

# South

BUSINESS • TECHNOLOGY • POLITICS • LEISURE

## The spread of drugs CRACK DOWN OR CRACK UP

AFRICA, ASIA,  
MIDDLE EAST AND  
LATIN AMERICA

### TOXIC WASTE

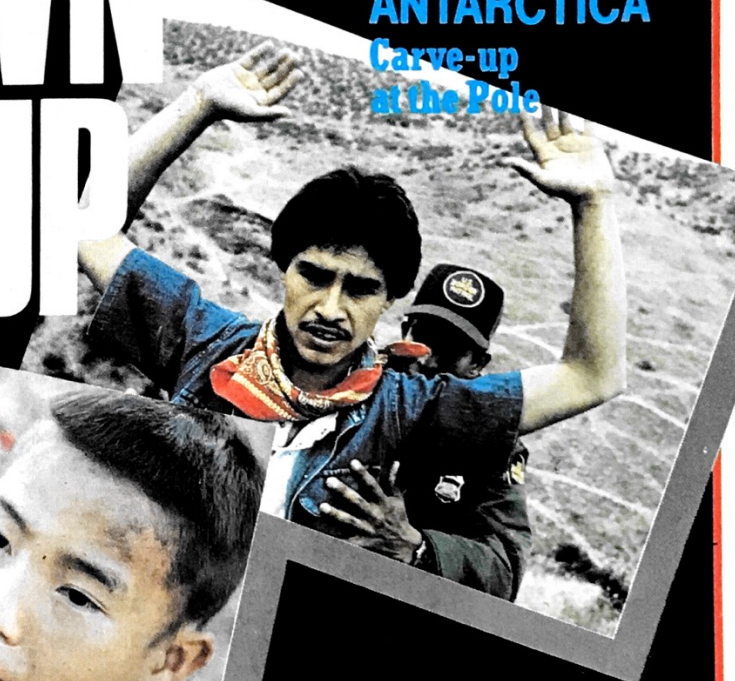
The great  
African dump

### IRAN'S WAR

The man in  
the hot seat

### ANTARCTICA

Carve-up  
at the Pole



Algeria 14.00 DA	Kuwait 900 Fils
Argentina A28.00	Lebanon L£100
Australia A\$4.00	Liberia US\$2.50
Austria Sh 38	Malawi 4K
Bahamas Bah\$2.50	Malaysia M\$6.00
Bahrain BD1	Malta M£1.00
Bangladesh TK55	Mauritius Rs30
Barbados B\$5.00	Mexico Pesos 6.000
Belgium Bfr 110	Morocco Dir 15
Bolivia B10.00	Nepal NRs 30
Brazil Cz610	Netherlands Gld 6.90
Brunei B\$6.00	New Zealand NZ\$6.50
Canada C\$4.00	Nigeria N4.00
Cayman Islands C\$2.65	North Yemen 15 Rls
CFA Zone 800 CFA	Norway Nkr 22
Chile (inc. tax) \$750.00	Oman R1.00
China 6 Yuan	Pakistan PRs 26
Colombia Pesos 895.00	Panama B3.00
Costa Rica Colon 245	Papua New Guinea
Cyprus C£2.00	Kina 2.50
Denmark DKr 22	Peru Inti 230
Dominican Rep. RD\$15.00	Philippines Pp 35
Ecuador Sucre 1350	Portugal 400 Esc
Egypt EC£2.50	Qatar 10.00 Rls
Eire IRE£1.82 (inc. VAT)	Saudi Arabia 8 Rls
Finland Fmk15	Seychelles SRs 13
France FFfr15	Singapore S\$6.00
Germany DM6.00	Spain Pts 375
Ghana C200	Sri Lanka SLRs 45
Greece Dr 400	Swaziland E4
Hong Kong HK\$20.00	Sweden 20 Kr
India Rs 26	Switzerland Sfr 5.00
Indonesia (Inc: PPN)	Tanzania Sh 80
Rp 3750	Thailand Bt 70
Iran Rls 150	Trinidad T\$7.00
Italy Lr 4000	Turkey TL1.500
Jamaica J\$39.75	UAE Dir 11.00
Japan 700 Yen	Venezuela US\$3.00
Jordan JD1	Zambia K15
Kenya Sh 30.00	Zimbabwe Zim \$3.00



## CRACK DOWN OR CRACK UP

Violence, corruption and economic and political distortion are being visited upon the increasing number of Third World countries involved in the international drugs trade. The time has come for an international effort to attack the causes of addiction and production.

Page 9



### TOPICS

The industrialised countries talk about giving more help to the poor, but their aid donations are failing to keep pace with GNP growth. Japan may soon overtake the US as the No 1 donor, with the Soviet Union coming up fast on the rails. **Economic Eye** 19

Satellites heading for the Sun in the mid-1990s will throw new light on the lifegiving star and its interaction with Earth. **Dark side** 101

An international agreement to govern mining and oil-drilling in Antarctica threatens the last natural laboratory where man's impact on the environment can be judged. **Carve-up** 111

Japan's leading novelist, Shusako Endo, reflects on his varied achievements. **Book People** 115

### LATIN AMERICA

Brazil capitalises on its 60-million blacks and mulattoes to open trade links with Africa. But 100 years after the abolition of slavery, racism still rears its head. **Servitude** 21

The Caribbean is having another go at stimulating local industries by pooling the region's resources. **Free flow** 25

Bolivia's economic shock policies have become the envy of inflation-ridden countries in the region. **Out of the market** 28

Michael Manley looks at West Indies cricket and society from cover-point. **Sport** 126

### ASIA

Will New Delhi's new agricultural policies be enough to revive India's food output? With stocks at perilously low levels after last year's crop failures – which means thousands will face famine if bad weather strikes again this year – the government's critics say it is a case of too little, too late. They are clamouring for land reform. **Shaken but not stirred** 30

Corazon Aquino's land reform programme for the Philippines offers little to the poor. The beneficiaries will be the merging middle class and a new agro-industrial elite. **Philippines** 32

Western countries continue to ignore warnings – some of them from UN officials based in Hanoi – about the threat of famine in Vietnam. **Hungry for aid** 35

A new British history of India presents new wine in old bottles. **Master class** 116

### AFRICA

Deadly cargoes are plying the coasts of Africa as the industrial powers of the North seek new sites to dispose of their toxic and radioactive waste. UN and other officials see little chance of an early end to an often shady trade. **Dumping grounds** 37

Washington's relationship with the South African-backed Unita rebels may be the key to a settlement in Angola. Yet the recent four-party talks on the conflict continue to focus on Pretoria's role, with the US portraying itself as a mediator. **Loose cannon** 41

### MIDDLE EAST

Iran's new man at the front balances the options of war and peace. The people are weary, and have little to show for eight years of war. **Hot seat** 43

The dhow captains of the Gulf are heirs to a 3,000-year tradition. Neither wars nor revolutions have stood in the way of profit. **Dhow index** 46

Dr A H Al Moajil of the Gulf Organisation for Industrial Cooperation, talks to **South** about prospects. **Interview** 49

The prolific but poorly financed Turkish film industry sees its future on the international scene. **Wall of silence** 123

### SURVEYS

Japanese companies invested US\$33-billion abroad in the financial year ending March 1987, as its corporate sector shifted its platform to Southeast Asia and the West. **Japan** 71

To improve the quality and quantity of aid, Canada has adopted a new strategy which it hopes will consolidate its friendship with the Third World. **Canada** 81

Nigerians find the structural adjustment programme imposed on them two years ago hard to swallow, and are demanding economic reforms before President Ibrahim Babangida hands over to the civilians in 1992. **Nigeria** 89

- 4 Editorial
- 6 Newsfile
- 9 Drugs
- 14 Profile: Michael Dukakis
- 17 Passing Comment
- 19 Economic Eye
- 21 Latin America
- Brazil 21
- Caricom 25
- Bolivia 28
- Comment 29
- 30 Asia
- India 30
- Philippines 32
- Vietnam 35
- 37 Africa
- Waste dumping 37
- Angola 41
- 43 Middle East
- Profile: Rafsanjani 43
- Lebanon 44
- Gulf shipping 46
- Interview 49
- 51 South 600
- 71 Survey: Japan
- 81 Survey: Canada
- 89 Survey: Nigeria
- 101 Technology
- Astronomy 101
- Energy 103
- Biomass 104
- Shorts 105
- 106 Signed & Sealed
- 107 Pipeline
- 108 Commodities
- Wool 108
- Forestry 108
- Cocoa 109
- 110 Indices
- 111 Life Sciences
- Antarctica 111
- Cancer 113
- 115 Book People
- 116 Books
- 119 On View
- 123 Film
- 126 Sport
- 128 Letters

**COVER ILLUSTRATIONS**  
GAMMA/REX FEATURES/  
SUSAN GRIGGS/  
RICHARD NATKIEL ASSOCIATES

# South

No 94 August 1988

81 distributors worldwide  
– read in 161 countries

South Publications Limited  
13th Floor, New Zealand House,  
80 Haymarket, London  
SW1Y 4TS, England.  
Phone 01-930 8411  
Fax: 01-930 0980  
Cables: Thirdworld  
Telex: 8814201 TRIMED G

ABC

Member of the  
Audit Bureau  
of Circulations

SOUTH (ISSN No. 0260-6976) is published monthly by SOUTH Publications Ltd., 13th Floor, New Zealand House, 80 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS, England, for US\$29 (one year) or US\$58 (2 years). Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER send address changes to SOUTH Publications Ltd., Suite 932, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10169.





Founding Editor: Denzil Peiris (1980-1985)

Publisher and President: Humayun Gauhar

Editor-in-Chief Altaf Gauhar  
 Editor Andrew Graham-Yooll  
 Deputy Editor Raana Gauhar  
 Managing Editor Melvyn Westlake  
 Middle East Editor Judith Vidal-Hall  
 Science, Technology and Latin America Editor Maria Elena Hurtado  
 Science and Technology Correspondent Judith Perera  
 Asia Editor Mathews K George  
 Africa Editor George Alagiah  
 Commodities Robin Stainer  
 Financial Correspondent Richard Lapper  
 Editorial Staff Janice Turner, Tracey Hunt  
 Chief Sub-Editor David Farrell  
 Deputy Chief Sub-Editor Bernard Halloran  
 Sub-Editors Sue Balding and Georgina Power  
 Pictures Desk Andrew Deakin  
 Editor's assistant Biba McLellan  
 Production assistant Naomi Poulton  
 Art Director Javed Badar  
 Correspondents: Bangkok Marcel Barang  
 Beijing Humphrey Keenlyside  
 Bogota Geoffrey Matthews  
 Brussels Shada Islam  
 Islamabad Maleeha Lodhi  
 Lima Mike Reid  
 Manila Monica Fera  
 Moscow Martin Walker  
 Paris Sala Haeri  
 São Paulo Richard House  
 Washington Samantha Sparks  
 Mark Tran and Claudia Wright  
 Acting Special Report Editors Jonathan Miller and Khazem Merchant  
 Syndication Manager Wynne Henry

Executive Director Soli Gae  
 Company Secretary Nazir Ahmad  
 Director, Finance, Planning and Coordination Divesh Narain  
 Manager, Planning and Coordination Ranjit Pillai  
 Chief Accountant John Ho

Senior Vice-President - Market Development Soraiya Qadir  
 Director, Marketing Services and Promotions Mariam Ali Baig  
 Advertisement Director Colin Sergeant  
 Advertisement Manager, Europe Julian Miller  
 Advertisement Sales Executive Gabrielle Heint  
 Advertisement Coordination Manager Vanessa Bowser  
 Distribution Manager Yvonne Ossman  
 Business Development Coordinator and Account Executive Maria Gama

#### OVERSEAS OFFICES

USA: Dee Fernandes, Vice-President, Latin America/General Manager, US operations, John Moncre, Advertisement Director, N. America, Rashida Tewarson, Circulation Manager, Fawzia Elley, Classified Sales Executive, Suite 932, The Helmsley Building, 230 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10169 (Tel: (212) 682 8714. Tlx: 710 581 3722 Trimed N.Yk. Telefax: (212) 697 8280. Asia/Pacific: Hong Kong, Silke Gebauer, Advertisement Manager, South East Asia, Ross MacDonald, Advertisement Manager, Northern Asia, Asia/Pacific Harbour International Business Centre, 2803 Admiralty Centre, Tower 1, 18 Harcourt Road, Hong Kong, Tel: 5-8652925. Tlx: 73553 HIBC Telefax: 5-8650790. Bangkok: Marcel Barang, Correspondent, South-east Asia, 615/7, Phranok Road, Bangkok Noi, Bangkok 10700, Thailand, Tel: 412 65 46. South Asia and Middle East. Office of the representatives Colin Kilkelly Regional Director, South Asia/Middle East and Vice President, African Operations, Iqbal Khan, General Manager Advertisement Sales Hameed Khan, General Manager, Finance and Administration, 3rd Floor, Rock Court, Abdullah Haroon Rd., Karachi, Tel: 521668/522689/523211.

#### ADVERTISING SALES

ALGERIA ANEP, 1 Avenue Pasteur, Algiers Tel: 630636 Tlx: 67311  
 ARGENTINA Jorge Castex, Jorge Castex y Asociados SA, Moreno 584-Piso 9°, 1091 Buenos Aires Tel: 343216 Tlx: 22036 JECON AR  
 AUSTRALIA Des McDonald, Exportad Pty Ltd, 115-117 Cooper Street, Surrey Hills, Sydney, NSW 2010 Tel: 211-3144 Tlx: AAZ2854XPAD  
 BRAZIL Marco Antonio Tiburcio, Artwork - Representacoes de Media Int'l S/C Ltda, Av. Paulista 2.073 - 10 and - CJ 1021 - Horsa 1, 01311 São Paulo Sp Tel: 289-0723 Tlx: 1130022 spck br  
 CAMEROON Mrs R E Mborinde, Managing Director, EBS, Siege Social, B.P. 5853 AKWA-DOUALA Tel: 427011/429750 Tlx: 5733 KN  
 CANADA Terry Brunne Globe Media International, The Globe and Mail, 444 Front Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5V 2S9 Tel: (416) 585 5415  
 COLOMBIA Monika Hartmann, Socias Ltda, Calle 95 No 1111, Bogota, Colombia Tel: 218 6917, 218 6937  
 CÔTE D'IVOIRE Mrs Melanie Roberts, c/o Abidjan Tel: 331351  
 ECUADOR Jose Ullao A Vermimmen, 513 Velez y Voyaca, Oficina 300, Guayaquil, Tel: 329534/325264/325263  
 EGYPT Galal Zaki, Americana, 32H Radwan Ebn Tabib Street, off Mourad Street, Guiza, Cairo Tel: 725020/720707 Tlx: 94388 NOURUN  
 EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS Gilberto Cabrales, Central American Marketing SA, 21 Calle Poniente 1604, San Salvador Tel: 255268  
 FRANCE M Max G Bouchard, BOREA Regies, 8 Place Bouloins, 75017 Paris Tel: 4501 80 70/4501 79 93 Tlx: 260808F code 2081 Telefax: 46874706  
 GHANA Intercity Traders, Manyo Plange Street, 11 Watson Ave, PO Box 3298, Accra Tel: 228989/220407, Tlx: 2192 Voline GR  
 GREECE Mr Anwar Asward, Director, A&M Marketing Consultants, Zaimi 7-9 APT, 1 Palao-Faliron, Athens, Greece Tlx: 218099 BFBC GR  
 INDIA, Calcutta Mr S.A. Hasnat, Associated Marketing Service, 9/2A Ekbalpur Lane, Calcutta 700 023 Tel: 45-9949. Bombay and West Mr Marzban Patel, Mediasecure, C/O Gujarati Mitra, 32 Rajgir Chambers, Shahid Bhagat Singh Rd Tel: 2864811. Southern India Mr L. Srinivasa Raghavan, No 4 Second Street, North Gopalapuram, Madras 600 086. Tel: (44) 476589. New Delhi, Mr Navin Berry, F74 Bahgat Singh Market, New Delhi 110001. Tel: 351 842/351 074 Tlx: 031 63485 CSPIN  
 INDONESIA Mrs Sasmiyarsi Sasmiyo, Chairman, P. T. Nusa Trada Pratama, G.004, Sabang Metropolitan Hotel, Jalan H. Agus Salim II, Jakarta, Indonesia Tel: 375366 Tlx: 44555 SABANG IA  
 JAPAN Mr Shigeyuki Yasui, Managing Director, Intercommunications (Japan) Inc, Eiraku Building, 4th Floor, 13-9 Ginza 1-chome, Chuo-ku, Tokyo 104 Tel: 03-562-4781 Tlx: J32194 INCOMTYO, Fax: 03-562-4780  
 KENYA Pamela Kikum, Marigold International, P.O. Box 30106, Nairobi. Tel: 24558 Tlx: 22143 BUREAU  
 REPUBLIC OF KOREA Mr J G Seo, Doobee Intl Ltd, Center Bldg (Byulgwon) 1-11 Jeong-dong, Choong-ku, Seoul, Korea Tel: (02)776-2096 Tlx: K27117 Doobees Fax: (02)755-9860  
 MALAYSIA Mr Krishnan, World Media Sdn Bhd, 2050-3 Bangunan Bela 4B, Jalan, Sentul Pasar 51300, Kuala Lumpur. Tel: 4415411/4415809 Tlx: MA31533  
 MEXICO Juan Martinez Dugay, Towmar, Presa de la Angostura 8, Mexico DF 11500. Tel: 395 5888, Tlx: 1763128 REPRME. Fax: 9053954985.  
 NEPAL Bheem Timilsina, Universal Media, P.O. Box 3667, Kathmandu Tel: 222766 Tlx: 2375 Peace. Telex: 2229 KAJI NP Cable: Media  
 NIGERIA Chief Adeyola Balogun, Intermedia, Crusader House (3rd floor) 23/25 Martins Street, Box 2228, Lagos Tel: 662074 Tlx: 22453  
 PANAMA Juan Manuel Handal, Apartado 2070, Panama 1, Telefonos: (507) 691814 y 693754, Tlx: 3516 "Edf Pg", Telefax: (507) 696857  
 PERU Mansa Bubola Mattos, Av. San Eugenio 1054, Urb. Santa Catalina La Victoria, Lima, Peru, Tel: 724460  
 PHILIPPINES Lufredo Garcia, 18 Lopez Street, San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City, Metro Manila Tel: 976171, Tlx: 23312 RHPTA PH  
 PORTUGAL Sra Marisa Lusa Lima, Publicidade, Alameda Sto. Antonio Dos Capuchos, 6-3 Andar 1100 Lisbon, Portugal. Tel: 41418/573589 Tlx: 42910 Publun P.  
 SIERRA LEONE Mr Opa Mensah-Kumah, Resident Executive, P D Media, Advertising & Publicity, No 2 Murray Town Road, Congo Cross, Freetown, Sierra Leone Tel: 31766/31735  
 SPAIN Mr Russell Chute, Extraspacial, Avenida de Ramon y Cajal 81, 2°C, 28016 MADRID. Tel: 413 94 57. Fax: 413 17 94  
 SRI LANKA Advertising Sales Department, Wicks Advertising & Marketing Ltd, 736 Maradana Road, Colombo 10. Tel: 94918/91915 Tlx: 21601 Stamp CE  
 SWITZERLAND Mme Claudine Chevalley, Triservice SA Media International, 7 Ch. Maissoneuve, Case Postale, CH-1219, Chateleine - Geneve Tel: (22) 964 626 (5 lines) Tlx: 418748 Tr-Ch  
 TANZANIA Edward Lema, P.O. Box 3675, Dar es Salaam. Tel: 25825. Tlx: 41413 LIVEPETS  
 THAILAND Chower Narula, Managing Director, World Media Co Ltd, P O Box 5-60, Rong Muang Post Office, Bangkok 10500 Tel: 235 7344/233 5892/233 5893 Tlx: 84620 MAGMARK TH  
 TUNISIA M Mohamed Mrabet, MarCom International, Immeuble Sedim, El Manar II, 1002 Tunisie Tel: (01) 239 944/230 260 Tlx: 14108 DWK TN  
 URUGUAY, PARAGUAY, CHILE M Paul Bloomfield, P.O. Box 595, Potosi 1642, Montevideo Tel: 50 68 47 Tlx: 22263 AB ANKER UY  
 USSR Vnestorgreklam, 31 Kakhovka Str, 113461 Moscow Tel: 411 265 Tlx: 331 83 11

## Letter from the Publisher

**D**rugs and dumping, the world's two dreaded "Ds", are now the most pressing threats to the poor. The international media have long convinced a very large section of their audience that the supply of drugs had its severest effects in the urban centres of the industrialised countries, and that toxic waste was something only heavily industrialised centres produced. Therefore, it was their problem.

It is a fact of media life that problems are only noticed when they are punched in the nose, and this is again the case with the two "Ds". When *South*, in the early months of the decade, reported on the "wasting disease" in Central Africa, nobody was prepared to call it Aids. But the dread and the fear grew out of its progression from being a problem of under-development to a "white" sickness.

This complicated flow of delayed concern comes up again with drugs and waste dumping. For several years many countries of the Third World were content to see the drugs problem as an exportable crisis. Yet as the implications and complexities of the sale and distribution of drugs began to be felt at home, what was earlier seen as a foreign problem became a very local disaster.

The same applied to the more developed countries with their mounting waste. For a long time, the waste of the North was a valuable, recyclable commodity in much of the South. Yet because the North's junk was the South's luxury, the developing countries could shrug off the problems of disposal. Then the industrialised nations discovered that the South could become a dumping ground for advanced rubbish. Now the rich man's rubbish was not the poor man's cash crop, but the poor man's poison.

These complex stories are the focus of two substantial sections in *South* this month. We take a searching look at the problems caused by toxic waste dumping in sub-Saharan Africa (Page 37) and at the international attempts to reverse the damage done by the drugs trade (Page 9).

\* \* \* \*

**O**n a recent editorial *South* pointed to Canada as a country which had a vital responsibility in the making of North-South economic relations. Sadly, this was not evident in the limp statement issued at the end of the recent summit of the Group of Seven in Toronto. But the vitality of Canada is there and is seen in the generous and wide-ranging policies it is applying to its relations with Africa (Page 81).

\* \* \* \*

**I**t has long been a *South* brief to discover new trends in the arts. This month correspondents look at the remarkable innovations in Turkish cinema, which is defying censorship, operating on shoestring budgets and creating a vast video market. The Turkish experience could well be a model for producers and directors in many other countries with similar problems (Page 123). ■

Humayun Gauhar

Humayun Gauhar



# REMEMBER RESOLUTION 598

**E**ven the Ancient Mariner knew the difference between an albatross and a seagull. Yet Captain Will Rogers of the USS *Vincennes* would have us believe that a warship equipped with the most sophisticated radar system in the world mistook an Iranian Airbus carrying 290 passengers, 66 of them children, for a threatening F-14 attack fighter which had to be shot down.

"An understandable mistake," said Ronald Reagan. "We fully accept the right of forces engaged in such hostilities to defend themselves," chimed in Britain's Margaret Thatcher. Against what? Iranian patrol boats which might collide with US frigates?

Meanwhile, that section of the western press which specialises in obfuscating the obvious dived into a morass of complex technical data about altitude, radar contact, blip and transponder response, only to surface with a list of unanswered questions. The Pentagon floated a new story every hour, but each fresh contradiction only further weakened its credibility.

The US administration owes the world an explanation. We must be told how the Airbus tragedy occurred and why the warships of the US and its allies are in the Gulf. It is an essential precondition for the start of a peace process in the Iran-Iraq war that the navies of all non-regional states withdraw from the Gulf. Iran is hardly likely to make peace with a dagger pointing at its heart.

It is fortunate that a rethink of foreign policy is under way in Iran. The recent Iranian reversals on the southern front can be attributed in part to the changing fortunes of war. But they also provide the opportunity to press a more important point: that the Iranian leadership should be concentrating on the only thing that matters – an end to the war. Iran should be seeking peace on honourable terms, not victory at any price.

There would be universal relief were Iran to pursue peace; such a move would be greeted with universal encouragement. After all, the purpose of the 1979 revolution was to secure a better life for the Iranian people, not to score triumphs on the battlefield. Today it seems almost tragic to recall that, before it was attacked by Iraq, the Iranian revolution was planning to build a society which was less militarised than its predecessor, and less dependent on a single natural resource, oil. In fact, in emphasising an egalitarian redistribution of wealth and independence from industrialised countries, the revolution's programme seemed to have drawn its inspiration from the principles and issues underlying the North-South dialogue.

Instead, the war made arms imports and production a priority, and oil revenues became a lifeline for the war effort. Iran's war debt may be negligible compared with the US\$64-billion owed by Iraq, but that is not the only measure of how costly the conflict has been and how unthinkable is its continuation.

The victory which now eludes Iran was within its reach in 1982, when it drove the Iraqi forces from its territory. However, because the removal of Saddam Hussein was an irreducible minimum among its terms for the cessation of hostilities, Iran fought on. Since then Saddam has sought to rescue Iraq from the stalemate it faced on land by extending the war to the waters of

the Gulf, attacking international shipping and destroying Iran's oil terminals.

Iraq has succeeded in widening the conflict by drawing the other countries of the region into this vortex of tension, presenting a border war as some kind of pan-Arab crusade, and bringing foreign navies into the Gulf. The international response to Iraq's use of chemical weapons against its own population and the Iranians showed that Saddam's allies would not abandon him, whatever their embarrassment.

It is a year since the UN Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 598, which called for an end to the war and promised to investigate where the responsibility for aggression lay. It is difficult to believe that, given the political will, human ingenuity cannot resolve the problem of whether a ceasefire will precede or follow the establishment of a commission of inquiry into which party was responsible for commencing hostilities. The suggestion from the USSR is commendable for its simplicity and

provides a straightforward way out of the impasse: the ceasefire and the inquiry commission should come into being simultaneously and quickly.

Tehran lacks faith in an international mediation and peacemaking effort because the international community failed to do anything concrete when the Iraqis first attacked. Little has happened since then. Even resolution 598 has been neutralised, if not subverted, by Washington's re-flagging of Kuwaiti tankers and by the arrival of US and European fleets in the Gulf. The US and its allies have no international sanction for the

role they have assumed as guardians of the freedom of navigation. Indeed Iran's dependence on the safe passage of its seaborne oil exports through the Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz makes it the last country to seek to damage or threaten that principle.

Iran has survived the pressure it has faced since 1987, perhaps the most dangerous period of the war. When Iraq internationalised the conflict, it gambled on forcing Iran into a confrontation with the US. In one sense the gamble failed, because Mikhail Gorbachev all but cancelled his Washington summit with Ronald Reagan because of the Americans' threatening posture in the Gulf. The rare unanimity which had been achieved between the superpowers over resolution 598 ended as the USSR found itself agreeing with the Iranians that the western naval presence was a threat to security and had to be withdrawn.

When the US and European fleets begin to leave the Gulf, Iran must announce its decision to make peace. In that way Tehran could show that it was not succumbing to an arms or trade embargo or to a naval blockade. There is no question about the Iranian people's support for the leadership; the revolution is firmly established. It is for the leadership to ensure that the revolution is not allowed to remain diverted from its original purpose – which is why Iran needs peace.

No peace agreement is simple, least of all one which would end such a long and bitterly fought war. It will take a long time to wind down the tension in the region as a whole. Whether the US, the USSR and China should be among the guarantors of any peace settlement is worth considering because the war has been





fought largely with weapons and missiles supplied by these countries or their allies. The UN can play a role as mediator and peacekeeper only if the superpowers extend their new, cooperative approach to regional conflicts to the Gulf war.

A further reason for arguing that Iran is well placed to seek peace is the vitality and increasing coherence which its domestic politics display. The media abroad may be fixated by Ayatollah Khomeini's illness, but the Iranian leadership is displaying no signs of inertia. In January, Khomeini clearly signalled his support for the reformists in a letter to President Ali Khamene'i. The two most important reformists, Prime Minister Hossein Moussavi and the speaker of the *majlis*, Hojatolislam Ali Hashemi-Rafsanjani, have become stronger since then. Moussavi has been confirmed in his position by a large majority of the *majlis*. Rafsanjani has been appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces, bringing the regular army and the Revolutionary Guards under a unified command for the first time.

While Iraq manifests all the trappings of an autocracy, Iran has been to the polls again this year and returned a parliament dominated by those who are committed to progress and social reform. Tehran should be confident in believing that its revolution will achieve more in peacetime than in war – and that other countries will try to emulate its achievements only if it is allowed to renew and reconstruct itself free from siege. ■

■ Middle East – Page 43

## History's pervasive dirty hands

**T**he Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko said in a televised interview at the time of the 19th congress that it would take 10 years before a good Soviet history, by which he meant one that was credible and readable, could be published. His appraisal was that the younger generations, adolescents and students, were suspicious of the texts they had been taught with, and feel likewise about the abruptness of their withdrawal. These young people would not easily accept any document rapidly overhauled to accommodate the new leaders; credibility had to be won through thorough research and patience. It takes much planning to decide how to record the past.

The interview, like so many other surprising statements resulting from that historic congress, reflected both the Soviet *aggiornamento* and the western obsession with the narrative line in 20th-century Soviet history. This concern is owed in part to the squalid echo of the preaching of the West's dubious moralists, and also in part to the fact that after the Turks in Armenia and Hitler in Germany, the story of Stalin remains this century's last mystery of mass murder.

But while the magnitude of the tragedy for which Stalin is responsible cannot be in any way played down, from the time of the trial of Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin to Nikita Khrushchev's partial denunciation, the Soviet Union's history from 1917 to date has to be seen in the context of international hostility to the need to end a thousand years of tyrannical monarchy; and towards the morality of the Marxist revolution.

This debate is clearly presented by Steven Lukes in *Marxism and Morality* (1983) in the exploration of the issue of "dirty hands" in politics and the meaning of Stalinism: "The question of means and ends has pervaded the entire history of Marxism, and more generally of socialism in our century: the social democratic tradition from revisionism to Eurocommunism offering one kind of answer, while the Leninist tradition, in its various forms, offers another."

Distorted history – as much by omission as by commission – is a widespread practice. The Soviet exercise of the last 14 months

has shaken the nation by its immediacy as much as its range. This compares in recent decades only with the revision forced on Germany after the defeat of the Third Reich, when Hitler's apocalyptic concepts were finally brought to the level of individual human tragedy. Stalin's neo-imperial mania has now been brought down to human terms too. The rest of the modern world has been able to play down the dramatic contrasts in the disguise of old lies by progressing through change in a more leisurely manner.

Out of modern fiction came the individual adjustment to history in the making, through the pages of Alberto Moravia's novel *The Conformist* (1951), wherein one man changes many times so as to remain in a survival mould. But that was fiction, of course. In *I the Supreme*, the 1971 novel by Augusto Roa Bastos, the dictator Dr Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia writes in his notebook: "I am the final judge. I can decide how things will go. Contrive the facts. Invent the events." That was not fiction.

**F**rance could never have been humiliated in the Second World War if everyone who claimed after 1945 to have been in the Resistance had actually participated in the underground movement. And this was notable at the trial of Nazi criminal Klaus "The Butcher of Lyon" Barbie last year. Raymond Aron, in his observations of means and ends, summed up the cause of remorse in his article *The life and death of Arthur Koestler* (1983): "France was, par excellence, the battlefield on which the Cold War was fought, the war of ideologies and intellectuals." And after the Cold War came neo-colonialism, in which such great nations as France and Britain told the world they were the benevolent protectors of small economies in far-off places, and funny-looking foreigners had to be put in chains for their own good.

Britain, where modern academic history writing and research began in 1945, goes through the exercise of rewriting a part of its recent history every January, when the 30-year rule – the time of embargo on official files – matures, and the events of three decades earlier are laid before the public. It has come to be acknowledged in Britain that the great can expect a new biography every generation, as fresh material is unearthed for consideration.

In this way, from Japan, through India, to Northern Ireland, politicians and bureaucrats assisted by self-seeking journalists and academics have invented an unique time machine. The magazine *Index on Censorship* tries regularly to chronicle the altered almanacs of autocrats big and small.

During the Reagan years, the United States has fought hard to win the war it lost in Vietnam, by means of the loutish fictional exploits of the likes of Rambo. One of the more forceful revisions of recent history occurred in Argentina. Eight years of military dictatorship unleashed what the capitalist world and the Communist Party accepted, and even applauded, as a "dirty yet noble war" against opponents. Today, Argentina and the world recognise that it was a brutal and criminal exercise of such cruelty that the report of the investigators was entitled *Never Again* (Faber 1986).

The Australian bicentenary has forced the re-examination of what has turned out to be a cruel supremacist society. A forthcoming book by John Pilger, *A Secret Country* (Cape) warns that "from its very beginning the history of white Australia has been shrouded in secrecy and silence." Which makes a mockery of the popular impression of a society of open, outgoing people.

All of this is to say that rewriting history, in some quite extreme instances, is the monopoly neither of Marxism nor of the Soviet Union. Yevgeny Yevtushenko is an outspoken man and a brave poet. His estimate of a decade passing before new and readable texts could appear must be seen with compassion rather than gloating. More important, he was asking for a reasonable account, not for the truth, which he knows to be elusive. Mikhail Gorbachev commented that "it would have been much simpler not to know" – the magnitude of the task ahead is known to all. ■



# October 1988 – The launch of a new publishing concept in China

Xinhua, the official news agency of the People's Republic of China and SOUTH magazine, the international business monthly specialising in the developing countries, are co-publishers of a brand new monthly business magazine in Chinese.

"Jingji Shijie", or Business World, is a first in China. It combines two different editorial elements: a selection of articles from SOUTH translated into Chinese together with articles from China of particular interest to the new breed of decisionmakers in China involved in international trade – a unique mix.

## What else does this new publication offer?

A minimum monthly circulation of 25,000 copies, sent to named individuals throughout Government, the Banking and Finance sector and Industry and Commerce. A controlled circulation list compiled by the Chinese Government and updated every six months.

A publication distributed via the official Government network. A free advertisement translation service. And more.

Why not write or telephone one of our offices now for a free brochure and special introductory advertising offers?



**Head Office**  
Colin Sergeant  
Advertisement Director  
South Publications  
New Zealand House, 13th Floor  
80 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS  
England  
Tel: 01-930 8411  
Tlx: 8814201 TRIMED G  
Facsimile: 01-930 0980  
(Group 3)

**Asia/Pacific**  
Ross MacDonald  
Silke Gebauer  
South Publications  
Pacific Harbour International  
Business Centre  
2803 Admiralty Centre, Tower 1  
18 Harcourt Road, Hong Kong  
Tel: 5-8652925  
Tlx: 73553 HIBC HX  
Telefax: 5-8650790

**USA/Latin America**  
Dee Fernandes  
General Manager  
South Publications  
Suite 932, The Hemslay Building  
230 Park Avenue, New York NY 10169  
USA  
Tel: (212) 682 8714  
Telefax: (212) 697 8280  
Tlx: 710 5813722 TRIMED NYK

**Middle East/South Asia**  
Colin Kilkelly  
Regional Director  
South Publications  
3rd Floor, Rock Court  
Abdullah Haroon Road  
Karachi, Pakistan  
Tel: 514259







**BCCI HOLDINGS  
(LUXEMBOURG) SA**  
39 Boulevard Royal, Luxembourg

December 31    Capital Fund US\$    Total Assets US\$  
**1987 US\$    1,465 million    19,500 million**

**BCC Group now has Offices in 73 Countries**

Bank of Credit and Commerce International Group has come to be known as a local bank, internationally – a bridge between the developing and the developed countries. Contact us at any of our offices in the following countries:

Argentina	Germany (West)	Macau	Sierra Leone
Australia	Ghana	Malaysia	Spain
Bahamas	Gibraltar	Maldives	Sri Lanka
Bahrain	Grand Cayman	Mauritius	Sudan
Bangladesh	Hong Kong	Monaco	Swaziland
Barbados	India	Morocco	Switzerland
Botswana	Indonesia	Netherlands	Taiwan
Brazil	Isle of Man	Netherlands Antilles	Thailand
Cameroon	Italy	Niger	Togo
Canada	Jamaica	Nigeria	Trinidad & Tobago
China	Japan	Oman	Turkey
Colombia	Jordan	Pakistan	UAE
Côte d'Ivoire	Kenya	Panama	United Kingdom
Cyprus	Korea (South)	Paraguay	Uruguay
Djibouti	Kuwait	Philippines	USA
Egypt	Lebanon	Portugal	Venezuela
France	Liberia	Senegal	Yemen (South)
Gabon	Luxembourg	Seychelles	Zambia
			Zimbabwe



SCIENCE REFERENCE  
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION SERVICE  
1 AUG 1988

# JGC

**When choosing the best,  
Your choices are limited.**

There are two methods capable of improving the efficiency and economy of a power generation system: Combined Cycle and Co-generation.

And to build a power generation system which utilizes either of these two methods to their fullest advantage, there's only one leading full-service engineering company: JGC.

At JGC, we provide superior systems engineering and advanced project management services to clients around the world. By handling every aspect of engineering — including feasibility studies, design, equipment procurement and construction — we are able to build a power generation plant or facility which guarantees high performance in terms of flexibility, reliability and safety.

Actually, when you search for an engineering professional to build your power generation plant or facility, you'll find that there's one expert that outshines them all. We won't tell you who. But if you call us, we're sure you'll know who we're talking about.



Total Engineering and Construction . . . Worldwide

## JGC CORPORATION

**Head Office:** New Ohtemachi Bldg., 2-1, Ohtemachi 2-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan

**Tel:** Tokyo 03 (279) 5441 **Fax:** 81-3-273-8047 **Telex:** 0222-3096 JGCTOK J

**Overseas Network:** • Beijing • Jakarta • Singapore • Kuala Lumpur • Bahrain • Kuwait • Al-Khobar  
• Riyadh • Jeddah • The Hague • Paris • London • Algiers • Arzew • São Paulo • Santo Domingo  
• Washington, D.C. • Houston • San Jose