups for sex workers. The aim was empowerment. CBOs motivated individuals to get involved during every step of the project for their benefit; for example, individuals prioritized needs such as getting emergency medical care, covering funeral costs, or paying education fees of children. They could share their experiences, talk about their problems and work to find...
solutions. Group support helped sex workers develop self-confidence. The Alliance believed that individual self-confidence and group empowerment would open new opportunities for sex workers. Individuals gained power to negotiate with clients, gain support of entertainment owners and local authorities, and to fight for their rights. Group involvement during project implementation was crucial for bringing sexual behavior change.

Application of Leadership Concepts

Phuah has several servant leadership qualities. Under her guidance, the Alliance developed sustainable, community-based interventions. Her efforts focused on empowering the Alliance staff, local communities and the sex workers. She strongly believed in empowerment, which is one of the key principles that determine an organization’s enduring success. Phuah practiced a “bottom-up” approach, involving the community for program success. Her vision of decreasing HIV/AIDS prevalence held among the Alliance, CBOs, and sex workers. In his book, Servant Leadership, Robert Greenleaf discussed the “strange attractor,” which best defines Phuah as one who creates order in chaos. Also, she has a wonderful quality of living by her conscience and one of her key strengths is her listening skill. By listening carefully to community and sex workers’ needs, she deciphered their needs and built strength in others. Dealing with sex workers in such a conservative country as Myanmar, Phuah faced challenges. However, she worked very confidently to change social norms and secure CBOs’ involvement in the project. She never lost her core belief that empowerment would improve the situation. As a result, the community came forward to work together with the Alliance to achieve shared purpose. Through Phuah’s work, sex workers were better equipped with leadership skills, self-motivation and confidence, and condom use skills. Generally, her leadership abilities helped sex workers take a leading role in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Myanmar.

Conclusion

Responding to prioritized needs, the Alliance in partnership with CBOs came out with comprehensive interventions to promote condom use among sex workers in order to reduce HIV transmission. Without undertaking a community-needs assessment, it would not have been possible to design effective interventions. The participation of beneficiary-
Fighting Corruption in Nepal:  
The Power of Civic Engagement

by Jiwnath Ghimire

Introduction

Corruption is occurring more frequently in developing countries where huge poverty and political instability exist. Nepal is an underdeveloped country with more than 31 percent of its people living in poverty.\(^1\) Though it has a democratic political system, the rampant spread of corruption in all sectors has infested the political system. The unethical reciprocal exchange among different sectors builds foundations for relentless corruption in Nepal.\(^2\) Important tools in the ongoing fight against this corruption are strong leadership and social capital. Additionally, civic engagement from the grassroots level is essential to fight against corruption. Building a vibrant community can play a remarkable role in the anti-corruption movement. The Good Governance Project of Pro Public is an organization in Nepal that was established to fight against corruption through advocacy. The strong network of Good Governance Clubs and the leadership quality of its project director are crucial to making this movement successful.

Corruption: Increasing in the East

Corruption is an intangible phenomenon. Transparency International asserts that corruption “is operationally defined as the misuse of entrusted power for private gain.”\(^3\) The difficulty in defining corruption comes when attempting to identify its specific characteristics. Largely, it is less a mechanism of politics than a result of the human attitude. Therefore, there are different concepts of corruption. In the functional sense, it is the abuse of public office for private gain; it encompasses unilateral abuses by government officials such as embezzlement and nepotism, as well as abuses linking public and private actors such as bribery, extortion, influence peddling, and fraud.\(^4\) Corruption arises in both political and bureaucratic offices and can be petty or grand, organized or unorganized. Though corruption often facilitates criminal activities such as drug trafficking, money laundering, and prostitution, it is not restricted to these activities. Furthermore, corruption is the behavior on the part of officials in the public sector, whether politicians or civil servants, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves, or others, by taking advantage of the public power entrusted to them.\(^5\) Corruption exists in different forms and is increasing around the world.

For example, increasing accounts of corruption are being documented in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe.\(^6\) Certainly, corruption is more widespread in developing countries because of loose administrative mechanisms and a lack of checks and balances. The state of pervasive corruption in the third world is described by what is know as the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), a measure of corruption calculated by Transparency International. There is a positive correlation between the level of autocracy and corruption, primarily because of these nations’ control of media and civil society’s perception. Analyzing CPI in nine Asian countries, the United States (U.S.), and Canada, corruption appears to be increasing in un-
stable and authoritarian political systems. For example, Nepal, Bangladesh and Cambodia have political instability, correlating with higher CPI levels. Similarly, Myanmar has a totalitarian political system, also correlating with higher CPI. Democracy, as measured by indicators of political rights, civil liberties, and press freedom, has a positive effect on perceived level of corruption control. In democratic systems, people will be more aware of and sensitive to corruption. Media is largely responsible for corruption awareness, and when coupled with an active civil society, corruption control movements are established.

**State of Corruption in Nepal**

Nepal established its democracy in 1990, but corruption has continued to increase. In the 2004 CPI analysis, Nepal ranked 90th, and by 2007, the country’s situation worsened, falling to 131st. Though democracy is a means to ensuring greater transparency and increased order, lack of political stability, internal conflict, and low civic engagement in the development process, among other reasons, contribute to Nepal’s level of corruption. The situation is worsened by a bureaucracy that is highly affected by corruption. In 2002, the government attempted to curtail the effects of corruption by passing the Anti-Corruption Act. Similarly, it also ratified the UN Convention on Corruption Control. Additionally, the government created institutions, such as the Commission for the Investigation on Abuse of Authority (CIAA) and the National Vigilance Center, to counter corruptive practices. A special court also exists specifically for presiding over corruption cases. The Office of Auditor General (OAG) is responsible for monitoring financial malpractices. But in spite of these organizations, incidences of corruption are on the rise, as shown in Figure 1.

The entire political, administrative, and social system is responsible for the perpetual increase in corruption, which is primarily caused by reciprocal relationships within the system. For example, businesses strive to secure favorable policies and legislation by offering bribes, gifts, and financing to those political parties in power. This type of system results in a complex network where corruption becomes more of an institution than an exception.

**Pro Public and Anti-Corruption Movements**

Established in 1991, Pro Public is a national-level non-governmental organization working on anti-corruption, social justice and good governance practices. It is a consortium of environmental lawyers, journalists, economists, engineers, consumers and women’s rights activists. It involves citizens to combat corruption within bureaucratic entities. The Good Governance Project (GGP) was launched in 1997 under the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Department of Pro Public. Its sole responsibility is to develop social capital to counter corruption. A renowned personality in the field of good governance and anti-corruption and team leader of the GGP, Mr. Kedar Khadka has expanded the program to include 17 district coordinating offices, covering almost the entire country.

The main focus of the project utilizes media to create a vibrant civil society against corruption. Pro Public builds social capital by utilizing several strategies such as the Good Governance radio pro-
gram and bulletin and magazine, Citizens Hearing Television Program, trainings, public hearings, citizen monitoring programs, occasional publications, and other programs. The Good Governance radio program is a weekly program aired each Sunday from the national station. The program, with its main slogan “General People’s Access to Authority,” is making progress. Its reliable sources and important content increase awareness of anti-corruption. It encourages public voice and as a result of the program’s efforts, more than 6,000 Good Governance Clubs have formed throughout the country. The clubs implement radio content throughout the local community. Similarly, the Good Governance bulletin and magazine are strong tools for advocacy. The bulletin publishes corruption cases from the local level, policy debates, and voices of the people which are disseminated to each Good Governance Club, Village Development Committee (the lowest administrative unit in Nepal), public schools, and most government offices. The magazine advocates mainly national policy issues. The television program is more policy-oriented; nevertheless, it gives citizens the opportunity to participate in policy debates by enabling face-to-face interactions.

Pro Public’s training component enables youth members to be more active in the fight against corruption. They learn about the basic components of good governance, running a public hearing, and other programs. Trainees learn to develop citizens’ causal thinking about corruption; that is, why people attempt to pay money illegally in exchange for services. Additionally, the organization’s public hearings—organized by the Good Governance Clubs—function as town hall meetings at the local, district, and central levels, helping improve service delivery. People then have a chance to express their dissatisfaction in front of responsible government offices. Other tools, such as civic monitoring, rallies, and occasional publications, are equally important in building awareness.

Civic Engagement and Building Social Capital

Civic engagement involves people’s participation in social and political decision-making processes. Social capital and civic engagement are highly related. Both are concerned with building networks and bonds among members in the community. Currently, developed nations such as the U.S. are facing problems of social capital. A highly individualistic lifestyle, driven primarily by technology, is eroding social capital in the U.S. However, social capital is not only eroding in the U.S., it is also diminishing in developing countries such as Nepal. People have started to move away from community bonds and have begun to lose faith in governments and the communal approach. Therefore, it is urgent for Nepal to work to protect its social capital.

In addition to the aforementioned services, Good Governance Clubs help preserve social capital and nurture a nationwide network of vibrant youths against corruption and malpractice in Nepal. The clubs are autonomous local bodies, requiring a minimum of seven members, at least half of which must be female. As of now, the largest single club is comprised of 63 members. They organize team meetings once a month and design different programs and activities at the local level, similar to what Pro Public has done at the central level. They organize public hearings, initiate training programs, host citizen complaint platforms and anti-corruption rallies, promote civic monitoring, and post bulletin publications, among other activities. Their major task is to sensitize people to the components of good governance and discourage malpractice in government and semi-government bodies. The clubs build interactions and increase civic engagement. As Robert Putnam discussed in his book, Bowling Alone, “Social capital refers to connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that rise among them. In that sense, social capital is closely related to what some have called ‘civic virtue.’” The clubs establish networks of citizens willing to fight against corruption and build their capacity and skill. They exist in over 62 districts, covering almost the entire country.

Leadership: Good Governance Project (GGP)

Mr. Kedar Khadka is the project director of GGP. He has been utilizing mass media and working in the field of anti-corruption and good governance since 1990. Given minimal attention by political leadership, corruption and good governance issues had been ignored until Khadka became involved. Even when corruption disrupted stable governing, it was not an issue of political discourse and debate. Such indifference on the part of gov-
ernment leadership motivated Khadka to campaign against corruption. He believes civic engagement is a crucial dimension in the fight against corruption. According to him, the people must be aware of corruption issues and only then can civic engagement strengthen the fight against corruption. Training at the grassroots level is necessary. Khadka strongly believes that leadership is important in the anti-corruption campaign, as it is the leadership that gives direction to a movement. If the movement benefits from committed, visionary and selfless leaders, it will be more result-oriented and yield greater success. As someone personally devoted to this cause, Khadka exemplifies servant leadership: one who is a servant first and becomes a leader through his/her rational choices.\textsuperscript{15}

From the very beginning of GGC's establishment, its members have been dedicated to serving voluntarily in the local community. Members focus on service delivery, sensitizing the local people to good governance and anti-corruption issues. Not surprisingly, local government officials do not support the members, who advocate stopping bribery and malpractice. When volunteers demonstrate their ability to solve local corruption problems related to good governance, attitudes change and people begin to seek out the members for help. Through their actions, the local people will identify them as respectable and valuable servants, and eventually the servants will transform into a respectable and valuable leaders. It is important to note that leadership evolves from a commitment to serving people to solving local problems. Ironically, most good governance leaders are not interested in being leaders, but as they serve and work with local people to solve their grievances, they emerge and transform into leaders.

**Conclusion**

Citizens’ unawareness and lack of interest create a favorable environment for corruption to flourish. Civic engagement and servant leadership qualities are strong tools in the fight against corruption. The corruption situation in Nepal is on the rise but with a strong leadership commitment and network of youth as part of the Good Governance Clubs, Pro Public is building a movement against corruption. The servant leadership qualities of Mr. Kedar Khadka benefit Pro Public’s cause tremendously. Also, Pro Public has played a remarkable role in continuing to build social capital against corruption. Though leadership at the central level is vital, it will not be enough for a successful movement against corruption. Rather, success hinges on the network of servant leaders working toward a solution against corruption.

\textsuperscript{1} Central Bureau of Statistics, Nepal in Figures (National Planning Secretariat: Katmandu, Nepal, 2006).
\textsuperscript{3} www.transparency.org/news_room/faq/corruption_faq.
\textsuperscript{6} http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4514112.stm.
\textsuperscript{7} Shen & Williamson, 2005.
\textsuperscript{9} www.propublic.org.
\textsuperscript{10} http://www.propublic.org/ggp/radio_program.php.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} http://www.propublic.org/ggp/faq_gg.php.
\textsuperscript{14} Putnam.
From Rural Nepal to the USA: 
Personal Inspirations from My Transformational Leaders

by Gyanendra Chaudhary

Introduction

The ideals enumerated by Thomas Jefferson, “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness,” have transcended numerous boundaries and epochs, and have motivated others to pursue a better future. Though merely a common stock of human rights etched on parchment, yet when perceived in action, these ideals have powerful transformational effects on people’s lives. “Unalienable rights” seem to have little significance in a country like Nepal, considered by some as a nation on the brink of a failed state, or to the agrarian people from my village, which is in a more isolated and secluded region within the country. Yet, this regional isolation did not deter my parents’ dreams for my siblings and me to pursue happiness, success and freedom. My parents pushed us to escape the vicious cycle of poverty and encouraged us to proactively make decisions traditionally reserved solely for elders. By empowering us to make decisions, my parents endured many hardships and even opposition from other, more conservative family members who did not understand our liberties. They did not falter in their pursuit of our happiness, giving us a better life than they have ever lived or will ever live.

Leadership Learned

Growing up in the southern foothills surrounded by dense tropical forests, I was like any other Nepalese village child during the earlier years of my life: helping my parents in the fields, planting rice during the incessant monsoon rainfall, and harvesting during winter or autumn. In between the monsoon and harvest seasons, I attended a dilapidated school with no roof, tables, chairs or blackboards. The schoolhouse consisted of four mud walls, which were easily washed away under the annual monsoons. Most children were not allowed to attend school; instead, they helped their parents with household chores such as taking out their meager cattle to graze.

In Transforming Leadership, author James M. Burns wrote, “Leaders take the initiative in mobilizing people for participation in the processes of change, encouraging a sense of collective identity and collective efficacy, which in turn brings stronger feelings of self-worth and self-efficacy.”¹ He further goes on to say that “transforming leaders champion and inspire followers.”² My parents inspired a transformational vision in us. I was compelled by my parents to attend school away from them, but the temptation to stay home and help tend to family business was prominent. Initially, I was not motivated to make an effort and I continued to go with friends to graze their cattle, swim in dirty ponds, or play out other mischievous endeavors. My parents noticed that I was not taking their gift of freedom seriously and then came their
wrath. While spanking me, my father would talk about how he did not want me to be a peasant my whole life, working and living in the same isolated village. Even after that, much to my parents’ chagrin, we continued to skip school, until the day my father told us about life in the city.

“There are big buses, wide roads and tall buildings. People have nice clothes,” he would say with a grin on his face. Then, he seemed to contemplate our lives with remorse. “By going to school, you can be a big man. Go to school and study hard, son.” My mom sat beside us on the mud floor, occasionally caressing us but not disturbing my father’s talk. My father’s conversation echoed within my heart for a long time, invigorating me like a volcano about to erupt under the immense pressure of its magma. I was finally excited and motivated to attend school.

**Pursuit of Happiness**

I was very fortunate in the first steps as I began my pursuit of happiness. Motivated by a dream of success, freedom and happiness, I began to take my schoolwork seriously. I had several intense entrance exams and academic competitions. After a few months, authorities from a British school, educating the nation’s elite and wealthy in the big cities, had come to our village in search of poor students to sponsor and provide full scholarships. Of all children throughout Nepal, I was selected to attend a very well-known school and live in Kathmandu.

In their article *Primal Leadership*, Daniel Goleman et al. wrote, “Great leadership works through the emotions, moving us, igniting our passion and inspiring the best in us.” They further went on to write that, “Leaders tend to speak of strategies, working through emotions, inspiring towards a positive change.” My parents evoked emotional tirades to bring out the best in me; without their interest and effort, I would not have been motivated or convinced to focus and work hard as a restless boy.

My life changed as I grew up in Kathmandu. The first time away from my family, I had to learn how to eat with a fork and I had a lot of difficulty adhering to British etiquette. The sacrifices I went through were worth the gains. I had the opportunity to develop myself academically, socially and physically. The experiences at the school culminated with an appointment as a house captain, perhaps a testimony to the burgeoning leadership qualities developing within me.

As graduation was approaching, the surrounding political atmosphere grew grave. Widespread corruption and nepotism plagued the government. The protracted Maoist Insurgency pushed the country into civil war; and as my college graduation date neared, the country poverty level was more rampant than ever, even in Kathmandu. The insurgency’s malignant nature infected every part of the country, greatly affecting remote areas like my village, where the Maoist preyed on people’s desperation for change. Neighbors, who were members of the same family and living under a single roof, were fighting to kill each other as a result of the Maoists’ propaganda that intended to create fear and intimidation. Once known as the “land of the Buddha,” Nepal lost all chances for peace and thousands of innocent lives were needlessly taken.

**Home of the Free and Land of the Brave**

After college, I struggled to find employment in Kathmandu. And although I was fortunate to secure a job, hours were from early in the morning until midnight. Because of the need to earn money for myself and my family, along with the high unemployment rate due to the insurgency, I was content to put in the long hours. As I gained experience in the city, I felt as though some politicians deliberately suppressed our marginalized communities; it was always very difficult to receive government benefits and resources. The majority of politicians seemed to fear a vision of emancipation, inclusion, and democracy in Nepal as they saw this vision as potentially destabilizing for the country. They could not hear the voices of the masses as more than a riot.

Continuing to pursue happiness and freedom, I applied and was accepted to attend school in America at the East-West Center.

Before leaving Nepal to come to Hawaii, I went to see my parents in the village. The village had changed tremendously. It was desolate and eerie. Many people, once seemingly happy, either were evicted from their home by extremist Maoist groups or forced into migration. Forced migration would occur if the families were unable to pay ransom or send at least one member to join the militia. The only people left were the elders. When I arrived, no one came to greet me and the throng of children who once harassed me for chocolates, souvenirs or stories about city life were gone. My
dad was away from the house attending the crops, a daily routine for him; and my mom was busy with the household chores. I used to go home only once a year or during festivals, so my spontaneous arrival surprised my mom as I walked inside the house. My parents had lived alone ever since my youngest brother left for school, but they seemed happy. The house that I ran around in as a child had deteriorated. The mud walls had not been repaired because my dad had no helping hands to mend them.

After some time, my dad arrived from the fields, smiling. Without a formal greeting and with a big smile on my face, I said, “Dad, I am going to America to study.” Upon hearing this, he stood still for a while trying to recollect what I had uttered. My mom, sitting and winnowing rice on the mud floor, looked in disbelief. “Mom, Dad, I am going to America!” I shouted breaking the silence of the room. They did not reply, but I could see their eyes swelling with tears of happiness.

Bidding farewell, I got on the bus that would take me on dusty roads for an 18-hour torturous trip to Kathmandu. Along the way, we were stopped by Maoists guerrillas who were recruiting young men to fight in their militia. Under the muzzles of homemade guns, many on the bus buckled and were taken by the Maoists. “You can be one of the commanders of our platoon,” shouted a guerilla after he stopped by me. Having many relatives in the militia, my brother and I were recruited often; we had avoided their efforts as we were living in the city. My parents, on the other hand, taught us to believe in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, eschewing misery through hard work. They wanted to see us holding “pens and papers,” instead of “guns and bombs.” With a dream of a better future, I kept myself calm and replied softly, “I am working on development projects for the poor.” A brawny guerilla came by me and asked for identification. I showed them my badge, written in English, from the company that I was working for in Kathmandu. The guerilla could not read it and let me go after he was convinced that I must have been working for an international organization. The bus ride was the beginning of a long journey to America.

**Conclusion**

The words that my father said long ago still echo inside my heart. Certainly, without his encouragement, I would have never pursued my studies. He inspired a vision of a bright future of exciting and ennobling possibilities. He has been supportive and determined to see success at every step of my life. Today, after participating in leadership classes as part of the East-West Center, I have realized that transformational leaders are driven by the heart which can guide us through the various difficulties and obstacles of life. These leaders are “selfless, guided by shared values,” and are always seeking to achieve the best.

When Thomas Jefferson once wrote the words “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness,” he must have envisioned a world where the most potent agent for change is “Transformational Leadership.”

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About the Authors & Contributors

Md. Jahangir Alam
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Jahangir was educated at the Institute of Social Welfare and Research, Dhaka University, Bangladesh. After receiving his master’s degree, he worked at a college in Dhaka. Later, he qualified for the Education Cadre of Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS). He served as a Lecturer in the National University of Bangladesh and he is currently pursuing an MA in Sociology. His research focus includes the livelihood and residence patterns of elderly in rural Bangladesh.

Sovicheth Boun
Graduate Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Higher Educational Administration, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Sovicheth earned his BEd in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) from the Royal University of Phnom Penh’s Institute of Foreign Languages (IFL), Cambodia. He taught EFL for five years and lectured at IFL for one year. He is pursuing his MEd in Higher Educational Administration. His research interests include student retention and international student adjustment.

Jiwnath Ghimire
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Jiwnath completed his master’s degree in Rural Development (MRD) from the Central Department of Rural Development at Tribhuvan University, Nepal. He began his professional career as an instructor of Rural Development Policies and Strategies in the Department of Rural Development at Patan Multiple Campus, Lalitpur, Nepal. He worked as Program Officer in Pro Public for two years in addition to many other community organizations in Nepal. His research interest is Community Planning for Disaster Management.

Rakib Hossain
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Rakib earned his Bachelor of Urban & Rural Planning (BURP) from Khulna University, Bangladesh, where he later served as a Lecturer. He also worked for an NGO in Bangladesh and in various research projects on urban environment, internal migration, and transportation. He spent the autumn of 2007 working at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. His current research focuses on climate change and its possible impacts on cities in developing countries.

Gempo Jampel
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Business Administration, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Gempo received his bachelor’s degree in Electrical and Electronics Engineering from the University of Madras in India in 2001. Initially, he worked as an Assistant Engineer for the Department of Power in Bhutan and later worked as a manager for Bhutan Power Corporation Limited for six years. He is pursuing his MBA and has a great interest in the field of social entrepreneurship.
Vanathy Kandeepan
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Management, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Vanathy received her BS in Agricultural Economics from the University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka. She later served at the university as a lecturer in the Department of Agricultural Economics. She is pursuing a master’s degree and is especially interested in the economics of food safety and quality, including consumer perceptions of food-related risks.

James Kelley
Graduate Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Tropical Medicine, University of Hawaii at Manoa

James received a BS in Biology from the University of Georgia and an master’s in Public Health from Emory University in Atlanta. As a Peace Corps Volunteer in Western Samoa from 1996 to 2000, he taught science and managed a local community organization. Later, he worked at the World Health Organization as a technical officer for the Malaria, Vector borne and Parasitic Diseases Unit. His current PhD research interests include viral pathogenesis and infectious disease diagnostics.

Denjam Khadka
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Management, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Denjam earned his bachelor’s degree in Civil Engineering from the Institute of Engineering, Pulchowk campus, Nepal. He started his professional career at the Himalaya Energy Development Company. He later joined the Nepal Electricity Authority where he became interested in the use of renewable energy in Nepal. In addition to his fellowship at the East-West Center, Denjam is also an intern with the Commission on Water Resources Management, a subsidiary of the State of Hawaii’s Department of Land and Natural Resources.

Elizabeth “Cedar” Louis
Graduate Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Human Geography, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Cedar comes from India, where she received a BA in Sociology from the University of Madras. She moved to the United States in 1997 and received an MS in Natural Resource Management at the University of Washington in Seattle. She has also lived in South America, where she managed an inn in the Ecuadorian Andes. Her current PhD research interests include the sustainable agriculture movement in India, food security and environmental sustainability issues in the developing world.

Sarabibi Thuzarwin Mayet
Graduate Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Public Health, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Sara, a medical doctor, received her MB and BS from the Institute of Medicine in Myanmar. Starting her career in public health, she joined the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the Myanmar-Bangladesh border as a Medical Officer for five years focusing on Primary Health Care (PHC) and Tuberculosis (TB) Control. She also worked for Malteser, an international Germany-based NGO, as Medical Coordinator with expertise in the PHC and TB control projects. In 2006, she joined the International HIV/ AIDS Alliance as a Program Officer. She is currently pursuing a Master of Public Health.
Dian Mitrayani
Asian Development Bank Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Dian earned her BA in Interior Design at Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia. She then worked as a Ceramics Tile Designer and freelance Interior Designer in Indonesia. She worked with a faith-based organization focusing on community development and empowerment. Her research interests are in empowerment and planning in marginal communities.

Kouland Thin
Graduate Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Economics, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Kouland earned her BBA in Marketing at the National University of Management and her MA in Economics at Western Illinois University. She worked from 2004 to 2005 with German Technical Cooperation as a project coordinator on a project focused on the prevention of domestic violence. Her current research interest is the property rights issue in developing countries.

Constantinos Vrakas
Graduate Degree Fellow, East-West Center
Department of Asian Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Constantinos Vrakas is an MA candidate in Asian Studies. He was born and raised in Chicago, and moved to Hawaii to pursue his interest in China studies. He has spent time in Hainan and Xi’an, studying Chinese full time, and has done field research in Hunan, Xinjiang and Shanghai. He is currently working on his first China documentary about the Uyghur people in Shanghai. Other current projects of his include developing animated historical maps for use as educational tools for the classroom and the Internet.
Stuart Coleman (back row, left) and East-West Center Leadership Certificate Program students at Camp Timberline (Hawaii) during a leadership retreat

Photo courtesy of Mike Bosack
"We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time."

T.S. Eliot