

Unanswered Questions

It is, not understandable why New Delhi is pussy-footing on Islamabad's involvement in the hijacking. If the government has the information, as Prime Minister's Secretary Brijesh Mishra has claimed to possess, then it should let the country and the world know. The impression given by official sources is that ISI men planned the hijacking and guided negotiations all through, although the Taliban were in the forefront.

It was never anybody's case that New Delhi should not have released the three terrorists when it was the only option to save the lives of more than 150 passengers and the crew of the hijacked Indian Airlines plane. The complaint is that the government has not answered the questions wracking the people's mind. Three weeks have gone by but none is wiser than before.

hour after leaving Kathmandu, that they wanted to have direct talks with the government of India and that they wanted the release of the 31-year-old Maulvi Masood Azhar, imprisoned ideologue of the Harkat-ul-Ansar. What was New Delhi's purpose in delaying the negotiations? Why did they not agree to Azhar's release and clinch the settlement when the plane was still in India?

New Delhi could not even expose the mercenary approach of the hijackers. It was essentially a war of nerves. It was only after reaching Kandahar that the hijackers, who wanted Azhar to begin with, raised their demand to the release of 35 more terrorists. Surprisingly, even before the Union Cabinet met to sanction the release of the three, the Pakistan press had already reported that only three people were sought to be released.

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In the last stint of the Vajpayee government, the Home Ministry had promised to issue a White Paper on terrorism from across the border. The document, listing Pakistan's activities, was withheld after printing. Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit to Lahore reportedly came in the way. The White Paper should be distributed now.

The Taliban have, no doubt, 80 to 90 per cent of Afghanistan under them. But they have only enforced their authority, not established it. They lack popular support and their legitimacy is still questioned. The much-wanted Osama Bin Laden continues to enjoy their protection.

They, as a Pakistan expert has said, are 'recognised more as a source of terrorism — the world's largest poppy-growing area for drug trafficking and violation of human rights — than as an orderly, civilised state.' One only hopes that New Delhi's contact with the Taliban is not followed up with something else.

The government must realise that the Taliban allowed the hijackers and the three terrorists to disappear. Whether they crossed into Quetta or not is not relevant. Both the Taliban and Islamabad will see to it that no harm comes to them. If at all Pakistan does arrest them, under pressure of the world opinion, it would be a stage managed show. Former ISI chief of Pakistan Hamid Gul has already said: 'The borders between Afghanistan and Pakistan are very porous. There is no way you could monitor them or exercise control over them there. In the area, there are tribes which straddle both sides. They can give them (the hijackers) sanctuary and will not hand them over.'

One recalls how the Khalistanis, who hijacked the Indian Airlines plane to Lahore, more than two decades ago, were kept in a bungalow after they were arrested and 'sentenced' by a Pakistani court. They were never sent to jail. They are now free persons. The arrest of hijackers, who also murdered an Indian passenger, does not mean much in Pakistan. They should be handed over to India if the ends of justice are to be met.

BETWEEN THE LINES

Kuldip Nayar writes from New Delhi

There has to be an inquiry by a commission headed by a Supreme Court or the High Court judge, serving or retired, to go into the entire gamut of hijacking and the government's response at different times.

And it was sad to note that Jaswant Singh's telephone calls to foreign ministers of several countries elicited no immediate response. President Clinton spoke on Kashmir but did not mention a word about the hijacking when the lives of some 160 men, women and children were hanging in the balance. A few countries said something through their spokesmen, more to please New Delhi than to name the instigators of hijackers. Even the tone of condemnation was cursory.

When the negotiations began, there were leisurely sessions. It is understandable that the team headed by a joint secretary could not take any decision on its own. But the communication, back and forth, was too sluggish. India lost an opportunity to put the hijackers in the wrong. For example, it could have accepted straightaway two out of the three demands, paying in cash \$200 million and sending the body of Harkat-ul-Ansar chief Sajjad Afghan in a coffin. The Taliban got the credit for making the hijackers withdraw those demands.

mandu, in a Lahore daily, *The Nation*, that 'the ball is in India's court in the sense that New Delhi will have to accommodate the hijackers' demand of release of three of their competitors.' Incidentally, this again shows how much Pakistan knew about the hijacking all along. But merely denying, as General Musharraf has done, or by saying that it is India's plot as Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar has done, Islamabad does not absolve itself of the charge that it was an ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) show.

In retrospect, what should one say about Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman Tariq Ifta, who said within 48 hours of the hijacking: 'A reliable source told us that an Indian agent is on board the plane. Soon you will know the identity of this RAW agent.' Hostility towards India makes the Pakistan Foreign Office tell a white lie, without batting an eyelid.

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Hijacking or Drama?

With the world not convinced about Pakistan's alleged involvement, with the Taliban not reacting according to the world perception about their supposed reputation and domestic pressure building up, India decided it was time to cut their losses and exercise damage control.

WHILE there will always remain an element of mystery about all hijackings, not the least during the event itself, that fog dissipates to a great extent once the hijacking is over. If the stated demands remain constant with the actual motives of the hijacking, within the first few hours of the hijacking, it was clear that there was more to the hijacking than the act itself. The way the Indian media went at Pakistan from the word go made two things very apparent, that the media was being influenced in this direction by unseen hands and that the ultimate aim of the exercise seemed to be to malign Pakistan at any cost. The defamatory Pakistan seemed to get top priority over all other issues, the safety and welfare of the hostages on the aircraft, mostly Indians, came last.

ment exercise in such situations that must begin within hours, not days. Nepal has been castigated for lax security procedures, for permitting 'Pakistanis to disembark on a PIA flight from Karachi and board the Indian Airlines directly on the tarmac', when this version did not get a convenient switch was made to the more plausible theory of passengers using the 'Arrivals and Immigration' facilities at Kathmandu Airport before going through 'Immigration and Departure' with the help of 'Boarding Cards' taken by a Nepalese, failing to justify what happened in the gap between the scheduled arrival and departure of the PIA and IA flights respectively. When the 'Nepalese'

State Department had given an official world-wide alert, the opportunity was ripe for maligning Pakistan and to convince the world that the Kashmiri struggle is not an independence movement but a terrorist one, that Pakistan provides logistics for such terrorism. Add that to the fact of Russia, which is engaged in a brutal assault on the Chechen capital, moving a resolution in the UN Security Council about the hijacking, an initiative that has never been taken before, and one gets an impression of an unholy alliance meant to divert world opinion from their very obvious problems at home.

World media attention giving it a life of its own, the fallout of the wave of domestic anger threatening the ruling Indian regime. Why did it take four days for India's specialist negotiators to come into hostage negotiations with the hijackers and that also when the Taliban authorities gave a severe warning that the aircraft would be forced to leave Kandahar if the Indians did not expedite the issue? In a further manifestation of their maturity, the Taliban also unequivocally told the hijackers that even if one passenger was harmed, they would storm the aircraft.

AS I SEE IT

Ikram Sehgal writes from Karachi

among the hijackers turned out to be a legitimate businessman, the 'Boarding Cards' theory became hogwash.

As for the demands of the hijackers, first it was for Maulana Masood Azhar, then it was increased to 36 militants, the dead body of a slain militant and US\$ 200 million, the last two demands were dropped within hours, the Taliban belling the ransom demand and un-Islamic. Eventually the Indians gave in to releasing three militants, Maulana Masood Azhar from Bahawalpur, Pakistan, a British student of Kashmiri origin and a hard-core Kashmiri freedom fighter.

There was something fishy and peculiar about the whole episode right from the start, the presence of an Indian Research and Analytical Wing (RAW) man on board, the first Secretary in the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu, added to the suspicion. India has been desperately trying to label Pakistan as a 'terrorist state' for the past decade, trying to blur the line between a 'freedom fighter' and a 'terrorist' in order to choke off material and moral support for the indigenous Kashmir independence movement. With military rule in Pakistan not in line with the sensibilities of the world's democracies and there being a general apprehension about terrorism close to the turn of the millennium (the US

istan soil so that world approbation could be brought to bear on Pakistan. The script went horribly wrong when the aircraft was made to leave Lahore. Once the aircraft was in Dubai and a drama in Lahore a la Ganga was no longer an option, the script switched to Afghanistan, already under world censure for giving sanctuary to Osama bin Laden. Earlier the Indians had flashed a statement conveniently emanating from Osama bin Laden calling the US, Russians and Indians 'enemies' of Islam. Who had obtained Osama bin Laden's reaction at such short notice was left to one's imagination.

Unfortunately for the Indians the Taliban also did not follow the Bollywood script. UN sanctions notwithstanding, instead of welcoming the hijackers with open arms and thereby stand indicted in the eyes of the world as a haven for terrorists, their reaction was that of any mature, sovereign State handling a hostage situation. This stunned the Indians into immobility; they waited for 48 to 72 hours for the Taliban to make some wrong move before realising that the game was not playing out as they wanted it to. Moreover, the reaction of the relatives of the Indian hostages on board the Airbus also spun out of control in the streets of New Delhi, the

Whether the hijacking was genuine or an Indian-staged drama, one can't say. The Indians concentrated all their energies and resources in making capital out of the event in their on-going campaign to malign Pakistan. PM Atal Behari Vajpayee finally came out with the real Indian motives when he asked the world to 'declare Pakistan a terrorist state'.

Interdependence in Management

Evaluating American and Japanese Systems

by A B M S Zahur

An enormous potential source of energy exists in the interdependences that modern organisations create. The problems raised in all cultures by specialised work, hierarchy and reward systems are better met in those societies that value interdependence as a goal. Moreover, problems of superior-subordinate relationships, cooperation versus competition, and short-run and long-term focus are significantly reduced.

THE American system of management, with its emphasis on independence, has strengths, but it rests on the historical needs of a frontier society that provided more than enough entrepreneurial opportunity to go around. Today most Americans work in large, complex organisations in close contact with other people. Thus the traditional American values appear to be no longer appropriate to their needs. The development of individual identity in the west begins in the ways western mothers raise children. Westerners, in developing a sense of independence, are fairly early to turn their backs to their infancy. On the other hand, the Japanese openly embrace the experience of infancy and dependence. This can be traced from the rituals of bowing and other elaborate courtesies in Japan.

A radically new orientation toward dependence, however, cannot be internationalised. For cultural reasons, dependence is a disquieting word for westerners; for practical reasons, independence, too. The either/or extremes interfere with the ability of the Americans to perceive reality. What is needed is a clear notion of interdependence that permits them to preserve the best of independence and dependence without getting the worst of both. The Japanese accomplish this through the concept of 'wa' (full meaning encompasses English words — cohesiveness, unity, team spirit).

The work group is a basic building block of Japanese organisations. They regard group phenomena primarily in terms of morals and emotion rather than role and function. The prime qualification of a Japanese leader is his acceptance by the group. Whereas in the west work group leaders tend to emphasise task and often neglect the fact that group maintenance of a satisfied work group goes hand in hand with the role. Group members expect a lot from their leaders. The Japanese realise that they are creating a potentially troublesome force when they establish a group. They know that group process can become dys-

functional. They are keenly aware of group maintenance demands. Though many American firms have adopted 'team approaches' in recent years success has been mixed because American managers are yet to realise that what they are creating requires a lot of energy and attention from them to sustain. The Japanese are aware of the fact that group participation increases the burdens of the manager as well as the participants because of extra time needed for meetings, thinking about issues, making arguments skillfully, attending the rituals, ceremonies and relationships. The leader must balance carefully his use of arbitrary authority one moment with a readiness to be highly responsive in the next. The Japanese know that groups have increasing difficulty in preserving personal and emotional connectedness.

A Japanese manager stresses his group identification rather than his personal job title or responsibilities. Loyalty to one's group is a very respected personal attribute. Work groups provide social bonds of great importance. Maintenance of a healthy group requires steady personal contact. Japanese use social interaction as much as Americans use complaining to colleagues. However, there are increasing indications that many US corporations have realised the utility of work group.

The introduction of more women into the ranks of management has been difficult for them as well as for men, partly because of women's traditional roles, and thus the resolution of dependence culturally prescribed for them. As many competent women coming into positions of corporate responsibility not only have the problem of freeing themselves from whatever dependent prescriptions still influence them, but also the problem that they often have a greater developed capacity for interdependence than do the men they work for and with. As they achieve middle management positions, they often experience the isolation that men's independence involves which is particularly painful

other and the extent to which that affirms or diminishes his sense of self determines what he will hear and how he will respond to it. A Japanese, by contrast, embraces a situational ethic, and practices 'Less Ego listening. He holds 'principle' in abeyance, regards himself as one among others, in the situation, and thus achieves an easy accommodation with the circumstances of the meeting and absorbs ideas less evaluatively. This situational ethic enables him to air different views without falling into a duel of personalities.

Japanese cultural values reward promoters of harmonious exchange. Western cultural values sometimes do not. Some Americans, however, feel that their ways of thinking and judging themselves need to be broadened to accept the not infrequent good in 'going along' with some outcomes not fully congenial to them. Different assumptions about interdependence and reciprocal obligations substantially affect modern organisational life. A Japanese's energies appear to be more fruitfully employed as a force for cohesion in organisations. The keystone of Japanese interdependence is the sempai-kohai (senior-junior) relationship (corresponding to mentor-protégé relationship in the west).

Teaching a subordinate how to be effective in an organisation is fairly complicated. In Japanese organisations the sempai-kohai relationship helps achieve this learning. The Japanese focus on relationship whereas the west's boss-subordinate terminology tends to focus on each individual in his role. The sempai-kohai relationship is not a hierarchical imperative to be endured, but something of mutual benefit.

An American boss wants to know three things about those who work for him: (1) can they be trusted? (2) are they competent? and (3) are they consistent or dependable? The subordinate likewise weighs the clues that provide him with data on his boss: (1) does he have integrity? (2) is he competent? and (3) is he open? In Japan the sempai (senior) expects the kohai (junior) to understand him. If the sempai does not perform well, the kohai is expected to compensate for him and not to judge him except as a total human being. The sempai, in turn, is expected to display a breadth of understanding that normally exists in western counterparts.

The greatest weakness of organisational relationships in the west is not coming to grips with what makes superior-subordinate relationship tick. The value of the Japanese work hosa (means 'assist') constantly reminds the Japanese managers that for every actor on the stage, others are working behind the scenes. Thus all those who work behind scenes also get recognition.

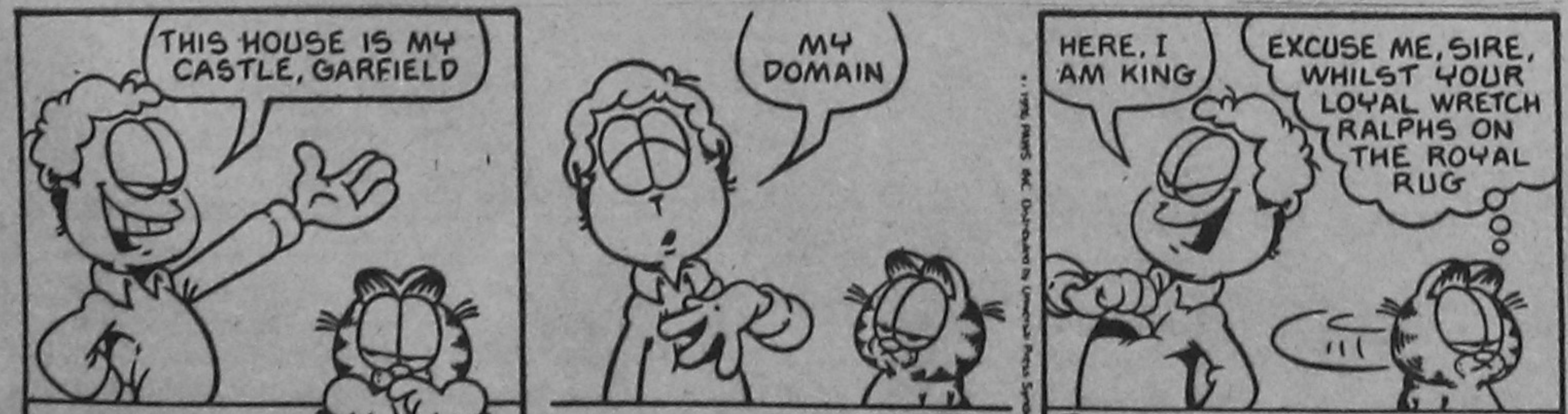
It is considered proper to utilise the constructive potential of interdependence as a) rotating people less often to help preserve emotional ties, b) encouraging managers to coach their subordinates, to take them to lunch, to bring their juniors along to the meetings and presentations where the juniors can see them in action to discuss problems. One of the most effective instruments for coaching and mentoring is the 'role rehearsal'. In it the boss chooses a problem situation. The subordinate assumes the role of one party to the problem, and the boss asks him to play his role to show how he would deal with it. By reversing roles with the subordinates the boss

can communicate to him how he himself would handle the situation.

An enormous potential source of energy exists in the interdependences that modern organisations create. Interdependence gives the Japanese significant advantages because it is a more appropriate response to corporate life, and to the needs and aspirations of the people who live there. Interdependence too often left others captured within such constraints that they were unable to develop the kind of skills they would need when retired.

The problems raised in all cultures by specialised work, hierarchy and reward systems are better met in those societies that value interdependence as a goal. Moreover, problems of superior-subordinate relationships, cooperation versus competition, and short-run and long-term focus are significantly reduced. A good many committed, inventive, pragmatic US executives have already found out more effective ways of managing like the Japanese.

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by Jim Davis