



Journal of Management

Vol. 48 No. 1 March 2019



Journal of Management

Vol. 48 No. 1 March 2019

Editorial Board

Chairperson
Nirmala Apsingikar

Editor
S. Ramu

Members
**Valli Manickam, Nirmalya Bagchi,
S. Chary Vedala and Subodh Kandamuthan**

The *ASCI Journal of Management*, published every March and September by the Administrative Staff College of India, is devoted to discussions on policy and management issues concerning various aspects of national life. The papers published in the journal are based on research work, consulting and professional experience. The *ASCI Journal of Management* also publishes analytical reviews of literature on specific themes, research notes, short notes from practising executives on issues and concerns of current interest, and book reviews. Manuscripts of papers (see **Notes for Contributors**) should reach the Editor four months prior to the date of release of a particular issue. The papers received for publication are sent to referees for their comments before a final decision is taken on their inclusion. The authors of papers that are published will receive 25 reprints free of cost.

Subscription

<i>Country/category</i>	<i>One year</i>	<i>Two years</i>	<i>Three years</i>
India	Rs. 500	Rs. 900	Rs. 1,200
Bellavistans (members of ASCI Association)	Rs. 500	Rs. 800	Rs. 1,000
USA/other countries	\$ 30	\$ 55	\$ 80
UK	£ 18	£ 30	£ 45

Note: All payments may ideally be made by demand draft in favour of **Administrative Staff College of India**. In case of outstation cheques, please add Rs. 30 towards collection charges.

Advertisements: The *ASCI Journal of Management* accepts a limited number of advertisements. The advertisement tariffs are available on request.

Correspondence: Please address all letters regarding publication of papers, books for review, subscription, non-receipt of the journal, etc., to the Editor, *ASCI Journal of Management*, Administrative Staff College of India, Bella Vista, Hyderabad 5000 82, India, or e-mail to editor@asci.org.in.



Journal of Management

Vol. 48 No. 1, March 2019

Kiran Bedi Creative Governance	1
Ashwani Lohani Governance and Management in Government Organisations	14
Tushar A. Gandhi India's Moral Crisis: The Gandhian Answer	20
K. Padmanabhaiah Redesigning Administration to Propel India into World League	29
Ravi Bhoothalingam The Silk Road as a Global Brand	39
Lt General A.K. Singh (Retd) National Security and Governance	48
C. R. Rao Nurturing Creativity to Make India a Global Leader in Knowledge Creation	58
Jeremy Browne Politics and Governance: The UK Experience	70

KIRAN BEDI*

Creative Governance**

ASCI Chairman Shri K.Padmanabhaiah's introductory remarks:

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen and friends from the press. I have great pleasure in welcoming you for this oration by Dr. Kiran Bedi on the eve of the birth centenary of Prof. S. Venu Gopala Rao, a very distinguished police officer. This is the very first oration in the series being held on his birth centenary. Prof. Rao joined the government service in pre-independent India and retired as the Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development in 1976. He was a multifaceted personality besides being a well respected police officer. He was a researcher. He made outstanding contributions to Indian Criminology, especially in the areas of juvenile delinquency and homicide. A prolific writer, Prof. Rao wrote as many as eleven books on criminology. He was also a great writer in Telugu. He wrote many novels, plays and short stories in Telugu. One of his short stories (*Police Venkataswamy Kathalu*) is still very popular, I am told. He was awarded honorary D.Lit by the prestigious Andhra University. And, ASCI is very happy to hold this oration and we wish to thank Prof. Venu Gopala Rao Memorial Trust, its Chairman, Dr. Mohan Das, who is here and the eldest daughter of Dr. Rao and various other family members of the Trust.

We couldn't have got a better person than Dr. Kiran Bedi to deliver this oration. I don't think there would be anybody in this audience who has not heard of her. When I say this hall, this hall may be small but it represents India. I am saying that in India, there would be very few people who do not know her. So that is the type of reputation she has earned for herself quite early in her professional career. She is the first woman to join the police service in 1972 and thank God for pioneering people like her, the Indian Police Service now recruits at least 25% are women. She showed a way for them. And, she took voluntary retirement in 2007 as the DG of BPRD where Dr. Rao was himself working till 1976. She earned great reputation to her campaigns against drugs, crimes against women and for wide ranging jail reforms,

* IPS (Retd), Lt. Governor, Puducherry

** First Oration on the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Prof. S. Venugopal Rao, Endowed by Prof S.Venugopal Rao Memorial Charitable Trust, on September 24, 2018

including introduction of yoga and Satguru's programmes also. We see her going quite often to Satguru's programmes at Coimbatore. She was a Police Advisor to Secretary General of UN for about two years, a rare honour! Perhaps she is the only woman from India to have held that position. She is conferred a PhD degree in Social Sciences from the Delhi University. She is the recipient of very prestigious awards like the Magsaysay award, again a rare accomplishment and Nehru fellowship. She does a lot of social work through two of the organisations she floated, namely India Vision Foundation and Navjyoth India Foundation.

Through these foundations, she does tremendous amount of work. And, everybody would remember her role in the Anna Hazare Movement against corruption/crime. She wrote many books and there are many books written about her. And not only that, there have been films made about her and films in almost all South Indian Languages like Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and so on. I would like to remind you that one of the Telugu movies taken in 1990, called "*Kartavyam*" in which Vijayashanthi acted as the Police Officer, she was called "Vyjanthi IPS" is entirely modeled on Dr Bedi. And Vyjanthi got a national award for the best actress and also the film got a Filmfare award for the Best Film. In 1990, it was adapted into Tamil as 'Vyjayanthi IPS'. In 2006, the prestigious magazine 'Week' published from Kerala, named her as the Most Admired Woman in the country. What a rare honour! so I am very happy that she is here and she is going to speak to you on the subject of creative governance. Now I don't want to stand between you and her but I just wanted to say that the Administrative Staff College of India does research on administration, governance and all that. I have heard of good governance, I have heard of entrepreneurial governance, I have heard of responsive governance, minimum governance but I have not heard about creative governance. So I am extremely excited and very anxious to hear her on this topic. I present Dr. Kiran Bedi to you. Thank you gentlemen and ladies.

Dr.Kiran Bedi:

The Rao family, sons, daughters and grand children. It's wonderful to see the whole family remembering their father, grandfather, and the brother. What a great way of remembering! Paying homage to an illustrious personality by doing these kind of memorial lectures. Doing it every year is truly inspirational. For me too, it was inspirational reading about him. I want to thank the whole family for considering me worthy of delivering first Dr. Rao lecture. I want to thank Mr. Padmanabhaiah, who I have known as Home Secretary, who we were all in awe because as a young IPS officer, the Home Secretary means the world for us! When he used to be there, I was bubbly. When I was away in prison or a little away, not inside, in and out of the prison, I do remember. Thank you very much Chairman of this ASCI for inviting me. I want to thank as I said the whole family. Friends, you gave me an option very interestingly. You did not tell me the topic to speak on. You said, come and speak. They asked what is your topic? and I said Creative Leadership. Creative Governance.

You gave me an option, Sir and I never heard this phrase, creative governance, but to my mind there is no option today other than being creative. I am a product of only creative work. Otherwise, I would have been a large failure. You would not have called me today, if I had not. What is Creative Leadership? Creative Leadership is nothing but creating solutions, finding solutions, looking at issues and then creating what needs to be done. It's not dwelling on the problems. It's not stopping at the problems. It's reaching the problem, analysing the problem, and looking at your own capacity and to find a solution.

This is who, this is what I was. I was a product of that. Now, that training was not given in the Police Academy, unfortunately. It was not given to me in the police training. I was a creative solution to myself as a student. I was a Tennis player of my time. At that time, I had to create strategies to win Tennis matches. And, I had to find my own ways to win, to travel, to find my place to get my wages or my travel allowances. Fight with the boys, stay back in the barracks and survive out of myself. Friends, it was a creative upbringing. It was always solutions-providing. It wasn't a hard boy training that daddy would tell 'sit down', you have to be creative. No, every time we had an issue, the family discussed it, and the parents said, "this is what happened today. What do you think and what needs to be done?" And my father used to say, put yourself in your dad's shoes.

When you asked me, when you gave me this option, I want to thank you for giving me the liberty to give you what I am most comfortable at. What I have grown with and as I have said it's not the Indian Police Service training. Whereas it should be an integral part of our training: 'How to be creative as civil servants. How to be creative as Leaders.' Without this there is no option today. And I am seeing it more at the Raj Nivas (the official residence of Dr. Bedi at Puducherry). With the two years of experience that I have had, I am amazed directly to see what is not right, what needs to be set right and I have some examples for you. I have a visual for you. I am going to show you a film of Raj Nivas, which was shot yesterday, on a Sunday morning. Why? I will explain that to you. But it will speak for itself. There are lessons to be learnt and it was a lesson learnt for me. It was so unique, friends, to see what I experienced yesterday and what is the latest, even today. I will share with you.

(A video shows Dr Bedi's intervention to clean up a water body and her interaction with public and officials on the spot)

Creative Governance we talked about. Here it is. It was on 23rd September. It's called 192 round of Lt. Governor. My weekend round. If we don't desilt what will happen? Movement of water will get affected and debris will get accumulated. Where does the water flow? From a village. And how does it benefit? When desilted fully. There is always a clause, officer have a discretion to.

This is not a manpower issue, this is a machine issue. Not a manhole issue. It needs a JCB. Then only you will achieve your target and human life is more precious than that. Friends, it is not a preparatory kind of thing this for the lecture! It just happened yesterday, Sunday. First thing is, where does a leadership go on a Sunday morning for rounds to see what is wrong with the governance.

My first question is, in India, when does a Municipal Commissioner go on a round to see what is going on? Secondly, when does a Collector go on rounds to see what is going wrong? When does a superintendent of police (SP) go on the round to see what's wrong. Have you seen? Have you seen anyone? Raise your hand if you have seen anyone doing it. Just raise your hands, if you have seen anyone doing it.

How can you have creative leadership, without being on the ground. Creativity does not come by reading books alone. Books give you plenty of ideas, books give you information, books give you knowledge. But how do you put it into practice, till you actually see the problem on ground? I thought I would share this with you. It's about 192 rounds as Lt. Governor of Puducherry. I have been only two years there and done 192 rounds. Please count the weeks. Have I missed out any? I missed out only when I was called for a meeting to Delhi. Even when I was travelling overseas I returned at three in the midnight went back to the morning round because I realized without that who will educate me as a Lt. Governor? People don't have the courage to come and say, "Madam, you need to know this!" Nobody will tell me. I have to go to the site to see what is not right and what is right. Appreciate, Identify and find solutions. What did we do in this? Do you know what happened?

I've been finding solutions. I am not here to speak. I don't need any more adulation. God has given me abundance. It does not matter to me if I am appreciated or not. I am only telling you by practice not by theory. And that is this! That unless we are on ground to see and understand the problem and don't come back without a solution. Find a solution and then we realize. When PWD said we don't have any money to desilt the 7 km stretch water carriage. This water carriage, this canal that fills up entire tanks of *Bahud* commune, which is the biggest commune in Puducherry, tanks, ponds lakes and that is what makes a rice bowl.

When it does not carry on any water that means agriculture will suffer, drinking water will suffer labour will suffer and everything will suffer. They said, "Madam, we do not have any money". I asked why? Because no contractor today is willing to do the work. I asked why? Supposing you had asked for a report, what kind of report would have come? One more file for me, just one more file. And there is no file right now on this. The contractor was also standing in the crowd. And I have brought you a very short clip.

(A video clip shows the conversation between Dr Bedi and officials)

And he (the contractor) said, “Madam, they have not paid me for last two years. They owe me so much of money. Therefore I have not offered and no bid has come”. So, the PWD officer has said no bid has come because nobody is paying. Because you are not paying you have no money. I asked the contractor as to how much will it cost. He said 6 lakhs. So I said, if I arrange to pay you 6 lakhs will you do it? He said, “Yes Madam, I will do it”. I said you will get it! I have no idea where I will get 6 lakhs from. But I had the confidence that we can raise it.

Inform the people, they will do it. Because 6 lakhs means billions and billions gallons of water, which will go through years and years. Look at money generation. Penny wise pound foolish! To be honest with you, without mentioning a particular person, I’ll tell you. We have a VIP Minister in Pondicherry Government, who went to the Government of India and got Rs.5 crore sanctioned for a swimming pool. For a swimming pool, when there is water shortage in Pondicherry! He went and it was inaugurated by honorable Vice-President few months ago. When there is no money, he got 5 crores to open a swimming pool. And, we do not have six lakhs to feed common man’s water. Friends, how will creative leadership come? Who will do it and the next question is, then what did I do?

I made a Whatsapp. I wrote a blog and I sent it to about thousands of my officers all over Pondicherry. This is what has happened. And we will all join hands to raise funds to get this distilled. And, friends, I will tell you what happened. I will come to why creative governance.

I already have 6 lakhs and the work has started. Those machines are already on the job and you know how 6 lakhs came? I tweeted in the morning. Tweeted in the morning that we need money and any donor who gives me more than one lakh, I will tweet his name. Many people write to me saying, “Madam, would you please retweet!” Because, it goes to about 12 million people. I said let me charge for the first time. Why should I give it for free? Ah, so I said anyone who gives me one lakh, I will tweet your name promptly. Friends, just for the name, support started to come. One Phone call came. who? Satyabhama University’s Pro-Vice Chancellor. A lady called Masia. I have known her for many years. She found that I am in need for support. She promptly called. “Madam, we are there for you. 6 lakhs done! Tell me where I can give the cheque”. I rang her up and said: “I don’t need the cheque. You will pay only to the contractor. I am only connecting you with the contractor. I won’t even touch this money. But you give it to the contractor once the work is done.” The work is already on. Where did it begin from? It began from the field. And, field means getting out of comfort zones. And comfort zones are Saturdays and Sundays and holidays.

That it is time and also beyond 6 pm and 7 pm. That’s a comfort zone. And comfort zone is before 9 am. So before 9 am is comfort zone. The real work happens after 6 and before 9 on holidays, Saturdays and Sundays. Rest is, you are paid for! In fact

we are paid for 24x7. But we think we are paid only for 9-6 and we start looking as if we have done extra work. How can I be called out on a holiday? But when you went for an IAS, IPS interview, did you tell the Board that you will not be available on holidays? Had you told them, would you have got the job? Would anyone of you get the job if you told the Board that I am not available on holidays and don't bother me?. Then they will say, "Then don't bother us, out." They will show the person the door. But today, this is what happening. When we call people out on a morning round, friends, do you think I am going out with the secretaries? I am going with junior engineers. I am going with assistant engineers.

It's only last week, secretaries have started to come out. As many as 190 rounds without secretaries! They did not come out. Please understand that the hierarchy has gone too much into our heads. As we move up, you are finishing yourself. Peter's Principle in operation: you are moving up towards incompetency. But, so that's about it. Why creative governance? Why not? Is there an option, if you want to transform or perform. We are all performing but are we transforming? If we don't transform, there is no creative governance. It is management. You are managing it. You know what? You are not managing. You are only managing yourself. You are only managing to draw your own salaries and run your own families. And, look after your own comfort. You are not transforming for the purpose you have committed yourself in the interview boards. No, we didn't. And then those of us.

Some of us are performance-driven. *Karo*, report *bhejo*. Then there is no creative governance. Creative governance comes from self drive. Not because Prime Ministers are seeing whether Governors are working or not. I would be ashamed If my PM has to say: "Madam, *thoda niklo baahar*." I would have said, "I am not worth it, Sir." Instead, he sent his congratulations. Whenever we do a good job, he sends us a tweet conveying congratulations to the people Pondicherry. And, I love it because it's to the people of Pondicherry. To me that is a reward for the whole. As a leader, when you get a reward for the entire organization, you have delivered. As a leader, if you only got it for yourself, then you have not delivered. You failed, in fact, because if you have just got it for yourself. You are not working in isolation. So, friends, why not? why who? It's us. Every public servant of India, elected or appointed or nominated the who is the who we think it's only the leader.

We think it's at 2nd level, it's at 3rd level. Even a police constable is a leader. He is a creative police officer. We are having a lot of good beat officers in this country. Many officers in this country who are doing creative work. It's amazing the kind of good creative work they do. We have it every time in Pondicherry. So, creativity is not hierarchical. Creativity is self-driven. It's self-generated. It's a passion to serve. It's a passion to be a problem solver.

The "How" I have already explained to you. There is no shortcut. Office alone is not creativity. Office is management and field is creative. If you want to be creative,

get onto the field, put on your shoes, tennis shoes or other shoes, and make your hands dirty and be with the people. Go and appreciate. Go and see what is going on. Reward and learn. I am not here to punish. Did I punish anybody? I didn't punish anybody. That itself. I saw it for myself. If somebody is thick skinned that they do not understand that's their problem. My work is to get things done. I am getting it done. So creative leadership is also creative governance also means getting things done. The question is how do you get it done?

Every situation gives its own answer. When is it not creative governance? When its only 9-6 office. It's performance, yes. It's management, yes. It's delivery, yes but it's not transforming. So, creative means transformative. Some examples I have brought for you. This goes back to 1982. Friends, in 1982, I was DCP traffic as a 32-year-old.

By the way, Dr Rao joined the Indian Police Service when I was born. He joined the Indian Police, he moved from the government services, in 1949, the year I was born. And, amazingly, he retired from BPRD, so did I. Two things are very similar in Dr Rao's life and mine: my date of birth, my year of birth and his entry into the police and his retiring from BPRD as I did. This is as a 32 years old woman. I was given 1982 Asian Games. I remember then Mr. Khurana, who became Lt. Governor of Delhi, ten years later he became the Governor of Tamil Nadu and he called me one day and said: "Go to traffic police, go become DCP traffic. Yes, go work on 9th Asian games and 19 major stadiums." I didn't know the roads of Delhi also. I remember, on my scooter I used to lose my roads on the roundabouts of Delhi. So, no choice was given in the task and I used to drive the roads of Delhi at 8 in the morning, finish my work before 8 and files cleared from 6 in the morning till 8. Finish the files. No files are pending and dictation is given in the dictaphone and gone. By 8 am nothing is pending on my table. As I drove I realised road after road there was a broken down truck or a broken down bus. There were people pushing those buses. And I asked my driver, "What do we do with these? What else can be done? I was new. I was learning. He said, "Madam you need a crane for that". I said but where is the crane? He said, "*koi crane nahi yahan.*" There is only one crane which is in the workshop. So I said, what do we do? He said, "Madam, *aise hi chatla hai.*" No, *aise nahi chalega.* where are the cranes? They said that private cranes are there. Oh, so good. No, they are mine. Government *hoonaa main?*

Whatever belongs to you, belongs to me. I am Government. I called for a meeting of these 15 crane operators. They all had one or two each. So, about 16 cranes were available. I held a meeting. I told them: "Look, your cranes will be deployed hereafter on the roads for few hours a day. You will also make money and I will also make money. How? I will *chalan* for 'no parking' and you will also charge. You get fee directly from the person and I am not dealing with your money. You will also earn and I will also get my fine while clearing the roads. They agreed. That's how we got zero crane to 16 cranes with no money in my pocket!

(Dr Bedi turns to Shri K.Padmanabhaiah's side) No budget is there, Sir. As a Home Secretary, you would know this. No budget known as police budget and there was no time to ask for a budget. Because, if you ask for budget, it comes five years after you had already gone. It may not even come because money may not be available.

So, now 16 cranes on the road. Every circle had a crane. Then we put a microphone on it and we also said, "We are coming. Go back to the parking or we all tow you away." We drove them away, we cleared the roads and yet the stubborn ones didn't. We booked them up including the Prime Minister's car!

Prime Minister's car was also challaned. Because, the rule was only one. How did it come? This creative leadership came by being on the road. In fact If I had not gone on the road, how would I have known? And when that troubled me, I looked for a solution. And what is more creative than this is with no budget, no man power you get 16 cranes on the road and you are able to enforce the law. So this is my police example.

This example I have from the prison. Mr. Padmanabhaiah was nice to mention my work in the prison. Friends, I had 10,000 prisoners inside the prison. We are always short on money here. Every department has its own limitations. I am not blaming. What do I do with these 10,000 people when the budget is only for food essentials etc., Unless they are organised, how do I handle riots? How do I do time management? How do I fix them? So, we needed education, a school inside the person. And, do you know where the books came from? They came from old school books. Schools in Delhi were requested to donate all used school books at no cost. Books came. We divided classes into three: Illiterate, literate and semiliterate.

Now, the issue of teachers! Where do we get teachers? Delhi Government will not give us teachers. So, we made prisoners into teachers. Any graduate or others became our teachers. We used to train them in the evening and groom them. They suddenly had a teacher's badge. So, free books and free teachers! 9-11 this was a school running in the prison. They ran it for two and half years. When prisoners used to leave the prison they used to leave with the bag to show it to their family that they were literate now. They had written their exams. They were taking exams and hundreds of prisoners who came with thumb impression when they entered wrote their name before leaving. This is what happened. So, zero budget. How did it come about? Because, every morning at 9, I used to walk in the prison to see what is going on. Never sat behind, but walked in the prison. When I walked the prison, saw what was urgently required. Organizing them into activities was an urgent requirement.

Is it a Rocket Science? I would have been problematic to my mother if my mother would not have sent me to school. So, why do parents send children to school, saying 'hey, get out of the way. go to school'? Because, school organizes the children

and then puts them to tasks. So schooling is very important. From 9 to 11 am, the prison ran a school. I used to walk the prison, check their books and see their exams. It's very interestingly once I was looking at their attendance sheet and their attendance sheet showed 'P'. 'P' means Present in class; then there is also a remark 'B'.

Can you guess what is 'B'? Can you make a guess? Those who answers the question will be given a set of flowers. What is B? (After a few guessing answers, one of the participants of ASCI's programmes said that "B" stands for *bimar* and Dr. Bedi gives him a bouquet presented to her at the beginning of the oration amidst a round of applause.)

It was *bimar*!

The prison programmes continued. IGNOU came and National Open School Came. They were all waiting outside the prison premises for being allowed to come. NGO's came to run the programmes. We ran the programme at zero budget!

One example now from Raj Nivas. I brought you only one good practice. We do many. I brought you a book today. Brought you all documentation, Padmanabhaiah Sir. Brought you a book called, "Best practices - Raj Nivas." We documented this. Fortunately, I think I have a copy for each one of you. You can take it home if you wish. I also have brought a documentation for you on creating leadership, from police and prisons. You can take this book if you so wish to.

(Dr. Bedi shows a slide) This is open house. You know what open house means? Every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Raj Nivas door is open to all. You take a token and you can come on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday between 5-7 pm. It sometimes becomes 7:30. They are coming and meeting me turn by turn and I am not sitting. I am standing. Because, everybody will sit if you stand. Then you talk and matter is never settled. So, we are able to clear almost 30-40-50 complainants a day! Monday to Wednesday. Why this open house? Is it in the rules? Is it in the regulation? Is it written in the law? The need was to know what's going and what is it that I do not know. Because, I am not speaking, I am not addressing; but I need to know. But once faith and trust developed, friends, the amount of information the Lt. Governor's Office has you can't imagine. We address every complaint, it's computerized. It's part of grievance redressal system. And where the matter is serious, and the concerned officer is called. We ask him to show us the file. We ask him as to what is the matter? and why is he sitting on it? Now, you must be imagining the numbers must have gone up. No, they haven't. Why? Because, this open house has opened up all other offices. Because, they know if you don't attend them, other person will attend. So they have all opened up. And as a result, number is stabilized. Do you now the kind of complaints I am getting after two years? They are amazingly different. For something a 10-year-old and for other thing a 15-year-old coming. I say, enough is enough go home. They are coming because faith has come back with

Government, which is functioning. And, the Government is addressing. It's like a doctor, exactly like a doctor. You go to the doctor whom you trust and you go to the doctor who knows. The latter has a treatment and he has a medicine. You don't go to a doctor who drives you away. You go to a doctor who knows, who deals, who listens and who addresses your issue whether a surgery or whether it's a crocin doesn't matter. So, it's absolutely like a doctor's treatment. Through the open house, we have addressed thousands and thousands of these complaints in the last two and half years.

Even a boy came. I asked as to what does he want? "Madam, I want a cricket bat. When I asked my mother, she asked me to go to LG's office," he said. So, I said: "Okay, you will get a cricket bat." We have got him a cricket bat. If the child is coming with this faith in the Governor's Office that Governor's Office can give him a cricket bat, I will not let it go. I gave him a cricket bat because there is enough to give. So friends, this is how it has changed the way.

It has not transformed. But it is our hope, it's an opportunity and it's a last resort. People now go back to their own offices and officers are attending very well. Otherwise, I would have had 500 lines and officers are attending very well. That's why, no way. Everybody is attending because everybody is in it together. And that's what we discuss in our monthly meeting. Now I will show you some other things. This is what I talked to you about. It's the governance system. These are our practices. Everyday 10 am meeting and every monthly review would take place. One on one meeting is very creative where every officer during the month is coming to talk to me.

(Dr.Bedi shows slides to explain the activities in Raj Nivas)

We bring in speakers from outside to talk on leadership. These are also leadership speakers from within, they are our own officers talking about our own leadership. The visitor hour 12-1.30 is amazing. Anybody can come to Raj Nivas to visit. I made a girl to sit on my chair on her birthday. These are the lawns of Raj Nivas, which have been converted into festival grounds. These are *swachha* workers, who clean up the city and they celebrate with us. Then we bring in different artists to Raj Nivas to paint the walls. Every week, we change the artists and provide them place to display their work. These are the lawns of Raj Nivas for cinema and this is where we cycle. We bike on most of the weekends. And we go to the canals. We go to the dirty places. Week-end morning 6 am rounds!

And these are surprise visits. (By showing a slide) See the condition of our dental chairs! These are night rounds. These are different regions. This is our Minister. We do CSR for Raj Nivas. Any officer who has done a good job is invited to Raj Nivas in the evening and here we presented him a helmet. This is our creative team which does this work that I have shown you. And these are our publications. Some creative

team does these and this is one of our publications which I am going to share with you. So duty is something which should be learnt, seen and practiced.

Was there any theory in this? Theory is knowledge. Theory should drive you to the field and keep you, not hold you back. And unless you are on the ground on your feet seeing things using all your five senses. You are creative when you use all your five senses and when your heart is at the right place, and you see, you hear, feel, touch, and you taste. All your five senses were given exactly for that. Once we have the five senses plus our heart at the right place, you are creative. You are at your creative best. And, friends, public officials in India are very very privileged. The kind of laws and powers we have, we may not have resources. We may be short of resources but how do you multiply your resources is your own creativity. And that's what it is all about. I thought I will combine it with the experience I have gone through all these years without knowing that this is called creative governance. I did not know the word. Till you asked me, and we said let me put down my experiences because I thought that is the best way to go though. I did give the title, creating leadership. You have given it a new name also today, called creative leadership. I am documenting my work at Raj Nivas. May be a year from now, you will see that book too. This time I am much better organised from all the years of experience. How to document better documentation is very very important. And that what we are doing, so friends, I believe you are all of same background similar to mine. You all are performing and transforming but, how much? Sky is the limit. You are happy with the what little you will achieve. But if you want more and more, you will go out and learn more and interact more. You will see more, you reach out more and you will make your comfort zones as your joyful zones. Thank you very much.

Mr.K.Padmanabhaiah:

Thank you Dr. Bedi, for the gusty and inspirational speech. Please give her a big hand before I hand over the mike to Dr. Manimala, for a formal thanks giving. I just wanted to make three points from what she has said.

You see, I always used to say what is administration. Administration is nothing but a sound knowledge of field conditions and application of common sense. All through my life, I believed in that. That's what Dr.Bedi says: if you don't know the field conditions, there is no administration.

Secondly, in government or in many organisations, there are layers and layers of supervisors and the real workers are the bottom and few. For example, the police department has the head constable and the SI as the cutting edge. The rest of them are all, they are supposed to provide guidance. But there are so many layers you know, it's unfortunate.

Third point, every government in India has been criticized saying it plans but does not perform. But, she made a difference in her performance also. Unless the performance is transformational, there is no point and how much transformation you can bring about depends on your creativity.

So, thank you very much. You have provided inspiration to a number of people here and now I request Dr. Manimala to present a formal vote of thanks.

Dr. S. Manimala Rao, Trustee, Prof. S. Venugopal Rao Charitable Trust:

A very good evening ladies and gentlemen. I feel very privileged and honoured to propose a vote of thanks to this august audience. Before I proceed any further, I would like to thank all my brothers who have asked me to do this job today. Following in the footsteps of my father because he never differentiated between a boy and a girl from the time I have known him. First of all, I would like to mention a few words about my father in whose memory we have gathered here and heard a wonderful oration. I really thank Dr. Bedi for giving such a beautiful thought about creative governance and to say a few words here as she mentioned about doctors. Most of the time the knowledge is there in the book, but the patient is before us. So we are always very practical and doing it every day in and day out.

But once you become an administrator as a doctor administrator you tend to forget about the patient who is the most important person and get involved into the myriad files or what you are not getting or what you get. So she has got back those kind of memories so when we were working as administrators too.

I wish to thank the Chairman Padmanabhaiah garu who has readily accepted our request to have an oration in my father Prof. Venu Gopala Rao's name and I must say he was so cordial and also very forthcoming to immediately agree and set the ball rolling for a just cause. So that speaks volumes about the persona behind the Chairman. So thank you Sir once again for being so cordial. I am highly indebted to our honourable Lieutenant. Governor of Puducherry who has taken time off from her busy schedule. You have seen she does not have Sundays, Saturdays or holidays. We have just seen it and she has come here to honour a senior police officer who has done a lot of service before her. It shows her interest in getting on with the programme even today I remember talking to my father about I think she was called 'Crane Bedi' if I am not wrong. So at that time I asked him some question saying that what do you think dad about this first woman police officer and what is she doing. She seems to be honest, courageous and also very forthcoming. She would speak her mind because these are the qualities my father had and even I have. So we get into problems with those so he said. We will have to wait and she will have to face lot of challenges and she has to cross lot of bridges and then she will be there. But it will take time for her and I am sure she will be able to do that in course of time. With conviction, courage and compassion, she has done that. Thank you Madam for your wonderful experience which you have shared today. I

thank the august audience who have come from different walks of life and are here to hear the great orator we had here and also our humble beginning a starting a bust and starting this first oration in memory of our father.

Thank you all for being here. I would indeed like to thank ASCI and their staff and all the people involved today to take care of this function and make it a grand success. Before I finish, I would like to present a commemorative volume about the life and times of Sri Venu Gopala Rao Garu, my late father, to both the Chairman and also to today's orator.

Thank you one and all again.

ASHWANI LOHANI*

Governance and Management in Government Organisations**

Thank you very much!

Mr. K. Padmanabhaiah, Hon'ble Chairman, Court of Governors of ASCI and Former Union Home Secretary. Mr. R.H. Khwaja, Director General of ASCI, with whom I share an amiable bonhomie since his days as the Secretary in the Ministry of Tourism, Government of India. Respected seniors, retired officers, faculty members, students, participants of various training programmes, ladies and gentlemen! I am honored to be considered worthy of gracing the 61st *Foundation Day* event of an illustrious institution like ASCI as a *Keynote Speaker*. I would like to specially thank Mr. Khwaja for bestowing me this honor. I am so deeply touched by your foundation day invitation and privileged to have been invited.

On the eve of ASCI's foundation day, I will deliver the keynote address to the august gathering on - '*Governance and Management in Government Organizations*'. Although I am basically a Railway Officer, I was entrusted with responsibilities of heading key public sector undertakings (PSUs) such as Air India, India Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC), Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Development Corporation, among others. In each of these organizations, the responsibilities and nature of work shouldered by me were distinctly different - obligations so unlike are rarely wrested on railway officers. The essence of the ongoing discourse is based upon my stint and experience with these significant yet diverse organizations.

I appreciate Mr. Padmanabhaiah saying that he has always been a *field worker*. It is a fact that the more you step out of your comfort zone, the more the opportunities open up. So it is important for officers to work at grassroots level to be able to understand the ground realities of the micro issues and initiate efforts to resolve them before they multiply. Therefore, I have myself been a field worker my entire career. As a railway officer I believed that simply sitting in my office (located on the second floor of Rail Bhavan) will neither reward nor energize 14 lakh employees of Indian Railway. As early as first month into my service I said that my dream and

* Chairman, Railway Board

** ASCI's Foundation Day Lecture delivered on December 6, 2017

desire is to be able to reach out to every single employee of Indian Railways and greet them individually in person.

It is a fact that the government organizations are not proportionately as vibrant, competitive and result-oriented as their private counterparts despite having competent people in their folds. But government institutions, including public enterprises, have the potential to become as successful as private enterprises.

This is possible if a deliberate attempt is made to overhaul the archaic culture in which complex processes are more important than achieving the goals. If you are able to handle the processes, half the battle is won. But that itself is so difficult that it is seldom touched.

I also strongly conceive that every organisation needs cultural reforms. Improved management of culture is central to improved delivery. Encouraging junior staff by way of recognition, forgiving them for job-related genuine mistakes, ensuring welfare of all employees, and promoting ethical conduct aggressively goes a long way in changing tangible delivery output. The reforms we cannot measure will positively affect measurable results. For instance, it was earlier compulsory for railway General Managers to be present (alongside innumerable other officers) with flower bouquets when the Chairman or the members of Railway Board arrive or depart while visiting zonal railways. In a bid to change this culture, I passed an order to end the VIP protocol within hours of joining as Chairman of Railway Board. But of course, the act of changing the work culture in an organisation as big as Indian Railways takes time. Yet certain changes happen very fast. For instance, there were reports of senior railway officials misusing the services of trackmen/gangmen and availing them as domestic help. Punitive actions have been taken in the past against such erring officials. These things have made a lot of difference though I do not disagree of stray incidents happening otherwise. But the point is that everyone in the organisation must know what the top management expects of him/her.

Equally important aspect is the process of decision making which should be made simple. Here improving the performance standard of field level employees hold the key since it is the field that has to be able to take decisions. Ultimately, it is the field which is going to deliver. But then why are the processes so complicated? This is squarely due to lack of trust. In the year 1981, I made a deal during my maiden tour as a junior scale officer with the Railways. But execution of the deal required an approval from my boss. I feel that the system has produced too many people who keep on proposing. It is very easy proposing because someone else approves it and the one who approves takes the onus of responsibility. It needs to be recognized that lack of trust in leadership is a big issue which may also adversely impact work performance of the employees.

Often I have observed serious deficiencies in the organizational structure of Indian Railways. Nepotism manifesting in the form of undeserved promotion is chiefly the reason as to why the structure over the years has been topsy-turvy. When genuine promotional pyramid ceases to exist, how will you get things done in any organization? I find it rather easier to put in a lot of hard work and try to slog the system. But the employees should have a positive attitude and be willing to work with integrity and ethical conduct.

Importantly, we should be bold enough to speak about corruption within government systems in our meetings. However, matters concerning financial/professional integrity and character are seldom discussed in meetings. Take for instance the case of Bihar, a state where the Indian Railways have a dominant presence in terms of strength of employees, spread of rail tracks, and number of trains commuting, and so on. I realized that greasing the palms of officials for getting works done such as issuing licenses, clearing the bills, etc., was commonplace. Such a mindset needs to change. Alike corruption, the management also does not generally look into the issue of sexual harassment. Perhaps it is not considered fashionable to speak about sexual harassment in workplace. But sexual harassment must be recognized as a serious issue which not only has long-lasting damaging effect on individuals but also inauspiciously impacts organisations. A workplace environment that fails to properly address this issue will be at risk of developing signs of a negative work culture - low morale, discontent employees and high levels of absenteeism. This will soon be reflected in lower productivity and profits. But probity, integrity and attitude were a must for success.

Corruption needs to be countered with an iron fist. But then how to go about tackling corruption differently? I proposed an out of box approach to deal with this menace in our organisation. I suggested conducting a conference on anti-corruption. The idea was well received by my colleagues and subordinates. However, none of us had any concept of organizing such an event. Some raised apprehensions that the participating local contractors may not step forward and name the corrupt officials in an open conference. In such an event, the objective of the conference may be counterproductive. In the first round of the conference I began by saying that everything in our organisation is hunky-dory. Subsequently, I requested all officials including the directors to leave the conference room. I latched the room from inside personally after ensuring all the officers had left. On the other hand, it was cautioned that the contractors who leave the conference room would end up being blacklisted. Thereafter I held one-on-one meeting with each of the contractors. In this process the contractors started spilling the beans on the officials who allegedly milked money. This has done wonders in containing corruption. I could observe the scale of corruption gradually going down. As such, I made it a point to conduct such conferences with one-on-one meetings every six to eight months to address all the things that do not fit into the normal flow of business - be it corruption, conduct, probity, attitude, and so on and so forth.

Lack of human resources connect further contributes to the plight of organisations. Mr. Richard Branson of Virgin Airlines once famously said that - *“employees come first before clients”*. Take care of the employees and they will take care of the clients. But how often do we see the issues concerning employees being discussed in meetings. I cannot recollect attending a single meeting where employees’ issues were discussed.

And, therefore, I longed to shake hands with all the 14 lakh railway employees and had requested my field officers to interact with the staff on the ground like the gangmen to find out what they need. Appreciation towards the fellow employee down the ladder will only increase the morale of the staff.

Importantly, delivery is critical to both public and private sectors. It needs to be understood that delivery is sacrosanct and processes to achieve the same need to adapt, and are not meant to remain cast in stone at all times. In case of the Railway Board, many of the circulars, policies and guidelines issued by various directorates, albeit with good intentions, often act as disablers, thereby going against the very intent of delivery that all of us need to aspire for. I am for the one who believes that it is not the process but the physical delivery which is supreme and of paramount importance. The focus, therefore, should be to enhance policy implementation strategies in order to ensure successful physical delivery. This will not only augment but also sustain the growth of gross domestic product of our economy. Often the organisations that lose no opportunity in deriding their own men and making them unhappy, find faults with them for lack of deliverance. This is what I have always failed to fathom. On the contrary, encouraging junior staff by way of recognition, appreciating their contribution, forgiving them for job-related genuine mistakes, ensuring welfare of all employees, and promoting ethical conduct aggressively goes a long way in changing tangible delivery output. No matter what, delivery has to be delivered.

About 30-40 years ago, it was a common perception that knowledge is the most critical attribute for success, followed by skills. But, in today’s scenario, a fiercely positive attitude holds the most important position, followed by interpersonal skills and then comes the importance of knowledge. I believe that 90 percent of the battles are won with the right kind of an attitude. We may consider one’s qualification as an indicator of his knowledge, hire them as consultants and pay them sufficiently too. But we cannot actually ensure that their outlook is suitable for his job or not just on the basis of the number of degree he holds.

The degree to which we value these principles is demonstrated in the hiring strategies in the public sector as opposed to those in the private sector. In the latter, the selection process spans about 6 to 8 months. When your boss meets you for the first time, initially he may try to know about your personal life and your family. He will attempt to analyse your integrity. You will undergo a rigorous selection

process, and then you will be handed a position of power. Sadly in the government sector, it is just a posting, often based on 15 minutes long power point presentations. Therein lays the basic difference in the way we appoint our CEOs and their equivalents in the public sector.

Risk management is another important facet. In one of my previous writings, published while I was at Air India, I had discussed the true cost of punishing mistakes in any enterprise. When the risk to fail becomes too much, people tend to take less risk, and consequently, lose productivity.

This is especially pronounced as employees get closer to retirement. I, thus, highlighted the need for encouraging people to be bold and supporting them through their mistakes.

As mentioned by Mr. Padmanabhaiah previously, the public sector can take bold decisions as well - a recent case in point is the swift deplaning of a Member of Parliament for rude behaviour. It is possible to empower PSU chiefs to run the PSU in a commercial way, in the 'private' way. I remember giving a bill of Rs. 2.5 lakhs by our chairman at ITDC to one of the ministers, who was told he had to pay before being allowed to leave! Who would have thought that a minister could be billed at 2 o'clock in the night? As long as you perform and deliver consistently, it is possible to take such decisions, and survive. One has to guarantee success, by displaying a strong will and impeccable integrity. As long as you have skeletons in your cupboard, you will always shy away from taking hard decisions.

Large scale change is imminent. I see the beginnings of such in my own organisation. While we welcome it, we are cognizant of the challenges it brings. There is comfort in the status quo. In disturbing it, we disturb this comfort, this routine. Allow me talk about the Indian Railways for a bit now. It is a giant organization, with 14 lakh employees, 9 central services and 14 PSU units across 16 zones. There are 22,000 trains a day running on 66,000 kms of track through 7,000 stations and more. But with its massive size, come massive problems as well.

Consider that in a period of around 20 years after its inception - in an era where, let alone enjoying benefits of technology, we had to deal with a poor, sparse road network - we built the golden quadrilateral - linking Thane, Delhi, Bombay and Madras. By the year 1947, over 55,000 kms of track had been laid down, connecting difficult, hard to reach hilly regions - over half of what we have today. Why is it that we were able to achieve such ambitious goals then, but presently struggling with making such leaps now? Over multiple overseas visits, I came to appreciate the high productivity of their workers who routinely seem to deliver 30 to 40 times more than what they should be able to. This translates into similar levels of increase in the purchasing power of the public. We should not conflate closing files with any measure of productivity. Delivering a strong, robust service is what matters. We

have to adopt process reforms, cultural reforms and structural reforms as our mantra. This is how we empower people, and increase productivity manifold.

Railway accidents are because of the way the systems are run in terms of sanctions given for projects and how the work is done without any spine. We kept on increasing lines and trains with increasing population without looking at capacity building. Let us analyze the case of New Delhi for instance. Trains were introduced without checking whether stations were capable of handing them.

While the population kept on increasing, the processes for creating railway infrastructure were lousy. Railway accidents are, thus, symptoms of our weakness.

Ultimately we are all servants of the government. I have to handle my men on equal terms. It is my duty to make them feel respected. Every job is equally important. At Air India, we faced multiple decision making and process issues at the time of launching new flights to Washington, San Francisco and Copenhagen. During this fight against internal corruption, I also had to oversee the addition of 100 new aircrafts to an existing order of 35 - consolidation going hand in hand with growth. In another such instance, at Indian Railways while improving things at the ground level, we had to construct dedicated freight corridors and 160 km per hr lines. This is another concurrent effort towards consolidation and growth. The beauty of such a strategy lies in its simplicity.

And on this note, I would like to conclude, reiterating that there is a dire need of bringing in procedural, structural and cultural reforms in government institutions including public sector organisations. Organisations can become successful with simplified processes, prioritizing deliverance and tapping competent human resources. In addition, for organisations to be successful requires their employees to adhere to impeccable conduct and integrity at all times. In my opinion, a simultaneous process of consolidation and growth is the path forward.

Thank you for inviting me. It has been a privilege speaking on such an auspicious occasion.

Jai Hind!

TUSHAR A. GANDHI*

India's Moral Crisis: The Gandhian Answer**

Good evening! I must be one of the few guys who gets applauded because of his lineage. To those who are disappointed in not finding another Gandhi in front of you, I am very sorry. But this is the way God made me—I can't be different. A lot of people get disappointed looking at me, the way I appear. So, I have made it a standard policy to apologize right in the beginning.

It is a great privilege to be over here and to be speaking to such an august gathering. I am a bit intimidated because I do not know whether I will live up to all the expectations. As you can see, I am very ordinary guy, with a very ordinary intellect, so please bear with me. I will try to do my best.

I was asked me to speak about morality and Gandhian ways, and the current resurgence in the Gandhian belief. It's a tough task. Nevertheless, I think it is very essential that we understand the differences between the current popular conception of Gandhi and his methods, and what really was his philosophy when he was practising these methods.

Since April 2011, when Anna Hazare sat on his first fast, a big debate has been raging in this country about the second coming of Gandhi, the Gandhian spirit and the Gandhian way. I have gone hoarse trying to explain the differences between the Gandhi then and the 'Gandhi' now. But then I realized that this is the age when even the film *Lage Raho Munnabhai* was considered to be the encyclopedia on Gandhi. So, it is no surprise that we grasp at straws wherever we can. What Gandhiji stood for and practised is very different from what is happening today. I undertook studies. I got hold of all the writings of Bapu on satyagraha, on fasting as a tool of satyagraha, and tried to acquaint myself with what his conception of this novel method was, his belief on how the fast should be used and could be used, and how he absolutely forebade the fast as a weapon to be used. After understanding Gandhiji's philosophy and practices, it seems to me that we as a society have reached a hopeless situation. We find there is virtually no ray of hope; so to us,

* Great-grandson of Mahatma Gandhi. Author, columnist, and social activist.

** Inaugural Mahatma Memorial Lecture delivered at the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Hyderabad, on September 10, 2011. The lecture was jointly organized by the Sarvodya International Trust AP Chapter, Hyderabad, and ASCI.

even a tiny spark gives huge hope. It is like a straw for a drowning person. We feel it will help us to float to safety. This is the challenge that we face. And that is why we are so quick in giving our approval to everything and to anything that happens.

I don't want to demean what Anna is doing, because it is very essential what he is doing. But, if the debate is going to become that this is an ideal Gandhian way to go about doing it, then there will be an argument to be made. I remember while I was writing my book *Let's Kill Gandhi!*, I was researching the last four years of his life. I read about everything that he did in Noakhali. I came across a very interesting incident that happened during his peace walk through the districts of Noakhali.

In a village in Noakhali in 1946, the Hindu temple had been robbed. The Temple of Kali used to have three sacred swords, which were used for sacrifice during the feast of Kali. The sacrifice was an integral part of Kali worship in Bengal. During the riots of 1946, the Muslim population of the area destroyed the temple and stole the swords; this became a flashpoint between the surviving Hindu community and the Muslims there. There was a Gandhian worker, Bibi Amutussalam. She went into that village and tried to retrieve those swords. When she failed, she went on a hunger strike, a fast. She said that she would fast unto death if the swords were not returned. As her fast progressed, one sword was returned; then when her fast entered the 21st day and her life was placed in danger, the second sword was returned. Thereafter, members of both the communities came to her and pledged that they would work towards communal harmony and living together in peace. But, she should discontinue her fast because they needed her and she had to live. She should not give up her life. But Bibi Amutussalam was adamant. She said that she would not end her fast until the third sword was returned. This was the time when Bapu was in the neighbourhood. The police officer in that area where Bibi Amutussalam was fasting went and met Bapu and pleaded with him to intervene. The police officer feared that if Bibi Amutussalam were to die, there could again be a situation which could go out of control. So he requested Bapu to speak to her and convince her to break her fast.

Bapu sent a note addressed to Bibi Amutussalam. He wrote, "Please understand why you are fasting; whether you are fasting for the token return of the swords or you are fasting to bring about harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims. And, then judge whether your fast has succeeded or not. Discontinue your fast, if you are convinced." Bibi Amutussalam said, "No, the Hindus have lost three swords. And the three swords must be returned to them—that is my pledge. I cannot go back on my pledge."

Now, what I am going to say might shock you. But Bapu told the police officer, "She is adamant. And if she wants to die, let her die. Because, if she does not understand or realize that the objective was bringing together of the hearts and not the recovery of the swords, then let us not waste our time on her. She has made up her mind to die, and let her go away." This must have been a very difficult decision for Bapu to make. Some people may even consider this decision to be a heartless one. But, his line of thinking was a balm during those troubled times. It was not essential how many of the stolen swords were recovered. What was essential was whether there

was repentance within the community that had stolen the swords and whether there was confidence in the community which was feeling threatened by the attack on them. And if that healing was happening, then it did not matter whether one sword was brought back or two swords or three swords.

Finally, Bibi Amutussalam was convinced by what Bapu was trying to explain to her. On the 26th day of her fast, when Bapu visited her, she sipped fruit juice offered by him and broke her fast. Her life was saved. This is the kind of morality that Gandhiji stood by. And, if somebody by their actions was going to corrupt that morality in any way, then Bapu was willing to take very harsh measures. He did not believe that compromises should be made because for him, the means were equally important as the aims and objectives. He believed that if the means were not right, honourable and honest, then the ends would also not be honest and would not survive.

After Partition, when in Pakistan there was genocide and chaos, Gandhiji warned the Government of Pakistan that if they did not stop this violence, the seeds being sown would create anarchy. Almost sixty-five years later, we see where that country is hurtling towards. We are not very far behind, although we had a much more pure liberation. Pakistan was born, India was liberated. But, today our moral standards are not very envious; they do not fill us with pride.

Unfortunately, with Anna's movement, we have all become convenient finger pointers. Wear a Gandhian cap saying prominently "I am Anna", stand up and abuse all politicians of being corrupt, and think we are on high moral ground. What Anna did not have the courage to do was to put up a mirror to our society and show us our own corrupt ways. How corrupt we are morally today. Corruption is a two-way swing. It does not happen because the political classes encourage it, but because society on the whole has today become addicted to corruption. When a traffic cop catches us, we do not want a *challan*. We immediately put a price tag on his honesty and buy him off. While traveling by train, if we are at fault, we immediately put a price tag on the ticket checker and buy him off. If we can put price tags on those officials, then by the law of economic progression, when it reaches up to the Prime Minister level, the figures that we hear of today are very believable. But, we do not see our own roles in the corruption—the cogs that we have become in the machinery of corruption. We do not see our own fault in this.

I had an issue with Anna, and I said him, "You say that the poor *janata* does corruption because it is their *majboori*. They have no other option. So, they have to indulge in corruption. How can one person's no option be somebody else's greed? It is greed on both sides which causes us to be corrupt, which causes us to go down the road of corruption." And this is where the morality of Bapu and the convenient morality that we have acquired today differ. There is much great difference between the two.

Unfortunately, I was not born when Bapu was alive. So, I did not have first-hand knowledge of Bapu. But, I grew up with stories that my father, my grandmother and my aunt told me because they were staying with Bapu in the ashrams. I would

like to share these stories with the audience because of the meaning that they have imparted to my life. I feel that if I share them with as many people as possible, they will also be enriched by these stories.

This particular story that I am about to narrate has great implications for what is happening in our society today. My grandparents lived in South Africa at the Phoenix Ashram near Durban. My grandfather was editing the publication started by Bapu called *Indian Opinion*. He also looked after the Phoenix Ashram till his death. The whole family was brought up over there, including my father and two aunts. In those days, travel was not so easy. So, they would come to India once in two-three years because the journey had to be undertaken by ship. When they came to India, they would stay with Bapu and Ba on their ashrams wherever they were, for a year or six months, and then go back.

On one of those trips, my father Arun had got a box camera as a present. So, he became an ardent photographer. One day at the ashram, he felt that he needed to take a photograph of his grandfather. So, he said to Bapu, "I want your photograph." Now, Bapu charged for his photograph and for his autograph. I wish he had left that money to us. Unfortunately, he didn't. The money was collected and given to the Harijan Fund. And the corpus that was created in his time still helps the Harijan Sevak Fund to run their programmes. My father was put in charge of the collection. Every evening when people wanted Bapu's autograph, he would go round collecting the money and the books and bring them to Bapu. He would sign his name and give the books back. So Bapu said to Arun, "You know the rules. You pay my fees, and you get a photograph." My father said, "No, I am your grandson. I have the right to take your photograph, and I don't have to pay you for that." Bapu said, "You may be my grandson, but the rule is a rule." So, there was a contest between grandfather and grandson.

That was the time when everybody realized that that Independence was eminent. So at Wardha, there was a lot of coming and going of senior Congress leaders. One afternoon, when almost the entire AICC Working Committee was gathered in Wardha, my father thought that it was an appropriate time to take a picture of Bapu. So he snapped a picture of him. Everybody used to claim that Bapu had his eyes everywhere. That he was aware of everything that was happening no matter how busy he was. The fact was that he had a lot of spies in the ashram who would report things to him. So, it got reported to him that Arun had taken his picture. In the evening when my father gave him an account for the autographs and photographs, Bapu said, "There was five rupees less in the account." So, my father said, "No, I have given you everything that I have collected." But Bapu said, "What about the photograph you took of me." My father said, "Yes, I took your photograph, but I am not paying you. I am your grandson." Bapu confiscated his camera. He took the camera, which was then locked up. Three months later, my grandparents arrived at Wardha and went directly to Bapu to seek his blessings. Before blessing my grandfather, Bapu told him, "Arun took my photographs and did not pay the fees. So, please first go and pay the fees, and then come to me." My grandfather paid Rs. 5, and then my father was called and the camera was returned. My father was very disappointed. He felt very hurt. He thought that this was denying him his right

over his grandfather. Bapu saw that his grandson was hurt. So he took him in his lap and said, “Arun, you are my favourite grandchild. But, I have made this law. And if I break this law for my grandson, then I don’t have any moral authority to enforce it on anybody else.”

Today, in this country, there are laws and then there are people who are above those laws. And, we take it for granted that because they are powerful and rich, they are above the law. This is what causes the moral degradation of society. Where we convince ourselves that there is one set of laws for the common people and no laws for the rich and the powerful. When that happens, the law starts deteriorating; it does not have the same kind of importance and sanctity that it ought to. This is where morality comes into the play. That if there is a law of the land, then it must be applicable to everyone and the effect must be the same for everyone.

I will give you an example of how it isn’t. There are thousands of undertrials locked up in jails across the country. Some of them whose trials are over and have been acquitted are still locked up because they cannot afford a lawyer who can go to the court and get their release orders back to the prisons. So, they remain locked up in prisons. Then, we have somebody like Sanjay Dutt, who is convicted of a very serious crime. But he has got some kind of a magical stay order from the Supreme Court, which allows him to be a free man, which allows him to make millions of rupees, which allows him to go abroad whenever he wishes—just because he has a very expensive lawyer who can cite some rules and get the Supreme Court to release his passport. I am not sitting on judgment on Sanjay Dutt. What I want to bring to your notice is: How then do you expect the people of this country to believe in the rule of law? When a person who is acquitted is still locked up in jail just because he can’t afford to get the acquittal order from the courts to the jail he is locked up in. When he sees the photographs of Sanjay Dutt living his life and enjoying it, while he is still convicted.

This is what we need to seriously think about; this is where true corruption has come in. Bribe taking and bribe giving are attractive themes to fight against. But the true rot is in the system, which we ignore. We choose not to see, but it corrupts our society thoroughly. This is what we must be worried about. And this is what nobody wants to address. Because you cannot take on the law, you cannot take on the judiciary—you will be charged with contempt of court.

I will give you another example. Winston Churchill contemptuously referred to Bapu as a half-naked fakir. He had even drawn up plans to polish him. Yet, every time Bapu addressed him as “My Dear Friend, Mr. Churchill.” He even addressed Hitler as “My Dear Friend.” Over here, we see that Manish Tiwari will call Anna corrupt from head to foot, and Anna will retaliate by calling him a mischief-maker in public. So verbal duel is interspersed with the political debate. I will not take the punch; if you punch me, I will punch you back.

You might think that I am criticizing Anna. I am not personally criticizing him. I am criticizing the debate which is equating the Gandhian method with the methods that are practised today, which is not fair. It is not fair on Anna, and it is not fair on

Bapu. What Anna is doing is his own crusade, it is his own method; it is his own way of doing things. And he is entitled to do them that way. We must not bind him to the Gandhian ideology. In the same way, the Gandhian ideology is not that loose that it can be implanted on anybody or everybody.

Gandhigiri was also Gandhian, very much Gandhian. But that was one aspect of the Gandhi portrayed in that film, of doing things because Munna, the hero, was confused. There is a dialogue in *Lage Raho Munnabhai*, where he says, “*Usne mere ko ek gall pe mara, to Bapu ne bolla dosare gal pe marro. Doosara pe marra, par Bapu ne nahi bolla kya karne ka. To meine uskoo samnei marra.*” [He hit me on one cheek. Bapu had told me to turn the other cheek. He then hit me on the other cheek, but Bapu had not told me what to do next. So I hit him back.] That is the limitation of his understanding of Bapu. Turning the other cheek was never to be taken literally. Bapu never said you should stand docile and allow your opponent to use your face as a punching bag.

I will give you an example of how the turning of the cheek defeated the British. This is an eye-witness account of the brutal ways adopted by the police, which was submitted to the Congress after the Namak Satyagraha. This is a documented fact, which I came across while I was commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Dandi March.

After Bapu picked up salt on 6 April 1930 at Dandi, he appealed to the nation to break the salt law wherever possible. The Congress Committee in Bombay decided that they would organize a salt satyagraha. There was a government salt depot in the central suburb of Wadala. The Congress Committee informed the police and the Governor of Bombay that on a particular day at a particular time, they would be raiding the Wadala Salt Works in defiance of the salt law. By then, the Viceroy had given orders that the salt satyagraha had to be crushed. He had given a *carte blanche* to the police to use all methods possible to prevent the breach of the salt monopoly.

When the Congress volunteers gathered at the salt works in Wadala, they found a very heavily armed cordon of policemen guarding the depot. A senior English official leading the policemen issued a warning to the Congressmen, saying, “Disperse because you have orders not to congregate over here. And if anybody tries to enter the salt works, they will be severely dealt with.”

I am sure, many of you must have seen the film *Gandhi*. You might recall those ranks of satyagrahis walking up to the gate. In the Bombay satyagraha, a 14-15 year-old boy, who wrote down the eyewitness account, has given a very chilling narrative of what he saw:

I was standing about 10 feet away from a middle-aged Sikh gentleman who was in the front ranks of satyagrahis. He was a frail person, but like all satyagrahis with steely resolve. When the order was given to commence the satyagraha, they started marching towards the gate. The police shouted for them to stop. When they reached the line where they were suppose to stop, initially the police

pushed them aside. After stumbling a couple steps, they regained their balance and defied the police. This Sikh gentleman was confronted by a junior White police officer. And when the Sikh gentleman did not stop and took two steps across the line, the policeman brought down his baton hard. The Sikh gentleman suffered a crack across his shoulder, which brought him to his knees. But a few seconds later, he pushed himself up again and took a step further. This time the blow was particularly vicious because it landed on his head, his turban flew off and the gentleman collapsed. He struggled to get up; he managed to get up again. He took two more steps; this time it was a brutal attack because the baton landed on his head, and we all heard the bone being crunched. The Sikh gentleman collapsed like a sack of flour, and we thought he was dead. A few minutes later, he started stirring; after a couple of failed attempts to get up, he managed to stagger onto his feet. He took two more staggering steps towards the gate. The British officer was standing with his hands hanging by his sides with his mouth wide open, looking at this man in disbelief. The senior officer shouted at him and said, 'Stop that man.' The junior officer looked back at the officer in despair and said, 'I have hit this man with all the strength I had, and he does not seem to be afraid. I don't know from where he gets the courage to get up and defy me. I don't have any more strength to hit him.'

This is what Bapu meant when he said turn the other cheek. I don't think we have the courage to turn the other cheek in this way. This was the morality of that time, in contrast to what I call the two-minutes noodles generation of today. That is where we lag, and that is where we stop. That is where we cannot emulate or understand the Gandhian spirit. We are the same people. We face similar kind of adversities; yet, we do not have the courage to stand up to that kind of barbarity. We have not lived or witnessed that age. So, many of us feel that we got our Independence very easily. We won our Independence because morality in those times was at its highest, was inviolate; the means were more important than the ends.

That is where during the first satyagraha in 1922, when the violence at Chauri Chaura took place, Bapuji had the courage to withdraw the agitation. The Congress was totally against it. Many people say that if he had not withdrawn the satyagraha at that time, we might have become independent much earlier. But Bapu did not want that kind of victory. And it shows us that victory was not his aim; his aim was much higher than that. His aim was a moral victory, not a victory on the battlefield. That is why when we became independent, there was no victor; nor was there a vanquished. The British left as friends. And we, although we suffered so much, did not bear any grudges against them. We parted as friends. When the last troop of soldiers, the Somerset Light Infantry, left Bombay, people gathered around the Gateway of India and handed the troops roses, flowers, garlands, sweets and presents. The people wept as they sent them off. The troops were the final symbol of imperial military might; they had conquered us. And yet we were sending them

off as our own friends and brothers. This took a very high degree of moral strength to do so.

I don't think we have that kind of capability today. I have doubts whether we can reach those levels. That is where it becomes convenient to point fingers, rather than hold up a mirror to our face and find the faults within us. Bapu said, "If you want to change the world, change society, first change yourself." That is why even if the Jan Lokpal comes through, it will not succeed. If punishment was the cure for crime, then in the lands where the Sharia is practised, there should not be any crime because instant and very strong justice is meted out. And yet crime happens over there. I don't believe that just because there is a law and a system of punishment, we can stop corruption. Corruption will stop when we all decide not to give and not to take bribes.

I see there are a few school children in the audience, so I am going to narrate another story about Bapu and my father at Sevagram. Though I am aiming it at the children, the story is for everyone. When children used to visit the ashram, their education was taken care of by Bapu. In Bapu's school, he used to collect all the letters that people wrote to him. We all had the habit of writing on one side of the paper. After reading and answering the letters that he had received, Bapu would collect all the papers, stitch them up and distribute them as notebooks to the children to write on the blank side. He would also give them pencils to do their homework. One day, my father Arun found that he had a pencil that was just about an inch long. He thought it was too short a pencil, uncomfortable to hold and write. He needed a long new one to write with. So, he said to Bapu, "I want a new pencil." Bapu said, "Show me the one that you are using." He showed the pencil, and Bapu said, "You could write with it for at least two more days. Use it for two days, and then I will give you a new pencil."

My father was very disappointed and thought what a miser I have for a grandfather. So he threw the pencil away. He thought if I don't have a pencil, Bapu will have to give me a new pencil. That evening when Bapu was checking all the children's homework, my father's notebook was blank. So Bapu asked him, "What happened? Why haven't you done your lessons?" My father said, "I don't have a pencil." Bapu said, "You had one which you could have written with for two days. What happened to that?" Initially, my father tried to bluff. But then he had to give up. He said, "I threw it away!" Bapu said, "You have lived in the ashram, you have not gone out anywhere. You must have thrown the pencil in the ashram. So, go and look for it." After half-heartedly searching for the pencil, my father went back to Bapu and said, "I cannot find the pencil." Bapu looked at his watch and said, "I have got one hour's free time when I rest. But today I will give up the rest for you, and both of us will search for the pencil." When Bapu searched for the pencil, he of course found it. He gave the pencil back to my father and said, "Write with it right in front of me. I want to see how you cannot write with it."

Bapu again observed that my father was very disappointed. So after the lessons were over, he made my father sit next to him and asked him, "Can you tell me what a pencil is made of?" The answer of course is lead and wood. Lead comes from

mines, and wood comes from trees. Both are natural resources. For both, we have to use what Nature provides to us. So, when we waste pencils, we waste our natural resources. Bapu said to my father, "If all the children in the world started throwing away small pencils, then tell me how many forests will have to be cut just to provide for these? How many mines will be dug for their produce to be wasted?"

Now think of it, you children in the audience must be having environment studies in your school. We are all concerned about ecology. We are all concerned about our forests being cut and the mines degrading the earth, concerned about the plunder of natural resources. We tend to blame others for all the loot and the damage to the ecology and our environment. But, when we tear off pages from the notebook, do we think of how many trees were destroyed? When we leave the television or the lights on and walk out of the room, do we realize how much energy is being wasted, and how many resources were used to generate that electricity?

This is the morality of life. We must think of what impact our actions have, of how we must live. As an exercise, if we all were to make an audit of everything that we wasted in one month, I am sure it will be a big surprise for us. Then we will realize why there is hunger in this world. Why people do not get enough education in this world. Why when we have 24 hours of light and electricity in our homes, there are villages in this country that do not get even one day's electricity in a whole month! It is because we waste what we have. We do not value what we are given; we take it for granted. We don't like the food; we will waste what our mothers have cooked for us. At that time we will not think of the starving children in many districts of our country. We will not think that for them, even a stale roti looks like a Macdonald's burger. Because we do not like the food mum has cooked and we know that mum will cook something else for us, we throw a tantrum. And, our mum will also not make it compulsory for us to eat what she has cooked. We are not going to die or fall ill because we eat what we don't like for one day.

This is also a lesson in morality. We must understand that we are the cause; the root cause is us. We pride ourselves in being a culture that gave the zero numeral to the world and explained its importance. Yet when it comes to vices, we only point fingers and do not want to look within ourselves to spot our own failures and shortcomings. We must think of all these things if we are to prosper, if we are to become a country of consequence in the world. We will not become a nation to reckon with, a major player on the world stage because we have an overall economic growth of 9 per cent plus or whatever the figures that the babus throw at us. It will happen when as a nation, we consider our personal morality to be more sacrosanct and important than anything else. We are the DNA of this nation. We must look at ourselves and then start thinking of the change that we can bring about. Because if we change, slowly and steadily, society will also change.

I thank Sarvodya International Trust AP Chapter for giving me this opportunity. I hope what I said made sense, and it was worth listening to my lecture.

K.Padmanabhaiah*

Redesigning Administration to Propel India into World League**

Mr.SM Datta (Chairman, Court of Governors, ASCI), Dr.SK Rao (Director-General, ASCI), and distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I deem it a privilege to deliver the Foundation Day Lecture of ASCI. This institution played a historic and important role in the development of the country. ASCI, which was established in 1956, five years before the first IIMs had come up at Ahmedabad and Calcutta, was the place of pilgrimage for senior managers from the government and private sector for many years. As new management schools came up, the importance of ASCI declined to some extent. But I think ASCI can once again play a great role in reshaping Indian administration, as the country is poised to enter into the world league.

Indian economy grew at a trend rate of 8.6% per annum during the seven-year period of 2003-04 to 2010-11. There has been a steep decline from 2011-12 onwards, a period when massive scams surfaced. 2012-13 and 2013-14 were described as a period of policy paralysis. We need not go into the reasons for the growth and decline. There are also economists who believe that India's economy tends to rise and fall with the global economy, and it is nothing to do with the party in power.

This year's election, which brought in a party with a clear majority in the Lok Sabha, with a PM who is honest, clear headed, focussed, development-oriented and modern in outlook, roused the expectations and aspirations of all and particularly the youth. Government has already come up with some inspiring schemes like, Make in India, Job-oriented growth, Digital India, Smart cities, Bullet trains, *Jan Dhan Yojana*, *Swachh Bharat*, Cleaning up of Ganga, Linking up of rivers, and many more.

The international economic scene also seems to favour India as a destination for investments. Duetsche Bank estimated that savings glut in Europe and China and other emerging economies would lead to excess funds of \$3 trillion in the next five

* Former Union Home Secretary, Govt of India and Member, Court of Governors (CoG), ASCI. Currently Chiarman, CoG, ASCI

** ASCI Foundation Day Lecture delivered on December 4, 2014 in ASCI, Bella Vista, Hyderabad

years which can come to India if business confidence is built. Oil price has touched a low for many years. Balance of payments position is comfortable. Inflation is at a low level. Market sentiment is very positive. There is no doubt that there is a potential for growth. India has been the 10th largest economy in the world for the last four years, and there are forecasts that it would be the third largest economy after China and USA by 2028.

Government has made some bold decisions like the coal ordinance permitting in a limited way entry of private sector into that domain, FDI in defense, and in construction industry, some labour reforms etc. But as one observer has put it: "There is a longing for a revolution, but there is yet no clear idea of where to go next and how. The new government still has to design the process, let alone implement it."

There are five issues which the government has to address:

- a) Improve working of public sector enterprises in critical areas like steel, coal, mining, power, railways, ports.
- b) Improve social sector, namely education, skill development, health.
- c) Build effective and efficient partnerships with private sector; And, build business confidence of local and foreign investors.
- d) Improve provision of government services to the citizens.
- e) Improve physical infrastructure.

Encompassing all these, it must make civil service efficient and accountable. All these must lead to improving business confidence and citizen confidence.

Let us see what is the ground reality in all these areas:

i) As regards Public Sector Enterprises, a recent report of Planning Commission says that 738 central projects on which an amount of Rs.5.6 lakh crore has already been spent, are stalled. They require another Rs.5.7 lakh crore for completion. Of these, 83% are held up with delays ranging from 3 months to 12 years. The main reasons for the delay are fund constraints, contractual disputes, agitations, and import of machinery, equipment procurement, and changes in designs.

There are chronic delays in completion of irrigation projects. Modernization of Indian steel plants suffers from similar delays and cost escalations. Decision making is very slow. For example, the Navi Mumbai airport was cleared in principle by the Union cabinet in 2007. It got environmental clearance only in 2010. But till now there is no further progress. I have been hearing about Trans harbor bridge near Mumbai for the last 20 years. Tenders were called a few times but no further action seems to have taken place. Our Public sector banks are performing poorly in comparison with the private banks operating here.

The example of SEZs, especially in Andhra Pradesh, is an example of grabbing of valuable land for real-estate purposes under the garb of developing exports. Out of 78 SEZs sanctioned in AP, only 36 are operational. Extraordinary projections were made regarding exports, foreign exchange and employment to be generated but the actual achievements till date are 6%, 21% and 6.5% respectively.

The massive over-runs in cost and time, failure in improving productivity, and in setting up of washeries in the coal sector, dismal failure in meeting targets in setting up new power plants and in power generation, failure in conservation of petroleum products, repeated failures in rural water supply schemes, and in providing low cost housing are other failures of the public sector.

The only few areas of success are in IT, telecom and space.

ii) As regards social sector, India ranks at a low 136 out of 187 countries on Human Development Index. Our neighbor Sri Lanka is at rank 73. Educational standards in our schools, government as well as in most private schools, are abysmally low in international comparisons.

iii) When it comes to Public-Private Partnership (PPP) projects, the Highway sector has been touted as the best example. It was the largest PPP road building program in the world. 239 projects involving 21746 km were awarded. Only 21% of the length (4541 Km) was completed. One newspaper described the subject as “Highway to Nowhere”. Construction work is yet to start on projects involving 24% of the road length. This dismal failure is due to over optimistic bids, government not meeting its obligation of land acquisition etc. Government’s calculations were that PPP projects would be cheaper than government works. But this did not turn out to be correct. In this background, the new Minister’s statement that he would achieve a target of 30 km per day seems highly unrealistic, specially with the new and complex Land Acquisition Act in place. Government announced the concept of PPPP(4P) projects, the last P standing for people, whose co-operation would be sought for land acquisition.

iv) As regards investor confidence, in various global indices like Ease of Doing Business, Corruption Perception Index, Globalization Index, Global Competitiveness Index, Misery Index (unemployment and inflation rate), Index for Public Trust in Politicians etc, India ranks very low. In some of these indices, India ranks lower than other SAARC countries. In the Ease of Doing Business index of the World Bank which is based on 10 sub indices, India has been 132 to 134 ranks (out of 189 countries) for the last 6 years. In the latest revision, it has gone down further to Rank 146. In the Corruption Perception Index prepared by the Transparency International, India ranks at 94 out of 177 countries. It has now improved to 85th rank. Still we have a long way to go to improve business confidence.

On the positive side, India ranks very high, on IT industry Competitiveness Index, E-readiness Index, Network Readiness Index, and Space Competitiveness Index.

v) As regards provision of Government services to the citizens, there exists the menace of harassment and bribes. This malady is omnipresent, except in few States where e-services are provided. Even in these states, last mile linkage is yet to be improved, as the functioning of Common Service Centres is not satisfactory in some States. Though there are Rights-based legislations (for food, work, education, and for health in a few States), there are lot of leakages; but things are improving with *Aadhar* cards, DBT scheme, and e-services. Citizens Charter and Grievance Redressal Bill, and the Electronic Delivery of Services Bill 2011 have been pending since 2011. It is necessary to pass these Bills at the earliest. Similarly, a Bill on “Corrupt Public servants (forfeiture of Property)” and a Bill on “Electronic delivery of Services,” if introduced, would improve governance.

The question I want to address is, can the Government deliver on the promises? The question arises because of my past experience of many decades with administration. When a new Chief Minister talks of single window clearance, or that all clearances would be given in 15 days or so, I get a feeling of *déjà vu*, as these are the type of statements I have been hearing ever since I joined service. Some of the iconic projects being announced now, were also announced by governments in the past, which had massive electoral mandates, but have not progressed in any substantial way.

For instance, take the Ganga project. A Ganga Action Plan-I was launched during 1986-2000 (14 years). Nothing much happened. Then Ganga Action Plan-II was launched in 2001 with an outlay of Rs.2285 crore. In 2009, a separate organization “National River Ganga Basin Authority” was created. In 2011, a major project, “Mission Clean Ganga” was launched with the World bank Aid of \$ 1 Billion. Incidentally, ASCI is also involved with this, having signed an MOU with the Authority in May 2014. There are no authentic studies to find out the outcome of all these projects related to cleansing of the Ganges. Now the Government calls the scheme “*Namami Gange*”. There is no doubt that cleaning Ganga is a massive and complex project but the main problem is lack of proper design of the project, lack of authority, lack of concerted action, and lack of accountability.

Linking up of rivers is an old concept and Dr.K.L.Rao, the renowned Engineer and the then Minister for Irrigation, made such a proposal in mid 60s. In 2003, Shri Vajpayee stated: “The first mission of my Government is on networking of rivers.” What seems possible is, interlinking of some intra-state minor rivers. The rest of the project may not be feasible in the near future. Incidentally, the performance of Ministry of Water resources has been dismal. There are massive delays in completion of projects, and a huge gap between the irrigation potential created

and irrigation potential used. The main issue is, lack of co-ordination between the Irrigation and Agriculture departments of the State governments. *Jala yagnam* of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh is a classic example of massive corruption in the irrigation sector. None of the projects made any progress.

The Union Government has now launched an eminently desirable scheme *Swatchh Bharat*. A scheme of similar nature, called Total Sanitation Campaign(TSC), was launched in 1999 with an aim of eradicating open defecation by 2010, which was later revised to 2017. The name was changed in 2003 to “*Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan*”, and a sub scheme called “*Nirmal Gram Puraskar*” was introduced. Film star, Vidya Balan was named campaigning ambassador. However, a review in 2011 revealed that only 11.6% of Gram Panchayats, 3% of the blocks, and 2% of Zilla Parishads in the country got the *Nirmal Gram Puraskars*. This project shows that government must realize that it is possible to change cultural norms only by community-led programs and that requires inspiring leadership. One hopes that the new program would succeed due to leadership of the new PM.

Compared to the past, decision-making and governance have become much more difficult and complex, due to more openness (thanks to the RTI Act, e-governance, media, and PILs), environmental and human rights issues, assertiveness of States on issues of federalism, desire of the Civil society and NGOs to be part of the decision-making process, activism of higher judiciary, technical nature of some of the ministries, pressures arising out of globalization, and vigilance aspects.

Let me consider the case of civil servants, the people charged with the responsibility of implementing government policies. Are our civil servants incompetent and lazy shirkers? Or are they cursed and do not care about the development of the country? The widely accepted assessment is that the members of the higher civil service in any branch are very intelligent and capable people with good managerial capability and hard working even in the most trying circumstances. Till recently they had not focussed on acquiring domain knowledge, but in the last one decade they have made serious efforts at acquiring domain knowledge through various training programs and through specialized education. Government also has been posting officers throughout their career in broad fields of administration such as agriculture, industries, trade & commerce, banking, insurance, capital markets, infrastructure, social infrastructure, scientific departments, defence, internal security, vigilance, etc. This trend needs to be strengthened. One more comment about Indian civil servants is that they are more powerful than their counterparts in many other parts of the world.

Then why do most knowledgeable observers think that Indian bureaucracy is negative? To quote a report of Hongkong-based Political and Risk Consultancy Inc, “Dealing with India’s bureaucracy can be one of the most frustrating experiences

for any Indian, let alone a foreign investor”. The same report further says: “Indian bureaucracy is rated the worst in Asia.”

All management experts agree that around 80% of the performance of any organization depends on the quality of the system used. The problems one faces while dealing with the government are rooted in these systems, the rules, policies and procedures. India is said to be the most over-regulated countries in the world.

But what is the status of our bureaucracy (in which I include the entire government machinery) and other institutions of our polity? There has been no radical overhauling or restructuring of any of these ever since independence. On the other hand, the rules and procedures have become more cumbersome, complex and a hindrance to a result-oriented approach. To begin with, the rules and procedures were not this complex. Nobody set out to make them that way. But over the period of decades, they have been calcified by years of CYA steps introduced to eliminate “waste, fraud and abuse” and in an effort to plug every imagined loophole. With the result various components of polity have become slow, inefficient, and unresponsive and in one word dysfunctional. All these are creaking and breaking down everywhere. That is why there is such a demand for reforms in every field, administrative reforms, police reforms, judicial reforms, financial sector reforms, tax administration reforms, public sector reforms, educational reforms, electoral reforms, health care reforms, reforms in vigilance set-up etc. A former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has recently stated that the only institution which has improved its working in the last 67 years is the Election Commission. In every other institution, there is only deterioration.

Let me name a few important deficiencies of the system and what needs to be done

- a) **Responsibility not properly fixed:** There is no clear enunciation of responsibility. What each department has is a list of subjects allocated to it. There is also a list of subjects assigned to each Joint Secretary, who is in charge of a division within the department. There is not even a focussed mention of the objectives to be achieved.
- b) **Ex ante setting up of targets and inter-se priorities.**
- c) **Setting up of national targets** (as distinct from departmental targets), like power generation, improvement of various health parameters, achieving certain educational standards, tourism targets, etc. Achievement of these national targets would fall on a number of ministries. For instance, tourism promotion would involve a co-ordinated action by department of Tourism, Civil Aviation, Railways, Culture, Roadways, Urban Development,

Metropolitan and Municipal Administrations, Forests and Environment etc. Joint targets must be assigned to all these departments, and performance appraisal of each officer must depend on the achievement of national target. Tourism may look like a simple matter, but look at the co-ordination that is required to achieve success.

- d) **Accountability:** This is the greatest causality in Government. For instance, there is a gap between the targets for power generation, and the actual power generation. These targets have not been achieved year after year. Who is accountable for this under-achievement? Government's performance report would only say that Ministry of Power could not achieve the targets. Is this a satisfactory answer? Individuals make up the Ministry. You have to reward or punish them. You can not punish a Ministry.

Further, even if accountability is enforced in a Ministry, it is inward and upward in the government. This is not sufficient. We must enhance accountability outward to society and citizens, through such mechanisms as social audits, third party audits, and public hearings about performance of important ministries.

We should also introduce concepts like lateral accountability (for example, what do other civil servants or say Secretaries think about the performance of a particular Secretary viz. some sort of a peer review), and epistemic accountability (for example, what do technology professors around the world think about professors of IITs?)

- e) **A complete process re-engineering** to be done, followed by introduction of e-governance. This is to simplify and to eliminate unnecessary procedures. The Secretary concerned must be given this responsibility. He may appoint outside experts, but mandate to simplify should be clear.
- f) **A complete re-writing and simplification of all civil service manuals:** For all civil services-including all cadres, and at the Centre, State and All India Services- office manuals, departmental enquiry manuals and vigilance manuals should be rewritten. This should preferably be done before the 7th Pay Commission submits its report. It is good to know that some of the States have re-written their police manuals.
- g) **Reasonable tenures to officers:** Government of India rather strictly enforces the 5-year tenure rule to Joint Secretary level officers, though this got diluted to some extent in recent years . The real problem lies at the level of Secretary to government. The ideal solution would be to make tenure co-terminus with that of the elected government. However this would not

be possible, as an officer would normally have about two years service left by the time he becomes a Secretary. Hence, a Secretary should be continued on a post for two years irrespective of his date of superannuation. This way he/she can be held accountable for his/her work.

- h) **Rewarding performance:** For those who exceed the targets, there are various ways of rewarding other than giving performance-linked pay. Conferring prestigious civil service awards, Padma awards, and involving them post-retirement on prestigious bodies rendering policy advice to government, are some to mention.
- i) **Weeding out/retiring the bottom** (in performance) 25%, every year, and at the age of 50 and 55 years.
- j) **Reduction of supporting jobs:** There are a large number of supporting jobs like clerks/assistants, and peons. They need to be reduced, or re-trained (specially at the State level) to be teachers (in case of clerks), and policemen(in case of peons).
- k) **Budget reforms:** One year is too short for completion of major projects and programs in the government. Expenditure budgets should be fixed for 2 years, with an indicative budget for the 3rd year. Once a budget provision is available, no further approvals should be necessary from Finance Ministry or Planning Commission like body, for incurring expenditure.
- l) Lateral entry into government upto 25% at the level of Joint Secretary and above, especially for technocrats and domain experts.
- m) **File notings and decision-making** should not involve scrutiny at more than 3 levels (2 levels below the decision maker).This would avoid each file being processed from the noting assistant level.
- n) **Treat line jobs on par with staff jobs:** There is a great prestige attached to policy making jobs, compared to line jobs like heads of the departments etc. This bias in favour of secretariat jobs, vis-a vis field jobs should be removed.
- o) Similarly, the focus of cabinet meetings, which are held once a week, is on taking policy decisions. One cabinet meeting in a month should be exclusively devoted to a detailed review of implementation of previous decisions taken.
- p) **Political interference:** Prime Minister has assured Secretaries to government that there would be no undue political interference and also gave instructions that minister's directives should be given in writing. There are already such instructions and it is good that the PM reiterated the same.

There is an interesting study made to find out why India is good at organizing mammoth events like elections, census operations, *kumbh mela*, UID cards, and also space programs. The study showed that the factors are (i) no political interference, (2) focused objectives and (3) No or less discretion.

- q) **Rule-bound administration and purposeful administration and use of discretion:** I think that rule-driven administration is good in a regulatory environment, like giving state resources like mining permits, contracts etc, and a purpose-driven administration with a degree of discretion suits social sector, like education, health etc. It is necessary to make this distinction.

Another study focused on why IITs are some of the best institutions in the world. The finding is that the IIT bureaucracy (professors running the departments) are given autonomy and discretion in selecting the candidates, in devising the syllabus and in running their departments. The general feeling, however, is that discretion should be reduced to the minimum, since bureaucrats will always abuse their power. Then how does one explain the outstanding performance of IIT professor bureaucrats, who could have liberally misused their discretion. The study attributed the success, to the fact that IIT bureaucrats felt that they had a lateral accountability to colleague professors in the IIT, and an epistemic accountability (accountability across a profession and across countries).

- r) **Role of State Governments:** No amount of reform at the centre alone would result in better governance unless reforms are carried out at the level of state governments. The locus of action for a project/program, whether central, state or private, is at the State level, involving decisions on allotment and registration of land, water, power, labour, local taxes, municipal permissions, gram sabha permissions, roads including access roads, and law & order maintenance. The reforms and de-regulation have not made any impact on most of the State governments. It is now easy for an industrialist to set up a big plant, but a farmer cannot set up a brick kiln or excavate sand for repair of his house without bribing several petty officials.

Huge amounts of central funds flow to the states. Every year roughly Rs.6.5 lakh crore is transferred to states. This does not include subsidies like food, fertilizers, and kerosene/LPG. The transfer of funds should be linked to performance of the State government on certain agreed social and other indicators. Of course, the release of funds should also relate to the progress of the projects/schemes for which funds are being released. Today it is a case of “triumph of expenditure without responsibility” as an observer put it. Typical examples are misuse of funds for rural water supply and funds for completion of irrigation projects under construction.

Transfer of officers at the State level follows no rules or principles. There are no tenure rules. Anybody can be transferred anytime anywhere. It is essential that State secretaries also should have a tenure of 2-years. Civil service boards should be constituted in the States, to decide on the postings of Class I officers. All class II officers' postings should be done by Heads of the Departments. Some CMs may welcome these suggestions, since they can then escape pressures from MLAs for transfers etc. In some States transfers attain the status of an industry, "transfer industry".

Conclusion:

There are a whole set of other issues like need for balanced regional development (by 2025, $\frac{3}{4}$ of India's growth may come from 49 clusters in 183 districts). Special attention is paid to develop the areas deprived of development due to naxalism and insurgency. There is an urgent need to keep income disparities within limits, and avoid excessive zeal for new legislation; establish smooth federal relations, prevent fragmentation of administration by creating too many Ministries, etc.

But it is heartening to hear the Prime Minister saying that it is the PM and CMs who constitute the government, indicating a commitment to smooth federal relations. Similarly, by establishing the website mygov, he has started a serious exercise in participatory governance, think-tanks and research institutions like ASCI can play a vital role in advising government on better governance.

I thank ASCI for giving me this opportunity and I thank you for your attention.

Ravi Bhoothalingam*

The Silk Road as a Global Brand**

Ladies and gentlemen, good evening to all of you. At the outset, may I thank Mr. Susim Datta, Chairman of the Court of Governors of the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), and its Director-General Mr. Ravi Kant, for so kindly inviting me to deliver this lecture. It is always a pleasure to return to the gracious precincts of ASCI and to the city of Hyderabad with both of whom I have a long association. I treasure these occasions to renew my friendships and to be re-invigorated by Hyderabad and its people.

Hyderabad is a particularly appropriate place to speak about the Silk Road. Situated at the geographic centre of India and well-connected with all its parts, Hyderabad has a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic present and past. This was indeed the record of many Silk Road towns. And what better location than ASCI—a renowned centre of management and administrative science—to discuss the place of global brands? So, this evening, I shall start with some of the history of the Silk Road, and then why I regard it as a global brand. Thereafter, we shall look at contemporary reality by focusing on China, its recent Silk Road proposals and their significance. Finally, the overall implications and the choices before India.

The Silk Road in history

The Silk Road was never a single road, as the name might suggest. This term was coined by the German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen in the late nineteenth century to describe the interlocking mosaic of trade routes within and across Asia to Europe, which developed over the last 2000 years. The name is evocative of images of exploration and adventure, of intrepid travelers such as Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta, and has been engraved in world memory through myth, legend, song and film. Samarkand, Bukhara, Yarkand, Kashgar and Khiva are only some of the resplendent names of the way stations along the Silk Road. Courage, curiosity, stamina and imagination are the primary emotions associated with a traverse of these routes, which was indeed a brave enterprise in those times.

* Founder & Chairman, Manas Advisory and Member, Court of Governors, ASCI

** A Public Lecture delivered on July 23, 2015 in ASCI, Bella Vista, Hyderabad

It is indeed the case that one of the earliest goods to be transported on these roads was silk from China. At one point, not only the aristocratic ladies of Rome but also its gentlemen were so besotted with purchasing fine Chinese silk, that the outflow of gold to China threatened to upset the financial stability of the Roman Empire. It required the Emperor Tiberius himself to intervene, banning the use of silk by men.¹

Of course, many other products apart from silk travelled along this vast network of roads—ivory, gold, silver, tea, fruits and nuts, paintings, sculptures, manuscripts and ideas and doctrines of many types—religious, scientific, illusionary, revolutionary or merely eccentric. At one end of the Road was China, while India, Persia, Arabia, the Levant and Europe were destinations as well as origins of different branches of this complex array of tracks, roads, waterways and caravanserais. Trade and transfer of goods, ideas and services across this vast terrain were mediated by many middlemen and bankers. For a long time, Parthians occupied such positions, but later on Indian bankers from Sind and Gujarat gained renown as dependable financiers whose *hundis* were honoured from Moscow to Mongolia.

The most celebrated ‘product’ to travel the Silk Road was of course Buddhism, taken from India over the north-western passes of the Hindu Kush and across what is now Xinjiang, to reach into the heart of China. There followed a great interflow of trade, cultural intercourse, exploration and scholarly interaction between India and China. There is a wealth of literature on these intrepid travelers such as Xuan Zang and Kumarajiva, amongst many others. Both Amartya Sen² and Lokesh Chandra³ have documented the range of artistic and scientific exchanges with China. More recently, a remarkable publication co-created by a team of Indian and Chinese scholars—the “Encyclopaedia of India-China Cultural Contact”⁴ co-sponsored by India’s Ministry of External Affairs—has listed over 700 scholars, travelers and *gurus* who contributed to cultural interpretation and understanding between the two civilizations.

India’s own remarkable role in the millennium before 1200 A.D. was as the lead provider of advanced education in Buddhism as also the arts, sciences and medicine at its great Universities of Nalanda, Vikramashila and Taxila, amongst others. Students from across Asia journeyed here by land and across the seas, often stopping off at Srivajaya (in present-day Indonesia) to learn Sanskrit. The sea-route to India was also well-travelled by pilgrims and traders, who often arrived by the land route and exited by sea or vice versa. In the early 15th century came the celebrated seven voyages of exploration and trade by the Ming Emperor’s great fleet of huge ‘treasure-ships’ led by Admiral Zheng He. Zheng He assembled a multinational crew from all over Asia for his voyages which reached right up to East and South

Africa. The Admiral is known to have remarked particularly on the skills of the Indian navigators and pilots that he took on board in Calicut and Cochin.⁵

The Silk Roads were in fact an early example of globalization at work, and this was exemplified particularly during the Mongol Empire of the 13th century. The Mongols unified the vast mass of Eurasia practically from Beijing to Belgrade, creating the largest free-trade zone ever known, ensuring wide and cheap distribution of goods. Genghis Khan, in particular, abolished torture and mutilation, and employed talented people of many nationalities in his army and civil administration. He established religious freedom across the Empire and instituted the practice of diplomatic immunity for ambassadors.⁶ The Mongol international postal service—fast horses with relief riders and horses at regular way-stations—remained the quickest way of getting news from Vienna to Vladivostok until the Trans-Siberian Railway came 600 years later. Unfortunately, history has painted Genghis and the Mongols generally as blood-thirsty barbarians who committed atrocities on a gigantic scale. Actually, modern historical and archaeological research suggests that they were not much worse than their contemporaries in Europe and Asia. But since the Mongol armies were small compared to the competition, Genghis encouraged the spread of stories of terror and invincibility so as to encourage wholesale surrender of his enemies.⁷ However, in the Mongol case unlike others, their history has been written entirely by the losers—the Chinese, Arabs, Persians and Europeans—and therein lies the reason for such portrayal.

The Silk Road becomes a Brand

With such a colourful and evocative history, it is not surprising that the words ‘Silk Road’ (or ‘Silk Route’) produce a range of strong emotions and vivid associations. This is the very essence of a ‘brand’, as defined in classical management literature. In the crowded market-place of today where we are surrounded by myriad offerings, it is important for a product to differentiate itself and present a clear identity associated with some visible values and positive emotions. Almost like a person, a strong brand creates a personality around itself, thus elevating it from being a mere thing of utility to something around which stories can be told. Marketing *gurus* have gone to great lengths to create psychological profiles and ‘brand personalities’. But what is more important to note is that some of the brands’ attributes rub off on to those associated with it—its consumers as also its producers. Hence the value of a great brand. Consider the mental image we have, say, of a BMW driver as opposed to the owner of a Maruti 800. After all, Sunzi’s ‘The Art of War’—today a text book of management science—teaches that bloodless victory lies in capturing the mindspace of the opponent⁸, or in this case, the customer.

Consider now—in this light—the two announcements that China’s President Xi Jinping made in September and October 2013 respectively. The first was made in Kazakhstan

where he announced the ‘Silk Road Economic Belt’, and the second in Indonesia, where he announced the launch of China’s ‘Maritime Silk Road’. (Taken together, these two initiatives are known as ‘One-Belt-One-Road’ or OBOR, for short.) Along with the announcement was an invitation to various countries to become partners in these two ventures. But what was the substantive content of his announcement? The ‘Silk Road Economic Belt’ envisages a massive network of roads, railways, pipelines, communication links, bridges and other hard and soft infrastructure designed to promote trade, travel and the interflow of goods and services across the land routes of Asia. These would be built under a Chinese initiative and partly financed by them, but in consultation with their Asian partners. And likewise, the ‘Maritime Silk Road’ envisages connecting China’s eastern coast with Europe via Asia and Africa through the sea-lanes, and thus involves a corresponding development of shipping, ports and maritime infrastructure on a similar basis.

Had President Xi said just this in plain terms, as an international banker might have done, it would have drawn interest in the financial pages of the media and been commended as a highly imaginative venture. But just that. However, the ‘Silk Road’ brand name brought in a whole new dimension. The world media were entranced but also somewhat mystified, since details were scarce. But the magic words ‘Silk Road’ in either case ensured that media attention remained focused for many weeks on these issues, with little detail but much speculation. Moreover, as the initiator of the idea, China itself gained from the halo around the ‘Silk Road’— of free-flowing goods and services, movement of people and ideas, of ‘common prosperity’, and ‘a shared economic future’, of the rhetoric of cooperation and togetherness rather than competition and power-play. But this feeling was (and still is) not entirely one-sided; there remains some skepticism—in varying measure—about China’s motives and intentions and about the larger game that is being played out over the Asian continent and across the seas. It is to this subject that we now turn.

The Geo-politics and Geo-economics of the Silk Roads

What is China’s motivation behind the Silk Road ventures? We can offer two reasons which work separately but simultaneously and are organically linked. The first is geo-economics. China’s government is attempting to move the economy from being propelled mainly by investment to one powered by consumption demand. But in the meantime, there is huge surplus capacity in China’s infrastructure and heavy machinery sectors. Chinese investment abroad through the OBOR initiative would activate demand for these goods, maintaining if not expanding the employment therein. China’s huge \$ 4 trillion fund of foreign reserves could support much of their foreign investment programme, supplemented by whatever can be marshaled through its newly-created Silk Road Fund, as also from the recently-formed Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the (BRICS) New Development Bank.

Infrastructure and connectivity are the main barriers to trade today, since tariff levels around the world have dropped sharply. Removal of trade barriers and the creation of free-trade areas in its adjoining regions is also in China's overall interest. Moreover, several of China's poorer provinces—Tibet and Xinjiang amongst them—lie on China's borderlands, and connecting the neighbouring economies through them would act as a spur to their overall development.

But it is not just about economics; obviously—China's self-interest alone can never suffice as a rationale. Thus, the geo-political packaging and messaging around OBOR speaks about its *raison d'être* as the 'common development' and 'common prosperity' of all the countries participating in the venture. It is a tide that will lift all boats, goes the narrative; whilst some may gain more than others, the overall results will be value-additive. This is a powerful argument and thus serves to create for China—a support base for its riposte against the United States' 'Pivot to Asia'. This 'Pivot', along with the US-inspired Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) from which China would be excluded (as would India) are the two prongs of what China sees as a clear China-containment strategy. But if OBOR looks attractive, China's regional neighbours might well look at the alternative trade partnerships on offer, such as the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), or the Free Trade Association of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP). Both these schemes—supported by China—are more flexible and make lesser demands from emerging economies than the US-laid terms for TPP. Surely, would not the building of a wide community of nations of different political hues who all stand to benefit through OBOR, create for China a strong countervailing force to any attempts to contain China, whether economic or geopolitical?

It is here that we return to the concept of the global brand. As every marketer knows, if the brand—however strong—is not launched correctly, the product may not succeed. And the Chinese very nearly took a mis-step when they announced the OBOR. Whilst they had spoken in general of a consultative approach to OBOR, they presented it without prior consultation, much as one would offer a delicious pre-cooked meal which could not fail to delight any and all of those who tasted it. Most countries invited to join were at first somewhat nonplussed by this approach. Over that same period, several Chinese delegations hastily visited all these countries (including India) to explain and reaffirm that the entire venture would proceed on a consensual and cooperative basis. Finally, over 30 countries (other than India and Bhutan) who were invited by China did indeed express their wish to participate, and endorsed the proposal. They calculated that in overall terms the benefits through connectivity were enough to outweigh any problematic issues, none of which were obvious enough on the surface to warrant a refusal at this point of time.

The Indian dilemma

India, however, has been reticent about its answer to Beijing's invitation to join OBOR, and has—not very convincingly—cited lack of detail and insufficient discussion of the proposal as reasons for its silence. Here, India is caught in a conflict between its heart and its head. The heart—already hurt by the 'stab-in-the-back' of 1962 and its ensuing 'trust deficit'—looks at India's self-respect and self-perception of its own standing in Asia, and rebels against an initiative which seems to endorse an inexorable drift towards an ultimately Sino-centric Asia. But the head is quite aware of the hard realities facing China as well as the benefits to India of signing on to a venture that will link us ever closer to the dynamic supply chains and consumer markets of Asia. But in an uproariously democratic set-up as in India, voters and governing elite alike seem more influenced by the heart, perhaps inflamed by our gladiatorial TV channels! Hence the dilemma.

Still, however understandable the public emotions or elite discomfort, no responsible Government can allow such feelings to supercede the national interest. So what does India's national interest indicate? Should not the development of India and prosperity of Indians be the prime consideration?

For a start, the Indian rupee has depreciated by 40% compared to the Chinese RMB over the last 5 years so the fear that Chinese goods will 'flood' the Indian landscape seems exaggerated. In several areas—many auto-components for example—Indian products are competitive. Moreover, Silk Road or no, India must in any case set its manufacturing house in order and address the obstacles to its competitiveness, if we are to fulfill the promise of jobs for our youth, and gain from our 'demographic dividend'. The OBOR connectivity might be just the external stimulus that we need to provide a sense of urgency for this agenda. Remember, in the 'nineties, Indian industry responded splendidly to the 'opening up' of the Indian economy and the reduction of import tariffs, despite early misgivings.

Secondly, Chinese investments can speed up the provision of infrastructure in India, and as 'the ease of doing business' in India improves, it will become more attractive to Chinese capital which is increasingly exposed to greater risk elsewhere. Further, as China moves up the value chain, opportunities for Indian industry (and for other countries) will arise to take advantage of the increasing consumer demand from China for a variety of goods and services.

But will India have to play second fiddle to a resurgent Middle Kingdom, a China that may 'rule the world'⁹ or eclipse the United States in its domination of the world economy?¹⁰ This possibility, again, seems remote—on several counts. One, China's manifold internal problems—economic, social, environmental and demographic—are of such magnitude that there is no guarantee of that country's inexorable progression to global leadership. Two, the United States cannot be written off so soon as a nation in decline: its rebound after the global economic crisis of

2008-09 has been better than most, and despite its political gridlock, its recent Cuba and Iran policies have shown a spirit of resilience and acceptance of ground realities. More relevant, its power in science, innovation and new-age business cannot be denied. Three, a clutch of other countries such as Japan, Australia, Indonesia, Iran, Russia, Turkey and Brazil will in no way be easy push-overs for China. What is most likely is that no clear ‘Master of the Universe’ will emerge, nor any permanent alliances, but a shifting spectrum of power-relations amongst nations. India will need to learn to move deftly within this changing matrix.

How India can use OBOR?

So can India leverage OBOR to its own advantage? The answer is ‘yes’, and there are three ways to do so, all of which offer challenges. The first, as mentioned above, is to use OBOR as a stimulus to trigger a manufacturing revolution in India and to enable ‘Make in India’ to become a major supplier to much of Asia. This could address the issue of employment for our burgeoning population of young people. Of course, setting our own house in order will be the key, but the window of opportunity will not remain open for long. Even now, countries like Myanmar, Bangladesh, Vietnam and Cambodia, are competing for investment from China and as sites to relocate its low-cost manufacturing industry. Indeed, India’s strengths in Information technology and telecommunication can be used to radically change the very definition of low-cost manufacture, making it neither based on raw manual labour as in the past, nor on robotized automated plants requiring few human beings.

A second area is to use the OBOR impetus to accelerate India’s connectivity and integration with its own backyard—the South Asian neighbourhood—a process that has already started. The shadow of China—like Banquo’s ghost—will soon be a looming presence in SAARC in any case, so why not use its clout to our advantage? India’s central geography and long-standing ties with its neighbours cannot easily be replaced overnight by Beijing. An Indian initiative to ensure easy movement of goods, capital, technology and people throughout the sub-continent will add immeasurably to its welfare—and to India’s stature as the pivot—and not the bully—of the region.

The third area harks back to India’s Silk Road past when India was the fount of higher education in Asia. Why can we not reclaim this position? If there is one thing all Asians want regardless of their status, it is a good education for their children. India has lagged in providing places for foreign students in its University system. Yet the Indian higher educational infrastructure—stressed as it is and with quality yielding to quantity—still has many strengths. The English language is one of them, and the sheer spread and reach of India’s higher educational system is another. If India could offer students from neighbouring countries a larger number of seats

and special incentives, it would go a long way to improve its image amongst its smaller neighbours. Again, with the creative use of I.T. and modern technology, the costs of expanding capacity in the education sector can be minimized, whilst the increase in foreign students (and faculty) will add diversity and vitality to Indian campus life and the quality of education. And few bonds are more lasting than memories of a great educational experience at a young age in a foreign land.

In conclusion...

India must embrace and not shun the Silk Roads. Rather, we must proudly— and with confidence—reclaim the place that we once had as one of its primary destinations, and indeed origins. India can add immeasurably in many dimensions to the range and quality of connectivity that the Silk Roads offer. China may be bigger and stronger, but it has several vulnerabilities, as has India. But the many complementarities between these two nations have not been explored in depth, and this connection offers an opportunity to do so.

“I have not told half of what I saw” said Marco Polo, describing the wonders of the Silk Road whilst dictating his memoirs to his secretary. The ancient roads he traversed led to a mythical land of milk and honey; the Silk Roads of the modern age too will lead to different wonders. We may have to create many of them. That is the challenge before us and we should rise up to it.

References and Notes

¹ Hopkirk, Peter. 1984. *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, U.K.

² Sen, Amartya. 2006. *The Argumentative Indian*. Penguin Books, London.

³ Prof. Lokesh Chandra.1998. ‘India and China: The Beyond and the Within’ in Tan Chung ed. *Across the Himalayan Gap: An Indian Quest for Understanding China*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.

⁴ Ministry of External Affairs. 2014. Government of India. Ed. ‘*Encyclopaedia of India-China Cultural Contacts*’, www.mea.gov.in

⁵ Ma Huan. 1997. *Ying-Yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores*, (Trans. Feng Cheng-Chun), White Lotus Press, Bangkok.

⁶ Weatherford, Jack. 2004. *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World*. Three Rivers Press, New York.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sunzi. 2002. *The Art of War*. (Trans. Lionel Giles). Dover Publications Inc., New York.

⁹ Jacques, Martin. 2009. *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World*, Penguin Books, London.

¹⁰ Subramanian, Arvind. 2011. *Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China's Economic Dominance*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington DC.

Lt General A.K. Singh (Retd)*

National Security and Governance**

To begin with, what is the motivation to come and talk here? As an Army General, it is part of my ethos to give back to the organisation and share my experiences in a large number of army institutions. I was coming to talk at the College of Defence Management on “Strategy and Military Strategy” and my Chief Secretary suggested that I also visit the Administrative Staff College of India. That’s how Dr. Rao (Director General, ASCI) kindly agreed to invite me for a talk.

It was a pleasant surprise to see that the first principal, who established this college way back in 1957, was none other than our ex-chief, General Shrinagesh. I think it is high time that the people in uniform start associating with this college in some way or the other. Mr. Padmanabhaiah (former home secretary) has also expressed similar views. In most advanced countries there is a very healthy interaction between the people in uniform and those in the private sector. That’s how we pick up the best practices from each other and this has been my endeavour - both when I was in uniform and out of it. Today, I plan to share a few thoughts on National Security and Governance.

The subject I will cover is of great importance to all of us. As we progress through the 21st century, many issues confront our country and I dare say a large number of these issues are common to our part of the world; people who live in South Asia and, I suppose, friends from Sri Lanka present here will derive some benefit out of my talk.

Concept of India

Ladies and gentlemen, to start with, let’s be clear about the concept of India. India’s culture has been marked by a high degree of cultural pluralism and the capacity to absorb outside influences over centuries. Notwithstanding its ancient civilization and inherited wisdom, India remains somewhat tentative and insecure about the use of power in the 21st century. In the process, our efforts to develop

* Lt Governor, Andaman & Nicobar Islands

** A lecture delivered on June 11, 2014 at ASCI, Hyderabad.

and shape an indigenous strategic identity have also been ad hoc, and sometimes not in our best interest. The preamble to the Indian Constitution spells out the basic philosophies underlining the Indian nation state - the key aspects are sovereignty, a democratic republic that is socialist and secular and one that provides its citizens justice, social, economic and political. Also enshrined are liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among all its citizens, fraternity assuring dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation. I find all this quite remarkable, and I think most citizens would do well to read the preamble to our Constitution.

Status Check

So, let's do a status check on where have we reached in our journey in the last six to seven decades. Given the challenges that faced India at birth, not many had given her a chance to succeed in the manner that we have. The story of emerging India is, therefore, catching the imagination of the world and whether we want it or not, India, in my opinion, will be a player on the world scene: our growing economy, our intellectual capacity and our acknowledged military power will ensure so. India today is a major stakeholder and is using this power to reconfigure relations with the major powers of the world. For example, with the US, we had a people and trade-driven relationship, which we are now converting into a strategic relationship..

We are still tentative in our relationship with China, and I suppose with the new government in place, this will also evolve over a period of time. Shedding its non-alignment and wanting to retain strategic autonomy, India is leveraging its stakes into positions of influence, thus giving credence to its policy of "Omni Alignment" as compared to what we use to follow earlier, Non-Alignment.

There are many positives in the emerging India story. An emerging economy to start with, a vibrant middle class that has raised consumption levels significantly, thereby creating a huge internal market, a vigilant and powerful media which works as a watch dog, however imperfect that may be. But I think the most important leap of faith taken by emerging India is a change in our attitude: from an earlier attitude where we said "let me not lose" to our present attitude where we say "I can, I shall, I will".

Notwithstanding this huge leap forward, there are enormous challenges that have to be met in the areas of rural development, urban sustainability, national infrastructure and human capital. The priority now must not only be growth but the triple canons of growth, inclusion and environmental sustainability. As one of the most crowded countries, India needs to address this more urgently than others.

Let us now look at the challenges our country faces today. Despite great economic and political progress, India remains somewhat a fragile state and society. There are religious faultlines, there is economic polarization with obscene wealth accumulation and abysmal poverty living side by side, and that is an unpalatable truth of the 21st century India. Hunger still stalks large numbers, food grains are abundant but the distribution is warped. Corruption seems to be prevalent everywhere, which has generated the current backlash. The new government under our Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi has given a new direction and momentum towards growth, overcoming the myriad challenges we face.

Let's talk of the demography - a growing population from 1.04 bn in 2000 to 1.21 bn in 2010, probably stabilizing to 1.6 bn in 2050. It comes as a package - the good news is that the world has acknowledged India's young entrepreneurial youth power because they are the game changers. But this youth bulge can also be a ticking time bomb if we are unable to create the right opportunities and the hope of progress. A million graduates every year sounds good but where is the employment? I think the present government has rightly identified this as one of the major challenges. The Hon'ble Prime Minister's call to stress on "**Speed, Scale and Skills**" is indeed timely, along with the necessity to harmonise developmental and environmental issues.

National Security

Against the backdrop of where we stand today, let's look at national security. The concept of national security in the 21st century encompasses five determinants. These are political stability, economic growth, diplomatic and military strength, societal development and environmental protection. In today's world, competition is more in the economic sphere than in the military field. National power is being measured more in terms of per capita growth in GNP than pure military prowess. The other phenomenon that impacts national security in the 21st century is the diminishing power of the state. Concentration of economic power in private and multi-national businesses and financial institutions, increasing influences of non-governmental organisations and non-state actors is eroding state monopoly on power. Yet, mind you, the expectations from the government have not reduced, leading to pulls and additional pressures. The rise of sub nationalism, ethnicity and assertion of political identity are other unpalatable truths of the 21st century.

Therefore, against this backdrop, let's look at the security environment in India. I will start with the external environment. India has the disadvantage of being in close proximity to what is being described as the epicenter of "global terrorism" and we have seen the effects of that over the last decade or two. Combined with that is the unpredictable and sometimes deteriorating relationship that we have with our periphery and the unstable political climate in some of our neighbouring

countries. This renders any fair estimation of Indian preparedness to deal with the security challenges and tasks a challenging exercise.

Pakistan

Due to shortage of time, I shall confine myself to Pakistan and China, our two major neighbours. Let me talk of Pakistan first. In my view, Pakistan continues to remain the principal national security challenge in the short term and in all the military dimensions: sub-conventional and conventional with a nuclear backdrop. The Pakistan army remains fixated on implacable hostility towards India as a strategic fundamental, and despite India extending its hand of friendship on numerous occasions - the last one being when our Prime Minister invited the PM of Pakistan - we do not see any basic change in their attitude. We hope it does change. Moreover, irrationality of Pakistan cannot be excluded from our security calculus, more so on account of its internal contradictions. So what should be our strategy to deal with Pakistan? I think as a neighbour, our strategy must be one of friendship and the Indian government and the Indian people are actually quite keen on developing this friendship between the two countries. But let us also be clear that it takes two to achieve this. Our hand of friendship cannot be taken as a sign of weakness. Pakistan must also realize that there is a limit to India's patience and that there will be costs to continuing misadventures against us.

China

As far as China is concerned, there are issues of convergence and issues of divergence. Despite the positive progress in India-China relations in the past three decades, unresolved border issues and mutual distrust still remains. Added to this is the often repeated unpredictable behaviour of various organs, especially the PLA, as you often keep hearing in the media of the various transgressions that continue to occur on the line of actual control. We also cannot ignore the massive development of infrastructure in the Tibet autonomous region and the related rapid deployment capability of PLA. China, therefore in my view, remains the major long-term challenge to our national security. I would not use the word 'threat' but the word challenge would be more appropriate. What should be our strategy towards China? I think engaging on multiple levels: trade, commerce, cultural and political engagement, but from a position of strength. We need to build up our strength, both in terms of infrastructure and military capabilities and I am sure that this is what is happening. Environmental hurdles, which have for long impeded development of infrastructure on our eastern borders, are being harmonized by the new government on priority.

Internal Security

Let me now come to the internal environment. While there are large positives in our growth story, there are significant challenges in the internal realm. India's

internal security challenges can be categorized under two heads - insurgency and extremism. There has to be consensus on several issues if India has to avoid continued and serious internal strife. First, we need to build a credible state that makes citizens feel secure; second, we need to develop models of governance that can address the sense of disempowerment in certain sections of the population. Third, we need a political culture that is tuned to diffusing conflict. Fourth, fair and transparent law enforcement and quick and efficient judicial apparatus are required to tide over various types of extremism. Fifth, good governance and delivery of services and social-economic justice, commensurate to the ideals enshrined in the constitution, become imperative.

Notwithstanding this, people who pick up arms against the state must be dealt with very firmly and without any ambiguity. The state police forces should be the main responders and for this, they should be modernized and strengthened. The CPOs and the armed forces should be in a supporting role except where there is direct foreign involvement. It is indeed a complex task to determine which of the two threats, external or internal, will be greater for India. In fact, both get inter-related at some level and, therefore, both threats need to be tackled comprehensively if India is to emerge strong.

Do we have a policy for internal security? I don't think it has been articulated in a very formal manner but in practice, we can decipher the following contours of a policy. The first is one of patience in dealing with such situations in the internal realm. The second is one of inclusive growth: bring such people into the mainstream without compromising on national sovereignty, and, lastly, use of power but with an aim to win the hearts and minds - a velvet glove for the people and an iron fist for those who take up arms against the state.

Strategic Culture

If we are to understand how our response to national security has developed, we need to understand India's strategic culture. First, geography itself. India has never been a single strategic entity in the form it exists today. Moreover, there has been an insular perspective because of the way that we are situated, Himalayas to the North, seas in the South; therefore, a tradition of localism and particularism and an insular and inward-looking focus remains predominant.

Even historically, there have been limited periods of national unity in ancient India where there was a notion of what we know as 'Bharat'. There has very rarely been a focus or importance given to strategic defence of India as a whole, rather it has been each principality looking after its own security affairs. And that strong tradition still continues in India. Then, of course, there are effects of our culture, social structures and religious beliefs. Indian culture keeps India united. India's unique

culture imparts tendency towards diversity and accommodation to existing reality. Our great capacity to absorb dissimilar concepts and theories; anybody who came to India was absorbed. The caste system has been conservative and has propagated a non-innovative mindset, a status quo approach. Even after independence, there was little structured strategic thinking and even then, in compartments. However, things are beginning to change and we are sanguine that the new government will arrest this drift and define a comprehensive strategic direction.

So far, Indian grand strategy has de-emphasized the use of force and, consequently, the military and security establishment have received little strategic guidance. Indian defence needs reform and we need to start at the beginning, with a clear vision of the role of the military and use of force in the country's rise as a great power. This vision must balance domestic and external threats to security, including non-traditional and non-military challenges.

As far as response strategy is concerned, I think that's a very delicate subject. When we get down to the operational mechanics of it, yes, there have to be various responses available to a government - it cannot be an all out or nothing situation. In my view, there has to be a greater response matrix that is available to the government on an escalatory continuum - what option the government would choose to exercise in a particular situation would be a very carefully thought -out decision, taking into account the aftermath of the response and the escalatory matrix that could well follow. I would leave it at this, but let it be clear that even India's patience is finite and should not be construed as a weakness: there would be costs to any misadventure against us.

Matters Military

Of late, the Armed Forces are getting more & more into the news, specially the electronic media. Recently, I was taken aback to see full-fledged discussions on operational matters by armchair journalists, strategists and, of course, those out of uniform. It is a domain that should remain sacred to those who have responsibility & accountability.

Having been in uniform for over 40 years, it is my pleasure to use this forum to share a few thoughts on matters military.

Role

The Armed Forces have a primary and a secondary role, which you are well aware of, but they also have a derived role which encompasses:-

- Nation building, especially in remote areas.
- Employment generation.
- Enhancing India's image through their conduct and professionalism.

- Pool of disciplined & skilled manpower (60,000) who retire every year and contribute to society.
- Contribution in sports, environment etc.

Core Values

Apolitical, secular & high level of personal & professional integrity - a true reflection of the Constitution of India.

Tenets of Indian Military Philosophy

- Multi-front obligations.
- India, not part of any military alliance or grouping, needs an Independent Deterrent Capability.
- A versatile capability across the spectrum of conflict.

Where do we stand & what are the challenges

The Armed Forces are the last resort of the nation; they can't afford to fail or think of being runners-up even once; and the Indian Armed Forces are very conscious of this responsibility.

Operationally, the armed forces are capable of fulfilling their assigned roles. Yes, there are shortfalls, some severe - but they do have the minimum wherewithal even though they may not have the optimum.

Leadership

Leadership in every situation has three constituents: The Leader, the Led & the Environment. So how does leadership differ in the Armed Forces?

- There is an unlimited liability contract between the soldier and the organization. You go where you are asked to and accomplish the assigned task, even at the cost of your life. In return, the armed forces assure you that they will look after you and yours.
- Deal with life & death issues - not profit/gain.
- Last resort of the nation and, therefore, cannot be runners-up even once.

The challenge is to develop and nurture combat leaders as distinct from event managers. Leaders, who lead from the front, look after their men & stand up when the chips are down, are forthright, bold and transparent. While the Armed Forces are doing well on this front, being self critical, they must continuously reinforce this. In fact, as Southern Army Commander, my recipe for a 'Good Military Leader' was;

“Humility in his Persona” and “Arrogance in his Uniform”.

An Arrogance based on his integrity, his competence & commitment.

Governance

Governance is at the core of what government does or is supposed to do. So what is governance, how does one define it and more importantly, measure it? Simply put: “Governance is a government’s ability to make & enforce rules & to deliver services”.

It can be measured against a variety of parameters, some of which are

- Accountability of the executive.
- Rule of law rather than rule by law.
- Effectiveness of service delivery.
- Regulatory quality.
- Control of corruption & other unethical practices.

How has India evolved over the years? If you measure it against various statistics/ indicators, what inference can we draw?

- There has been improvement, but we could have done better.
- Social and society indicators are poor on most counts.
- Economic disparities continue to rise.
- There is lack of transparency in the processes of government, leading to doubts on fairness.
- We rank at the 94th spot in a global list of 177 countries, as far as corruption is concerned.

Has governance failed or not delivered upto expectations? If so, why?

- Governance in India has not delivered upto expectations.
- We are a young democracy (less than 70 years) - it takes time for a nation to evolve.
 - ⇒ Large aspirations of a huge demographic size that wants progress to be fast-tracked.
 - ⇒ Systems/institutions in the country not dynamic enough to keep pace with the fast changing aspirations.
- Nexus between various elements and stakeholders for furtherance of latent agenda(s), corroding welfare of the state.
- Quality of civil servants - some relevant issues are:
 - ⇒ Induction at an age when their mindsets are already firmed.
 - ⇒ In-service training programmes are not tweaked to change this mindset.

- ⇒ A number of them enter service for self fulfillment.
- There are many other socio-economic reasons which you all are well aware of.

Way Forward

Having established that 'All is not well' - What is the recipe for improvement, the 'Way Forward'.

- Is it Top Down - Top First or the other way round?
- A code of conduct for all persons in positions of responsibility. Do we have one? The bureaucracy has service conduct rules, but are they relevant in today's context? Do they provide a moral/ethical compass to guide civil servants?
- Does the initial and in service training prepare the bureaucracy for the minefield outside? Periodic refreshers are certainly needed.
- Is it about the 'Fixed Tenures' or is it about the self!! Your own integrity, competence and commitment.
- How do you deal with an unlawful order, do we have explicit guidelines? This needs formalized elaboration.
- Need for well-trained specialized corps for handling an array of subjects viz. finance, defence etc. Joint secretary and above posts in Government of India should be advertised and the best available appointed.
- Professional bodies such as those of engineers, doctors, chartered accountants, lawyers etc. should also work for the welfare of the state and not act as mere lobbies for their respective clients.
- Need to work out a trade-off between diffusion of power and consolidation of power since empowered ministries in the past often became chaotic, leading to non-delivery of services.
- Challenges posed by globalization - imply anticipation of global developments in real time and consequential policy endowment with knowledge packed inputs.
- Re-orienting the foreign policy so that strategic partnerships can be initiated for furthering the economics of the nation (Production of goods, market for the produce and resultant wealth creation)- all adding up to clarity in strategic direction.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the large number of regulations and an economy trying to recover from the crossroads of policy paralysis, the Indian story is still worth narrating with thousands of individuals contributing to our nation's life with a sense of commitment and humility. There seems to be hope in the way that the new government under our Hon'ble Prime Minister Mr. Modi has livened up the issue of governance with the slogan "Less government, more Governance", and a vigorous follow-up affirmative action.

I may end by reiterating that national security threats must be assessed from the totality of factors affecting the protection, safety, well being and contentment of the people. Without good governance, these objectives can nullify all gains, thus posing real threats to national security.

I will end with two quotes:-

- "There is a debt of service due from every man/woman to his/her country & organization in proportion to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured to him/her. Ladies & Gentlemen, I am very conscious of this & shall do my best to live upto my obligations & the people's expectations.
- And last but not the least, "Let's be reminded that we (You & I) exist in such high places only to serve the citizens and accomplish the assigned role/tasks. Therefore, commitment to our job, fidelity to our oath and the nation & service above self should be our guiding motto."

Thank you - Jai Hind

C. R. RAO*

Nurturing Creativity to Make India a Global Leader in Knowledge Creation**

In the twenty-first century, knowledge is the primary production resource, instead of capital or labour.

Mr. M. Narasimham, Chairman, ASCI Court of Governors, Dr. S. K. Rao, Director General of the Administrative Staff College, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I want to thank Mr. Narasimham and Dr. Rao for kindly inviting me to give a talk on the occasion of the celebration of the founding of the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI) in 1956. ASCI is among the most prestigious and reputed institutions in India. It has achieved the purpose of fuelling the process of professionalizing management.

I am now over 90 years in age and not supposed to address an elite audience. Last year, the chairman of an international society invited me to attend a conference he was organizing in Shanghai in China and give a talk. I agreed. A few days later, I received an e-mail from him saying that he is sorry to withdraw the invitation, as the local Chinese organizers said that there is a rule in China that no one over 80 should be invited to participate in a conference! You might have heard the famous remark

A man of science past 60 years does more harm than good to science.

--Thomas Huxley¹

* Professor Emeritus, Penn State University; Research Professor, University of Buffalo; and Distinguished Professor Emeritus, CRRAO AIMSCS.

** ASCI Foundation Day Lecture delivered at the Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, on December 5, 2011.

¹ Cited in S. W. Kieffer, "Concepts of Beauty and Creativity: Earth Science Thinking", Geological Society of America, Special Paper No. 413, 2006.

When I received an invitation from Mr. Narasimham, I first hesitated to accept. But there were two compelling reasons for agreeing to give a talk. First, the topic he suggested for my lecture, higher education and research, is of interest to me. I thought I would have the opportunity to express my thoughts on the subject. Second, Mr. Narasimham and Dr. Rao are Cantabrigians (members or graduates of Cambridge University), and I happen to be one too as a contemporary of Mr. Narasimham. Fellow feeling is the second reason for accepting.

Need for Basic Research

The notion that productivity growth derives from inputs of capital and labour is not sustained by patterns of economic growth over the past half a century. At least 50 % of such productivity growth is due to new knowledge acquired through scientific research and used by technologists in industry. There may be some gap between scientific discovery and its use in a productive enterprise.

--Lord May of Oxford, President of Royal Society, UK, 2003

Where are we now in the global ranking as a member of the knowledge society and what needs to be done to improve our position?

The answer is not simple. According to statistics, India's rank in knowledge creation is extremely low, even below that of some developing countries. Knowledge commissions set up by the Government of India have offered suggestions. The general recommendation is to set up more universities and spend more money on research. How should we go about doing this? I believe a complete overhauling of the educational system and restructuring the work of the numerous national laboratories and research institutes in India may be necessary to improve our ranking in knowledge generation. The Prime Minister of India has a solution:

For India to become a knowledge society and to be a world leader in science, we need to double our national efforts to promote scientific temper, strengthen S & T infrastructure, expand our educational basis, establish centres of excellence, foster a culture of innovation and channelize greater investment in research and development.

– Dr. Manmohan Singh, 20 August 2010

In India, there are three types of institutions where basic research can be done: 50 national laboratories set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), 200 state universities, 100 deemed universities, and 116 specialized research institutes like the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) in Mumbai, Indian Statistical Institute (ISI) in Kolkata, the Institute of Mathematical Sciences (IMS) in Chennai and Harish Chandra Research Institute in Allahabad.

I would like to offer some suggestions for possible improvements in India's participation in knowledge generation in three basic areas: mathematics, sciences and technology.

Mathematics

All knowledge is, in the final analysis, history

All sciences are, in the abstract, mathematics

The importance of mathematics in knowledge creation has been emphasized by Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, former President of India and father of the technological revolution in India, as follows:

Everybody talked of the nation's strides in information technology, space, defense and academic institutions, but the importance of mathematics was yet to be fully recognized. It was becoming even more difficult to get bright students to take to mathematics—the purest of sciences—as a career when they were young. This, in the next few years, would stifle innovations and make the role of science and technology in social transformation a saturated ground.

Can we launch a national mission to generate mathematicians in large numbers and also create suitable employment potential for them so that we will enrich our scientific work and our nation, which had a tradition of mathematics right from Aryabhata (*The Hindu*, 21 December 2003)?

Indians made remarkable contributions to mathematics during the seven centuries 500-1200 CE (Common Era). The zero and place-value system of numerals as we know today were developed by Aryabhata (476-550). In the eighth century AD, the Hindu system of writing numerals, known as the base-10 (decimal number) system, spread to the Arab countries. In 1262, Italian mathematician Leonardo Fibonacci introduced the concept of the decimal system to Europe. The importance of the concept of zero and the decimal system of writing numbers is expressed by the famous scientist Albert Einstein as:

Advances in science and technology would not have been possible without the help of Hindu Numerals.

The modern quote on our invention of zero, reflecting our poor performance in mathematical research is:

Indian contribution to mathematics is zero (shunya)!

During the period 500 AD-1200 AD, Indian mathematicians, the most notable of whom are Aryabhata, Bhaskara I, Brahmagupta, Mahavira, Manjula and Bhaskara II, made highly original contributions. There is no record of any contributions to

mathematics made by Indians during the next six centuries until Srinivas Ramanujan appeared suddenly in 1887 as a meteor, rushed through a span of 32 years, making remarkable contributions to mathematics, and leaving behind conjectures and open problems that will keep mathematicians engaged for several centuries. After Ramanujan's death in 1920, no significant contributions to mathematics were made by Indians until after the Second World War. There was a sudden spurt in research in mathematics with the establishment of the Indian Institute of Science (IISc) in Bangalore, Indian Statistical Institute (ISI) in Kolkata and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) in Mumbai. Mathematicians from these institutes made remarkable contributions and won international awards. However, recent data on the number of publications in mathematics in high impact journals and the number of citations received show that our rank is very low. I quote from a paper by Madhav, Chandrasekar and Arunachalam in *Current Science* (Vol. 99, No. 6, 2010):

Only 0.32 % of Indian research papers published in refereed journals have gone on to accumulate 100 or more citations, while the corresponding figures for developed countries range from 1.8 % to 3.5 %. We have a long way to go to reach the level of developed countries in producing high quality research papers in mathematics (p. 738).

Suggestions

It should be our national mission to generate mathematicians in large numbers. The Mathematical Olympiad programme can be expanded to cover all students and schools in India. Those who do well in mathematics tests can be provided with scholarships to pursue their higher studies in mathematics in the best colleges in India. Students with good performance in their college education should be encouraged to pursue research in mathematics. In addition, summer schools can be organized that offer courses in some of the modern areas of mathematics by specially selected teachers who can expose the students to the beauty of mathematics and encourage them to pursue research in mathematics as their career. They can be advised to choose Ramanujan as their role model. This is a small investment which can bring in a rich dividend.

When I was the head of research and training at the Indian Statistical Institute, I used to organize summer schools for teachers in statistics to update their knowledge of statistics. Similar summer schools can be organized in mathematics for teachers of mathematics.

Sciences

Albert Szent-Györgyi (1893-1986), Hungarian biochemist and winner of the 1937 Nobel Prize for Medicine, had famously said:

Discovery consists in seeing what everyone else has seen and thinking what no one else has thought.

India has no ancient tradition of research in science. It is only in the second quarter of the twentieth century that there was a sudden spurt of research activity in science, especially in physics. C. V. Raman, J. C. Bose, S. N. Bose, Megnadh Saha, and H. Babha made fundamental contributions to the advancement of natural knowledge. No further progress was made. I quote what some Nobel laureates have said about current research in science in India.

C. V. Raman, Nobel laureate, in a convocation address delivered in Kolkata in 1950, observed:

In the past, India had shown her greatness in the fields of scholarship, philosophy and sciences, but today, we are helplessly dependent on Western countries for knowledge of science. It is no use getting our ideas from the West. We have to think out our problems and find solutions to them.

S. Chandrasekhar, Nobel laureate, is reported to have observed that India's record of research publications in high impact journals was disappointing and even disturbing.

Nobel laureate David Baltimore in a speech delivered in New Delhi, reported in *The Hindu* (19 January 2008), observed:

Even though India had a great tradition in science and technology, the developed world has a huge lead in both areas.... India should start now to broaden its educational opportunities and develop high-tech research facilities so that in 10 or 20 years, it would become a more significant player in discovery and innovation. If India has to succeed in innovation, it needs not only great academic and research institutes but also adequate capital and a well-developed entrepreneurial spirit.

Famous scientist Dr. C. N. R. Rao noted that the

Country's contribution to world science decreased from 8% to 10% fifteen years ago to 2.7 % now. India's contribution was less than 1% of cited research publications, while those from the US accounted for 63%. While universities (in India) had in the past contributed 50% to 60 % of research, their share now is 5%. The quantity of research produced by IITs is pathetic. Pre-eminence in science would determine pre-eminence in technology.²

² David A. King. 2004. "The Scientific Impact of Nations." *Nature*, 430, 311-16; "India As a Global Leader in Science." 2010. Report prepared by the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Prime Minister.

Globally, India is ranked 22, below China, South Korea and Poland, in impact-making scientific publications.

Technology

Technology is a non-linear tool that can affect the most fundamental change in the ground rules of economic competitiveness.

--A. P. J. Abdul Kalam and A. Sivathanu Pillai³

India seems to be doing well in technology. Manufacturing of low-cost vaccines by the Serum Institute of India, cheap tablet computers at Rs. 2,250, water purifier at Rs. 750, the Nano car at less than Rs. 2 lakh are some examples. We have also made remarkable advances in missile technology with the successful development of the Prithvi surface-to-surface missile system by DRDO.

However, in some key areas of much-needed technology, our performance is far from satisfactory. The most persistent criticism of the Indian IT industry is that its growth and volume of revenue depend too heavily on the utilization of low-level skills, and not enough on innovation. Well-educated young Indian professionals who assert they can take on the world and win also express frustration about not yet standing at the technology frontier, and falling behind in hardware design and production. The missing element is often described as “vision”—a package of systems, procedures, and processes that would enable Indian engineering and computer scientists to take the necessary steps for applying technology and making India more productive.

- Prof. T. Jayaraman, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), noted (in *The Hindu*, 17 Feb 2006):

India stands virtually at the bottom of the world table when it comes to high-speed networking and digital connectivity dedicated to research and education. India lags at least 10 years behind the world leaders, the United States and Western Europe. It is at least 3 to 4 years behind Brazil and China. There appeared to be no organization in India charged with the mission of providing leading edge high-speed bandwidth to education and research.

In terms of modern infrastructure, telecommunications is crucial to any competitive economy. With the emergence of digital technology (which includes computers), data transmission has pervaded all aspects of life, under the name of information technology (IT). A whole range of service sectors have been opened through IT. There are good possibilities for India to emerge as an IT superpower, with a large

³ *Envisioning an Empowered Nation: Technology for Societal Transformation* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 2007), 31.

share of world business, and also by becoming the originator of many new IT and software systems with a global market.

Indians working in the United States have made path-breaking contributions to the IT sector and won presidential awards. We can make equally original contributions working in India provided facilities for research are made available to our bright young students graduating from Indian Institutes of Technology.

Basic Research in India

If we as a nation want to be competitive, we have to pay attention to the fundamentals; to education and access to it; to investment in research in order to develop new ideas and technologies; and to infrastructure, including physical infrastructure.

As mentioned earlier, there are three types of institutions in India where basic research can be encouraged and developed: national laboratories under CSIR, universities under the University Grants Commission and specialized institutes like TIFR in Mumbai, ISI in Kolkata, IMS in Chennai and Harish Chandra Institute in Allahabad. I would like to offer some suggestions for developing facilities for basic research in these three types of organizations.

National Laboratories

There are over 50 national laboratories in the country established by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. There is no doubt that as conceived, these laboratories were to conduct “basic research in science as well as develop the technology based on existing knowledge for industrial use.” They were set up to “rival the finest similar institutions in the world” as emphasized by Pandit Nehru and S. S. Bhatnagar, the first director of CSIR. This has not happened at the expected level. There have been no significant contributions from these laboratories in basic research or applied research. I was a member of the committee appointed by CSIR to review the performance of national laboratories and make recommendations. The committee submitted a report. I believe no action was taken based on the recommendations made by the committee.

Suggestions

I think that an ideal set-up in a national laboratory under the CSIR is to have two clearly demarcated divisions. One should be called the Fundamental Research Division (FRD) and the other Applied Research and Development Division (ARDD). Each division should be headed by an Associate Director with a good record of and still active in research. The objective of FRD is to do basic research for the advancement of knowledge and to train scientists. A good director can easily direct most of the fundamental work into areas of potential interest or value to industry

and governments, while setting aside a fraction for the less obviously relevant work, what is called blue skies research.

The Applied Research and Development Division will serve as an association laboratory for the group of industries represented by its scope as well as serve as the national laboratory for developing processes up to, but not beyond, the pilot plant stage; where these processes are based on basic developments carried out in other countries and in the basic research division of the laboratory.

The overall Director will coordinate the work of the two divisions in addition to attending to the usual administrative duties. There is also a need to set up appropriate committees to review the research work carried out in the two divisions of national laboratories and make suitable recommendations for improvement.

Universities

What makes a university great is the production of new knowledge, through the discoveries that change our lives and world.

In developed countries, research is mainly done in universities by the teaching faculty. Faculty members are hired on the basis of their research record irrespective of age and nationality. The universities often compete with each other in luring highly qualified researchers to faculty positions. There is no concept of a post to be created and filled by calling for applications. The reputation of a university department depends mainly on the research output of the faculty members and the number of PhDs produced. It is generally true that a good researcher is also a good teacher—one who effectively presents the subject matter of his/her lecture to arouse the interest of the students in knowledge acquisition and its use for the welfare of society.

In this respect, the UK ranks very high among developed countries in producing new knowledge though not in exploiting the fruits of such knowledge. The Laboratory of Molecular Biology in Cambridge University has the reputation being a Nobel Prize Factory.

India today has more than 200 state universities, about 100 deemed universities and more than 1,100 general colleges. However, there are not enough teachers with knowledge of current developments in science and technology who can stimulate the interests of the students in the knowledge they are acquiring and inculcate in them a spirit of enquiry.

A World Bank study published in 2007 estimated that only 10 to 25 per cent of India's general college graduates were fit for employment. A bank employee, Murali Pasupathy, who worked in the UK and in India reported in *The Hindu* (12 Nov 2011) that "what was effectively done by a fifth grader in the UK needed a commerce graduate in India"! Our educational system seems to be inherently flawed not only

due to a lack of qualified teachers, but also due to our rigid rules of recruitment of teachers and the insistence on following a prescribed outdated syllabus and textbooks.

The state of universities in India was summarized (reported in the 3 November 2008 edition of *The Hindu*) by Christopher J. Kauffman, author and historian, on a visit to India to help Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University (JNTU), Kakinada, in its strategic planning for the future.

No Indian university or even Indian Institute of Technology secured a place in the world's 100 best institutions. The present quantity of research is not up to the mark as most of the professors either do not find time or are burdened with classroom work. The Indian universities ought to give top priority to research which makes an impact on society and get it published in reputed journals so that their work gets notice.

Suggestions

The situation is somewhat desperate due to the lack of good teachers. However, the modern IT technology of 'connectivity' can be harnessed, whereby lectures given by a chosen professor from anywhere can be broadcast to all the colleges in India. We can start implementing such a procedure in offering courses in the modern areas of science and technology, where there is a paucity of knowledgeable teachers.

The ranking of universities is based on the number research papers published in high impact journals, PhDs produced and awards received by the teaching faculty. India produces about 4,000 PhDs a year in all subjects. The corresponding figure for China is 40,000!

Inaugurating the Indian Science Congress in 2009, the Prime Minister announced that the government was keen to set up 30 new universities, 5 new Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research, 8 new IITs and 20 new Indian Institutes of Information Technology. According to a recent report, the Planning Commission has decided to establish, in addition, 14 Innovative Universities. The enormous increase in educational institutes will further dilute the quality of graduates produced unless sufficient teachers with requisite qualifications are adequately trained.

Research Institutes

About 116 organizations in India listed are as research institutes. They include TIFR in Mumbai, ISI in Kolkata, Harish Chandra Institute in Allahabad, Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore and some IITs, which are making major contributions to research publications from India. They started off well by attracting the available talent in India from universities and research centres. But they probably failed to train or encourage the younger generation of scholars to do research with the result their

current ranking in the web of world research centres is disappointingly low. Some of the institutes listed may be administrative wings of the government dealing with specific issues.

Suggestions

There is a tendency to expand the activities of these research institutes by establishing branches in different parts of India and hiring a large number of scientists and supporting staff. A review of the work of some of the branches is not very encouraging. I believe reorganizing and strengthening the existing main institutes with additional scientists and research scholars will yield rich dividends. It is believed that modern research in any science is interdisciplinary in nature and a critical sized faculty is necessary for producing good research.

Primary and High School Education

We must better prepare high school students for college level work.

It has been pointed out that India has a population of about 90 million in the 17-20 age group. By providing good education facilities, we can nurture a large pool of scientists—some of whom can be channelled into taking up a research career. To achieve this, we have to start reforming our entire educational system from primary school upwards and provide opportunities for uninterrupted education to children from the age 6 to 17.

The Government of India passed the Right to Education Act (REA) in 2010, similar to the “No Child Left Behind” Law passed by the United States Congress in 2001, to provide free education to all children in the 6-14 age group. It is not clear to what extent REA has been implemented. Judging from the figures given in the National Sample Survey reports, about 20 million children in the 6-10 age group are out of school, of whom 5 million may be in the labour market. With further dropouts, the number of people who can possibly go for higher studies may be of the order of 40 to 50 million, which is half of the population in the 17-20 age group.

I recall what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said about the lack of opportunities for children in his book *The Discovery of India*:

Of the millions of children, how may get education at all? How many live on the verge of starvation? If life opened its gates to them and offered them food and healthy conditions of living and education and opportunities of growth, how many among these millions would be eminent scientists, educationists, technicians, industrialists, writers and artisans helping to build a new India and a new world?

Suggestions

Steps should be taken to provide opportunities to children as envisaged in the Right to Education Act. At present, male children have greater opportunities than the female children to receive education at various levels. Statistics show that the fertility rate varies from 3.6 in the case of illiterate women to 2.5 for those with five years of education, 2.4 with 10 years and 1.9 with more than 10 years of education. It is crucial that greater opportunities be provided to women for higher education, which in turn would lead to lower birth rates and smaller families; such population control is needed to provide better amenities to the people with the available resources. For example, the literacy rate of women in Kerala is of the order of 66 per cent, which is twice that of the all-India figure; and their fertility rate is 2.3 against the average all-India rate of 4.1. The situation is similar all over the world. In countries where the literacy rate for women is low, the rate of increase in population is high, and vice versa.

Some Suggestions for Leadership in Science

Remarkable progress has been made in the twentieth century in scientific discoveries and their utilization for the welfare of mankind. There is no doubt that advances in science and technology will continue to transform the way in which we live, create new industries and jobs, and enable us to tackle seemingly intricate social and environmental problems. Advanced countries like the USA and the UK, which have a high record of achievement in science and engineering, set up committees which made recommendations for placing science and innovation at the heart of their long-term strategy for economic growth and maintaining their superiority in contributions to science and innovation. Some of the relevant documents produced are: *The Scientific Century: Securing Our Future Prosperity* by Royal Society, UK, 2010 and *A World that Banks on Science* by Bruce Alberts, President of USA Academy of Sciences, 2004. During 2010, at least three reports were prepared by various high-powered committees in India on what we should do to improve our position in innovative research:

- *Vision Document for Indian Science* issued by the Indian National Science Academy (2010).
- *Restructuring Post-School Science Teaching Programmes* issued by all the three science academics in India (2008).
- *India as a Global Leader in Science* brought out by the Science Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (2010).

When will action be taken on the recommendations made in these reports? Generally reports end up in government files without any action taken, or they are referred to another committee for study. When a newspaper reporter raised this question with a member of one of the committees, he replied. "We generate many reports.

There are many reporters like you to report the news. Reports and reporters—we do need action.”

Let us hope that the recommendations made in these three documents will be implemented soon to kickstart the process of making India a global leader in science.

Final Remarks

Is the Frontier Really Endless?

Our knowledge of the universe is rapidly increasing with the continuously growing number of scientists choosing basic research as a career. The question arises, whether there will be surprises? Or someday, perhaps thousands of years from now, will there be nothing left to discover? Can we expect to reach a complete understanding, the end of humanity’s quest to understand the world through science? Is there a finish line for research? I believe that

Knowledge is comparable to the volume inside a balloon, while ignorance, to the vast space outside the balloon. With our knowledge, we send probes into the unknown from the periphery of the surface of the balloon and gather new knowledge. The balloon of knowledge expands, taking us into regions of ignorance across the increased surface of the balloon. The search for new knowledge continues ...

Vannevar Bush, late American engineer and science administrator, described science as the “endless frontier”. One can hope so, because life would lose much of its grandeur and joy if we ever reached the finish line, with no further frontier to challenge us.

Man-Machine Symbiosis

Computers are becoming indispensable in knowledge discovery with their ability to process large amounts of data gathered from natural phenomena or generated through experiments by scientists. There is speculation that with the increasingly sophisticated technology of gathering and processing data, computers can take over the functions of scientists in knowledge generation. However, I believe in what the great German-American astrophysicist Albert Einstein (1879-1955) once said:

Computers are incredibly fast, accurate and stupid.
Human beings are incredibly slow, inaccurate and brilliant.
Together they are powerful beyond imagination.

JEREMY BROWNE*

Politics and Governance: The UK Experience**

I'm absolutely delighted to be here in India once again. What I am most pleased about is having the opportunity to travel beyond Delhi, and to explore some more of this vast and varied country. People often feel that the work of foreign affairs ministries and ministers is conducted solely in capitals. I hope that my presence here goes some way to showing the value we place in building links with centres of Indian commerce, ideas and energy beyond the capital.

During the UK Prime Minister's last visit to India, he made it clear that he wanted a new partnership with India. The Foreign Secretary followed this by announcing last year that we would refocus our global network from our traditional areas of operation to the new emerging economies. Central to this recalibration is a major expansion of our presence in India, including in India's new and dynamic business centres. We are currently discussing plans for this expansion with the Indian authorities.

I am well aware that Britain is not alone in seeking a stronger relationship with India. But I do believe that we have much to offer that is world-class and that India needs on its path to becoming an economic superpower. According to the World Bank, the UK ranks second in the EU and seventh in the world for ease of doing business. And we are working hard to improve further. My government has announced wide-ranging upgrades to public transport infrastructure. We are reforming our welfare and education system, adopting the most competitive tax system in the G-20, and using our foreign policy to plug Britain into the fastest growing parts of the world economy and to boost exports and investment.

As India's companies go global, the United Kingdom offers the brands, the creativity, the finance and the technology that Indian consumers and entrepreneurs want. As India develops the skills of its growing workforce, we have the expertise to help. The EU is the largest economic bloc in the world; and with our linguistic and cultural

* Member of Parliament; UK Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

** Public lecture delivered at the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Hyderabad, on February 15, 2012.

links, Britain provides a springboard for Indian firms' entry into this market. We are ambitious, but our ambition rests on strong foundations.

I also want to be clear, though, that the relationship we seek is about much more than trade. As I look around the room today, I see leaders from government, business, civil society, and the media. In short, all of the components that together make up a successful democratic society. I believe that, as the world's oldest parliamentary democracy and the world's largest parliamentary democracy, we have a huge amount that we can learn from each other.

As you may know, the UK has faced many challenges since our coalition government came to power a little over 20 months ago. This is the first peace-time coalition that the UK has had since the 1930s; so there is much that we can learn from India about making coalitions work. From what I understand, India has also been grappling with challenges of its own.

The scale of our countries is different. I have a constituency with an electorate of less than one lakh (100,000) but which is still one of the largest in the UK. So I can only imagine the complexities faced by Indian MPs, some of whom have constituencies of over 20 lakh people. However, although the scale may be different, the challenges that we face are the same.

“We must build a strong, prosperous nation, based upon a firm system of values.” This is a quote from President Pratibha Patil's recent Republic Day speech, but it could equally have been said by Prime Minister David Cameron. So let me briefly explore three of the most important common challenges that we face in realizing this common ambition: first, to ensure that prosperity is fairly distributed and enjoyed as widely as possible; second, to improve the provision of government services to the public and determine the appropriate scope of government; and third, to safeguard freedom of expression whilst protecting individuals and groups from abuse and infringements on their right to privacy.

The question at the top of both countries' political agendas is how to empower companies and individuals to grow our respective economies whilst ensuring that the benefits of economic growth are shared fairly amongst all the citizens of each country. In the UK, this debate has taken many forms; from public protests by those angry at what they see as the growth of inequality and corporate greed; to controversy over whether governments should restrict bankers' bonuses at the risk of forcing those bankers out of the country; to debates about how to use social welfare to provide support to the unemployed without providing a disincentive to look for work. In India, the discussion centres on whether subsidies are a necessary lifeline for the poorest, or whether they inhibit growth and keep alive a dependency culture; and how to tackle inflation without damaging growth.

Despite the differences in the debate about the causes, both governments firmly agree that the best solution is to ensure that their populations are equipped with the skills to succeed in the modern workplace. The British government is putting huge energy into ensuring that the further education sector will equip workers with the skills demanded in a modern globalized economy. We have also been grappling with the issue of how to split the cost of higher education between the government and those that benefit from going to university. And the Indian government has set itself the task of training 500 million people by 2022, in order that India can reap the benefits of its demographic surge in the coming decades.

The challenges for both countries are huge, but so is the scope for co-operation—as everyone in ASCI, with its long-standing links with UK organizations such as the Manchester School of Business and the British Council, knows. The UK-India Education and Research Initiative is a world leading educational collaboration between our two countries, which aims to build a new generation of leaders, develop innovation partnerships and skills, and enhance mobility.

Let me provide two examples from here in Hyderabad: the London Business School is one of the associate schools managing the MBA programme in the Indian School of Business (ISB) in Hyderabad—the youngest institution to be consistently present in the top 20 business schools ranked globally. And the Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology, one of the premier institutions of its kind in the world, is conducting groundbreaking research with Cambridge University, including a recent project designed to establish the role of India in the evolutionary history of our species. On this trip, I have found that examples of deep cooperation between British and Indian centres of learning can be found all over the country.

Another shared issue is how to focus and improve the provision of government services to the public. When my coalition came to power, we were very clear in our belief that government had overstepped its responsibilities and was trying to do things that private sector companies, local communities and individual citizens could do better. And furthermore, we believed that in trying to regulate behaviour, government was entangling creativity and dynamism in red tape. Indeed, with the best will in the world, government can inadvertently try to do too much, causing it to stymie free enterprise and innovation.

So we set out to reduce bureaucracy. We set out to create a Big Society in which communities took on responsibility for some of the things that don't necessarily need to be centrally planned and run. Indeed, here in India, the family and the local community have far more significance and play a far greater role in people's lives. You have a very big society (!) and I am convinced that there is much that we can learn from you about how to nurture and grow ours.

Of course, government must and will provide many public services to its citizens, and all governments look for ways of doing this better. I have been struck by how

both our countries have found innovative ways of using technology to improve the services that we provide. In the UK, the government has set up a system of e-petitions, where anyone can petition the government online about anything for which the government is responsible. If the petition gets one lakh online signatures, it becomes eligible for a debate in the House of Commons. This has already led to debates on issues as diverse as the disclosure of official documents and increases in fuel duty. This system of e-petitions is helping to build a bridge between the people and Parliament by ensuring that the focus of the House of Commons reflects the interests of those outside.

In India, the government is successfully delivering the biggest biometric data capture exercise ever conducted in the world, in order to improve the delivery of public services. The speed and efficiency with which this has been rolled out—200 million enrolled in under two years—is an inspiration to every government looking to deliver new services. The programme is pioneering in how governments and businesses can work together to deliver services to the population.

These are noteworthy examples of governments employing technology to great success, but technology also adds a new dimension to a long-standing challenge: how to ensure that freedom of expression is respected whilst protecting individuals and groups from abuse and invasions of privacy.

The way we access media in today's world has changed beyond recognition over the last 20 years. With the growth in the popularity of smart-phones, almost half of the UK population now has the Internet at their fingertips. And India is expected to have 300 million Internet users by 2015.

But while the way in which we all access media may have changed, it still fundamentally fulfils the same role. In democracies, the media is fundamental to political life. It provides facts, or ought to, that help us to be better informed about the issues that matter to us. And the media conducts investigation and examination to ensure that power is checked and that decision-makers are held accountable.

One of the key lessons learnt from recent events in the Middle East and North Africa is that governments which try to restrict the media risk being destabilized by it. But, in order to retain the trust of the public, the media must abide by a commonly held set of standards, which allows for redress when these standards are breached.

In the UK, it was recently uncovered that some journalists had hacked the voice mail of people about whom they wished to write. This abuse is extremely serious and highlights the dangers to people's privacy that the media revolution has produced. We set up the Leveson Inquiry to make recommendations on the future of press regulation and governance, in a way that maintains the freedom of the press whilst ensuring the highest ethical and professional standards. Separately,

but touching on some of the same issues, is the ongoing debate in India over the responsibility for content hosted by international Internet companies. Both cases come back to how modern democracies ensure the fundamental principle of freedom of speech, while respecting the rights of individuals to privacy and their beliefs.

I have already had conversations during my trip about how the UK and India can share experiences on ensuring freedom of expression whilst protecting individuals and groups from abuse. And Minister of State for Communications and IT Sachin Pilot spoke eloquently about the potential of cyberspace, and the tremendous opportunities it provides, at the London Conference on Cyberspace last November, when leaders from around the world gathered to discuss the principles that ought to govern behaviour in cyberspace. I look forward to the UK and India working much more closely in this area going forward.

These are all difficult questions. But, as democracies, united in the belief that the rule of law and respect for individual rights are the foundations of a strong country, it is right that we are asked them. And it is necessary that we try to answer them. Their implementation underpins our collective security and prosperity. Although these challenges are daunting, we can draw comfort from the knowledge that we are not alone.

By working together, democracies can better tackle these challenges. For example, when my colleague Eric Pickles, Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, travelled to the district of Tumkur, in the state of Karnataka, to see first-hand how a panchayat worked in practice, and came back to the UK full of ideas about improving community cohesion whilst decentralizing power—issues at the heart of the British government's agenda and the idea of the Big Society.

This illustrates one of the most important features of our democracies—they are open to change. All the democracies of our world are different, but they are each built on the fundamental principle that people can change the way in which they are governed. This means that in addition to the possibility of changing who governs, we have the possibility of changing how we are governed. It also means that we can constantly improve and can do so by learning from the experiences of other democracies that face similar challenges.

And just as we work together on domestic challenges, so too can we work together on international challenges. Although the societal challenges may appear more immediate, global challenges such as terrorism, proliferation of nuclear technology, cyber security and climate change are equally vital to the long-term security and prosperity of both our nations.

And we should and must work together to address them. India is a major global power, and we want to see it properly represented on the global stage. We look forward to the day when we welcome you as a permanent member of the UN

Security Council. And we look forward to working increasingly closely with you on all issues of global governance.

We recognize that our approach to tackling the foreign policy challenges of today and tomorrow will not always align. But we are united in our common belief that our nations' prosperity and national interests are ultimately best served by a peaceful external environment with democracy at its core.

To sum up, I believe that there are many differences between the UK and India. But I also believe that the aspirations that unite us far outweigh the differences, both at an individual level and the state level. We face similar challenges and may find different solutions—allowing us both to learn from each other's experiences. I look forward to learning from, and working increasingly closely with, my Indian counterparts. And I urge you to look to Britain for alliances, partnerships and co-operation. You will find a very warm reception.



Journal of Management

The *ASCI Journal of Management*, published by the Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, India, every March and September, is devoted to discussions on policy and management issues concerning various sectors of national life, including business, industry, government, economic planning, science and technology, population, health and education, etc.

The papers published in the *ASCI Journal of Management* are based on original research work, besides consulting and research experience. The journal also publishes book reviews, public lectures and seminar/conference proceedings.

Subscription Rates

Country/category	One year	Two years	Three years
India	Rs. 500	Rs. 900	Rs.1200
Bellavistans (members of ASCI Association)	Rs. 500	Rs. 800	Rs.1000
USA/other countries	\$ 30	\$ 55	\$ 80
UK	£ 18	£ 30	£ 45

Note: *All payments may ideally be made by Demand Draft. In case of outstation cheques, please add Rs.30 towards collection charges. DD/cheques may pl. be drawn in favour of Administrative Staff College of India payable at Hyderabad.*

Subscription Form

To
Editor
ASCI Journal of Management
Administrative Staff College of India
Bella Vista, Hyderabad 500 082, INDIA

Dt.

Dear Editor

I/We wish to subscribe/renew our subscription to the *ASCI Journal of Management* for _____ year/s (from _____ to _____). An amount of Rs. _____ Cash/Draft/Cheque No. _____ dated _____ drawn on _____ in favour of Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, is enclosed.

Kindly mail the *ASCI Journal of Management* to the following address:

Name : _____

Address : _____

City : _____ Pin: _____

Signature: _____

Notes for Contributors

Manuscript submission: Copies of the paper, notes, or book reviews to be considered for publication must be sent to the Editor, *ASCI Journal of Management*, as a Word file attachment via e-mail. Additionally, a hard copy in 1.5 spacing—on one side of the paper, with sufficient margins on both sides—can also be sent. It is a condition for publication that the material sent is original work, which has neither been previously published nor been submitted for publication elsewhere. It is in the author's interest to submit a clearly written and carefully proofread manuscript.

Blind review: The *ASCI Journal of Management* follows a policy of blind peer review. To facilitate this review, a separate title page should include the title of the paper, names(s) of the author(s) and relevant biographical information. The second page should carry the title of the paper and a 100 to 150-word, single paragraph abstract of the paper. Manuscripts should ideally not exceed 25 double-spaced typed pages.

Research results: Those papers that report the results of empirical research are expected to provide reliability estimates for all measures or give a thorough justification for their absence. When statistically significant relationships are reported, an estimate on the variance accounted for must be provided. When non-significant statistical tests are reported, an estimate of the power of the test must be given. Avoid graphs and analyses of variance summary tables, but include tables of means and standard deviations and/or correlation wherever needed. The tables should be numbered.

Format and style: Contributors are requested to strictly adhere to the guidelines specified in the Publication Manual of the **American Psychological Association (6th edition)** for format and style.

Papers should be no more than 4,500 words including references and endnotes.

Quotations of 45 words or more should be separated from the text and indented with one space with a line space above and below.

An alphabetical reference list of all books, articles, essays and theses referred to in the text should be provided.

Contributors must provide their affiliation, complete postal and e-mail addresses and telephone numbers along with their papers.

Authors should disclose any potential conflict of interest regarding the manuscript.

Authors should avoid plagiarism and copyright-related offenses

Material taken directly from a copyrighted source should be clearly identified, and the copyright holder's written permission to reproduce it must be submitted in a separate file.

It is very important to note that obtaining permission to reproduce copyrighted material is the author's responsibility, as is payment of any fees the copyright holder may request.

Books for review: One copy of each book should be sent for review to the Editor. The publication takes no responsibility for returning books not found suitable for review. One copy of the journal will be sent separately to the reviewer and the publisher if the book review is published.

Published by S. Ramu for Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, India.
Typeset and printed at Balaram Graphics, Hyderabad, India.

ISSN: 0257-8069