



NEWS ANALYSIS

25 DECEMBER 2024

BAJIRAO IAS ACADEMY

Q)What are the core principles of good governance, and how do they contribute to enhancing transparency and accountability in public administration? (10M)



VINAY SAHASRABUDHE

Traditional with modern

Indic ideas can impart more rigour to good governance

US PRESIDENT-ELECT DONALD Trump's decision to create a new Department of Government Efficiency and the shooting down of a CEO of a premier healthcare company are two apparently unrelated incidents. However, it's possible to discern a common message in Trump's creation of a new department and the gruesome incident. There is a growing realisation for the need for better and more people-oriented governance. As we begin celebrations of the birth centenary of one of India's most popular prime ministers, Atal Bihar Vajpayee, who was known for his emphasis on good governance, it is pertinent to revisit the concept in the context of the changing world order. India's experiments and experiences could enrich the global endeavour.

There are at least three reasons why revisiting good governance is critical today. First, in face of growing disenchantment with democracy in several parts of the world, the "unified theory" mooted by Harvard academic Pippa Norris merits serious consideration. It's central thesis is that "the institutions of both liberal democracy and state capacity need to be strengthened parallelly for most effective progress." One can reasonably argue that the outcome of the US elections shines a light on the liberal democracy's deficits and underlines the need for efficient statecraft. Second, given the inevitable role of the human element in good governance,

practice would require changing people's mindsets to be effective. Conversations in the past 10 years in the country offer significant clues. Third, we should explore how the Indic concept of Raj Dharma can resonate with the modern idea of good governance.

As is well-known, the origin of the concept dates back to 1992. A World Bank report of that year, "Governance and Development", marks the first attempt at defining the concept. Later, eight parameters were listed — participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and the rule of law — as defining attributes of Good Governance. While the Bank's definition incorporates aspects of the process of delivery, there is no mention of where Good Governance actually begins — implementation. Any definition of good governance must underline the importance of flawless, result-oriented implementation. Since implementation cannot be ensured without commitment and passion by those in charge at the grassroots level, attention must be devoted to their mindsets. Herein lies the importance of P2G2, a term coined by Prime Narendra Modi when he was the chief minister of Gujarat. P2G2 is pro-people good governance — it's the Gangotri of sensitivity, commitment and sense of responsibility. Without all this Good Governance is merely theoretical.

It is against this backdrop that India originated concepts like "democratisation of technology", "Lifestyle for Environment", "women-led development" and "sab ka prayas" for participative and development-oriented governance. These merit consideration for inclusion in the list of new characteristics of Good Governance. There is evidence to suggest that India's success in the promotion of digital transactions has led to true democratisation of technology. LiFE or lifestyle for environment is a proposition that nobody can oppose, especially in the face of the climate change challenge. Women-led development compels men to shed chauvinism and accept women's intrinsic ability to lead. It's a crucial step to ensuring gender justice. Sab ka prayas, or "everyone making an effort," nips in the bud any inclination to outsource development to the government. In his blog written at Kanyakumari in May last year, PM Modi underscored the importance of the Indic concept of *antydaya*, and thereby the role of India. He said, "Our efforts, from empowering the poor to last-mile delivery, have inspired the world by prioritising individuals standing at the last rung of society."

Our ancient scriptures, history as well as culture are important inspirations to make good governance more meaningful. They make the concept more purposeful and result-oriented. As the Bhagwad Gita under-

lines, *adhishtan* is an important element at the foundation of everything, including governance. PM Modi's Karmayogi project for building capacities of government is governed by the same impulse.

The importance of Raj Dharma as reiterated by Kautilya provides a framework for leadership for modern democratic governance. Kautilya's concept is in fact an elaboration of the essentially Indic concept of *antydaya*. The *Arthashastra* reiterates that, "The king should shoulder the responsibility of children, old, childless women, diseased persons and above-all infirm who did not have any natural guardian to protect them." *Arthashastra* also describes the king as a servant of the state. In a similar vein, while describing Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's approach towards kingship, many have used the term "*upbhogshoonya swami*" — the complete ownership of subjects sans any personal aggrandisement.

India must share the responsibility of shaping the global discourse, drawing from the treasure of its civilisational worldview. The idea of South-South Cooperation would get new impetus if traditional societies take the lead in reforming the apparatus of democratic governance. PM Modi has already contributed through many distinct ideas.

The writer is in-charge of BJP's department of Good Governance



Recently, **a probationary IAS officer came under raging storm for seeking special privileges and faking certificates** to claim disability Quota. This brings light to several issues that impede their effectiveness and accountability.

Issues with Civil Services in India:

- 1. Bureaucratic Red Tape:** Excessive paperwork and procedural formalities delay decision-making processes.
 - Example: Delays in project approvals and implementation, such as infrastructure projects.
- 2. Corruption:** Instances of bribery, embezzlement, and misuse of public funds tarnish the reputation of civil services.
 - Example: The Commonwealth Games scam highlighted large-scale corruption among officials.
- 3. Lack of Accountability:** Bureaucrats often operate without clear accountability, leading to inefficiency.
 - Example: Delayed or failed government schemes without any repercussions for responsible officials.
- 4. Political Interference:** Political interference in the functioning and transfers of civil servants compromises their independence.
 - Example: Frequent transfers of IAS officers like Ashok Khemka for not aligning with political interests.

Measures to Address Issues:

1. **Simplification of Procedures:** Simplify administrative procedures to reduce bureaucratic delays.
2. **Strengthening Anti-Corruption Mechanisms:** Strengthen institutions like the Lokpal and the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC).
3. **Enhancing Accountability:** Establish clear accountability frameworks with measurable outcomes.
 - Example: Introducing performance-linked incentives and penalties for government schemes.
4. **Reducing Political Interference:** Ensure fixed tenures for key positions to reduce arbitrary transfers.
5. **Skill Development and Training:** Regular training and capacity-building programs to equip civil servants with modern skills.
 - Example: Mission Karmayogi
6. **Improving Work Culture:** Foster a culture of ethics, transparency, and accountability within the civil services.

As we emerge from simply a rule based state to socialist and welfare oriented state, modern Bureaucracy should incorporate features of **SMART Governance like simplicity, morality, accountability, responsibility and transparency.**



Government must not ape private sector's insecure gig work conditions

Government must not ape private sector's insecure gig work conditions, says SC

Krishnadas Rajagopal
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court has said in a judgment that the government, one of the largest employers in the country, must not emulate the "precarious employment arrangements" seen in the private sector with the rise of the gig economy.

"In the private sector, the rise of the gig economy has led to an increase in precarious employment arrangements, often characterised by lack of benefits, job security and fair treatment. Such practices have been criticised for exploiting workers and undermining labour standards.

Government institutions, entrusted with upholding the principles of fairness and justice, bear an even greater responsibility to avoid such exploitative employment practices," a Bench of Justices Vikram Nath and P.B. Varale said in a recent decision.



Exploitation and misuse of "temporary" contractual staff by public sector entities not only mirrors the detrimental trends observed in a gig economy but also sparks a concern, Justice Nath, who wrote the judgment, cautioned.

'Regularise staff'

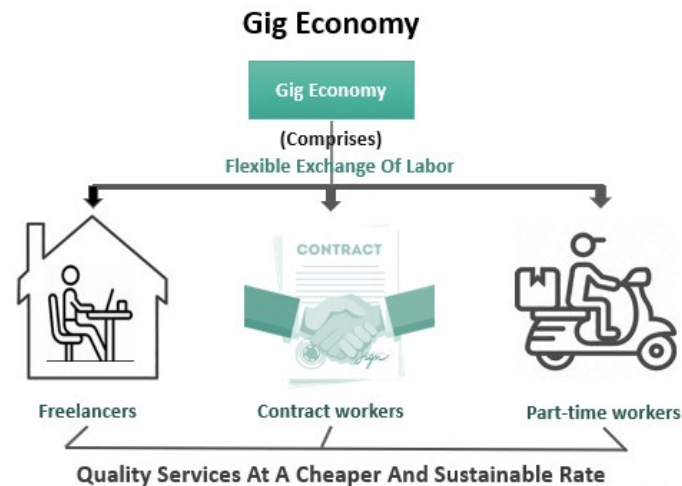
The December 20 judgment was based on appeals filed by cleaning and gardening staff employed at the Central Water Commission. They were not regularised. The Central Administrative Tribunal and the Delhi High Court agreed they were only part-time

workers not appointed against sanctioned posts and had not completed the full-time service to satisfy the criteria for regularisation. Besides, the two fora held that regularisation cannot be sought as a matter of right.

The top court set aside their termination from work and ordered their immediate regularisation.

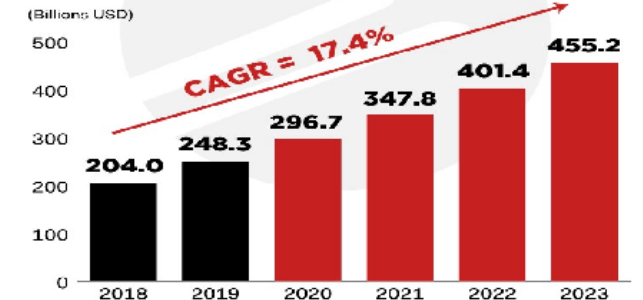
Justice Nath said courts ought to look beyond "surface labels" and consider the realities of employment: continuous, long-term service, indispensable duties, and absence of any illegalities in their appointments.

The court said that India was one of the founding members of the International Labour Organisation, which has consistently advocated for employment stability and the fair treatment of workers, particularly in contexts in which job discontinuation could exacerbate long-term unemployment.



Projected Gross Volume of the Gig Economy

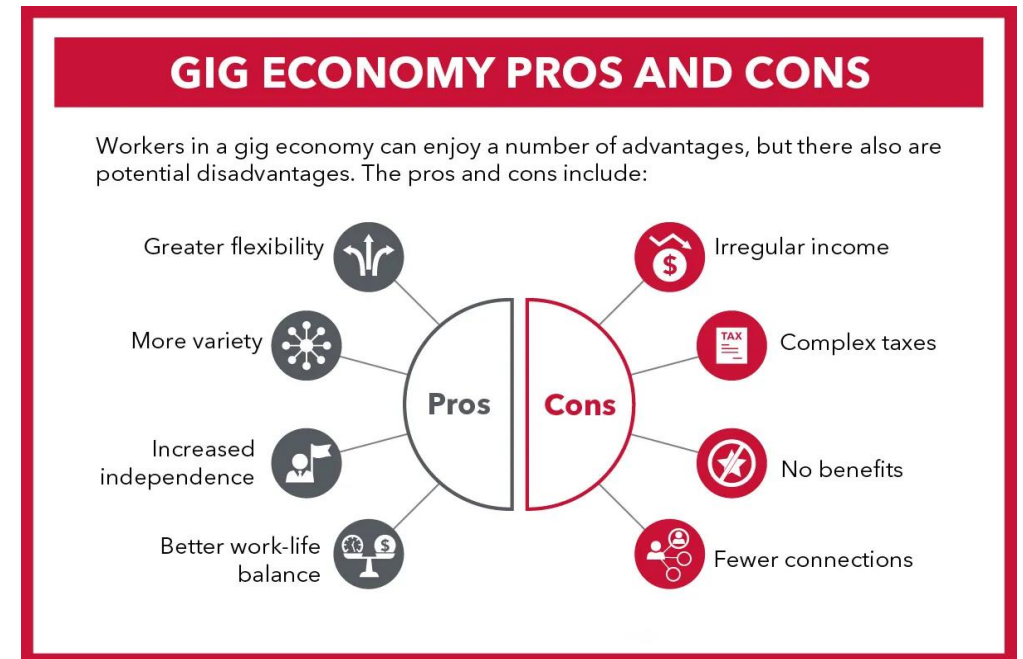
The Gig Economy is projected to grow to **\$455 B** by year-end 2023 in Gross Volume Transactions.



CONTEXT

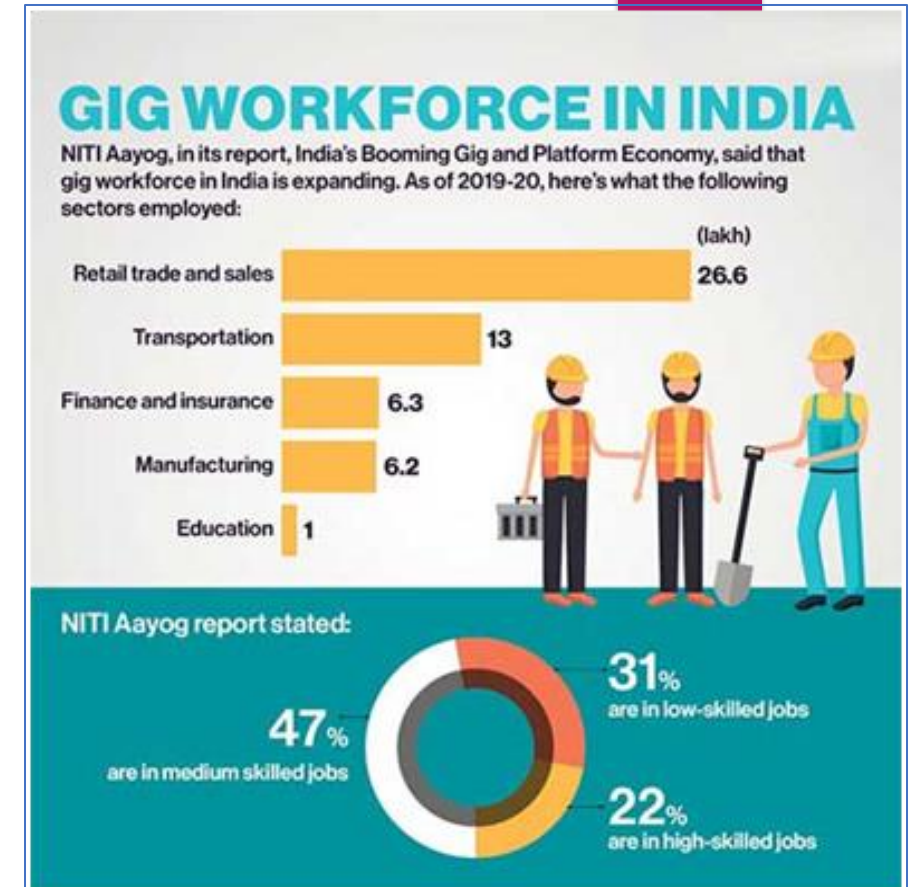
- The Supreme Court has said in a judgment that the government, one of the largest employers in the country, must not emulate the "precarious employment arrangements" seen in the private sector with the rise of the gig economy.

- ❖ “In the private sector, the rise of the gig economy has led to **an increase in precarious employment arrangements**, often characterised by **lack of benefits, job security and fair treatment**.
- ❖ Government institutions, **entrusted with upholding the principles of fairness and justice**, bear an even greater responsibility to **avoid such exploitative employment practices**.
- ❖ **The realities of employment:** continuous, longterm service, indispensable duties, and **absence of any illegalities in their appointments**.
- ❖ India was one of the **founding members of the International Labour Organisation**, which has consistently advocated for **employment stability and the fair treatment of workers**.



Gig Economy

- A gig economy is a **free market system in which organisations hire or contract workers** for a short span of time.
- Startups like **Ola, Uber, Zomato, and Swiggy** - main source of the **gig economy in India**
- Research studies by **Boston Consulting Group (BCG)** have indicated that participation in the gig economy is higher in developing countries(5-12 percent) versus developed economies(1-4 percent).
- The gig workforce is expected to **expand to 2.35 crore workers by 2029-30.**



- ❖ **low wages, unequal gender participation, and a lack of possibility for upward mobility within an organisation.**
- ❖ **Gig workers are typically hired by companies on a contractual basis and are not considered their employees.**
- ❖ **As a result, they do not receive some of the benefits that an on-roll employee of the company may have.**

GIG, A NEW-AGE ECONOMY

BENEFITS

- Creation of jobs on mass scale
- Freedom and flexibility of work
- Easy access to services
- Price advantage for consumers

DOWNSIDE

- Inconsistency in services
- Partners arm-twisted by service providers
- Difficult to trust a service provider without a recommendation from someone you trust



CHALLENGES FOR GOVT

- Highly unregulated
- Lack of policies on job structure, tax, privacy
- Exponential growth



FEW KEY PLAYERS

UBER, OLA, ZOMATO, FOODPANDA, SWIGGY, AIRBNB, UPWORK

CRUISE MODE

- Ola, Uber offered fat incentives in the initial years
 - Targets were pretty achievable
- Hundreds of thousands availed bought cars to partner with Ola, Uber
- Few claimed to earned Rs 1 lakh a month



FOR OLA, UBER DRIVERS

REVERSE GEAR

- Drivers hit downhill road as Ola, Uber gained market share
- Incentives became unattractive
- Needed more trips to meet targets, had to face growing traffic
- Crimes on passengers compounded problems

Quantum computing

What is quantum computing?

What are qubits and how do they work in quantum computing? How does a quantum computer solve problems faster than classical computers in specific tasks? Which challenges remain in building practical and scalable quantum computers?

EXPLAINER

Teljeet Gararaj

The story so far: Quantum computers are the talk of computer totes. Their potential to solve complex problems much faster than classical computers is an intriguing proposition that stands to transform several industries. A quantum computer is based on the principles of quantum mechanics, an area of physics that deals with the smallest particles in the universe. In 1982, Richard Feynman proposed the idea of developing a computer that could simulate both quantum and classical physics but researchers realised classical computers, the computers of today, would struggle with the complexity of quantum systems. Thus the idea of a quantum computer was born.

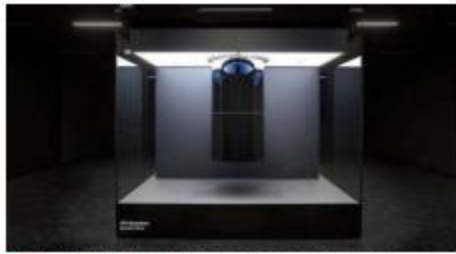
What are the basics of quantum computing?

Classical computers work on the principles of classical physics. Their fundamental computing unit is the bit. Each bit represents one piece of information with two possible values, 0 or 1. It's possible to represent all types of information as a combination of 0s and 1s using the binary system.

Quantum computers rely on quantum bits, or qubits, to perform computations. Unlike classical bits, qubits can exist in the states 0, 1 or in a state that's partly 0 and partly 1. 'State' refers to all the possible values the qubit can have.

The ability of qubits to be in two states is known as superposition. It's one of two fundamental principles that animate quantum computers. Imagine a spinning coin: while it's spinning, it can be both heads or tails, and it isn't until the coin collapses that you can see which it is. A qubit is like a spinning coin that holds both values simultaneously.

When a qubit is measured, it collapses to one of the values, 0 or 1. This means while a classical bit holds one unit of



Breaking boundaries: In 2015, IBM unveiled the world's first circuit-based commercial quantum computer, Q System One. [ibm.com/quantum](#)

information, a qubit can hold two. Because of this, quantum computers can perform multiple computations simultaneously, with the measurement revealing one of the possible outcomes of the computations.

The second fundamental principle upon which quantum computers are based is called entanglement. This phenomenon allows qubits to be intrinsically linked no matter how far apart they physically are. Measuring the state of one of the qubits will immediately yield information about the state of the other. Say you have a pair of gloves. Each glove is put in a separate box and sent to different locations, and you don't know which box has which. But once a box is opened to reveal the left glove, you instantly know the other box has the right glove.

The instantaneous correlation between qubits speeds up computations that would take far longer with classical computers.

Superposition and entanglement are exclusive to quantum mechanics and central to the potential that quantum computers have to offer.

How far have quantum computers come?

manipulate qubits, analogous to how classical computers use logic gates.

In the same year, researchers at Google reported in a paper in *Nature* that their 53-qubit 'Sycamore' processor had achieved quantum supremacy: when it can solve a problem that would take classical computers an unreasonable amount of time. The paper claimed Sycamore completed a task in 200 seconds that would have taken a supercomputer 10,000 years.

Earlier this month, Google unveiled a quantum chip called Willow, purportedly the world's first quantum processor in which error-corrected qubits improve as they scale. Quantum states are easily prone to errors due to interactions with the environment, so quantum computers need error correction to hold information long enough to perform useful calculations with them.

Willow, Google has said, can finish a standard test in five minutes whereas the same calculation could take today's best supercomputers 10 trillion trillion years.

What are the present limitations?

The advancements are flying thick and fast but there are still many significant challenges to overcome before quantum computers can become commonplace.

The chief concern is that building quantum computers remains expensive and complex. Keeping many qubits stable is also difficult because of error rates and decoherence (when a qubit loses superposition because of noise from its surroundings). The problems for which we really need quantum computers — like discovering new drugs or cracking mysteries in astronomy — also require millions of qubits.

All said, their potential to be useful is clear. This is why India launched the National Quantum Mission in 2023. The government has set aside 85,000 crore for the mission to be spent over eight years, among other things to develop quantum computers.

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THE GIST

Quantum computers rely on two key principles of quantum mechanics: superposition, where qubits can exist in multiple states, and entanglement, where qubits are linked, allowing them to share information instantly.

Key milestones include Shor's algorithm, Google's Sycamore achieving quantum supremacy, and recent advancements such as the quantum chip Willow improving error correction.

High costs, keeping qubits stable, and the need for large-scale qubits remain significant challenges, but initiatives like India's National Quantum Mission signal strong efforts to unlock their potential.

- ❖ **Quantum computing**, rooted in quantum mechanics, promises to solve complex problems beyond the reach of classical computers.
- ❖ **Proposed by Richard Feynman in 1982** to simulate quantum systems, it emerged as a solution to classical computers' limitations.
- ❖ Since then, progress includes the development of qubits **(using superposition and entanglement)**, improved error correction, and scalable hardware, paving the way for applications in **cryptography, optimization, and drug discovery**.

What is Quantum computing?

Classical Computing: Bits as Units of Information

- ❖ Classical computers operate based on principles of classical physics.
- ❖ The basic unit of information is the bit, which can be either 0 or 1.
- ❖ All types of information can be represented using combinations of 0s and 1s in the binary system.

Quantum Computing: Qubits as Fundamental Units

- ❖ Quantum computers **rely on quantum bits, or qubits**, for computations.
- ❖ Qubits can represent 0, 1, or a state that is partly 0 and partly 1 simultaneously.
- ❖ This **ability to exist in multiple states is unique to qubits** and enables quantum computations.

Superposition: A Key Quantum Principle

- ❖ Qubits **can exist in a state of superposition**, holding both 0 and 1 at the same time.
- ❖ Superposition allows quantum computers to perform multiple computations at once.

Entanglement: Quantum Correlation

- ❖ Qubits can be entangled, meaning their **states are intrinsically linked**, even if they are far apart.
- ❖ Measuring one qubit instantly provides information about the other, regardless of distance.

Advantages of Quantum Principles

- ❖ Superposition allows quantum computers to **process exponentially more data than classical computers**.
- ❖ Entanglement facilitates simultaneous information sharing, speeding up computations.

Google's Sycamore Processor: Achieving Quantum Supremacy (2019)

- ❖ **Google's 53-qubit Sycamore processor** solved a problem in 200 seconds that would take a supercomputer 10,000 years.
- ❖ This milestone marked quantum supremacy, where quantum computers outperform classical counterparts for specific tasks.

Google's Willow Quantum Chip: Scaling with Error Correction (2024)

- ❖ Google unveiled **Willow, the first quantum processor** with error-corrected qubits that improve as they scale.
- ❖ Quantum error correction is critical to maintaining quantum states long enough for meaningful calculations.
- ❖ Willow completed a standard test in 5 minutes, a task that would take the best supercomputers 10 trillion trillion years.

Limitations of Quantum Computing

- ❖ Building quantum computers is extremely expensive and technically complex.
- ❖ Maintaining the stability of qubits is challenging due to high error rates and issues like decoherence caused by environmental noise.
- ❖ Current quantum computers have limited qubits, but solving major problems (e.g., drug discovery, astronomical research) requires millions of qubits.
- ❖ Scaling quantum systems to such levels remains a significant hurdle.

National Quantum Mission: India's Commitment (2023)

- ❖ Recognizing the potential of quantum computing, India launched the **National Quantum Mission**.
- ❖ The government allocated **₹6,000 crore over eight years to advance quantum technology and develop quantum computers.**

An India- China reset

An India-China reset needs bold and new thinking

The hallmark of mature leaders is to resolve disputes peacefully and not let them escalate into conflicts. Even when a historically inherited dispute triggers a conflict, they make every effort to ensure that it is diffused through dialogue and does not balloon into a bigger conflict. On this test of maturity, Prime Minister Narendra Modi and China's President Xi Jinping have fared admirably. The military standoff between the two countries, triggered by the violent confrontation in the Galwan Valley in June 2020, has ended because of the political authority they lent to a disengagement agreement that was reached after a series of patient talks between the military and diplomatic teams of the two countries.

Shun hostility, pursue cooperation
Now, the two leaders are called upon to show the same wisdom and responsibility to address a bigger challenge. Will they make a strategic determination to move India-China relations uninterruptedly in the direction of comprehensive and mutually beneficial cooperation? Or will they allow the accumulated deposit of mutual distrust to drag the ties in the opposite direction of minimal cooperation and increased rivalry? Pursuit of the second option surely has the danger of sparking future military clashes, especially since the inherited boundary dispute is still not settled. Any new clash, small or big, will wreck peace and tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control, which is a precondition for bilateral cooperation to flourish. At a time when the world has entered an era of growing geopolitical turbulence and uncertainty, India-China hostility will add to the load of global woes. On the other hand, cooperation will not only bring immense mutual gains but also make the world a better and safer place. This is the strategic choice Mr. Modi and Mr. Xi will have to make.

Making the right choice requires bold new thinking in New Delhi and Beijing. But this is not possible unless both make an honest effort to remove mutual apprehension that one is acting against the other's core interests. Specifically, China must do three things. One, it must demonstrably convince India that it poses no threat to its national security, now or in the future – on its own or in alliance with its "all-weather friends" Pakistan. Beijing's equivoical to condemn Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Kashmir and elsewhere in India has made common Indians view China as an unfriendly nation. Second, China must not act in a manner that makes India suspect that it seeks to contain India's rise in Asia and on the global scene. As evidence, it should forcefully advocate the inclusion of India, now the world's most



Sudheendra Kulkarni
served as a close aide to the late Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in the Prime Minister's Office

Cynical practitioners of 'realpolitik' who argue that idealism has no place in diplomacy, should not be allowed to hijack the India-China discourse

populous nation, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Third, Beijing must respect India as an equal pole in a multipolar Asia and a multipolar world, knowing that India will never accept a subordinate position vis-à-vis any country in the world, including China.

On its part, India too must do three things. First, India must not be guided by the misleading notion of "power asymmetry" between the two countries, and, hence, join hands with the United States to augment its own strength through confrontational initiatives such as the Quad in dealing with the "China threat". The Quad (India, Japan, Australia and the U.S.) has made China think that New Delhi has joined Washington's "Contain China" strategy. Second, India must not deviate from its "One China" policy by appearing to support Taiwan's independence or to play the "Tiber" card. Third, it does not behave a great and independent nation such as India to allow the West's anti-China narratives to shape the Indian media's and academia's – hence our people's – thinking about its neighbour. In this writer's frequent visits to China, he has seen far less anti-India feelings among Chinese people than is the case vice versa. This is because Indian TV channels and newspapers (with some exceptions) indulge in constant anti-China propaganda. India's ruling party and the government do nothing to stop this. The Chinese media, even though it is controlled by the communist party, rarely does so.

There is nothing in the millennia-old history of the two civilisations that predestines India and China to become adversaries and rivals, much less enemies. Rather, the profound wisdom of their civilisations requires the world's two most populous nations in the world to serve certain higher ideals of humanity – peace, inclusive global development that prioritises eradication of poverty everywhere, democratic global governance, saving the planet from the climate crisis, and cultural-spiritual rejuvenation of the entire human race. We should not allow cynical practitioners of "realpolitik" on both sides, who argue that idealism has no place in the conduct of diplomacy, to hijack the India-China discourse.

Trust-building ideas

Now is the time for the world's second largest and soon to be third largest economies to become partners in domestic development. With the U.S. under Trump 2.0 threatening to hike tariffs on Chinese imports, India's large and fast-expanding market offers a growth opportunity to China's slowing economy. Similarly, China with its formidable strengths in infrastructure modernisation, green energy, electric vehicles and several other breakthrough technologies


provides greater opportunities than any other country for the realisation of India's aspiration to become a 'Viksit Bharat' (developed nation).

India and China are Global South countries. As such, their cooperation can greatly help other developing countries and, especially, underdeveloped countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. If India and China enhance convergence in their foreign policies, they can bring greater stability, predictability and fairness to global governance, which is now becoming increasingly ineffectual. For example, should not the two countries work together to end the Russia-Ukraine war and for peace in West Asia? And why not, closer home, in strife-torn areas of Myanmar? Be it Myanmar or India's own disturbed State of Manipur, a common problem is the lack of opportunities for employment and upward mobility for the youth. Hence, the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar (BCIM) Corridor, languishing on paper for nearly two decades, can bring prosperity to India's north-eastern States, besides adding strength to India's Act East policy.

The more immediate problems

All these trust-building ideas are what can be called high-hanging fruits. A lot of time, hard work and careful nurturing is needed before they can be harvested. There are, however, five low-hanging fruits ready for picking. First, direct flights, suspended after the outbreak of COVID-19, must be restarted. Second, the Indian government should begin issuing visas to Chinese businesspeople, engineers, technicians, and also to scholars and tourists eager to visit India. Last year, China issued visas to over 2,00,000 Indians; in contrast, India issued less than 10,000 visas to Chinese nationals. Third, New Delhi and Beijing should reverse their decisions that led to the exit of Chinese journalists from India and Indian journalists from China. Fourth, the Indian government had banned dozens of Chinese apps, including WeChat, in the wake of the Galwan Valley clash. The ban should be lifted. Fifth, the two countries should quickly make big moves on trade and investment. China can easily reduce the huge deficit in the bilateral trade by importing more from India. As rightly suggested by India's Chief Economic Adviser V. Anantha Nageswaran, another way to manage this trade imbalance is by getting more foreign direct investment from China. Today, almost every big Indian business house is hungry for joint ventures, technology tie-ups and third-country expert collaborations with Chinese companies. Let 2025 be a breakthrough year for India-China cooperation. A telling demonstration of this could be an official visit by Mr. Xi to India or Mr. Modi's visit to China early next year.

- ❖ The military stand off between the two countries, triggered by the **violent confrontation in the Galwan Valley** in June 2020, has ended because of the political authority they lent to a disengagement agreement that was reached after a **series of patient talks between the military and diplomatic teams** of the two countries.

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- ❖ At a time when the world has entered an **era of growing geopolitical turbulence and uncertainty**, India-China hostility will add to the load of global woes.
 - ❖ On the other hand, cooperation will not only bring immense mutual gains but also make the world a better and safer place

Specifically, China must do three things.

- ❖ One, it must demonstrably convince India that it poses no threat to its national security, now or in the future .
- ❖ Second, China must not act in a manner that makes India suspect that it seeks to contain India's rise in Asia and on the global scene.
- ❖ Third, Beijing must respect India as an equal pole in a multipolar Asia and a multipolar world.

On its part, India too must do three things.

- ❖ First, India must not be guided by the misleading notion of **“power asymmetry”** between the two countries.
- ❖ Second, India must not deviate from its **“One China” policy by appearing to support Taiwan’s independence** or to play the “Tibet” card.
- ❖ Third, it does not allow the West’s anti-China narratives to shape the Indian media’s and academia’s — hence our people’s — thinking about its neighbour

Trust-building ideas

- ❖ Now is the time for the world’s second largest and soon-to-be third largest economies to become partners in domestic development.
- ❖ India’s large and fast-expanding market offers a growth opportunity to China’s slowing economy.

- ❖ China with its formidable strengths in **infrastructure modernisation, green energy, electric vehicles** and several other breakthrough technologies provides greater opportunities for the **realisation of India's aspiration to become a 'Viksit Bharat'** (developed nation).

The more immediate problems

- ❖ First, **direct flights**, suspended after the outbreak of COVID-19, must be restarted.
- ❖ Second, the Indian government **should begin issuing visas to Chinese businesspeople**, engineers, technicians, and also to scholars and tourists eager to visit India.
- ❖ Three, New Delhi and Beijing should **reverse their decisions that led to the exit of Chinese journalists** from India and Indian journalists from China.
- ❖ Fourth, the Indian government had banned dozens of Chinese apps, including WeChat, in the wake of the Galwan Valley clash. **The ban should be lifted.**
- ❖ Fifth, the two countries should **quickly make big moves on trade and investment.**



Thank you

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