

South

BUSINESS • TECHNOLOGY • POLITICS • LEISURE

AFRICA, ASIA, MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA
SERVICES Carving out a market

RIOT CONTROL



The science of suppression

THE US

New Hispanic conquest

NAMIBIA

A long way from peace

MEDIA STAR WARS

Algeria 14.00 DA
Argentina A36.00
Australia A\$4.00
Austria Sh 38
Bahamas Bah\$2.50
Bahrain BD1
Bangladesh TK65
Barbados B\$5.00
Belgium BFr 110
Bolivia B10.00
Brazil Cr910
Brunei B\$6.00
Canada C\$4.00
Cayman Islands C\$2.66
CFA Zone 1,000 CFA
Chile (inc. tax) \$750.00
China ¥ Yuan
Colombia Pesos 950.00
Costa Rica Colon 245
Cyprus C£2.00
Denmark DKr 26
Dominican Rep. RD\$15.00
Ecuador Sucre 1550
Egypt E£3.50
Euro HET 1.82 (inc. VAT)
Finland Fmk15
France FFr15
Germany DM6.00
Ghana C400
Greece Dr 400
Hong Kong HK\$24.00
India Rs 26
Indonesia (inc. PPN)
Rp 3750
Iran Rls 150
Italy Lr 4000
Jamaica J\$0.75
Japan 700 Yen
Jordan JD1
Kenya Sh 30.00
Kuwait 900 Fls
Lebanon L£600
Liberia US\$2.50
Malawi K1
Malaysia M\$6.00
Malta M£1.00
Mauritius Rs20
Mexico Pesos 6,000
Pacito 5,820
Morocco Dir 15
Nepal NRs 30
Netherlands Gld 6.80
New Zealand NZ\$6.50
Nigeria N4.00
North Yemen 15 Rls
Norway Nkr 22
Oman R1.00
Pakistan PRs 26
Panama B3.00
Papua New Guinea
Kina 3.00
Peru US\$3.00
Philippines Pp 40
Portugal 400 Esc
Qatar 10.00 Rls
Saudi Arabia 12 Rls
Seychelles SRs 13
Singapore S\$6.00
Spain Pts 375
Sri Lanka SLRs 45
Swaziland E4
Sweden 20 Kr
Switzerland SFr 5.00
Tanzania Sh 60
Thailand Bt 75
Trinidad T\$7.00
Turkey TL2.000
UAE Dir 11.00
Venezuela Bs70
Zambia K15
Zimbabwe Zim \$3.00

CONTENTS

4	Editorial
6	Newsfile
10	Media
15	Economic Eye
17	Services
20	Asia
	Philippines 20
	Burma 25
28	Latin America
	Hispanics in the US 28
	Peru 35
	Chile 36
37	Africa
	Namibia 37
	Swapo 38
	Airlines 40
42	Middle East
	Maghreb 42
	Gulf 51
55	Special Report:
	Urban Transport
65	Indices
66	Commodities
68	Signed & Sealed
69	Pipeline
70	Technology
	Riot control 70
	Shorts 75
76	Life Sciences
	Genetic engineering 76
	Medicine 77
	Research 78
81	Religion
83	Books
86	Book People:
	Jack Davis
89	Film
91	Personal File
94	Sport
	Cricket 94
	Rallying 95
96	Letters

COVER ILLUSTRATIONS:
MALCOLM SMITH/
IMPACT

South

No 97 November 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.

THIS MONTH

Bus

MEDIA STAR WARS

The 1990s will witness a communications explosion. In the South it could bring an expansion of film and video production, greater individual choice and ease the flow of information. Alternatively, Third World culture could be hit by an avalanche of third-rate western mass entertainment.

Page 10



TOPICS

Weak growth in much of the South and a continuing outflow of funds has torpedoed the present debt management strategy.

Economic Eye 15

Developing countries are looking for ways to gain an advantage from the Geneva negotiations on international trade in services.

Service counter 17

The International Cocoa Agreement is a virtual dead letter. Its decline is another blow to commodity cooperation.

Sinking feeling 66

The latest riot control equipment, a small part of the huge security industry, is described as "non-lethal" by those who use it. But incidents in South Africa, South Korea, Israel and Chile have shown that it can cause injury and even death.

Science of suppression 70

The animals of tomorrow's farms are now being tailor-made by their scientist creators.

Altering of species 76

A selection of new books from women writers.

Struggles 83

Shawn Slovo talks of her film *A World Apart*, and the strained relationship with her mother.

Mothers and daughters 89

Amin Ali has risen from the rank of waiter to become the owner of two of London's most fashionable restaurants.

Spice route 91

As world cricket moves closer to a racial divide, Imran Khan offers his solution to the causes of the rift — apartheid links and rocky umpiring.

Sport 94

ASIA

The rebels in the Philippines are earning up to US\$2.6-million a year by wheeling and dealing on the world's stock markets, according to documents sized by the security forces in Manila.

South has gained access to the decoded documents, which are stored on 100 computer disks and show that the guerrillas' other big sources of revenue are "revolutionary taxation" of business and war bonds issued to middle-class sympathisers.

Inside the insurgency 20



Western powers have cut off aid to Burma, where the military have again seized power. This will heighten Rangoon's economic troubles.

No winners 25

LATIN AMERICA

The Hispanic community, the sleeping giant of the US, has stirred and a Latin cultural boom has swept the US. In the build-up to the presidential elections, the candidates are wooing the Latin vote.

Hispanic conquest 28

Recent opinion polls reveal that President Alan Garcia's popularity rating has plummeted. Will he survive in the presidency till 1990?

Believing in yesterday 35

September's plebiscite said "no" to Pinochet, but this is only the first step in restoring full democracy to Chile.

People divided 36

Brazil's new constitution may herald a move against the mining transnationals.

Treasure chest 66

AFRICA

The politicians say they are talking peace, but for the people of northern Namibia the military build-up tells a different story. If independence does come, it will be a long while before Namibians achieve freedom of action.

Long haul 37

African airlines are flying into stormy weather. On their own they have little future; together they may just survive in the coming era of super-carriers.

High fliers 40

MIDDLE EAST

Tourism is leading the way out of North Africa's balance of payments problems. Meanwhile, after years in the economic doldrums, Morocco is lapping up the IMF sunshine. Now bankers are taking a fresh look at the region, encouraged by economic integration and political rapprochement in the Maghreb.

Revival 43

Oman's Sultan Qaboos bin Said talks about his hopes for the future in a war-free Gulf.

Fresh hope 51

SPECIAL REPORT

Transport services in Third World cities have been swamped by population growth, which also threatens to outstrip the rate at which planners can find — or fund — solutions.

Urban transport 55

Founding Editor: Denzil Peiris (1980-1985)

Publisher and President: Humayun Gauhar

Editor-in-Chief Altaf Gauhar

Editor: Rasna Gauhar

Managing Editor Melvyn Westlake

Associate Editor Andrew Graham-Yooll

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 Baking and Georgia Power Desk Andrew Deakin Editor's assistant Omi

Mehta Production assistant Naomi Poulton

Art Director Javed Badar

Correspondents: Bangkok Marcel Barang Bogotá Geoffrey Matthews Brussels Shada

Islam Islamabad Maleeha Lodhi Lima Mike Reid Manila Monica Feria Moscow Martin

Walker Paris Safa Haeri São Paulo Richard House Washington Samantha Sparks, Mark

Tran and Claudia Wright

Acting Special Report Editors Jonathan Miller and Khozem Merchant

Syndication Manager Wynne Henry

Executive Director Soli Gae

Company Secretary Nazir Ahmad

Director, Finance, Planning and Coordination Divesh Naran

Manager, Planning and Coordination Ranjit Pillai

Chief Accountant John Ho

Senior Vice-President - Market Development Soraiya Qadir

Director, Marketing Promotions Mariam Ali Baig

Advertisement Director Colin Sergeant

Advertisement Manager, Europe Julian Miller

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. Tx: 710 581 3722 Trmed N.Yk.

Telefax: (212) 697 8280. Northern Europe: Gabriele Hein, Regional Manager, P.O. Box

605328, 2000 Hamburg 60, West Germany. Tel: (49) 40 279 3878. 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: 5-290356, Tx:

73553. HIBC. Telefax: 5-8650790. South Asia and Middle East, Office of the

representatives, Colin Kelly, Regional Director, South Asia/Middle East and Vice

President, African Operations, Iqbal Khan, General Manager Advertisement Sales

Hameed Khan, General Manager, Finance Administration and Regional Circulation

Salman Husain Batalvi, Manager Special Projects, 3rd Floor, Rock Court, Abdullah Haroon

Rd., Karachi. Tel: 521668/521268/514259.

ADVERTISING SALES

ALGERIA ANEP, 1 Avenue Pasteur, Algiers Tel: 630636 Tx: 67311

ARGENTINA Jorge Castex, Jorge Castex y Asociados SA, Moreno 584-Piso 9°, 1091

Buenos Aires Tel: 343216 Tx: 22036 JECON AR

AUSTRALIA Des McDonald, Exportad Pty Ltd, 115-117 Cooper Street, Surrey Hills, Sydney,

NSW 2010 Tel: 211-3144 Tx: AA22854XPAD

BRAZIL Marco Antonio Tiburcio, Artwork - Representacoes de Media Int'l S/C Ltda, Rua

Apicacas 238, 05017 Sao Paulo/Sp Phone (011) 262-1685 Telex 11-30022 South office. Jair

Farias, Manager, Rua Cel Massol, 725/208, 90000-Porto Alegre/rs Phone (0512) 49-6199

CAMEROON Mrs R E Mbondo, Managing Director, EBS, Siege Social, B.P. 5853

AKWA-DUALA Tel: 427011/429750 Tx: 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 No1111, Bogota, Colombia Tel: 218

6917, 218 6937

ECUADOR Jose Ulloa A Vernimmen, 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 Tx: 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 Boulois, 75017 Paris Tel: 4501 80

704553 79 93 Tx: 269000. Managing Director, Tel: 46874706

GHANA Intercity Traders, Manyo Phase Street, 11 Watson Ave, PO Box 3298, Accra Tel:

228989/220407, Tx: 2192 Voline Gh

GREECE Mr Anwar Asward, Director, A&M Marketing Consultants, Zaimi 7-9 APT, 1

Palacio-Fallon, Athens, Greece Tx: 218099 FBFC 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, Mediascope, C/O

Gujarat Mitra, 32 Rajgir Chambers, Shahid Bhagat Singh Rd Tel: 2864611. 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. Tel: 031 63485 CSPIN

INDONESIA Mrs Sasmiyarsi Sasmiyo, Chairman, P. T. Nusa Trada Pratama, G.004,

Sabang Metropolitan Hotel, Jalan Haji Salim II, Jakarta, Indonesia Tel: 21-375366/374966

Tx: 44555 SABANG IA

JAPAN Mr Shigeyuki Yasui, Managing Director, Intercommunications (Japan) Inc,

Sakayoshihino Building, 2/F Ginza 6-16-5, Chuo-ku Tokyo 104 Tel: 03-5565-0861 Fax:

03-5565-0860 Telex: J32194 INCOM TYO

KENYA Pamela Kikum, Marigold International, P.O. Box 30106, Nairobi. Tel: 24558 Tx:

22143 BUREAU

REPUBLIC OF KOREA Mr J G Seo, Doobee Intl Ltd, Center Bldg (Byulgwon) 1-11

Jung-dong, Choong-ku, Seoul, Korea Tel: (02)776-2096 Tx: K2717 Doobees Fax:

(02)755-9880

MALAYSIA Mr Krishnan, World Media Sdn Bhd, 2050-3 Bangunan Belia 4B, Jalan, Sentul

Pasar 51300, Kuala Lumpur. Tel: 4415411/4415809 Tx: MA31533

MEXICO Juan Martinez Dugay, Towmar, Presa de la Angostura 8, Mexico DF 11500. Tel:

395 5888, Tx: 1763128 REPRIME. Fax: 9053954985

NIGERIA Chief Adeyola Balogun, Intermedia, Crusader House (3rd floor) 23/25 Martins

Street, Box 2228, Lagos Tel: 662074 Tx: 22453

PANAMA Juan Manuel Handal, Apartado 2070, Panama 1. Telefonos: (507) 691814 y

693754. Tx: 3516 "Ecf Pg", Telefax: (507) 696857

PERU Marisa Bubola Mattos, Av. San Eugenio 1054, Urb. Santa Catalina La Victoria, Lima,

Peru. Tel: 724460

PHILIPPINES Luhdee Garcia, Manager, Philippine Operations, 2-F Royal Bay Terrace, UN

Avenue Ermita Metro, Malina, Philippines. Tel: 5220541/48 LOC 35 Telex: 63750 Ad Cong

TX: 521 2831

PORTUGAL Sra Marisa Luisa Lima, Publicita/Publicidade, Alameda Sto. Antonio Dos

Capuchos, 6-3 Andar 1100 Lisbon, Portugal. Tel: 41418/573589 Tx: 42910 Public P.

SIERRA LEONE Mr Opia Mensah-Kumah, Resident Executive, P D Media, Advertising &

Publicity, No 2 Murray Town Road, Congo Cross, Freetown, Sierra Leone Tel: 31766/31735

SINGAPORE Mr Patrick Ang Asst. General manager MPH Magazines(s) Pte Ltd 601 Sims

Drive, 03-21 Pan-1 Complex, Singapore 1438 Tel: 7485050 Fax: 7440620 Telex: RS 35835

MPH-MAG

SPAIN Mr Russell Chute, Extraspaltal, 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 Tx: 21601 Stamco CE.

SWITZERLAND Mme Claudine Chevalley, Triservice SA Media International, 7 Ch

Maisonnette, Case Postale, CH-1219, Châtelaine - Geneve Tel: (22) 964 626 (5 lines) Tx:

418748 Tr-Ch.

TANZANIA Edward Lema, P.O. Box 3675, Dar es Salaam. Tel: 25825. Tx: 41413

LIVEPETS

TURKEY Medi Group/Medya Basın Servisleri Ve Ticaret AS, 14 Atakan Sokok, Mecidiyekou

80390, Istanbul. Telex: 26999 DMRT TR

URUGUAY, PARAGUAY Mr Paul Bloomfield, P.O. Box 595, Potosi 1642, Montevideo Tel: 50

68 47 Tx: 22263 AB ANKER UY

USA California: Joe Meisels, JEM Associates, 1905 Pierce St, San Francisco, CA 94115 Tel:

415-563-3230. Texas: Mike Loughlin, Ad-Expo Marketing Intl, 16151 Cairway, Suite 206,

Houston, TX 77084 Tel: 713-463-0502

USSR Vnestorgreklama, 31 Kakhovka Str, 113461 Moscow Tel: 411 265 Tx: 331 83 11

VENEZUELA Christine Gonzalez, LATRAVEL C.A., Av. Francisco Solano, Galenas Bolivar,

Of. 93-A Sabana Grande Caracas 1050. Tel: 71-76-91/71-84-87/72-78-89. Fax: 71-87-86.

Telex: 27868 LATVL VC.

South

Letter from the Publisher



The Chinese-language version of **South**, *Jingji Shijie* (Business World), was launched in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, on 5 October. *Jingji Shijie* is published jointly by **South** and the department of home news for world service of China's Xinhua news agency. We are especially pleased that the launch of our Chinese edition, the first joint venture of its kind between Xinhua and a foreign publishing house, coincided with the eighth anniversary of **South**.

We decided to go into foreign language editions, something few other magazines do, primarily because we want to reach as many people as possible through their first language rather than through a foreign language, often an elitist vehicle of

communication. **South** is a multi-dimensional magazine whose main focus is economics and business. To take our message and viewpoint not only to important decision-makers but also to the grassroots, we feel it is important for **South** to appear in as many languages as possible. We want an ever larger number of people to have the opportunity to read us in their national language or mother tongue.



Our first foreign-language edition is in Chinese because China is not only a developing country, but also the largest country in the world. By bringing out **South** in Chinese, we are in a position to reach more than a fifth of the world's population. But China's importance to the Third World also rests on another very important foundation. Forty years or so after decolonisation, most Third World countries are still struggling against economic, political and, above all, intellectual colonialism. China is one of the few developing countries which has decolonised itself completely but is also pursuing a policy of cooperation with foreign countries to make its programme of modernisation and growth a reality. In bringing out *Jingji Shijie* we are, in our own small way, paying a tribute to the great achievement of the Chinese people and assisting in their programme of growth and cooperation with the outside world. China has always been a great friend of **South**, and this venture is based largely on that friendship, trust and cooperation.

Jingji Shijie will start with a monthly controlled circulation of 25,000, rising to 50-100,000 over the next three years. After that we shall look at increasing our circulation further in China and consider exporting the magazine to reach the many Chinese speakers outside the country. *Jingji Shijie* will reach the decision-makers of China in central government, regional administrations, import and export corporations, industrial corporations, financial institutions, banks, universities and research institutions.

The success of *Jingji Shijie* is very important to the future of **South**, which is much more than a magazine. **South** represents the first attempt by a group of people from the developing countries to produce a vehicle for promoting the views of the Third World. Its success will lead to editions in other languages, especially those spoken in the Third World. ■

Humayun Gauhar

POISONOUS CYNICISM

Stunned by Iraq's barbaric use of chemical weapons against its Kurdish minority, several thoughtful commentators have expressed their dismay that no government has had the courage to condemn Iraq or impose sanctions to deter it from pursuing a genocidal course. Flora Lewis, a *New York Times* columnist, said: "Governments seem to have reached a new level of cynicism. It is clear that Iraq felt it could get away with turning its poisonous gas arsenal on its Kurds after the ceasefire because so little was said when it used chemical warfare against Iran." She criticised the US government and its "mealy-mouthed allies" for their pusillanimity and asked: "But where are the non-aligned, those ready purveyors of moral judgment to the superpowers? Especially, where are the Arab states with their protestations of peaceful intent?"

This is an important question which must be answered. The Third World cannot dismiss this question on the pretext that the person asking it has little sympathy for the Third World or is acting under Zionist advice. Nor can the moral force of the question be denied by suggesting, as Baghdad seems to do, that its real purpose is to divert attention from the Palestinian problem.

Let us admit that Third World governments have failed to register even a verbal protest against the use of chemical weapons by Iraq. Heads of non-aligned states have been pontificating and delivering ponderous speeches in the current UN general assembly session: not one found time to name Iraq for systematically using chemical weapons against the Iranians and the Kurds. None of the 42 members of the Islamic Conference has had the courage or the compassion to raise the subject.

How has this cynicism and apathy grown? How did the Iranians and the Kurds become victims of chemical warfare? Why are the superpowers so helpless to save the world from what they recognise as a crime against humanity? And why is the UN

so paralysed?

The Geneva protocol of 1925 prohibits the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices. It lays down "that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as part of international law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations". When Iraq, a signatory to the protocol, used mustard and cyanide gases against the Iranian forces in 1984 the violation went uncondemned and unpunished.

The protocol lacks an enforcing mechanism, but sanctions should have been imposed on Iraq to sustain the universally recognised moral force of the prohibition on the use of chemical weapons. The failure to restrain Iraq at the time was due to the fact that the US and the USSR wanted to stop Iran from winning the war, and condoned the use of chemical weapons by Iraq.

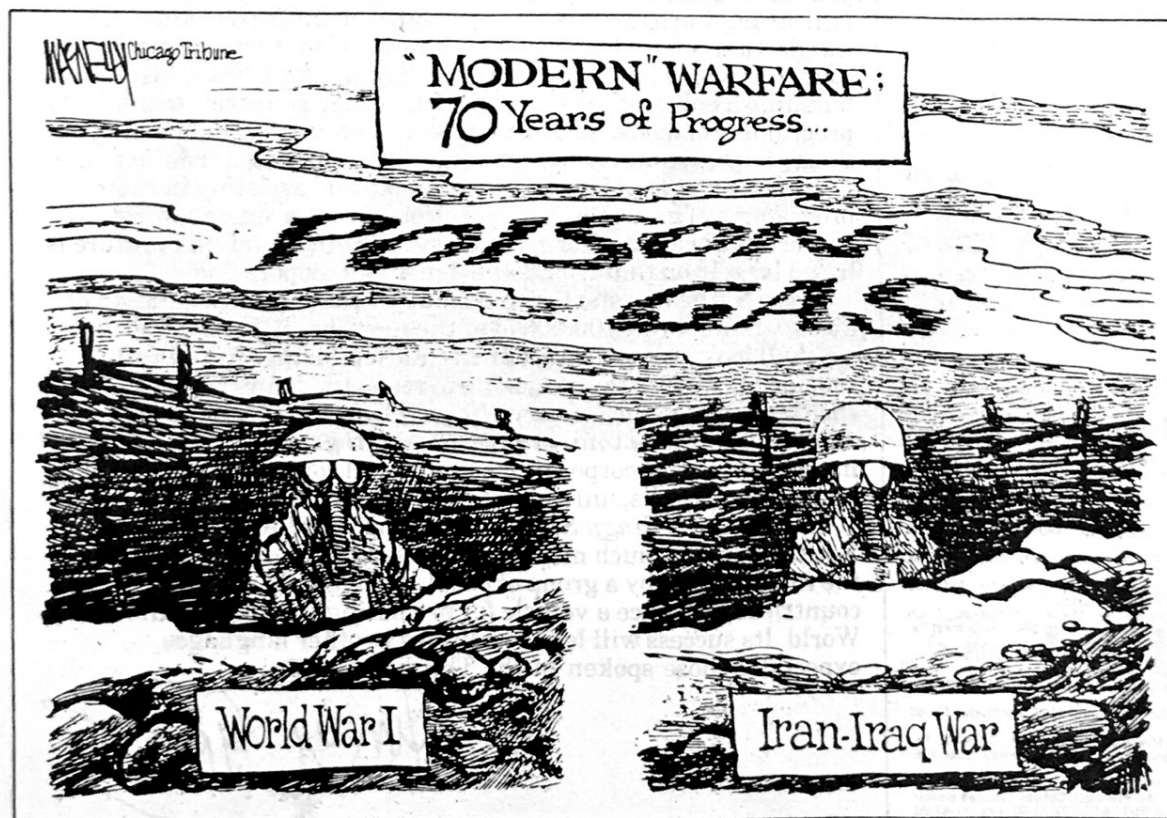
Four years later, the UN security council was presented with a devastating report from the Secretary-General accusing Iraq of intensifying its use of chemical weapons against Iran. The report confirmed that "Iraq was using nerve gas and even cyanide gas on the battlefield and mustard gas behind Iranian lines". Still no action was taken, no sanction applied, no resolution passed condemning Iraq for its persistent violation of the Geneva protocol.

The reasons were not difficult to discover. The US did not want to embarrass Iraq, the Soviet Union was bound by its treaty of friendship with Iraq, and the Arabs (with some exceptions) wanted Iran to be subdued at all costs. They could use their financial clout to stop the Non-Aligned Movement from criticising Iraq. Other leading countries such as West Germany, Australia and Britain had supplied equipment and built facilities at the Samarra chemical complex near Baghdad (*South May 1987*). Their governments did not wish to jeopardise future business prospects.

The US, in ethical terms, was in an even more difficult position to restrain Iraq.

The US had not only used chemical weapons to devastating effect during the Vietnam war, but had also consistently voted since 1969 against the adoption of a comprehensive resolution prohibiting the use of all biological and chemical methods of warfare in international armed conflict. It was at Washington's insistence that biological weapons were separated from chemical weapons. While a binding convention on the prohibition of biological weapons was adopted in 1975, the US has employed all its power and influence to prevent the adoption of a similar convention banning the production, storage and use of chemical weapons.

President Richard Nixon renounced the



production of chemical weapons in 1969, but the Pentagon later discovered a Soviet threat and a propaganda campaign was unleashed accusing Moscow of waging germ and gas war in Kampuchea, Laos and Afghanistan. It was claimed that the Soviets had unleashed "yellow rain" on the civilian population in Kampuchea. On investigation it was established that the yellow rain was nothing but excrement from bees, but the pressure on the US congress to allow renewed gas production continued. The senate finally approved the resumption of nerve gas production, with Vice-President George Bush using his casting vote in favour.

It was against this background that Iraq was able to violate the Geneva protocol and achieve a stalemate with Iran largely through the use of chemical weapons. The day the Iranians accepted the UN ceasefire resolution, Iraq turned its fury against the Kurds, who had pursued their long struggle for autonomy during Iraq's war against Iran.

The Kurds are a nation of 20-million, with a culture, language and tradition of their own. They have lived for 3,000 years in the mountainous region overlapping Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and the Soviet Union without ever having a state of their own. When the Ottoman empire broke up after the defeat of Germany and Turkey in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson declared that "non-Turkish minorities of the Ottoman empire should be assured of an unmolested opportunity of autonomous development". The treaty of Sèvres in 1920 specifically provided for the establishment of a Kurdistan, but the US did not prevent Kemal Atatürk from frustrating the establishment of such a state.

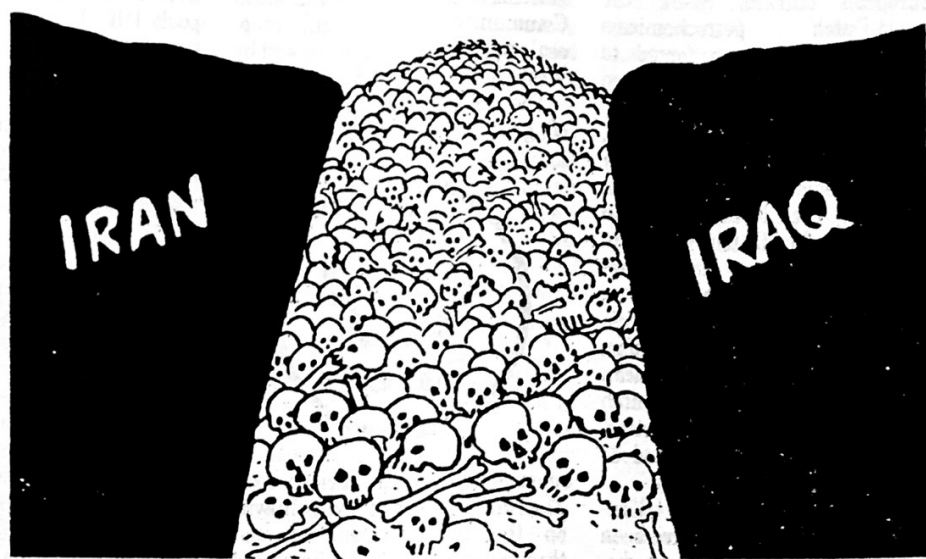
During the Second World War, a Kurdish republic of Mahabad was established in the Soviet-occupied zone of Iran. But as soon as the Soviets withdrew, the Shah of Iran extinguished the republic, executed its President and outlawed the Kurdish Democratic Party without a word of protest from Moscow. Ever since, the Kurds have kept up the struggle for autonomy.

In March 1988, the Iraqi forces used chemical weapons against the Kurds in Halabja, a town of 70,000 where more than 4,000 died from mustard and cyanide gases. Neither the UN nor the superpowers condemned Iraq for this barbarism (*South May*).

Five months later, the Iraqis apparently decided to eliminate the Kurdish problem along with the Kurdish people. Poisonous gases were dropped from the air. Scores of villages were affected and hundreds of unarmed civilians were killed. More than 100,000 Kurds fled their villages and sought refuge in Turkey. Two weeks after the news of the Kurdish genocide started circulating, the US publicly condemned Iraq, and the US senate passed a resolution imposing economic sanctions. The White House has still not approved the resolution. More belatedly, the British foreign office expressed its "deep revulsion" and asked Iraq to stop the use of chemical weapons.

The UN said it would "consider immediately . . . appropriate measures in accordance with the charter of the UN should there be any future use of chemical weapons". On 15 September, the European parliament, in an overwhelming vote of censure, accused Iraq of using chemical weapons in Kurdistan and called for a ban on the sale of arms and military equipment to Iraq. Despite that, the European governments hesitated to point the finger at Iraq.

US secretary of state George Shultz said: "We feel that we



have conclusive evidence of the use of chemical weapons, not necessarily going on right now, but having been used." This conclusion, he said, was based on examination of Kurds by US officials in Turkey and "other sources which we are not in a position to disclose".

UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar asked Iraq to allow an independent team to investigate the claims that Baghdad had used gas against the Kurds. The Arab League resisted the proposal, and Iraq rejected the request on the ground that any international inquiry would amount to interference in Iraq's internal affairs.

How can the use of chemical weapons be treated as a matter of domestic concern? The Geneva protocol banned the use of chemical weapons because such weapons were "justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world". And the protocol made the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons "binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations". Iraq stands condemned by its own refusal to allow an independent investigation into the chemical weapons charge.

What should be done? The problem will not be resolved by the Third World blaming the superpowers and the western press criticising the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement for swallowing their tongues. The answer lies in taking firm and resolute action at the international level.

Two courses must be simultaneously pursued. First, the US should abandon its opposition to the adoption of a binding convention prohibiting the use of chemical weapons. Surely the question of definition of chemical weapons and the difficulties of verification are not insurmountable, provided the will is there. We have no doubt that the Third World, including the Non-Aligned Movement, will fully support this course of action.

Secondly, any nation refusing to allow the UN to carry out an independent investigation of alleged violations of the Geneva protocol must be immediately named and subjected to comprehensive and mandatory economic and military sanctions. ■

THE SCOTCH WHISKY
SOCIETY OF AMERICA
7 1558

Give an extra special scotch to someone who deserves it.
You.

