

CHANGE

AND

CHANGE

AGENTS

13-11-89

PHILOSOPHICAL BACKDROP

- o Philosophy may be a bad word in the present day world.
- o Call it overview, system, — just simple thinking about interconnected elements.
- o What is human destiny?
- o There are bodily needs, then mental and spiritual (?) needs.
- o Many theories ... They come and go
- o Every one gropes to find a mooring — Somethings 'click'
  - a Buddha, a Jesus, a Mohammed
  - a Jefferson, a Marx, a Voltaire
  - a Mao
  - many more ...

(p to)

- o 19<sup>th</sup> Century determinism is dead. May be along with ~~the~~ simple optimism — simplicity of human hope
- o Many young men and women have given up ~~life~~ lives, soaked in blood or in quiet silence — all for a cause, for a change
- o Ideas or impulses for a change are sometimes imagined by themselves; sometimes injected into their mind. Sometimes in response to sheer bodily urges including hunger.
- o There are other aspects:
  - land, power over others, wealth, beauty, . . .
- o Trade of men, materials, land.

humane!  
suppression

- o Trade in thoughts <sup>crisis</sup>
- o Slavery direct and indirect <sup>with anger</sup>
  - domination, subjugation, revolt.
- o Rule of law —
  - Questions of whose law.
- o Science & Technology
  - its dynamics
  - passions and predilections of those who practice it.
  - Tools of destruction & construction.
- o Political economy & Political Science & art.
  - Who is right
  - What is humane?
  - Statesmanship or real politics
- o Information:
  - Power — openness
  - Iron and nylon curtains

o Information as trade  
and commerce.

- Masses of papers
- Billions of bytes
- What is tone?

o In search of

- Truth
- Harmony
- Pleasure
- Peace
- change
- Stability
- - - -

o Yes, human destiny will  
continue with the perennial  
search of opposites -

will try for synergy,  
symbiotic relationships,

safety, social coziness,  
individual thrills - - - -

o While there are number of commonalities between human beings, the differences between them, in ~~themselves~~ <sup>themselves</sup> and over periods of time cannot and should not be underestimated — there is no single homogeneous mass.

o It is a mind boggling diversity & — occasionally catching some unitary symbols.

There is a permanent search of stability with everything being transient — ~~person~~ desire for <sup>a</sup> change not knowing what is desired.

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in communication  
Fall or change  
changes

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

(GEO POLITICS)

- o Philosophy will go on and on . . . . studying human societies, talking about them, telling about their futures, theorising on a few models . .
- o In Societies live, act, despair, change with or without a philosophy or ideology . . . .
- o Present changes are rapid Rise Newly Industrialised countries . . Rise of fundamentalism in many societies . . . . Fall or change of Soviet monolith . . changes in Eastern Europe . . Many theorising

that Marxism is dead ; some  
hoping that it is only the Stalinist  
model, and Trotskyism or its  
variations may have a hope...

Some feeling that Adam Smith  
has won. . . Some talking of the  
'counterailing power' having inalterably  
changed the face of capitalism.

Reagonomics . . . Thatcherism . . .

. . . Will Bismarck stage a comeback  
in Germany? . . . Some talking of

"Fall of Capitalism and Socialism".

or "Beyond Left and Right" . . .

o There is a demand for freedom -  
of speech, of movement, of choices . . .  
Freedom for enjoyment . . . many

Societies appear to be opting  
for such freedoms including  
freedoms for nostalgia (nationalistic  
fervours) . . . . Beijing alone  
seems to be going against the  
"current" . . . .

o Crucial question is not yet  
answered . . . may not be answered.  
Freedom for what? . . . for  
whom? . . . . those who ask for  
such freedoms in societies which  
did had "guided democracies"  
"people's democracy" or "proletarian  
democracy", will abhor such  
questions . . . it appears that  
their desire is for the freedom to

enjoy life without heavy and  
abstract ideals --- somewhat  
similar to what is being done  
in the Western societies, which  
went through their phases of  
Hippies, New Left, etc and seem to  
be in the Yuppie phase ---

- o Is the world going towards only  
Consumerism backed up and  
sustained by "business interests"  
~~etc~~ (the term includes PR and  
ad persons) --- Is it a march  
towards Huxley's Brave New World  
managed by the complexity of PR,  
media and marketing ~~etc~~ persons?
- o Even when 'Eastern bloc' moves  
C.H.T.

towards the "new opening up"  
will the West move towards "some  
newer forms of closing up" - - -

or like all these questions will

o Is there going to be some  
"uniformisation" because of  
rapid access and exchange of  
information between peoples of  
various societies? - because tight  
closure is no longer possible?

o ~~Is~~ <sup>Is</sup> 'Technology' going to  
be one of the new tools of  
uniformisation or conflict?  
of domination or liberation?

o These questions will continue  
to loom around? Answers are

not easy to come by? Can  
we wait till we get the answers?  
Or is life ~~a~~ not a long process  
of <sup>taking actions</sup> ~~acting~~ and learning and  
questioning . . . .

o It is with all these questions  
and jumble of ideas, let us  
approach what India can do?  
What can be done for India?

( There is an implicit faith  
in such a statement that  
change is a must and  
SOME CHANGE AGENTS HAVE  
TO TAKE STEPS )

# INDIA — ITS STRUCTURE

FOR TAKING ACTIVE

STEPS FOR CHANGE

## o OBJECTIVE

- o Reach the tools and processes of change to the people — a change towards 'good'.

~~REACHED~~ HOW TO ACHIEVE THE

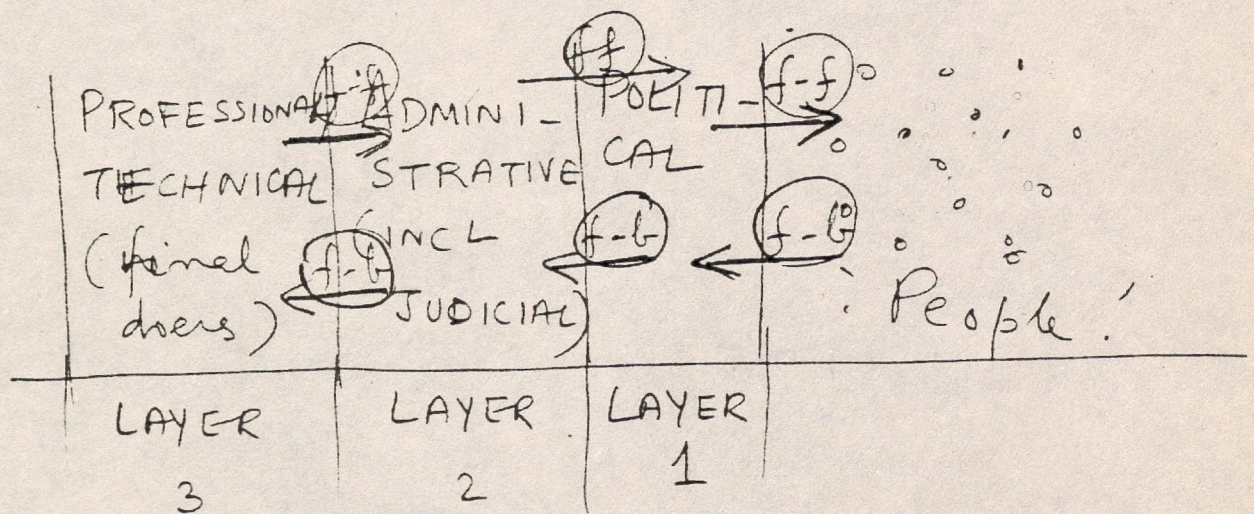
OBJECTIVE

- o In a broad aggregated level we can assume three layers before reaching 'people'. (~~Each~~ All these layers themselves are composed of

persons drawn from 'people'.

There are interactions between the layers to people directly also.

The layers are not homogeneous. 'People' are not homogeneous mass.



LAYER 1: in its ideal form is close to people.

LAYER 2: has to necessarily stand apart — but still has its own sensing mechanisms. It binds controls layers 1 & 2 and controls layer 3.

LAYER 3: A large mass of

professional, scientists/engineers,  
thinkers, technicians, <sup>artists, writers</sup> etc.  
(Incl from those of private  
sector.) & ~~R~~ Mostly they  
do not feel the 'pulses' of  
most of LAYER 1  
the people directly [and more  
'charmed' by their own work  
and 'push for it'.

o The abovementioned separation  
is necessary for functioning  
two-way  
But good interfaces between  
the layers are necessary.

It is also necessary that interfaces  
between Layer 1 & people  
are necessary two ways

o If the ~~int~~ linkages are  
not two ways.

} o FEED - FORWARD ?  
o FEED - BACK

there will problems for change  
e.g (i) If it is only a feedback  
from people to POLITICAL LAYER  
in general, in a society which  
is largely so poor, ~~you~~ there  
will be no possibility of new  
ideas. LAYER-1 should also  
communicate what is possible  
- constraints etc; then get  
feedback; it is a continuing  
process.

(ii) If it is only LAYER 1  
feeding orders to people, what  
is good for them, etc we will  
have the situation of Eastern  
Europe or the early regime  
of Shah of Iran ('autocratic'  
regimes).

(ii) Similarly if Layer 2

works on feedforward only with no feedback from Layer 1 of what it has got from people through its f-f & f-b interactions, you will have a non-responsive administration.

(iii) If on the contrary

LAYER 2 works only f-b from Layer 1 with no f-f to it, the rule of law may be jeopardised.

(iv) If Layer 3 works only with f-b from Layer 2 and f-f at all to it, there will be no professionalism.

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(v) If on the contrary if Layer 3 receives no f-b from Layer 2 and works on f-f to Layer 1, you have the danger of 'elitism' and so on.

- o Of course, if there are no feedbacks at all f-f or f-b between the layers there is a much greater danger of breakdown of that society.
- o There are also other dangers in such inter-communications. The interest of persons who occupy places in the 3 Layers

if they are sizeable in numbers, may get confused as that of ~~the~~ 'people' itself — it leads <sup>to</sup> the situation of "interests of the ruling class".

o If the interface layers & communication channels between the people and various layers, happen to be filtered by the interests or understanding of ~~the~~ groups of person in a particular age - group only, you have a situation of "GENERATION GAP"

o Marxist analyses have

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failed because they modelled "people" as definitive groups, temporally unchanging. The three layers were structured on a simple models — with f-f, f-b, etc. fixed - defined, control limits based on the aggregated theory of classes of people. External ~~to~~ environments were totally ignored.

- o Communal or 'nationalistic' groups define peoples in terms of language, faith etc. as simple classes, (time-invariant). The models of intra- & inter-communication between layers are therefore simplistically designed (and time-invariant). They collapse over a period, convulsively

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o Other so called 'centrist' groups approach the issue as an issue of "small scale" operations" at appropriate levels, or as a PR or in terms of "nexus of cash" and so on. No vision, no grand theories; - - As long as the broad classes or groups of people are roughly similar in the consumption of basic needs, as long as there are no difficult cultural inhomogenities, or difficult ~~or~~ historical memories, this approach would appear to work - often successfully.

a One key is into

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- o In the Indian situation "people"
  - are not a homogeneous group:
  - Many differences: language, religion, historical memories (real and imagined), disparities in income, differences in age groups, some extremely modern groups, etc.

~~Thus~~ The layers are also equally fragmented. . . double feed-backs rarely work. . . it is partly cultural, partly structural . . .

- o If the objective is to maintain the STATUS QUO it is best done with a "strong" Layer 1 working in conjunction with "strong and cooperating" Layer 2. Rarely will the Layer 3 be creative under such situations.

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o If the Layers 1 & 2 are weak there will be generalised "anarchy" and Layer 3 will be unproductive, goalless

o If The stated OBJECTIVE  
of CHANGE FOR GOOD

is to be achieved the THREE  
Layers have to be in

SYNCHRONY, IN PHASE

and there have to be

connections  $f - f$  &  $f - b$

with different groups of people. We should avoid "short-circuits" within the layers - between layers.

o How do we achieve it?

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© Firstly avoid the penchant of the Indian intellectuals to debate endlessly on abstract ideas: e.g. What is change? What is good? What is 'change for good'? Do change required?

But note: avoidance of or sidelining of any such group of deb "permanent debaters" in Layer 3 & "Committee-wallah" in Layer 2 will form a group which will be looking for "fishing in troubled waters"... to jump at the <sup>very</sup> first failure... "Did I not tell you" or through clever "leaks".

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- ① In India such floating  
— uncommitted groups are  
powerful ; vociferous . Within  
Layer 2 they are the "file  
pushers"
- ② In Layer 1 , the number  
of modernising groups are  
very few — some groups are  
very greedy — short term personal  
gains are more important  
for them — some reflect the  
'raw' passions of the 'people'  
— of groups of them — without  
the feed-back processing  
These lobbies have "power"  
— they hold "keys" to some  
places — — — —
- One key action is to identify

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elements in Layer 1 who have  
the CHARISMA and the intelligence.  
For the country of this size at  
least 400 to 500 such elements  
are required. They would need  
to be homogenised through  
communications at least on a  
few selected items.

- o In Layer 2 for these items  
there is a need to have a few  
(200 to 500) key persons at  
various levels & places
- o At Level 3 many persons  
capable of execution, creative  
and committed, modern, etc  
~~the~~ are required.

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o Above all persons capable  
inter-layer communication  
would need to be identified  
and nurtured.

o It means new value  
systems.

o QUESTIONS

- How to overcome <sup>the</sup> existing  
inertia and vested interests  
peacefully?

- How to ensure that the  
'avant garde' groups don't  
become 'autocratic' or  
'despotic' — or 'con-persons'?

- The key is to <sup>make</sup> ~~the~~ key  
the f-f and f-b

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between <sup>the three</sup> layers and the people

active and self-correcting.

Occasionally some of the layers have to be penetrated in the f-f & f-b action. How to build such systems? And replicate them

- ~~Can~~ these be achieved without a towering charismatic personality?

- Can these linkages be left to be developed by the market forces

- Is there a prescription for India?

- Can a few items be identified to catch the national imagination? Can a

synchrony between the layers be achieved around these items?

- How much the new structures & forms help in this process?

- What are these new structures?
- How to keep 'openness' and 'disciplined actions' at the same time, given the penchant of ~~the~~ some of the elites of the system to be 'contemplative' or 'argumentative'?
- Even assuming that solutions ~~to act~~ clues towards actions are available, ~~is~~ is it possible to by-pass a phase of confusion? ~~The~~ USSR's experience with glasnost & perestroika cannot be forgotten though the Indian situation is different? Can the society stand the confusing state? ~~for~~ How long?

- How to reconcile the reality of the 'India' of 150 millions and the 'Bharat' of 700 millions especially with the complexity between these groups themselves (in terms of caste, religion, language etc)?
- Will this 'duality' of India continue? How long? Is it possible to 'synergise ~~it~~ them' & 'synthesize them'?
- What are those few items in which both these groups can find a common 'goal' and 'common interests'?
  - Interactive education?
  - Visuals in TV?
  - Actual working together?

**CHANGE**

**AND**

**CHANGE AGENTS**

Prepared by

Y.S. RAJAN

November 13, 1989

## PHILOSOPHICAL BACKDROP

- Philosophy may be a bad word in the present day world.
- Call it overview, system, - just simple thinking about interconnected elements.
- What is human destiny?
- There are bodily needs, then mental and spiritual(?) needs
- Many theories.....they come and go
- Every one gropes to find a mooring – Some things 'click' – a Buddha, a Jesus, a Mohammed, a Voltaire, a Jefferson, a Marx, a Mao.....many more.....
- 19<sup>th</sup> century determinism is dead. May be along with that the simple optimism – the simplicity of human hope.
- Many young men and women have given up lives, soaked in blood or in quiet silence – all for a cause, for a change.
- Ideas or impulses for a change are, for example:
  - Sometimes imagined by themselves; sometimes injected into their mind; sometimes in response to sheer body urges including hunger.
  - There are other aspects, as well; for example desire for:
    - Land; power over others; wealth; beauty;.....
  - Other issues that impact change are:
    - Trade of humans, materials, land.
    - Trade in thoughts.
    - Slavery direct and indirect – domination, subjugation, revolt.
    - Rule of law – questions of whose law.
    - Science & Technology
      - its dynamics
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      - Who is right?
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- Information:
  - Power – openness
  - Iron and nylon curtains
- Information as trade and commerce.
  - Masses of papers
  - Billions of bytes
  - What is true?
- In search of
  - Truth
  - Harmony
  - Pleasure
  - Peace
  - Change
  - Stability

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- Yes, human destiny will continue with the perennial search of opposites – will try for synergy, symbiotic relationships, safety, social cosiness, individual thrills.....
- While there are number of commonalities between human beings, the differences between them, in themselves and over periods of time, cannot and should not be underestimated – there is no single homogeneous mass.
- It is a mind boggling diversity – occasionally crutching some unitary symbols.

There is a permanent search of stability with everything being transient – as well as a desire for a change, often not knowing what is desired.

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### **THE GLOBAL CONTEXT** **(GEOPOLITICS)**

- Philosophy will go on and on .....studying human societies, talking about them, telling about their futures, theorising on a few models...
- Societies live, act, despair, change with or without a philosophy or ideology.....
- Present changes are: rapid Rise of Newly Industrialised countries..... Rise of fundamentalism in many societies..... Fall or change of Soviet monolith.....

Changes in Eastern Europe...../Many theorising that Marxism is dead; some hoping that it is only the Stalinist model, and Trotskyism or its variations may have a hope..... Some feeling that Adam Smith has won... Some talking of the 'Countervailing power' having inalterably changes the face of capitalism..... Reaganomics..... Thatcherism.....will Bismark stage a comeback in Germany?... Some talking of "Fall of Capitalism and Socialism". Or "Beyond Left and Right"....

- There is a demand for freedom – of speech, of movement, of choices.. Freedom for enjoyment... many societies appear to be opting for such freedoms including freedoms for nostalgia (nationalistic fervours)..... Beijing alone seems to be going against the "current"....
- Crucial question is not yet answered... may not be answered... Freedom for what? .. for whom?..... those who ask for such freedoms in societies which had "guided democracies" "peoples' democracy" or "proletarian democracy", will abhor such questions..... it appears that their desire is for the freedom to enjoy life without heavy and abstract ideals..... somewhat similar to what is being done in the Western societies, which went through their phases of Hippies, New Left, etc and seem to be in the Yuppie phase.....
- Is the world going towards only consumerism backed up and sustained by "business interests" (the term includes PR and ad persons).....It is a march towards Huxley's Brave New World managed Brave New World managed by complexity of PR, media and marketing persons?
- Even when 'Eastern blocs' moves towards the "new opening up" will the West move towards "some newer forms of closing up".....
- Is there going to be some "uniformisation" because of rapid access and exchange of information between peoples of various societies? – because tight closure is no longer possible?
- Is 'Technology' going to be one of the new tools of uniformisation or conflict? Of domination or liberation?
- These questions will continue to boom around? Answers are not easy to come by? Can we wait till we get the answers? Or is life not a long process of taking actions and bearing and questioning.....
- It is with all these question<sup>s</sup> and jumble of ideas, let us approach what India can do? What can be done for India? (There is an implicit faith in such a statement that change is a must and some CHANGE AGENTS HAVE TO TAKE STEPS)

## INDIA - ITS STRUCTURE

### FOR TAKING ACTIVE

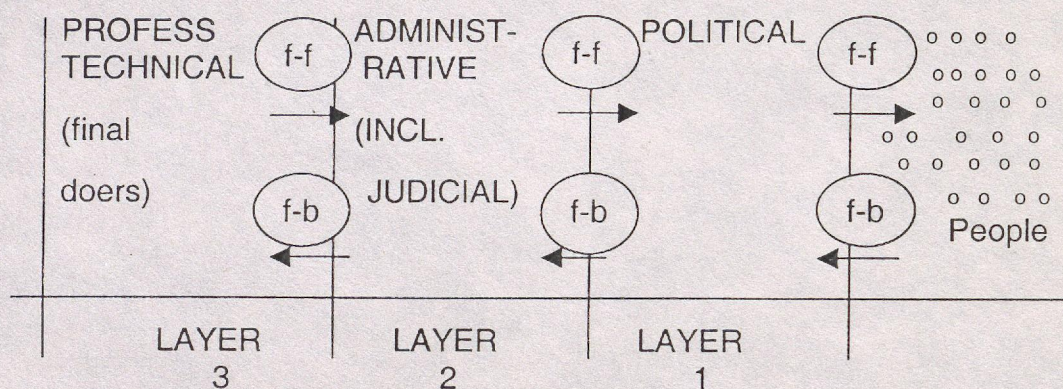
### STEPS FOR CHANGE

#### o OBJECTIVE

- o Reach the tools and processes of change to the people – a change towards 'good'.

#### HOW TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE

- o In a broad aggregated level we can assume three layers before reaching 'people'. (All these layers themselves are composed of persons drawn from 'people'. There are interactions between the layers to people directly also. The layers are not homogeneous. 'People' are not homogeneous mass).



LAYER 1: in its ideal form is close to people.

LAYER 2: has to necessarily stand apart – but still has its own sensing mechanisms. It binds layers 1 & 2 and controls layer 3.

LAYER 3: A large mass of professional, scientists/engineers, lawyers, managers, thinkers, technicians, artists, writers, business persons, petty traders, workers, etc. [Incl. those of private sector]. Mostly they do not feel the 'pulses' of the people directly nor of LAYER 1 and more 'charmed' by their own work and 'push for it'.

- o The above mentioned separation is necessary for functioning. But good two-way interfaces between the layers are necessary. It is also necessary that interfaces between Layer 1 & people are necessary two ways.
- o If the linkages are not two ways.

{ \* FEED - FORWARD } (f-f)  
AND { \* FEED - BACK } (f-b)

There will be problems for change e.g.

- (i) If it is only a feed back from people to POLITICAL LAYER in general, in a society which is largely so poor, there will be no possibility of new ideas. LAYER-1 should also communicate what is possible – constraints etc; then get feedback; it is a continuing process.
  - (ii) If it is only LAYER-1 feeding orders to people, what is good for them, etc. we will have the situation of Eastern Europe or the early regime of Shah of Iran ('autocratic' regimes).
  - (iii) Similarly if Layer 2 works on feed forward only with no feedback from Layer1 of what it has got from people through its f-f & f-b interactions, you will have a non-responsive administration.
  - (iv) If on the contrary LAYER 2 works only on f-b from LAYER 1 with no f-f to it, the rule of law may be jeopardised.
  - (v) If Layer 3 works only with f-b from Layer 2 and on f-f at all to it, there will be no professionalism. (What is mostly in India!)
  - (vi) If on the contrary if Layer 3 receives no f-b form Layer 2 and works on f-f to Layer 1, you have danger of 'elitism' and so on. (Also happening I a few sectors like science in India)
- Of course, if there are no feedbacks at all that is no f-f or f-b between the layers, then there is a much greater danger of breakdown of that society.
  - There are also other dangers in such inter-communications. The interest of persons who occupy places in the Layers if they are sizeable in numbers, may get confused as that of 'people' itself – it leads to the situation of "interests of the ruling class".
  - If the interface layers & communication channels between the people and various layers, happen to be filtered by the interests or understanding of groups of person in a particular age-group only, you have a situation of "GENERATION GAP".
  - Marxist analyses have failed because they modelled "people" as definitive groups, temporally unchanging. The three layers were structured on a simple models – with f-f, f-b, etc. pre-defined, control limits based on the aggregated theory of classes of people. External environments were totally ignored.
  - Communal or 'nationalistic' groups define people in terms of language, faith etc. as simple classes, (time-invariant). The models of intra - & inter – communication between layers are therefore simplistically designed (and time-invariant). They collapse over a period, convulsively.
  - Other so called 'centrist' groups approach the issue as an issue of "small scale operations" at appropriate levels, or as a PR or in terms of "nexus of cash" and so on. No vision, no grand theories,.... As long as the broad classes or groups of

people are roughly similar in the consumption of basic needs, as long as there are no difficult cultural inhomogenities, or difficult historical memories, this approach would appear to work – often successfully. (Narrow spectrum operation which will appear to be homogeneous!)

- In the Indian situation, “people” are not a homogeneous group: Many differences: language, religion historical memories (real and imagined disparities in income, differences in age groups, some extremely modern groups, etc.

The layers are also equally fragmented. ... double feed backs rarely work....it is partly cultural, partly structural.....

- If the objective is to maintain the STATUS QUO it is best done with a “strong” Layer 1 working in conjunction with “strong and cooperating” Layer 2. Rarely will the layer 3 be creative under such situations.
- If the Layers 1 & 2 are weak, there will be generalised “anarchy” and Layer 3 will be unproductive, goalless.
- If the Stated OBJECTIVE OF CHANGE FOR GOOD is to be achieved the THREE layers have to be in SYNCHRONY, IN PHASE and there has to be continuous f-f & f-b with different groups of people. We should avoid “short-circuits” within the layers – between layers, though a some minimal transient informal f-f and f-b’s between them will be useful.....
- How do we achieve it?
- Firstly avoid the penchant of the Indian intellectuals to debate endlessly on abstract ideas: e.g. What is change? What is good? What is change for good? Is change required?

But note: avoidance of or sidelining of any such group of “permanent debaters” in Layer 3 & “Committee – wallahs in Layer 2 will form a group which will be looking for “fishing in troubled waters”... to jump at the very first failure. “Did I not tell you” or through clever “leaks”... or a preliminary public accountability report.....

- In India such floating – uncommitted groups are powerful; vociferous. Within Layer 2 they are the “file pushers” ; in layer 3, those who make correct noises depending on the audience; .....
- In Layer 1, the number of modernising groups are very few – some groups are very greedy – short term personal gains are more important for them – some reflect the ‘raw’ passions of the ‘people’ – of groups of them – without any feed-back processing. These lobbies have “power” – they hold “keys” to some places.....
- One key action is to identify elements in Layer 1 who have the CHARISMA and the intelligence. For the country of this size at least 400 to 500 such elements are required. They would need to be homogenised through communications at least on a few selected items.

- o In Layer 2 for these items there is a need to have a few (200-500) key persons at various levels & places.
- o At Level 3 many persons capable of execution, creative and committed, modern, etc. are required.
- o Above all a few hundred of persons capable inter-layer communication would need to be identified and nurtured.
- o It means new value systems.

- o QUESTIONS

- How to overcome the existing inertia and vested interests peacefully?
- How to ensure that the 'avant garde' groups don't become 'autocratic' or 'despotic' – or 'con-persons'?
- The key is to make the f-f and f-b between the three layers and the people active and self-correcting; occasionally some of the layers have to be penetrated in the f-f & f-b action. How to build such systems? And replicate them .
- Can these be achieved without a towering charismatic personality?
- Can these linkages be left to be developed by the market forces?
- Is there a prescription for India?
- Can a few items be identified to catch the national imagination? Can a synchrony between the layers be achieved around these items?
- How much the new structures & forms help in this process?
- What are these new structures?
- How to keep 'openness' and 'disciplined actions' at the same time, given the penchant of some of the elites in the system to be 'contemplative' or 'argumentative'?
- Even assuming that clues towards actions are available, is it possible to by-pass a phase of confusion? USSR's experience with glasnost & perestroika cannot be forgotten though the India situation is different! Can the society stand the confusion state? How long?
- How to reconcile the reality of the 'India' of 150 millions and the 'Bharat' of 700 millions especially with the complexity between those groups themselves (in terms of caste, religion, language, social/economic status, etc.)?
- Will this 'duality' of India continue? How long? Is it possible to 'synergise' them & 'synthesize them'?
- What are those few items in which both these groups can find a common 'goal' and 'common interests'?
  - o Interactive education?
  - o Visuals in TV?
  - o Actual working together?
  - o Transforming folk-arts & music into a tourism industry? (Watch out for the cries of cultural domination).