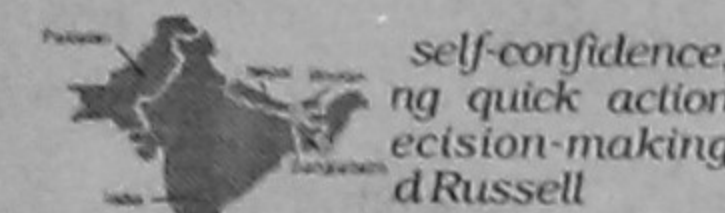


India

Vajpayee Radiates Leadership

By Mansoor Mamoon



self-confidence, quick action, decision-making and Russell's leadership have emerged as the most popular leader in India. A leading Indian English daily on the occasion of the first anniversary of Vajpayee's Prime Ministership conducted the survey. Seventy per cent of those surveyed rated Vajpayee's performance in the office as ranging from good to excellent. But his National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, however, failed to receive approval equal to Vajpayee, the figure being 48 per cent. About 40 per cent disapproved of NDA's handling of the economy. This indicated that 73-year Vajpayee's popularity is much higher than that of his coalition government.

Vajpayee was thrice voted as prime minister of India. His earlier two terms were rather short. The first term consisted of only 13 days. Previously he was also the foreign minister and played an instrumental role in normalising Sino-Indian relations. As the leader of opposition he was on record to have played a constructive role in bolstering the image of India through leading a number of official delegations which means he played a constructive role. He is a life-long bachelor and has a clean image. He is not a product of dynasty and is an exception in this regard in South Asia. Because most of the leaders in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and India are of dynastic origin.

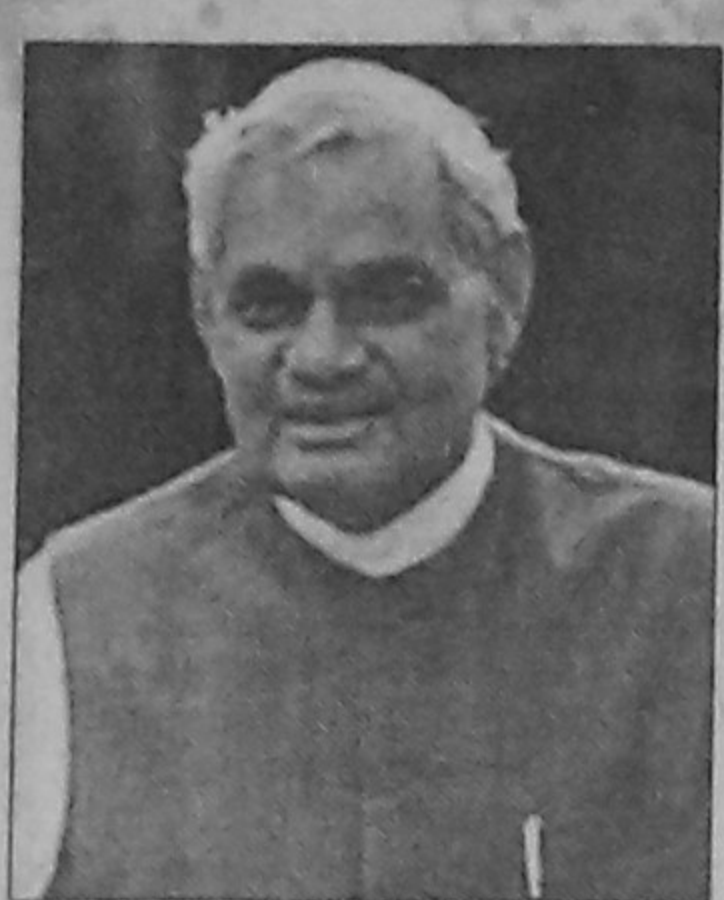
Vajpayee is a poet and had been a journalist. As a poet he has visions which he could successfully inject among his party followers as well as his countrymen.

Though originally belonging to the fundamentalist Hindu RSS, he is known as a moderate. He could bluntly tell the Hindu nationalist RSS Conference that the party ideology and state

principles cannot be equated. Through his influence a Dalit was for the first time elected as the chief of the BJP. Other than Vajpayee, most other BJP leaders are known as hawks. Because of him the NDA has not tottered despite pulls and counter-pulls by the divergent forces in the government. When Vajpayee was young, Jawaharlal Nehru was the prime minister had reportedly made the forecast after hearing his speech that one day he (Vajpayee) would adorn the office of the prime minister. Nehru's forecast proved to be correct in course of time. In the last general election BJP had projected Vajpayee as the PM and this might have contributed to BJP's emergence as the largest party (though short of absolute majority).

Compared to Vajpayee the leader of the opposition and Congress chief Sonia Gandhi received the approval of only a quarter of those surveyed in the opinion poll. The Italian-born Congress Chief till now could not be accepted by the large majority of the Indian people, even by her own party due to which an influential section deserted her and floated its separate forums. Though she belonged to the influential Nehru family, three generations of which ruled India for over three decades of 53 years of its existence.

It will be pertinent to briefly discuss the salient characteristics that constitute successful leadership. According to Professor Miller, self-restraint, basic knowledge on a wide-range of subjects, courage, justice and fair play, ability to draw popular confidence and allegiance are the most important ingredients of a successful leader. Another noted political scientist Bogardus said a leader must have five essential pre-requisites, which are - far-sightedness, ingenuity, flexibility, talent and the ability of self-analysis. With these yardsticks leaders, past and present, in South Asian region can be judged



so as to examine how far they were successful in their respective spheres as well as in the regional context. In 1947 the subcontinent was partitioned. India could maintain its democratic character, its sovereignty and high profile because of its leadership. The first PM Jawaharlal Nehru laid a strong foundation of democratic polity in India. His daughter Indira Gandhi proved to be an iron lady. Except for the period of emergency she behaved like a democratic leader. She had to pay the price for promulgating emergency but earned the admiration for her courageous fight back to power. She was ruthless in containing insurgency and rebellion. The Operation Blue Star and suppression of Sikh insurgency ultimately cost her life. Her Sikh bodyguard assassinated her. Rajiv Gandhi was yet another product of Nehru family and he came with a clean image riding on the crest of the sympathy for the assassination of his mother. But Bofors scandal literally caused gaping wounds from which he could not come out even after he was killed by Tamil guerrillas. It proved to be fatal mistake on his part to send troops to Sri Lanka in a bid to quell civil war there. After initial hesitation his widow Sonia entered national politics and as earlier stated

under her leadership the Congress now stands further marginalised.

While India could remain a democratic country despite three wars with Pakistan, one war with China (1962) and endemic poverty, Pakistan from its very start was caught into the trap of autocratic rule. Both Jinnah and Liaquat Ali, head of the state and the government respectively, lacked democratic attitude. They died early (Liaquat was assassinated in 1951 and Jinnah died in 1948 due to suspected TB) and bickerings, squabbles and palace intrigues for the capture of state power ensued. The civil and military bureaucrats ganged up and usurped power. The military rule continued from 1958 to 1972. Its eastern wing broke out of its control and formed the independent Bangladesh. Z A Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and Benazir couldn't stay long in power as they failed to take stock of the realities and while they were engaged in quarrels with their political opponents. The third party - the army - stepped in and took over power. Pakistan is still being ruled by the army - fourth in the long series of military rule.

Three of Pakistan's leaders died of unnatural deaths. Liaquat (assassinated), Z A Bhutto (on the gallows) and Ziaul Haque (in a plane crash). While democratic India advanced in economic and other fields Pakistan retrograded due to its leadership.

In Bangladesh it was Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who unified the people and mobilised them for the war of liberation in 1971. But after independence he soon faced opposition. The army captured power. Then for over 16 years the country remained under quasi and direct military rule.

Another example of dynastic rule in South Asia is the Indian ocean island republic of Sri Lanka. President Chandrika is the daughter of Solomon Bandernaike and Srimavo both of whom had been prime minis-

ters. After Solomon was assassinated his widow came out of the kitchen and took over the reins of power. Had leadership in Sri Lanka been farsighted enough they would not have allowed the Tamil insurgency to snowball with debilitating impact which is ruining the country. The majority Sinhalese have in fact pushed the minority Tamils to take up arms.

In Nepal the Koirala brothers played leading roles against the rule of the monarch and fought courageously for the restoration of democracy. But while in power they behaved erratically, their camp supporters indulging in corruption and internecine strife. Stability has become a far cry and the Maoists insurgency is fast spreading throughout the country.

In the tiny Maldives, Mamoun Abdul Gayoom is the president for about two decades. The coral island has some sort of stability except for a brief period when insurgents from Sri Lanka almost captured power. The South Asian leaders not only failed to deliver good governance in their own countries, but also equally inept in inter-state relations. Pakistan is at loggerheads with India. Nepal has dispute with Bhutan on the refugee issue and anti-Indian feeling in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka is currently strong due to its (India's) hegemonic policies. South Asia is now the only region without regionalism. The SAARC has become inactive due strained relations between India and Pakistan. The regional scenario has proved that successful leadership is not born neither can it be dynastic. It should be self-groomed through a process of constant learning and exercise as in the case Abraham Lincoln. South Asia's present predicament is due its leadership crisis. Otherwise, the region had the potentiality of becoming a dominant power in Asian as well as global politics.

Profile

'South Asia is my love'

Syed Jawaid Iqbal, CEO of Corporate Marketing Communication (CMC) reckons as the pioneer of Public Relations (PR) industry in Pakistan. A law graduate, Iqbal is also one of the most popular names in Pak media circle. He is currently publishing three periodicals including SOUTHASIA - the leading regional magazine. He is actively involved in promoting regional peace and development through several international and regional platforms. Amna Khaishgi talks to this charismatic personality on the PR industry in Pakistan and other regional issues. Excerpts:



How will you evaluate the PR industry in Pakistan?

In Pakistan, Public Relations (PR) industry, professionally speaking, is in a very incipient stage. In the past, there used to be PR departments in the government sector, which were restricted to the jobs of personal assistantship of the head of respective Department. PR people were taken as the people, who confirmed their seats, did protocol work, get admission to their children or arranged speech facilities to their wives. This is not PR all about. Public Relations is extremely a scientific and marketing tool which is very much developed in India. It is coming very well in the Gulf and very advanced in the American and European societies. So much so that today, presidents and prime ministers of various states, have their own PR persons who could even tell them minutes before address to the nation that the jacket should be change or the colour of the tie does not match.

Are you optimistic about the future of PR industry in Pakistan?

Yes I am. For instance we are currently working for Board of Investment (BOI) and selected by Arlington-Virginia, USA based company (TSG) on approval of Asian Development Bank (ADB) for the image building of Board of Investment.

It certainly shows that ADB believes that the role of proper PR agency in Pakistan is necessary in strengthening the confidence of the investors.

Is PR agency is parallel to the advertising agency?

It is a myth that advertising agency can also deal public relations. Both are completely two different areas. In advertising you get paid space in the media. Where as in PR, you don't pay. In fact, PR agency involves in such activities, which create news. PR goes for a coverage that is editorially important rather than commercially. And it is a universal fact that good editorial coverage in the newspaper has more credibility as compare to advertisements.

How would you evaluate the role of CMC in promoting PR industry in Pakistan?

CMC has played a significant role in promoting PR industry in Pakistan. Well, I will not procure the hundred per cent credit, as there are others who have also contributed for the promotion of the industry. However, by providing quality services, CMC has created that level where others have to compete. In other words, CMC has provided a platform for healthy competition in developing this infant industry in the country.

Not only this, CMC has also trained lot of people, despite its small life span. In fact, two of our former colleagues have recently formed their own mini PR workshops. CMC, therefore, has proved itself as an institution of Public Relations in Pakistan, for which I feel very proud.

Is CMC intending to open its outlets in other South Asian states?

Yes certainly, CMC will soon expand not only in South Asia but also in Central Asia.

PR industry is often blame, as the promoters of Lifaqa journalism (bribery journalism) in Pakistan. How would you take this criticism?

I strongly condemn this criticism that PR is promoting Lifaqa journalism in Pakistan. Every field whether it is PR or media have both competent and incompetent people but it does not mean that the very particular industry is promoting unhealthy competition in other professions.

Those days are gone when non-professional PR people, in order to hide their incompetence used bribes. In today's world where quality is the prime condition in every field, these concepts cannot survive any more.

PR is the name of image building. It is the relationship of friendship not the relationship of exploitation.

Being so much involved in the national media, how would you estimate the freedom of press in Pakistan?

Freedom of press in Pakistan is ideal. Check out our whole national history, you will not find such press freedom as it is presently existing. Especially, at the moment when country is being ruled by non-democratic, military regime. Today in Pakistan, people are more talking about 'Freedom from Press' rather than freedom of press.

What is the role of regional press in Pakistan? Unlike other countries, regional press in Pakistan is not much developed. In fact, Sindhi press

can be recognised as the only proper regional press in Pakistan. Though due to its limited readership and limited commercial eminence, it is not yet able to establish itself against national press comprising of Urdu and English newspapers.

There is so much hype about the government efforts with regard to the opening of new TV channels, what do you think Pakistan would be able to compete with Indian channels?

I perceive the situation both positively and negatively. Positive in a way that we have a very successful past. Our TV programmes were very popular in the region. Even today our dramas are very much appreciated in our neighbouring state. We have best writers, directors and technicians, who are only deprived of opportunities. New channels, I hope, would be able to revive our glorious past.

I am ungratified because we have certain limitations, which would definitely influence our performance as compare to Indian channels. India is a secular state where as we are ideological state. They do not have certain social and religious boundaries. But if quality is the standard, then we are definitely equal to them.

Apart from your PR activities, you are very much involved in promoting regional peace and prosperity. As the Country Representative of South Asia Media Association (SAMA), what do you think that what is the responsibility of regional journalists in the present situation in South Asia?

South Asia is a volatile region, where not only inter state, but also internal conflicts have also shattered the peace and development in the region that carries one fifth of the human population and regarded as the poorest part of the world. Moreover being the nuclear flash point, it has emerged as the most sensitive part of the world.

It is very unfortunate that today in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan, journalism is only restricted to crime reporting rather than issue oriented development journalism. Today we have more crime reporters as compare to development journalists. Today's newspapers are filled with news of violence and negative reporting. Most of the newspapers decorate their headlines with spicy statements that may have business potential but not at all define as the positive journalism.

Being the representative of SAMA, I believe that at this crucial moment, the responsibility of regional journalists increases. Healthy media reporting would definitely have a far reaching effect on the development of the region. At this intense stage of regional insecurities, I firmly believe that journalist could play a very significant role in promoting harmony and trust among the various fraction of the society.

How do you see the future of SAARC? To be very honest, future of SAARC is not bright. If the two major players, India and Pakistan would not play their innings, how would you expect the match would go on?

What motivation led to the birth of SOUTHASIA magazine?

I often say to my friends that SOUTHASIA is my love. SOUTHASIA is the rebirth of third world magazine, which was publishing since 1977, when I was in late twenties age when guys engage themselves in colourful activities; I dedicated myself into journalism. The idea behind third world magazine was to represent the third world states in the cold war era. It was a popular journal. But as the Soviet Union collapse, the concept of third world automatically died. The new post-cold war era appears as the era of regional cohesion and development. Thus with the demand of new geo-political realities, third world was re-launched as SOUTHASIA at the twilight of the last decade. SOUTHASIA magazine is, therefore, dedicated to regional peace and progress. It is the first regional magazine, who has a very active valuable chain of correspondents in each South Asian state. We are jointly working as a South Asian family and promoting healthy journalism in the region, which believes in peace and love.

Sri Lanka

The Challenge Now is to End the War

By Ekram Kabir



THE dust hasn't yet settled on the election front in Sri Lanka. President Chandrika Kumaratunga's government emerged from October 10 polls with a parliamentary lead which has given her a working majority. But bargaining for cabinet posts are making things a little problematic.

The dust hasn't yet settled on the election front in Sri Lanka. President Chandrika Kumaratunga's government emerged from October 10 polls with a parliamentary lead which has given her a working majority. But bargaining for cabinet posts are making things a little problematic. Ratnasiri Wickremarajane, the prime minister in the previous administration, was sworn in for another term on last Friday, but negotiations over other positions are continuing. Kumaratunga's Peoples Alliance (PA) was six seats short of an overall majority, forcing it to seek backers among smaller parties. A key partner who had agreed to support the PA, the Muslim National Unity Alliance, was demanding several cabinet posts. The party is believed to be divided on the issue of supporting the government and that has added to the delays in forming a new cabinet. Both the Muslim National Unity Alliance and the Eelam People's Democratic Party, a former Tamil rebel group, said they would join the new coalition, giving the PA an overall majority. The outgoing transport minister, AHM Fowzie, was quoted by Reuters as saying that a cabinet would be sworn in tomorrow (October 20). "The small parties are making big demands," he was quoted to have said.

With the political uncertainty continuing, there are growing calls from the influential Buddhist clergy and the business community to form a national government and restore political stability, which is now most important for Sri Lanka.

Given this situation, the poll arguably seems to have created more political stalemate and stand-off between the two rivals in Sri Lankan political scene - the PA and UNP. There might be a snow-balling effect of the already-festering problems if these two parties fail to come to a consensus regarding resolution of the country's political problems. Peace in Sri Lanka may suffer more setbacks if they don't cooperate with each other.

The core issue is a new draft constitution that contains reforms to devolve local-governance powers to areas where the Tamils dominate; a plan intended to win over the ethnic minority, whose extremist guerrilla wing, the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE), have fought the government for 17 years. Cooperation between Kumaratunga's PA and the

UNP, led by Ranil Wickremesinghe, who together have 196 seats in the 225-member parliament, is essential for adopting the plan. Earlier the passage of the draft constitution fell flat in August after PA and UNP sagged over other changes in the proposal related to the vast powers of the executive presidency, which the opposition would like to see abolished.

But "The country needs a consensual approach to deal with the LTTE's challenge and the Tamil grievances that underlie it," Jehan Perera, of the National Peace Council in Sri Lanka, was quoted to have said, adding "(But) after this election campaign, and its violence, the PA in particular has a lot of repair work to do in this regard."



Questions now arise: has the poll been a setback for President Kumaratunga by rudely ruining her plan of ending the 17-year-old ethnic war? Are the political differences between the two main parties so wide that they would fail to come to a consensus in national interest?

These are indeed some serious questions Sri Lankan politicians must ask themselves, because there has to be a de-escalation of hostilities and a solution has to evolve for putting the country's economy back on an even keel. Analysts, however, maintain there is little substantive differ-

ence between the two main parties over the need to devolve some significant measure of self-governance to Tamil homelands in the north and east. Again, one must concede that the way the voting went all over the country indicates that the result broadly reflected the view of the dominant majority who continue to believe that either the PA or the UNP must rule the country.

The economic and foreign policies of both the PA and the UNP are similar, if not the same. So also their approach to the resolution of the national problem. Even though President Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Wickremarajane did send out some contrary signals on the devolution theory, they as well as Ranil Wickremesinghe, or for that matter, most sensible people in the country know very well that there will be no negotiated solution possible without dealing with the LTTE. The other option, which parties like the Sinhala Urumaya demand, is military, which obviously is not a wise one. Because its pursuit all these years, despite the resources lost, has shed more blood than yielded result.

In recent months, Kumaratunga has taken a more hard-line stance against the LTTE, vowing to crush them militarily, while at the same time leaving the door open for renewed negotiations. By contrast, UNP leader Wickremesinghe has said he favours a cease-fire and the implementation of long-existing provisions for local councils, while continuing to discuss a more permanent settlement.

We need to fashion a constitution that provides for the adequate redress of just grievances of the Tamils and this draft constitution does this, it comes very close to federalism without using the word federalism and for that I give her a lot of credit," T.D.S.A. Dissanayake, a retired ambassador, was quoted to have said. "The challenge is that she has to draw in the UNP. Without that you can't change the constitution, and without that change, you can't stop the war," he added.

It is still believed that as PA did not get the necessary majority in parliament President Kumaratunga's autonomy plan may fall flat and further instability and uncertainty will grip the island. But it's time for Sri Lankan political parties to think about the country and set aside their differences. They should renew the effort in reviving the principle of devolution. And PA's responsibility should now be to convince the main opposition help end the war

South Asia This Week

Good bye, Mum

THOUSANDS of Sri Lankans bid a tearful farewell to Srimavo Bandaranaike, the world's first woman prime minister, at a state funeral on Saturday. Mrs Bandaranaike, 84, fell ill and died shortly after casting her vote in Sri Lanka's general election on Tuesday. The funeral brought the war-torn island to a virtual standstill as Sri Lankans watched the final farewell to "the mother of the nation" on television. In her last will, Mrs Bandaranaike asked to be buried in a simple ceremony.

Male's interest in private sector

THE Maldives government aims to facilitate increased contribution of private sector in the economy. Minister of State for Finance and Treasury Mohamed Jaleel said on Monday. In an interview with the media, which was held at Maldives Monetary Authority (MMA), Jaleel said that MMA is trying to bring reforms that the financial sector needs. He elaborated some reforms that were brought during the past two or three years. As an example he mentioned reforms of commercial banks' interest rates.

Musharraf defends government

THE military ruler of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, has defended the performance of his government, saying he has no intention of having a major cabinet reshuffle. Speaking in Islamabad, he

said his ministers were competent and dedicated. General Musharraf made no mention of the recent resignation of the Information Minister, Javed Jabbar. But he said if any minister wanted to resign, he would accept it. This suggests that Jabbar resigned of his own accord.

India braces for cyclone

THE authorities on India's eastern coast have been evacuating tens of thousands of people living in the path of an approaching cyclone. Officials say the storm, which is moving slowly across the Bay of Bengal, should hit land on Thursday morning. The storm is not one of the most severe, but the authorities are taking no chances after the super-cyclone which devastated the nearby state of Orissa last year, killing an estimated 15,000 people.

The speaker from UNP

SRI Lanka's MPs have elected an opposition member, Anura Bandaranaike, as speaker following the recent general elections which led to a hung parliament. Mr Bandaranaike belongs to the United National Party (UNP) and is estranged the brother of President Chandrika Kumaratunga. It is the first time in 40 years that the parliament speaker has been an opposition member.

At a Glance

	Bhutan	Bangladesh	India	Maldives	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Nepal
Exports \$2 million	\$6.1b	\$5.5b	\$39.2b	\$0.1b	\$6.3b	\$4.7b	\$0.5b
GDP growth	6.0%	4.1%	5.8%	6.8%	5.3%	4.2%	3.3%
Per-capita GDP (PPP)	\$1,570	\$1,040	\$1,740	\$3,395	\$1,570	\$2,625	\$1,100
Per-capita GNP (market)	\$400	\$299	\$436	\$1,167	\$492	\$827	\$225
Population (millions)	0.3	130.0	1,000.0	0.3	136.6	19.3	25.4
Population growth	2.3%	2.2%	1.9%	3.0%	2.6%	1.2%	2.3%
Inflation CPI	9.2%	5.8%	5.0%	-3.1%	3.8%	6.8%	1.8%
Current account balance	-\$0.1b	-\$0.3b	-\$3.2b	-\$0.02b	-\$1.2b	-\$0.3b	-\$0.1b
Reserves excl. gold	\$0.1b	\$1.4b	\$33.8b	\$0.1b	\$1.1b	\$1.4b	\$0.8b
GDP (PPP)	\$1.2b	\$132b	\$1,710b	\$0.9b	\$219b	\$49b	\$25b
People per sq km	66.5	336.5	45.5	12.5	49.0	32.9	112.9
Life expectancy	41	60	62	67	63	73	57
Literacy rate	42.2%	38.1%	52.1%	92.6%	37.8%	89.3%	27.5%
Urban pop.	7%	39%	28%	32%	15%	25%	14%

SOUTH ASIAN CURRENCY RATES

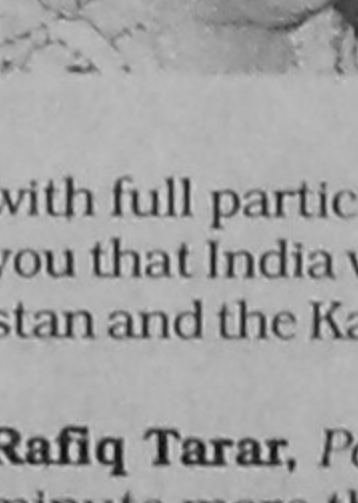
Country	US Dollar	Japan Yen	Hong Kong Dollar	China Renminbi	Saudi Riyal	British Pound	French Franc	German Mark	European Euro
Pakistan (Taka)	24.80	49.71	4.02	6.47	14.40	80.32	7.43	24.90	65.71
India (Rupee)	45.67	42.08	5.46	3.52	12.18	67.90	6.28	23.88	41.30
Sri Lanka (Rupee)	21.19	36.73	7.36	4.48	14.69	61.36	7.58	23.43	49.70
Nepal (Rupee)	78.28	77.08	30.58	4.41	20.87	116.43	18.78	36.30	76.41
Nepal (Taka)	79.91	65.31	9.39	8.57	14.91	105.51	9.75	32.73	63.99

Source: Economic Planning Commission of India. Exchange rates as of 10/19/00. Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) based on World Bank Atlas data. Also shown are current price differentials between countries. For a more extensive overview of national results, consult National Product (GNP) & GDP plus payments from abroad (investments and services) and income. Incentives to Revenues, Incentives to Exports, Incentives to Imports, and other data are available on our website.

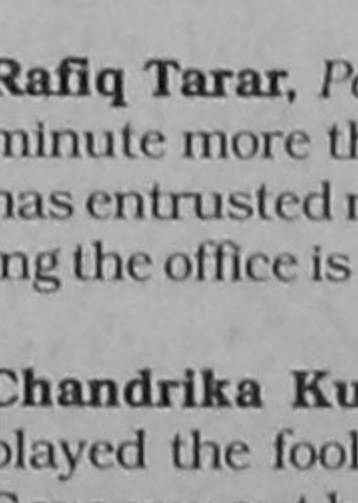
The Buzz...



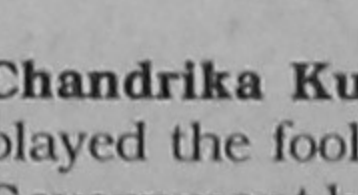
Khaleda Zia, Leader of the Opposition of Bangladesh: "We took part in the War of Liberation not to return the nation to the fold of Pakistan. Rather they (AL) want to make Bangladesh a part of India." Shah AMS Kibria, Finance Minister of Bangladesh: "Many businessmen have taken a position against me. Some of them even tried to use their political influence against me for my actions against them."



General Pervez Musharraf, Chief Executive of Pakistan: "Pakistan is a party to the Kashmir dispute and this dispute could only be resolved with full participation of Islamabad in any future dialogue. Let me categorically assure you that India would not succeed in its nefarious designs to drive a wedge between Pakistan and the Kashmiri leadership."



Rafiq Tarar, Pakistani President: "I do not wish to continue in office a minute more than God wishes to me say. I have full faith in Allah who has entrusted me with this responsibility. My primary objective of holding the office is serve the nation."



Chandrika Kumaratunga, President of Sri Lanka: "(The LTTE) has played the fool with the Norwegians. This is the conclusion that the Government has had to arrive at sadly in the last several months."