

THE
Ecologist
RETHINKING BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

VOLUME 32 NO 4 £3.50

MAY 2002

Deserted

Is this the end of the road
for the Kalahari bushmen?

PLUS MOBILE PHONE RISKS – READY FOR MORE LIES?

BIG BROTHER TAKES OVER NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH

MONSANTO – UP TO ITS DIRTY OLD TRICKS AGAIN

JELLYFISH SANDWICHES?

EXCLUSIVE CHOMSKY INTERVIEW



NO WAR.

NO AIDS.

NO POVERTY.

NO DRUG ABUSE.

NO CASTE SYSTEM.

NO CORRUPTION.

NO POLLUTION.

NO OVERPOPULATION.

NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

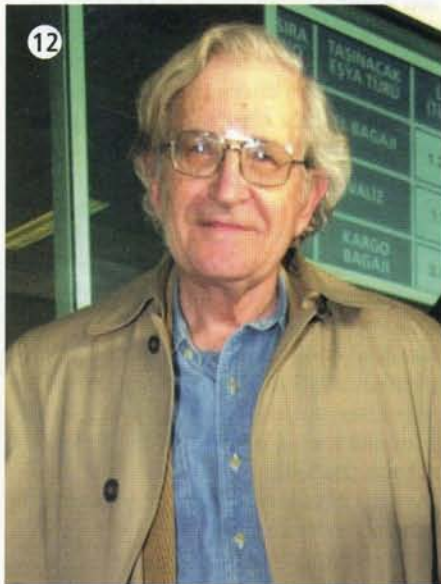


AND PEOPLE CALL THEM UNCIVILISED. They are the Jarawa, a tribe which has thrived for thousands of years on a tiny cluster of islands in the Indian Ocean. Now all that is changing. The government of India, to which these islands belong, laid out a Master Plan for resettling the Jarawa in one place. Precisely the type of scheme which history has repeatedly proven to be disastrous. According to one expert, unless the government changes its policies, the Jarawa "will end up as beggars, servants and prostitutes." Survival is urging India to let the Jarawa decide their own future. The essential first step: that they be secure in their ancestral lands. Call Survival on 020 7242 1441 or visit www.survival-international.org

Survival
for tribal peoples 

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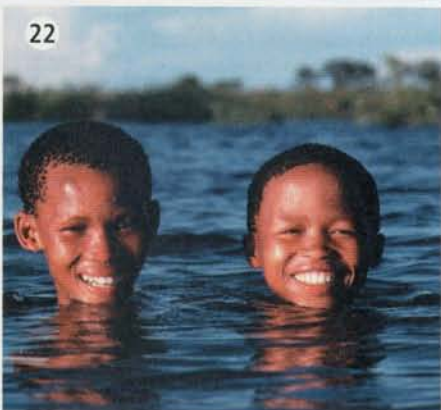
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It's often tempting to attribute the media's failings to conspiracy. Why are corporate 'experts' routinely given bigger platforms than independent authorities? Why does the media fail to report on so many vital issues?

The truth is, as Noam Chomsky argues on pages 12-15, you don't need a deep, dark conspiracy theory to explain bias in the media. The simple truth is the media is the Establishment, and the Establishment stinks. And when the Establishment is utterly wedded to the pursuit of a particular world view, then it is natural that the various pillars of the Establishment – education, media, science, politics, economics, et al – would strive to justify and propagate that view. This doesn't have to be a conscious process. The only necessity is that the underlying assumptions should never be questioned. That often means a blanket 'refusal' to see the big picture.

International poverty summits, for instance, always end up calling for more economic development. This is despite the fact that the 50-year-old development experiment has led to poverty on a scale never known to man before.

The billion-pound war against cancer, meanwhile, ignores the problems of nuclear power, waste incinerators, power lines and chemical cocktails – all of which produce known carcinogens. Instead, it chooses to focus on such evils as blue cheese, mushrooms and brazil nuts. That the industrial system itself is conducive (beyond a shadow of doubt) to cancer, is rarely discussed at all.

The basic rule is that symptoms are treated in isolation, presented as individual, unique problems, and interpreted in such a

way as to legitimise 'solutions' that feed neatly into the direction in which the Establishment has decided we must head.

So when an article appears on page 25 of a national newspaper lamenting the apparently trivial fact that 33 per cent of fish in England's southern rivers are changing sex as a result of pollutants, it should not seem unusual to find on the same spread an article on the dangers of organic food.

One fundamental failing of the media is its dependence on Establishment experts. The corporations, whose interests would be undermined with honest reporting, know how to get their messages across. Their spokesmen are well positioned, always available, and very quick to respond.

What's more, just as the public is becoming increasingly sceptical of everything big business has to say, so corporations have been injecting their own people onto supposedly independent scientific panels. This has certainly been the tactic of Monsanto. The result is that when a deadline-weary hack is handling an article on, say, biotechnology, he will turn more often than not to a wolf in sheep's clothing for guaranteed 'independent' comment. A cool analysis of the deniers of climate change, and the promoters of biotech, phone masts and nuclear power, inevitably reveals massive corporate influence.

To which end, over the course of the year *The Ecologist* is going to build a website that will attempt to strip away this façade of independence. It intends to provide some context for these 'independent' commentators, and expose their links to the corporations. With any luck the media will notice ■

ZAC GOLDSMITH

LETTERS

Whether the weather...

I am writing in response to Dominic Clifton's recent letter (Vol 32/1) about the Met Office's relocation to Exeter. We at the Met Office are committed to ensuring that the office meets its legal and moral obligations to the environment, and that we comply with all present and subsequent legislation.

The site at Exeter was earmarked for development before the Met Office selected it. If we had not taken it, the site would probably have become an industrial complex. This would have automatically brought with it its own environmental and housing issues. It may be argued that it is ecologically preferable that the site will now be a base for scientists who have a greater empathy with the environment.

The buildings we are vacating in Bracknell were mainly designed in the 1950s and built in the early 1960s. They are very energy inefficient, releasing more CO₂ than we would wish. The Met Office is actively seeking to significantly reduce its CO₂ emission levels. We hope our new building will set a trend in the standard of environmentally-friendly buildings in the south west.

The new site's landscape has been deliberately designed to encourage and support an increase in fauna and flora in an area which the Environment Agency currently accepts is devoid of diversity.

The Met Office is only too aware of the problems that global warming will bring to the environment in the years to come. However, we strongly believe that our move to Exeter is being undertaken in a responsible way which is consistent

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with achieving a net improvement in ecology and diversity and with reducing CO₂ emissions.

Alan H Douglas, director of relocation, Met Office

More on MMR

It is good to hear all sides of an argument, and I was very interested in Dr Peter Mansfield's views on MMR (Vol 32/2). However, I have several points to make on the subject.

All the research that has been done shows that autism is on the increase far and above the rate of MMR vaccination. So, vaccination seems unlikely to be the cause. Autism is diagnosed at around the same time as the MMR vaccination is given because that is the age at which the signs first appear anyway. So, what else are we doing to our children that is causing autism?

The reason that single vaccines are not being offered is because of the lessons that were learnt with the whooping cough vaccine in the 1970s. When parents chose the vaccine without whooping cough children died of the disease.

There is no evidence that there is any less risk with three single vaccines. If children must have three needles they will be at risk of disease for an extra year. What would be the point of the NHS putting children at risk by offering something less effective?

I was uneasy about having our children vaccinated, but there is risk in everything we do. The important thing is to make sure you have all the information from both sides before making a decision.

J Hogan, Oxfordshire, UK



A monthly roundup of George W Bush's recent words of wisdom

'I say things because I believe them'

D'OHBYA!

Loving the germ from Dr Mae-Wan Ho, director, Institute of Science in Society, London, UK

Thanks to Peter Bunyard for the feature 'Breeding the superbug' (Vol 32/2). The overuse and abuse of antibiotics in agriculture and medicine has undoubtedly created antibiotic resistance. But a major factor that may have contributed to the resurgence of drug- and antibiotic-resistant infectious diseases within the past 25 years is genetic engineering.

Superbugs are created by gene swapping across species barriers. That's precisely what genetic engineering has greatly facilitated. The artificial constructs recombine genetic material from various bacteria, viruses and other genetic parasites that cause diseases and spread drug and antibiotic resistance. The constructs are designed to invade genomes, and are in many ways optimised for gene swapping among bacterial and viral pathogens.

Furthermore, antibiotics are really sex hormones that encourage mating and gene

swapping between bacteria. Thus, the presence of antibiotics increases gene swapping 10- to 10,000-fold. For that reason alone, we should minimise the use of antibiotics in agriculture and medicine.

Some geneticists have begun to rethink antibiotic resistance in a more holistic manner. They are taking into account the fact that in a balanced ecology disease-causing bacteria often exist in benign, non-proliferating forms (both in the internal environment of our bodies, and in the external environment). Hence they are aiming to physiologically 'tame' pathogens instead of killing them.

There are at least 10 times as many bacteria as cells within our body. New research reveals that they may be absolutely necessary to our health and well-being.

It is time we stop releasing GMOs into our environment, and seriously learn how to love our germs instead of how to kill them.

Curry not to everybody's tastes

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw Ros Coward's column in *The Ecologist* saying what a good job Sir Donald Curry's Farming and Food Commission had done (Vol 32/2). Sure, the Curry report says some nice things about organic farming, local foods and so forth. But it shies away from taking on a number of key issues, which Coward doesn't even appear to understand.

One example is the matter of environmental subsidies and modulation. Of course, Curry recommends these. He could hardly do anything else. They have been on the Government's agenda for some time. Only antediluvian NFU types still actively support the existing production subsidies.

The point is that there are different ways of applying modulation (cutting down production subsidies), and different types of environmental subsidy. The EU

allows modulation to be applied either at a 'single rate' to large and small farmers alike, or favourably to smaller farms and (even better) farms which employ more people.

Unlike a 1999 Cabinet Office report which came down firmly in favour of the single rate, and which stated that the Government didn't want to be seen to be supporting small farms, the Curry report doesn't even mention these options.

But the most blatant failing of the Curry report simply isn't mentioned by Coward.

The members of the commission were forbidden by the Cabinet Office to question the Labour government's commitment to trade liberalisation.

In other words, they weren't allowed to say anything about the machinations of the WTO or the supermarkets' policy of scouring the world for cheap produce to

BIN LADEN'S WHEREABOUTS – 'This is a fellow who is willing to commit youngsters to their death, and he himself tries to hide – if, in fact, he's hiding at all. So I don't know where he is.' 13 March, 2002

WAR IS PEACE – 'We're a peaceful nation, and you know we're moving along just right and kind of having a, you know, time, and all of a sudden we get attacked, and now we're at war, but we're at war to keep the peace.' Ibid

WHAT SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP? – 'Seventeen nations are involved in this first theatre in Afghanistan. And we have Canadians and Danish and Germans and Australians... probably going to leave somebody out... Brits, special-forces troops on the ground... boots on the ground, as they say... willing to risk their lives in a dangerous phase of this war.' Ibid



Landless crusade becomes a landslide

I never thought that I'd be grateful for not being able to speak Portuguese in Brazil, but on this occasion it seems to be a definite bonus. It means that I can't understand a word that the policeman is shouting at me. My calculation is that if I supplement this ignorance with the air of being a naive tourist and also, for good measure, pretend to be deaf, then I might just get away with it. So, I keep walking towards the fence. I am just a couple of yards away from it when the policeman catches up with me and drags me right back to where I started from.

I am standing on a dirt road in rural Brazil, in the northern state of Maranhao. The fence I was trying to reach surrounds a vast, palm-fringed farming estate. A few days ago, the estate was invaded by a battalion of landless peasants. They are now claiming it for their own. The police don't like this, and under the orders of the state government – which, typically for rural Brazil, is largely made up of big landowners – they are here to do something about it. Illegally, they are attempting to starve out the desperate and destitute people who have set up camp here. My attempt to smuggle a pathetically small bag of fruit over the fence is what has got this one police officer in particular so wound up.

Fortunately for me, I'm white and foreign. Therefore, I'm in no danger. But the same is not true of the people camped out on the other side of the fence. They, like millions of others across this vast country, are risking everything they have – including their lives – in a battle that will decide what the future of Brazil will look like. It is the battle for land.

The people camped out on the Maranhao farm are members of the Movimento Sem Terra – the landless peoples' movement or MST. The MST is one of the most remarkable organisations in modern Brazil. It is also the biggest, and maybe the most effective, social movement in Latin America. Formed in 1985, it grew out of land occupations like this one. The occupations themselves grew out of a desperate frustration with the state of land ownership and politics in Brazil. The country remains one of the most unequal in the world. It is a country in which one per cent of the population owns half the land. At the same time, 60 per cent of farmland lies idle, and almost five million families are landless. The solution to this problem, the MST decided, is a simple one: mobilise the poor to take back the land for themselves.

The approach works. Since the MST began reclaiming land almost two decades ago, over a quarter of a million landless families have been resettled. There are currently over 70,000 families camped on land like the farm in Maranhao. These families are waiting for the government to grant them legal title to their land. The government usually does so. With such a vast movement, it has little choice. And the MST has forced the hand of Brazil's corrupt, landowning political class. Instead of waiting for crumbs to drop from the landowners' tables, it has taken over the dining room.

But nothing is easy in Brazil. The MST's radical solution to the land problem is also a poke in the eye for the Brazilian government's economic programme. That programme, you may not be surprised to hear, is based on embracing globalisation. The government wants Brazilian farmers to focus on large, export-orientated farms. The MST wants a network of small farms, which would be controlled by farmers and would grow organic and local food. It wants the country's poor to be fed first and exports to come later.

This is subversive talk, but it's getting louder. The millions of landless poor in Brazil won't just disappear. Instead, their numbers grow every year, as globalisation forces more and more people off the country's land. The economists always predicted that, of course. It's the price a nation is supposed to pay for 'modernisation' to take place. What no-one did predict, however, is that these people might want their land back again, and that they might actually get it. Ouch.

Paul Kingsnorth's book about the global resistance movement will be published by Simon and Schuster in spring 2003.

LETTERS continued

✎ undercut UK farmers. As the National Federation of Women's Institutes commented: 'It beggars belief that the commission is not allowed to challenge this key engine of sustainability'.

Simon Fairlie, Tinker's Bubble, Somerset, UK

Grain of truth

While I agree that the contrast in lifestyles between a western cow and a Third World farmer is of some interest (Vol 32/3), does Devinder Sharma really want the EU to dump all that surplus grain on India? Perhaps it is just as well for Indian small farmers that our cattle do eat so much of it.

Phil Thomas, Devon, UK

Raising Saharasia

In the April *Ecologist*, Moyra Bremner gave Brian Griffith's *The Garden of their Dreams* a good review (Vol 32/3), and well she should.

However, Griffith's excellent book was certainly not the first or most quantitative effort to identify the large desert belt of the Old World as having a major role in the development of violent social systems.

I made the point even more explicitly in my dissertation research for the University of Kansas, which was published as early as 1980.

I later developed my dissertation into a larger book called: *Saharasia: the 4000 BCE origins of child abuse, sex repression, warfare and social violence in the deserts of the Old World* (Natural Energy, Ashland, Oregon 1998). A summary article is presented at <http://www.orgonelab.org/saharasia.htm>.

My Saharasia research proved the profound historical and even contemporary social effects of the widespread aridity and desertification which characterises that large region. It identified 4000 BCE (or a bit earlier) as the starting point for both the transformation of Saharasia from lush to arid conditions, and of human culture from a peaceful, matriarchal, unarmoured state to a violent, patriarchal, armoured one.

My research also produced the first world maps of human behaviour as derived from over 1,170 different cultures, using the large cross-cultural databases developed by George P Murdock and Robert Textor at the University of Pittsburgh.

These databases are routinely used by psychologists and anthropologists for social theory testing, but nobody had previously made maps of the data. My Saharasia discoveries have been openly discussed and published since the late 1970s, but are better known among health professionals and social reformers than academics.

James DeMeo, director, Orgone Biophysical Research Lab, Oregon, USA

Brian Griffith replies: 'Thank you for your letter. I am sorry that I didn't know of your work sooner, as my book would obviously have been strengthened by reference to your research. I am encouraged to see how much you have done to measure and map the cultural impact of desertification. In the future, I will refer anyone I meet who shares this concern to your work.'

Brian Griffith, Toronto, Canada. bgriffith@primus.ca



Half a million march in peace

A huge and peaceful anti-globalisation march took place in Barcelona at the end of March's EU summit.

Little mention was made of it in the mainstream media, perhaps precisely because it passed without being marred by the sort of violence that gained so much coverage at earlier events.

The march's organisers said that the peaceful nature of the protest, as well as the turnout in excess of 500,000, proved that 11 September did not kill off the movement.

Numbers would probably have been even higher, had dozens of buses carrying protestors not been turned away at the French border ■



REUTERS

Robbing eco to pay for oil

The Bush administration used money from the US Energy Department's energy conservation and renewable power budgets to promote its own fossil-fuel based energy plan, documents released in March revealed.

A total of \$135,615 was spent on producing 10,000 copies of the White House energy plan. The plan called in May for the drilling of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. A further \$131,739 went on setting up 16 briefing boards to explain the plan. And \$176.40 was taken from the funds to pay for a trip to Alaska by Andrew Lundquist, the White House's energy task force staff director, so he could promote the plan.

At the same time, just \$100.92 was taken from the Department of Energy's fossil fuel programme. The money was used to pay for a hotel room near the printing office where the publication was produced. Before the plan was released last May, US Vice President Dick Cheney said: 'Conservation may be a sign of personal virtue, but it is not a sufficient basis for a sound, comprehensive energy policy.' ■

Banana drama

Some 120 banana workers have been fired by Noboa, Ecuador's largest banana exporter, after taking part in a day-long strike on 25 February, which called on the company to respect basic labour rights and acknowledge the union. Since the strike a police force has been stationed on the plantation.

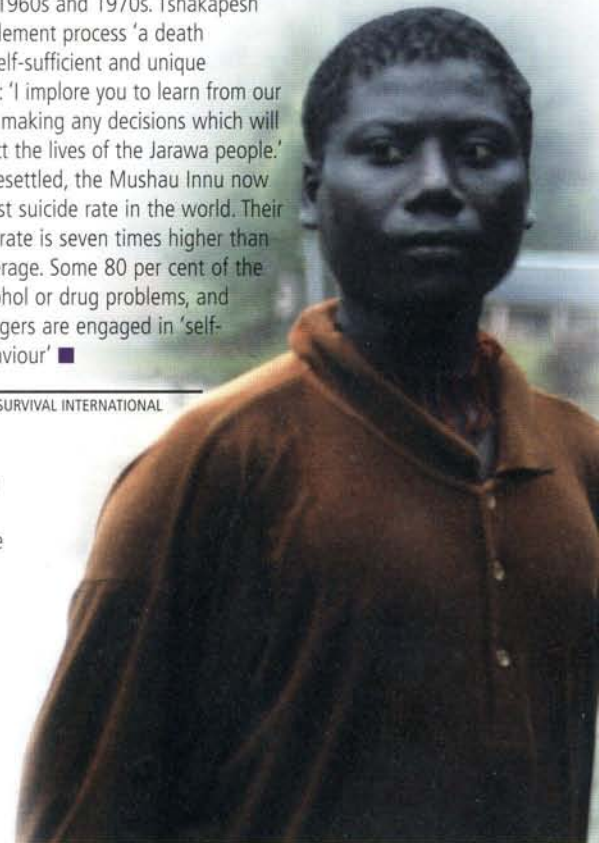
RESETTLEMENT IS A DEATH SENTENCE

A native Canadian chief has called on the Indian courts to ensure that the Jarawa tribe, who have only recently been contacted by outsiders, are not forced from their forest home (see campaigns Vol 31/10). Local authorities in the remote Indian territories of the Andaman Islands – an increasingly popular destination for 'intrepid' travelers – plan to remove the nomadic people to a government settlement so that they can be 'civilised'.

Simon Tshakapesh, chief of the Mushau Innu in eastern Canada, has warned the Andaman administration of the devastation that was caused to his own people when they were resettled in the 1960s and 1970s. Tshakapesh called the resettlement process 'a death sentence for a self-sufficient and unique people'. He said: 'I implore you to learn from our situation before making any decisions which will drastically impact the lives of the Jarawa people.'

Since being resettled, the Mushau Innu now suffer the highest suicide rate in the world. Their infant mortality rate is seven times higher than the national average. Some 80 per cent of the adults have alcohol or drug problems, and almost all teenagers are engaged in 'self-destructive behaviour' ■

SOPHIE GRIGG/SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL



STAN AT EASE by Stan Eales

TWISTED FORMS OF COMPUTER DEPENDENCY



WHITE HORSE IS A NIGHTMARE

Plans to carve a 100-metre outline of a white horse near the entrance to the Channel Tunnel on the English south coast have been approved by the UK government, despite opposition from environmental campaigners.

Groups including Friends of the Earth and the government's own environmental advisor English Nature say the project would harm the grassland habitat of many plants and insects, including spider orchids and the rare Adonis Blue butterfly. They also fear it could set a dangerous precedent, leading to planning permission for roads or airports in other protected areas.

Supporters, however, say the figure will provide a welcome first or last image of England for the many thousands of travellers who use the tunnel ■

AMEC pulls out

UK construction company AMEC has withdrawn from the Yusufeli Dam project in Turkey. If built, the dam would flood 18 towns and villages, drowning the homes of 15,000 people and displacing a further 15,000.

Mast plans scuttled

Council planning officers in Winchester, UK, denied mobile phone company Orange permission to erect a 39-foot phone mast near homes and schools, following a 15-month protest by local residents.

Cargill hogs won't wash

US pork producer Cargill Pork Inc pled guilty in February to federal charges of illegally dumping hog waste in a tributary of the Missouri River. The July 2000 dumping of waste from the firm's 17,000-hog farm in Martinsburg, killed off 53,000 fish over a five-mile stretch of river.

Asian orange

Sandstorms, exacerbated by deforestation, enveloped Beijing and turned the city's skies orange on 20 March.

Bad timing: Beijing plays host in 2008 to what are optimistically labelled the 'Green Olympics'.

An apple a day

German prosecutors are investigating pharmaceuticals giant GlaxoSmithKline for allegedly paying bribes to more than 1,000 German doctors. The company was reported to be under investigation for paying bribes to doctors in almost every German city in return for the doctors taking SmithKline Beecham products.

US chemical warfare legacy

A US appeals court ruled on 1 April that US Vietnam veterans who protracted prostate cancer and diabetes after exposure to Agent Orange were entitled to retroactive disability payments. The defoliant was produced for the US military by pharmaceuticals giants, including Dow and Monsanto.

However, calls for compensation for Vietnam's one million Agent Orange victims, many of whom suffer from appalling birth defects, were rejected by the US government. The rejection came on the eve of an international conference on the effects of the herbicide held in Hanoi in March. At least 9 million gallons of the defoliant were sprayed over Vietnam between 1962 and 1970.

A US embassy statement released before the conference said: 'At the time of normalisation, neither compensation nor reparations were granted nor contemplated for the future.' When asked if this state of affairs could change in the future depending on the outcome of more research, the spokesman replied: 'I think the statement speaks for itself.'

MAKE A DIFFERENCE

The Britain Vietnam Friendship Society is campaigning to get the US government to accept its responsibility for the damage caused to the people and the land of Vietnam by its use of Agent Orange. To find out what you can do to help, contact the BVFS secretary Len Aldis on +44 (0) 20 8980 7146, or email him at lenaldis@compuserve.com



COURTESY OF LEN ALDIS

notes and quotes

40 per cent of the world's population are without adequate sanitation. Nearly 6,000 children die every day from diseases like diarrhoea. In the past 10 years diarrhoea has killed more people than all the people lost to armed conflict since World War II. For £11 billion (the amount spent each year by European and US consumers on pet food), the number of people with no sanitation could be halved.

'For the US government to [be increasing its spending by] only double what I am spending is absolutely inadequate.'

Financier George Soros on hearing that the US would boost aid by \$5 billion over the next three fiscal years

'It's not a question of how much money will be made available for foreign assistance, or whether it comes in the form of loans or

grants. More money tied to current policies is likely to do more harm than good – providing incentives to farmers to grow flowers for Europe and the US, rather than beans or maize for people at home. What is required is economic self-determination.'
Njoki Njoroge Njeho of 50 Years is Enough

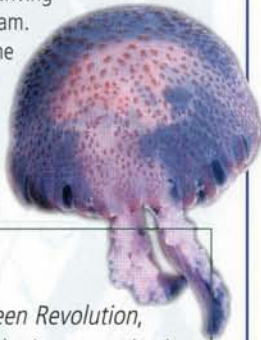
'Everything created since Bretton Woods until today should be reconsidered. A far-sighted

FISH OUT OF WATER

The amount of high-quality table fish caught in the North Atlantic has fallen to a sixth of what it was in 1900, according to a team of international scientists.

Furthermore, annual subsidies of US \$2.5 billion to North Atlantic fisheries are failing to cut overfishing by giving fishermen another source of income. The subsidies are instead driving fishermen to catch other species, says the team.

'Jellyfish is already being exported,' says the team's leader Daniel Pauly. 'In the Gulf of Maine, people were catching cod a few decades ago. Now they're catching sea cucumber. By the standards of a few decades ago, these things were repulsive.' ■



BBC WILD

Organic really is best

A new Greenpeace study, *The Real Green Revolution*, reveals that organic agriculture in developing countries is already producing yields far in excess of those achieved by conventional methods. The report can be downloaded at www.greenpeace.org.uk/realgreenrev.htm

Good old Boise?

US timber giant Boise Cascade pledged in March to end within two years all of its old-growth logging operations. It also promised to stop buying old-growth timber sales. The Rainforest Action Network welcomed the move, although it commented that the policy does not yet affect the company's international operations. Nor does Boise's definition of old-growth allow for protection of sizeable old-growth forest stands and other undeveloped fragments.

In truth, Boise's policy change was not much of a sacrifice. The firm's reliance on old wood has shrunk to less than one per cent in recent years, mostly because the ancient trees had already been felled.

Also in March, the company agreed to reduce up to 95 per cent of the harmful emissions from its eight plywood and particle plants, and to pay US \$4.35 million in penalties. The concessions followed federal allegations that Boise had modified and expanded its panel board operations over the past two decades without installing proper air pollution control equipment ■

vision was missing then. Thus the privileges and interests of the most powerful prevailed. In the face of the deep present crisis, a still worse future is offered where the economic, social and ecological tragedy of an increasingly ungovernable world would never be resolved, and where the number of the poor and starving would grow higher. [It is] as if a large part of humanity [is] doomed.'
Fidel Castro

The IMF is to extend its premises – tearing down a building on Pennsylvania Avenue,

three blocks from the Whitehouse in Washington, and replacing it with a new one at a cost of \$250 million to US taxpayers.

'People in developing countries are much healthier and better educated than they were 50 years ago. It shows that the development community has learned from experience – from success and from failure.'

Nicholas Stern, chief economist at the World Bank

Records face mass destruction



In March it was reported in the UK press that a number of scientists and government officials could face criminal charges over the gassing of service personnel during chemical warfare tests.

The servicemen had been told they would be helping find a cure for the common cold. Hundreds have been disabled by the trials. They suffer a range of illnesses from liver disease to breathing difficulties. A team of 30 detectives is recommending the prosecution of several of those responsible.

Now that Wiltshire police has finished its investigations, may I suggest it turns its attention to Winterbourne Gunner (aka The Defence Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Centre) – a secretive military training and research establishment barely a stone's throw from Porton Down.

In 1957 wartime paratrooper and Territorial Army volunteer Francis White was sent on a course at Winterbourne Gunner. He took part in an exercise which officials said would make him 'sterile for three years'. He emerged with strange burns around his nose, but said little to anyone – including his family. Progressively, though, his health deteriorated and he eventually had to give up work. He became a virtual recluse, not venturing outside his home for six years.

One day he was taken to hospital. Doctors discovered his central nervous system was badly damaged, and decided to perform an exploratory operation. They could barely believe what they saw. 'It was like a leather case across his stomach,' one of the doctors later said. 'We couldn't tell one organ from another.' White died a few weeks later of abdominal cancer.

Years later White's daughter, Irene Craig, decided to find out more about her father's military history. But when she asked for her father's records, she was told that none existed. When she then asked local doctors about her father's death, she was told that his abdominal cancer and the damage to his central nervous system could have been caused by exposure to radiation.

Responding to my enquiries, a government spokesman denied that radiation experiments were carried out on soldiers at Winterbourne Gunner. He then admitted, however, that the centre 'does conduct training courses involving the use of low-level radioactive sources'. These sources include Cobalt-60, Caesium-137, Strontium-90, Radium-226, Chlorine-36 and Nickel-63.¹

When I spoke to Irene, she told me she had been visited at her home by a Lieutenant Colonel from the Royal Navy. He wanted to know why she was asking questions. He also grilled her on what she had found out. She said: 'I'm not after compensation. Nothing can bring back my father. I'm just after the truth.'

Meanwhile, one group of the nuclear establishment's victims may finally get some belated justice. Following revelations in *The Ecologist* last year, a Scottish Executive investigation has led to the executive pledging to take action against those responsible for nuclear experiments on stolen dead babies.

Eduardo Gonçalves is a Portuguese investigative journalist.

References on page 50.

'We have so many people in the world living on less than \$1 a day, and that does not sound like 50 years of success.'

Paul O'Neill, US Treasury Secretary

A recent poll showed that 81 per cent of Americans would roll back George Bush's tax cuts to safeguard national security; 84 per cent would do the same to prevent an increase in national debt; 71 per cent to provide senior citizens with prescription drugs; and 63 per cent to protect the environment.



For 'sustainables' read 'sustaina-balls'

'Sustainable'. The word is everywhere. In the past, environmentalists had to battle to get anyone to use it at all. But now everyone, from the World Bank to the humblest business, wants to be sustainable. And the more the term is used, the vaguer it becomes. The drift is from 'sustainables' to 'sustaina-balls'.

'Sustainability' is the talisman politicians and corporations use to ward off the evil eye of environmentalist scrutiny. Sometimes, this is entertaining, as when John Prescott rambled on about how the 'prime minister has shown importance of sustaining conference'. It's less funny when the government vaunts its 'sustainable energy policy' – an extraordinary liberty given that 58 per cent of the energy R&D budget is spent on nuclear energy and only 23 per cent on renewables.

Just as outrageous was Stephen Byers's claim that the planning system needs reform because 'we need good planning to deliver sustainable development'. Indeed we do. But we won't get it from Byers. His proposals would remove crucial environmental protections, and allow, in certain instances, developers to proceed without planning permission. Tellingly, Byers's Green Paper mentions 'environment' and 'sustainable' once each. It uses the word 'business' 50 times.

No development or process can be sustainable if it fails to recognise land is a scarce resource, if it uses non-renewable resources, or creates problems of waste for future generations. Yet everywhere 'sustainability' is used to give a green spin on existing economic priorities. Currently, Regional Development Agencies are revising economic strategies. All pay lip service to 'sustainability' but none specify what the idea means or how it would alter 'business as usual'.

'Sustainability' is often used to glue together contradictory statements. Thus the International Chamber of Commerce believes that 'economic growth provides the conditions in which protection of the environment can best be achieved, and [that] environmental protection, in balance with other human goals, is necessary to achieve growth that is sustainable'. Here it's the caveat 'in balance with other human goals' which counts.

The word can, indeed, have a dizzying effect. When the World Bank talks of 'sustainable mining', we have to double check that it is really referring to Papua New Guinea – where multinationals have caused so much environmental damage. It sounds good when the WTO 'strongly reaffirms its commitment to the objectives of sustainable development', and the UK Credit Export Agency declares its activities will 'take into account the UK government's policies... on sustainable development'. But then we remember the WTO rides roughshod over environmental agreements, and the Credit Export Agency underwrites dams and nuclear power stations.

In the run-up to the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development, this sort of rubbish will be everywhere. Already some of the most environmentally damaging companies have formed Business Action for Sustainable Development. We should challenge all vague uses of 'sustainability'. Those who use the word must give precise definitions, and show how they measure their activities against them. Otherwise, they should expunge the word from their vocabulary altogether.

Ros Coward writes a column about environmental issues for *The Guardian*

US chickens come home to roost



Russia and the US are locked in a bitter trade dispute over a Russian decision to suspend imports of US poultry. US chicken is said to be so popular in Russia that it has its own nickname – 'Bush's legs'. The reference is to the chicken legs sent as food aid to Russia by DUBYA's father in the early 1990s.

Russian Agriculture Minister Alexei Gordeyev said: 'Russia is not a garbage dump for poor quality food.'

In response, the ever-eloquent DUBYA said: 'We've made it pretty darn clear to them that I think we probably got to get this chicken issue resolved and get those chickens moving from the US into the Russian market. We laugh, but nevertheless it is a problem, that we must honour agreements.'

What, like Kyoto, nuclear missiles, steel, ANWR...? ■

Buffalo killing field

According to the Buffalo Field Campaign, the US Department of Livestock has unnecessarily captured 42 buffalo since the start of the year in Yellowstone National Park. Of these, 29 have been killed – including at least 24 bulls. For more, see www.wildbison.org

notes and quotes continued

'Poverty doesn't cause terrorism.'

George W Bush

'As for the source of terrorism, there can be no doubt that it comes from the enormous gap between the haves and the have-nots. Unless prosperity is shared and ignorance and poverty eradicated, we will not win this war against terrorism. In all this, it is the strong who must be magnanimous.'

Desmond Tutu

'Frankly, it's not helpful what the Israelis have recently done in order to create conditions for peace. I understand someone trying to defend themselves and to fight terror, but the recent actions aren't helpful.'

George W Bush

'With your blessing, the US has received military bases in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and, maybe, Kazakhstan.'

In the long run, these bases are for dealing a strike on Russia, not on bin Laden.'

Open letter from a group of retired Russian generals to Russian president Vladimir Putin

'The US military presence will help ensure that a majority of oil and gas from the Caspian basin will go westward.'

US intelligence analysis service STRATFOR commenting on the bases.

Nuclear playing fields

'The government now has to create the level playing field for low-carbon energy sources to ensure they can play their full part in the future. This includes working towards a timely and publicly acceptable policy on nuclear.' Adrian Ham, director general of the British Nuclear Industry Forum.

Since 1976 the UK nuclear industry has received government subsidies to the tune of £189.6 billion.

Just how level do they want that field?

Opinion forming

The use of spokespeople as primary news sources increased by 81 per cent between 1995 and 2000, says a study by Bob Williams of the Poynter Institute for Journalism.

Where there's smoke...

Tobacco giant Phillip Morris has changed its name to Altria. 'After spending a quarter of a billion dollars touting its philanthropic efforts, [it] is still ranked second to last – beating only exploding-tire maker Bridgestone Firestone – in a survey of corporate reputations,' wrote Tom Price on Corpwatch.org. A spoof of the firm can be seen at www.tobaccofreekids.org/altria/1.php3?propName=&propValue=



'It's this bunch of guys in energy who say "boo! We don't like this", and the Bush administration says, "well, they elected us". This is a natural alliance. The administration didn't need a lot of persuading.'

Eric Schaeffer, who resigned as chief of the US Environmental Protection Agency in February, commenting on the fact that, of the top 25 energy industry donors to the Republican Party before the 2000 US election, 18 sent representatives to meet with chairman Dick Cheney or other members of the energy task force.

No more than six companies account for 25 per cent of the carbon dioxide, nitrogen and sulphur dioxide emissions of the 100 largest electricity firms in the US.

Arthur Andersen assessed a utility in the Dominican Republic that Enron then bought at almost \$1 billion less than its actual value, reaping enormous profits in the process.

'When Enron exacted its modus operandi abroad, US public officials considered it good for US business. Only when Enron's scandals

Cubed strawberries – the final straw?



I live in a seaside resort which used to be known as the tomato capital of the USA. Unfortunately, sky-rocketing property values have long since bulldozed the tomato plants into extinction. They have been replaced with 'hi-rise condos', to accommodate a population which has tripled since my arrival here. So, instead of sinking our teeth into the sun-ripened produce of local farms, we must now pay a premium price for the un-ripened products of Mexican slave labour, Canadian greenhouses, and exotic locales like Chile and the Canary Islands. Such are the bitter fruits of globalised trade, which does not account for the cost of depleting our shrinking reserves of fossil fuels, or the pollution generated in the process of burning them.

About a decade ago these pages reported that efforts were being made to 'square off' the shape of tomatoes so as to make them more compact and thus reduce the space required for shipping them halfway round the earth. The cuboid tomato never saw the light of day, but this has not stopped some euphoric eurocrats from giving a latter-day Frankenstein a grant to investigate the possibility of squaring the strawberry's circle.

I would like to share with you two other ideas sprouted by 'the Boys From Bruxelles' which merit some attention.

First, Sardinian dairy farmers are being subsidised to graze their cattle up in the hills of their sparse island. As luck has it, the EU inspectors charged with monitoring the project always announce their arrival in advance. The Sardinieri thus have of plenty of time to herd their livestock up to the top of the hill. As soon as the inspectors depart, the cows are marched back down again into the valleys, where the grazing is richer and the farmers don't have to trudge for miles to milk them.

At the opposite end of *NEU-ropa*, Swedish farmers have been ordered to equip all their cattle with special ear tags which clearly identify their domicile and ownership. When one dairyman flouted this command, the Euro-cops raided his ranch, guns a-blazing, and wiped out every one of his cows in a hail of bullets. That'll learn 'em, as they say down in Bush country. In this context it is worth noting that the Swedes, easily the most heavily taxed people in Europe, are obliged to put 24 billion kronor into the EU pot each year. This money is re-distributed among other, less fortunate and/or industrious members of the new order. The trusting Swedes voted by the slimmest of margins to join the EU back in 1994.

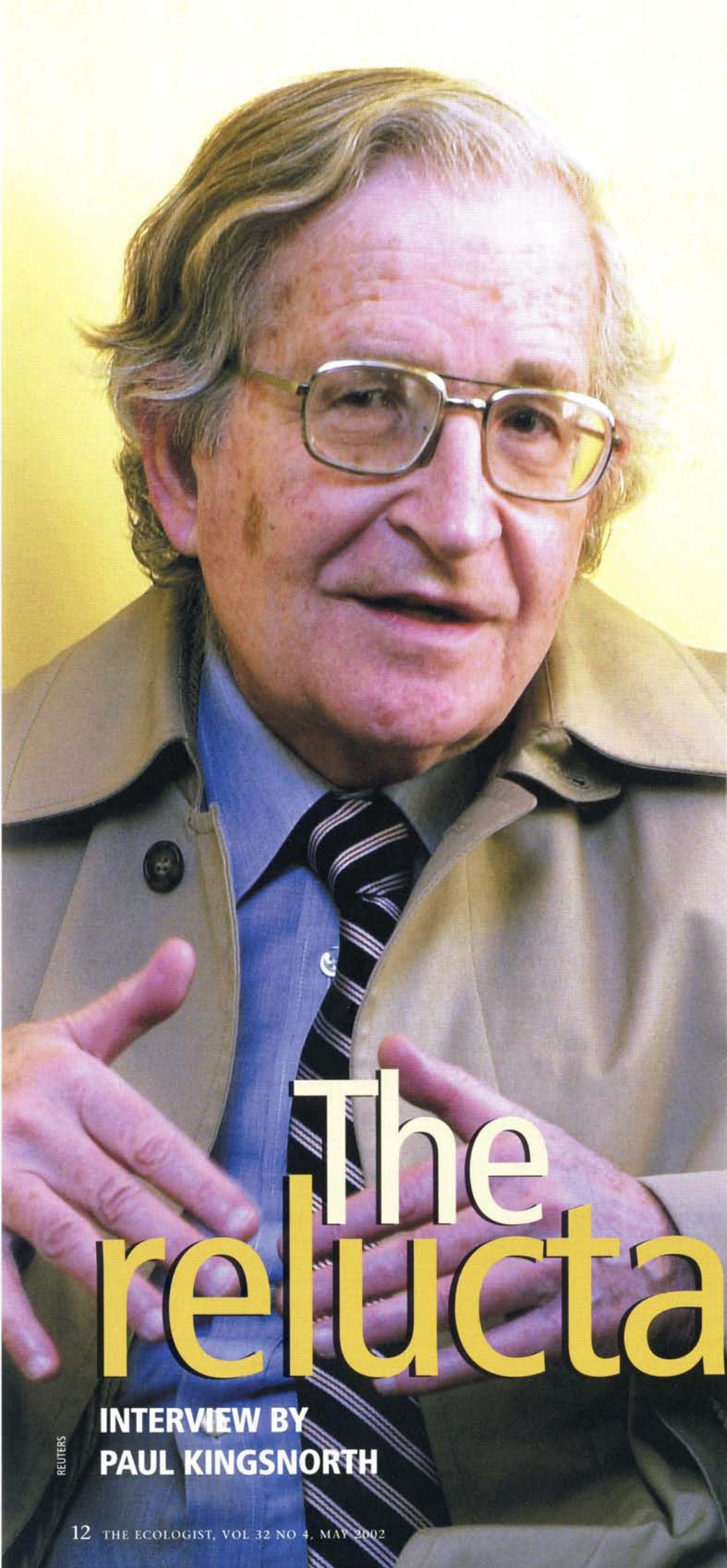
It wouldn't surprise me if the next brainless boondoggle contrived by the EU-rocrats were a scheme for breeding hexagon-shaped legless pigs. Maybe we could call them Belgian Pink in honour of their Orwellian creators? But everyone concerned with protecting the environment from man's manic manipulations should – to borrow a phrase from Dubya's dictionary – condemn such a move in 'the most strongest words'. For, in our amateurish attempts at 'improving' plants which have evolved rather well without our help for some 500 million years, the cubing of the berries might well be the final straw.

Gard E Binney is a freelance environmental journalist

began to affect Americans did these officials and institutions hold the corporation at arm's-length. And only when Enron's leadership revealed its greed on home turf did it become the biggest corporate scandal in recent US history.'

Daphne Wysham, director of the Sustainable Energy and Economy Network

'We are committed to moving forward with free trade, but, like Brazil, we have to manage political support for free trade at home.'
US Trade representative Robert B Zoellick



Paul Kingsnorth

interviews

Noam Chomsky,

the Godfather of Dissent.

Back in February, at the World Social Forum in Brazil, Noam Chomsky nearly caused a riot. Thousands of people had gathered in a university lecture theatre to listen to a talk by the godfather of political dissent. They were crammed into a sweaty hall, not a millimetre between them – one vast, heaving, grumbling fire hazard. The corridors outside the room were seething for dozens of metres in each direction as people tried to elbow their way in. Everybody waited for an hour until it was announced that, because there were so many people, the venue had been changed to a bigger room. The ensuing unrest (shouting, swearing, biro-hurling) fortunately failed to tip over into open revolution. Everyone filed over to another venue, and hundreds more gathered outside around huge TV monitors to catch a glimpse of their hero.

The focus of this mass hysteria is sitting in front of me now. I have come to meet him in his office in Cambridge, Massachusetts. With his trademark green cords and brown jumper, he looks every inch the mild-mannered academic he is. Hemmed in by Everests of books and papers, this small, patient, grey-haired man doesn't look like a radical idol to millions. He tends to get irritated when you point out that he is. After all, one of

The reluctant hero

INTERVIEW BY
PAUL KINGSNORTH

REUTERS

Chomsky's key themes has been the importance of thinking for yourself, of questioning everything you are told, by whoever you are told it, and of seeking the truth below the surface. Hero worship has no place in his universe.

But hero worship isn't the point. The point is that Noam Chomsky – 74-year-old professor of modern language and linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, author of countless books, and activist for over half a century – is one of our most important living political thinkers, and owns what may be the biggest brain in the West. Chomsky is loathed by the establishment and adored by dissidents, to degrees which can be equally frightening. His views on politics, economics and society are almost always crisp, expressive of a refreshing egalitarian morality, and hugely well-informed. They are also leagues away from the mainstream of political debate, which is one reason, perhaps, why the mainstream media he is so critical of rarely lets us hear them.

A new International

So what does this seasoned dissident think about the 'anti-globalisation' movement – the tens of millions across the world who are standing up against corporate capitalism? Is it a new hope, or a flash in the pan? Back in February, Chomsky described the World Social Forum, where 60,000 activists gathered to discuss alternatives to the current system, as 'the first real promise of a genuine International'. What did he mean?

He meant, he explains, that today's movement is more promising in terms of furthering the interests of real people (rather than political ideologues) than any of the old workers Internationals – the global gatherings of the left which helped lay the foundations for 20th century socialism.

'The primary theme of the left and the workers' movements, from their modern origins,' he says, 'has been globalisation. That's why every union is called an International... The First International [held in London in 1864] was promising, but narrow. It was primarily European workers... Furthermore, it was killed, mainly by Marx, because it was getting out of hand. It was getting too democratic, starting to respond to the wishes of a majority of the participants,

and Marx didn't like that. The Second International [which began in 1889 in Paris] was very broad, and social democratic. But it was still European, and it was killed by WWII. The third [in Moscow, from 1930] was just an outlet for Bolshevik propaganda, and the Fourth International was Trotskyite. So, there's never been anything that's realised the initial hopes.'

And does today's movement do that? 'Well, this one is different. For one thing, it originated in the South. There's a reason why the World Social Forum is in Porto Alegre and not London... But then it developed a level of international solidarity which is quite new... still southern-based, but bringing in significant sectors of more developed societies. It's also much broader. It's not a working men's association. It has participants from all parts of life, with different interests but common aspirations... and it's growing. And it's serious. There has never been an international movement of peoples' organisations with anything remotely like the geographical scale, the diversity and participation, the range of concerns... It's a genuine people's movement.'

I wonder, then, why nobody in the West seems to have noticed it?

'The elite world knows nothing about it. The extent to which it doesn't know about it is quite dramatic. An example: a couple of days ago in *The New York Times*, there was an article by its economics correspondent. There was a whole technical discussion about GATS [the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services, currently being negotiated, and which will open the path for privatisation of public services], and then the journalist made an interesting comment. He said: "no-one has protested GATS."

'The fact is GATS is the central thing people have been protesting for years. This journalist – he's not lying. It's just in the stuff he reads, no-one mentions GATS. None of the people he meets in restaurants tell him they're protesting GATS. In educated opinion, nobody ever discusses GATS. And there's a reason the press has never mentioned GATS protests, which is that the only time you're allowed to describe protesters is when you can find somebody throwing a rock. If they have a forum in which they discuss GATS, you're not allowed to write about that.' ■

Knowing Noam: Chomsky's life in little pieces

- Born 7 December 1928. Introduced to linguistics by his father, William – a Hebrew scholar. Studied under Zellig Harris at the University of Pennsylvania. Received his PhD from the University of Pennsylvania in 1955.
- Started teaching modern languages and linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1955. Became full professor in 1961. Appointed Ferrari P Ward professor of foreign languages and linguistics in 1966.
- Chomsky's theory of transformational grammar set out in *Syntactic Structures* (1957) revolutionised the development of theoretical linguistics. His other books on linguistics include *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), *Cartesian Linguistics* (1966), *The Sound Pattern of English* (with Morris Halle, 1968), *Language and Mind* (1968; revised, 1972), *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory* (1975), *Reflections on Language* (1975), *Language and Responsibility* (1979) and *Language and Problems of Knowledge* (1988).
- Became well-known for his opposition to US involvement in the Vietnam War. Published a book of essays called *American Power and the New Mandarins* (1969), which is considered to be one of the most substantial arguments ever against US involvement in Vietnam. His other books criticising US foreign policy and the role of giant corporations and the mass media include *Towards a New Cold War* (1982), *Pirates and Emperors* (1986), *On Power and Ideology* (1987), *Necessary Illusions: thought control in democratic societies* (1989), *World Orders, Old and New* (1994), *Year 501* (1993) and *9/11* (2001).

NOAM CHOMSKY

✦ It appears that I've set Chomsky off on one of his favourite themes: information – or lack of it – and the role of the media. Chomsky's views on how the mainstream media in 'free' societies almost unconsciously censor information and shape their output in the image of the corporate and political mainstream are one reason why his voice is never heard in the US media. He believes that the media and intellectual classes form an information elite which is so cut off from the rest of society that it is unable and unwilling to reflect the views of the majority of people.

'This is part of the extreme divide that's developing between a small sector of very powerful people – including the educated sectors in the rich and poor countries – and the rest of the population,' he says. 'You can see it very dramatically in the US, which is a pretty apolitical country. For example, in the November 2000 [presidential] elections, intellectuals were very upset about stealing the vote, about the Supreme Court decision. They could never understand why the population didn't care one way or another. [But] a project called the Vanishing Voter Study [had] prepared detailed public attitude surveys, and on the eve of the election – before any of the Florida shenanigans – [it reported that] about 75 per cent of the population regarded the election as a farce. They said it's just a kind of game between rich people and public relations people and the press... The kinds of things the public's interested in were not allowed to appear in the election.'

What kind of things? Big economic themes for one, he says.

'You don't need a degree in economics to know that a trade deficit harms your work. Things like this are big issues among the public, as is the takeover of public services. A couple of days ago, Bush announced protection for the steel industry – you know, "big issue". Well, a small issue confined to the back pages was that his decision did not offer anything to steel workers who have been laid off. They lose everything: their pensions, their health rights... They're finished. No protection for them. And people know that. Those are the kinds of issues that concern them, and those issues don't come up in elections. None of the issues that people care about are allowed in the electoral arena, for the very simple reason that the business

world has different opinions about them. And it's part of a growing gap between public and elite attitudes.'

Thought control

If ever there were a man who believed that information is power, it is Chomsky. He sees control of information as essential to the maintenance of power. People always throw the phrase 'conspiracy theorist' at Chomsky when he comes out with ideas like this. But, as he points out, he's hardly the first to have done so.

'This goes back 400 years, to the history of British democracy,' he says. 'Go back to the 17th century, when the first democratic revolution [the English Civil War] was crushed. The establishment was scared. The rabble was coming out and speaking openly and challenging them, these "men of best quality", and it was by no means clear that they were going to be crushed. Well, they were, but the problem remained.

'By the time you get to the foundation of modern political thought, with David Hume, he starts right off by saying that power is in the hands of the governed, and the best way to prevent them from using it is control of opinion. Because if they ever realise that power is in their hands, they'll take it.

'Any government, whether totalitarian or democratic, ultimately, it's going to rely on opinion. The only qualification you have to make to that point is that it's worse when you have a more "free" society. A more brutal society really doesn't need to control opinion so much... You can have information but you can't do much with it. In the West, it matters a lot. People can do a lot more with information. They cannot be controlled by force. That's why the public relations industry, which is mainly committed to control of the public mind, developed in Britain and the US – freer societies. The West really needs this stuff – not quite thought control, but attitude control... primarily, to divert people from trying to take control over their lives. It's pretty open, and these are massive industries.'

The PR industry certainly seems to have succeeded in spreading consumerism across the Western world, I say. Maybe this is because people are having their minds warped, or maybe it's because it's what they want?

'They can get people to be consumerist,' he agrees, 'but the question is to what extent they really change their attitudes. I think they do on the surface, but penetrate a little bit and I think it's a pretty thin submissiveness. It's quite different among educated people. They are very submissive. They are the purveyors of indoctrination, so they tend to internalise it. You can see how little [criticism of the establishment] is heard from them right now. It was the same during the Vietnam War, which was, of course, the biggest single political issue in the US in the last 40 years... [There was] very little serious criticism of the war by intellectuals... "We don't really care if we kill people abroad. What we care about is that they might do it to us." That's the intellectual attitude. I doubt very much if it's the public's attitude.'

Intellectual cowardice

Superficially, it is a curious thing about Chomsky – his contempt for 'intellectuals'. He is, after all, one of the world's most famous academics. What really infuriates him, it seems, is how the intellectual classes use their skills and knowledge to prop up power. In this way, they neglect what Chomsky sees as their primary duty – the questioning of power.

'One of the few predictions in human affairs that ever came true,' he says, 'was by [the anarchist thinker] Bakunin in the 19th century. He predicted that the intelligentsia would go in two directions. One [direction would be taken by] the followers of Marx, who [would] try to gain state power on the back of workers' movements, and [who would] create the harshest dictatorships the world has ever seen. The other direction [would be taken by] those who understood that power lies within the existing system. They [would] become that system's loyal servants and agents. They're basically the same people – they just have different views on where power lies.

'This explains the phenomenon of this quick shift that you often see among intellectuals from one position to another. It's very easy to do. I think the reason is that you're not changing your position at all – you're just changing your judgement as to where power lies. It's a very interesting phenomenon which is never written about. History is written by intellectuals, and they don't like to tell the truth about themselves.'

War games

I want to move on to probably the most important current topic – the so-called ‘war against terror’.

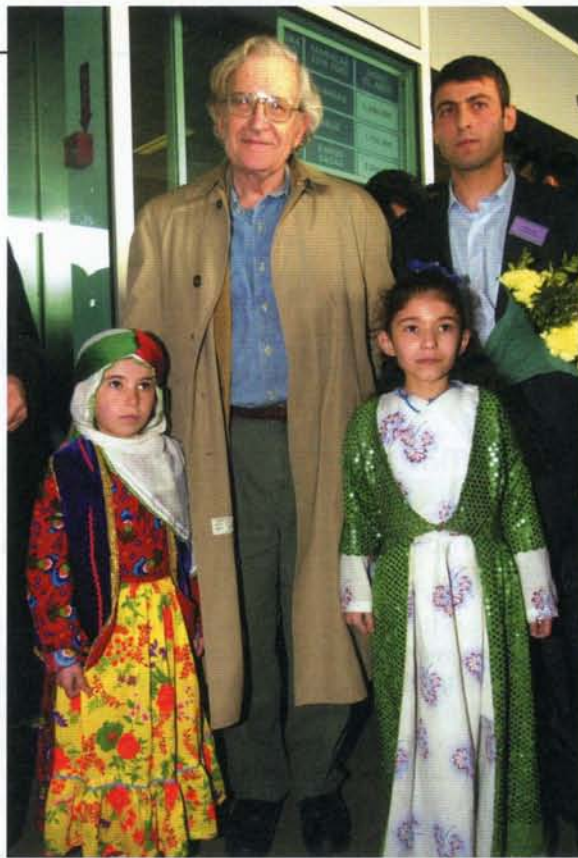
Chomsky received even more of a kicking than usual from his hated US intellectual classes, when he calmly pointed out last year that the US had killed more people by bombing medicine factories in the Sudan than Al-Qaeda had in the twin towers. He said he was merely asking for civilian victims of terror to be noticed – wherever they were in the world. So how, now, does he justify his assertion that the population as a whole is more radical, more dissident, than the establishment gives its credit for? Recent opinion polls, after all, show overwhelming support for Bush and the bombing of Afghanistan.

‘Take a look at the questions,’ he says. ‘You have enormous support for going after the people who carried out the terrorist atrocities, to capture or kill them. That’s not surprising. Do you have enormous support for a war that was undertaken on the assumption that several million people would be put at risk of starvation? No, because nobody knows that. Do you have enormous support for opposing the wishes of Afghans as to how the war should be conducted?’

‘Remember, that when the war started there was never a stated war aim of overthrowing the Taliban – that came a couple of weeks after the bombing. At the time this aim was announced, in late October, there was a big meeting of about 1,000 Afghan leaders in Peshawar, Pakistan. One thing they agreed on unanimously was “stop the bombing because it’s undermining our efforts to overthrow the Taliban regime from the inside, which we can do without destroying the country”. RAWA, the major women’s group in Afghanistan, had the same position.

‘Well, ask people around the US if they’ve listened to the voice of the Afghans. They won’t know what you’re talking about. If they did know, they would say: “Yes, maybe we should listen to the voice of the Afghans. Maybe we shouldn’t be bombing the country in order to show our muscle.”’

Well, maybe they would, and maybe they wouldn’t. Chomsky is nothing if not a seeker after hope. Maybe his faith in his fellow citizens is fuelled by his experiences in the 1960s. Chomsky was



Noam Chomsky accompanied by publisher Fatih Tas (and two children wearing Kurdish traditional outfits). Chomsky arrived in Istanbul to attend a trial of his Turkish publisher for encouraging Kurdish separatism.

one of the first people to try and build opposition to the Vietnam war – an ultimately successful cause that changed the US forever. This time, he says, there is ‘more protest and dissidence than any time in the past in any comparable stage of any international conflict’.

‘People compare it to Vietnam. They say: “Look how much protest there was about Vietnam. Why’s everybody quiet?” It’s absolute nonsense. When Kennedy launched the war in 1962, you couldn’t get two people in a room to talk about it. It took years before we could build up any protest, any dissent. It wasn’t until hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese had been killed, and huge US armies were rampaging around the country and we started bombing the north – years later – that you could start getting some protest.’

The free trade myth

Maybe Vietnam-scale protests about the war will come. Meanwhile, back in Seattle, Prague, Genoa, Mexico City, Durban and elsewhere, vast protests against global capitalism are now so regular as to be almost humdrum. Does Chomsky think free trade itself is threatened by this movement?

As it turns out, no. He doesn’t think free trade exists. He takes me across the Mexican border, by way of NAFTA – the North American Free Trade Agreement which in 1994 removed barriers to trade between the US, Mexico and Canada – to illustrate his point.

‘The US-Mexican border was literally militarised in 1994. Why? Because it was expected that NAFTA would bring Mexico what’s called an “economic miracle”, which means an economic disaster for most of the population. One major reason was that Mexican agriculture would be wiped out because of a flood of highly subsidised US agribusiness exports, which the peasants couldn’t compete with. People’s lives would be destroyed, and they’d look for new ones across the border.

What does this mean for free trade?

‘Go back to Adam Smith – the basic principle of free trade is free movement of people. Adam Smith assumed there would not be movement of capital... Now we have

exactly the opposite. We have to block movement of people by force, and free up movement of capital. And that’s called free trade. Meanwhile, Bush can protect the steel industry, but the Mexicans can’t protect their farms. All the free trade rhetoric is just that – rhetoric. The real message from the powerful about free trade is: “We’ll do it when it suits us. The rest of the time we’ll do what we like while we spin tales about how wonderful [free trade] is”.

Future perfect?

Chomsky will talk at length, answer any question he’s asked, and do it all quietly, politely, forcibly and with conviction. One thing he won’t do, though, is predict where any of this might lead. He says he’s ‘more hopeful than for a very long time’ about the future. Despite the war, he sees a worldwide peoples’ movement which chimes, at last, with much of what he’s been talking about for decades. But will he say where it might lead? No chance. Not in print, anyway. ‘Prediction in human affairs...’ He shakes his head, and leaves the sentence unfinished. ‘Even predicting the weather has an awful record.

‘No thanks.’ ■

REUTERS

PAUL KINGSNORTH is researching the global resistance movement

EUmania

WORDS AND PICTURES BY WILLIAM BLACKER

Romania. July 1997. We load up the cart and set off home through the orchards. Ion leads the horses along the tracks between the fields. Mihai and I sit 12 feet up on top of the hay. In the distance we can see the Carpathian Mountains in a blue haze way off to the north. All around us people work in the fields – some scything, some raking, others making haycocks or ricks.

I lie back in the sweet-smelling hay and watch clouds pass slowly across the blue sky above me. The shadows of branches growing over the track flicker across my face. As the cart trundles slowly home, I listen to the noises of the countryside: the bleat of grazing sheep and the high-pitched whistles of the shepherd boys tending them; the commands shouted to horses; and the greetings of Mihai to the groups of people working in the fields. 'Come home with us,' Mihai calls. 'Don't work so hard. You've got to leave something for yourselves to do tomorrow.'

Halfway down the hill we pass an old lady working by herself. She is raking a field and making haycocks. 'Ho!' cries Mihai. 'Stop the cart.' We clamber down, pull some hay off the cart for our horses to eat, and set to with our forks and rakes to help the woman. Together it takes just 20 minutes to finish the job. Alone it would have taken the woman a couple of hours. 'May God give you health and good fortune,' the woman shouts to us as we set off home again.

Walls come tumbling down

When, at the end of 1989, I first travelled to eastern Europe I passed Berlin en route. Walking up to the Wall, I heard the sound of the decade – the steady chink, chink, chink of hundreds of hammers on chisels. Hundreds, even thousands, of people were chipping away at the concrete which had divided east from west for 40 years. The East German guards still manned their posts, but seemed confused as to how to react as their border was being demolished bit by bit

Romania fell to the EU this year. In this personal elegy, William Blacker laments the loss.

before them. They were exciting days, and everyone present felt they were standing on the threshold of a new and brighter era.

In some respects this was true. But one thing that I did not understand at the time was that the wall had acted not just as a prison penning the citizens of eastern Europe in. It had also been a benign protective barrier for the east. It had kept out all the most disagreeable aspects of modern western culture. In 1989 I did not immediately realise that, for the countries of the eastern bloc, the opening of the borders would turn out to be the opening of a Pandora's Box.

As I travelled on into eastern Europe in January 1990, I expected to find a drab world of grey apartment blocks, where it was always overcast or raining and where people were always depressed. This was the image we had been given in the West. The reality was somewhat different. Nowhere was this more so than in Romania.

The country was one of the most colourful and beautiful places I had ever seen. And the people – whether they were Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons or Gypsies – were so open, friendly and generous that they put all other peoples I had come across until then in the shade. Not only would they feed you and give you the best bed in the house for the night, the next day they would send you away laden with food and drink, and expect nothing in return.

From that time on I have spent most of my time living in Romanian villages. I have come to love both the country and the peasants who live in it. But while there I have had to bear witness to a process of change which should make those of us who live in the West ashamed of our culture. Ours is a culture which obliterates all others with which it comes into contact.

When I first arrived in Romania there

was no advertising or neon lights, no traffic and few asphalt roads, no plastic or litter, almost no street crime and no drugs. There were certain industrial areas which were indeed heavily polluted, but the vast majority of the country was clean. All this has now changed.

Seasons I've missed

In 1996 I went to live in a village in one of the most old-fashioned parts of the country. It was clear that things were changing, and I was determined to see something of this old way of life before it disappeared. I found a place to stay in the house of Mihai, an old man then aged 78, and his wife Maria. For four years, throughout the whole cycle of the seasons, Mihai taught me how to scythe and to hoe, how to make haycocks and ricks, how to plough and harrow with horses and how to seed the fields. The opening lines of this article were written during those days. In the spring, summer and autumn we would all work in the fields, chatting away. In the winter we would sit in the kitchen: Maria making food; Mihai stitching cart harnesses and 'opinci' – the leather-thonged shoes the peasants wore; and me reading. I got to know most of the people in the village and went to their weddings, funerals and festive occasions. Full of admiration, I watched a people who seemed to know the secret of being happy on little – of being content with what they had and not always wanting more. Of course, nowhere is perfect, but in many respects the village was an idyllic place.

On occasional short visits to England, where the countryside seemed a lonely and empty place – devoid not only of people but also of colour – I would talk of my experiences. Many people reproached me for my nostalgic idealisation of the peasant's way of life (I never reproached them for idealising the

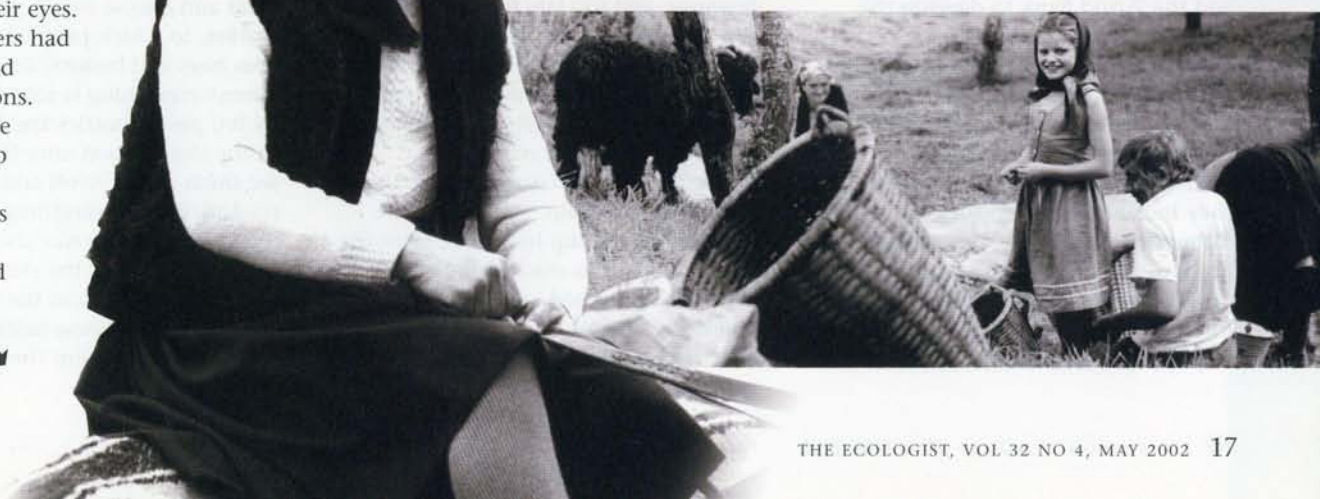
Capital punishment: Ways of farming and dress which survived Ceausescu are now being obliterated by the eastward spread of western consumerism.

West), and my bemoaning the few changes that had taken place in the village since 1990. 'It is all very well for you to say that,' they would tell me, 'when you have all the modern comforts available to you. Who are you to say that they should not take advantage of modern products or wear jeans and drink Coca-Cola? Why should they stay the way they are just for your pleasure?'

I would shrug my shoulders, but I knew there was something wrong with this argument. Why, for example, did a young man come back from a short visit to Bucharest, by then already a modern city of neon lights and western shops, and tell me that on returning to the village – where people were so cheerful and hospitable, and where you could hear the streams trickling – that he had felt as if he was coming back to paradise? And why was it that everyone in the village seemed so much happier than the average citizen of the richer economies?

In rural Romania there appeared to be none of the tortured introspection so common in the West. Perhaps it was due to the nurturing community in which people lived, old and young together. Maybe it was the constant contact with nature – life in the open air, structured by the seasons. Or perhaps it was the old customs, clothes, dances and music which gave everyone a sense of belonging. Whatever it was, despite the tough lives they led, people's faces were fresh and healthy, and their laughter was free and flowing. It was only when the big western advertising companies started opening up offices in Romania that the structure of people's lives began to break down, and something indefinable changed in their eyes.

Some villagers had fuzzy black and white televisions. These sets were able to pick up the new, slick advertisements aimed at fostering greed and envy among the peasants and



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at exploiting their naivety. Neighbours gathered round and gazed. Some were shocked, others amazed. These images from another world promised swarms of bikini-clad girls if, for example, you so much as sipped a bottle of Coke. All the people in the advertisements were beautiful and smiling. Previously, the villagers had never really desired anything other than what they had. But now, seeing all these attractive and happy people on TV, they – the young especially – began to question their old-fashioned ways. It was only then that villagers began to describe themselves to me as 'primitive'. Gradually, they started becoming 'consumers'. With the little money they had, they bought the products promoted on the TV, so as to show themselves to be more up with the times.

Marketing speaks

Their becoming 'consumers' seemed to have nothing to do with their actually needing any of the new things on offer. All except the few poorest villagers – and they were looked after by their neighbours – had food and the necessities of life in abundance. So, at first, no one took much notice of the modern products. They were, in any case, expensive. But bit by bit, the western way of selling by ramming things down people's throats, the repeated images of beautiful semi-clad girls always smiling invitingly, began to have their effect. The advertising companies arrived after the new 'progressive' government was elected – about a year and a half into my stay in the village. The new government may have been well-meaning and a refreshing change from the communist past. But, unquestioningly, it welcomed everything western with open arms. It took on huge loans from the IMF and the World Bank to develop the country's infrastructure.

Up until then the changes had been slow. Now things began to accelerate. All over the country petrol stations began to appear in the pristine landscape. With their neon lights, they looked as though they had landed from another planet. They catered for the great increase in the number of cars and lorries on the roads. Many of the new vehicles were emblazoned with the colours of the multinationals.

When I first came to Romania in 1990 you could travel for an hour without seeing a car. Since then, the number of cars has doubled every year. In the first year that I lived in the village, a couple of vehicles would pass every half an hour. Six years later there are two or three per minute. As the number of cars increased, the government used money from the IMF and World Bank to improve the wonderfully bad roads. Previously children had been able to play on these roads, and horses and carts had passed slowly and unthreateningly.

For me the roar of the lorries bringing tar to asphalt the rough village track seemed like the sounds of the axes in *The Cherry Orchard*. For the peasants, however, it was a cause of celebration to see the asphalt's black advance down the hill from the main road. Soon villagers began to describe things as being 'as smooth as asphalt'.

I prophesied doom, and people looked at me with strange looks. 'Children will not be able to play in the roads anymore,' I said. 'Oh well, they'll play somewhere else then,' they replied. 'But you will start to worry where they are, and you will not be able to live as peacefully as you have up until now.'

Nobody took much notice. The road was a sign of progress. Other villages had asphalt roads. Now they had one too. Besides there were speed limits.

But then the eight-year-old grandson of an old friend of mine – a storyteller who could tell stories in rhymed couplets for hours – was killed by a speeding car, and people lost some of their enthusiasm. More tears were wept at the funeral than at any I had ever been to. It was too late for the boy, however, and too late for the village. The road was already there.

With the new ease of access to the village travelling salesmen began to appear. Their extraordinary selection of products included, I remember, a hairbrush with vibrating bristles for massaging the scalp. Then came the new 'kiosks'. Set up by people from the towns, the kiosks stocked the new products advertised on television. Gradually, people began to buy. But in order to buy they needed money. So,

'When people who have left the village come back they look pale', said Mihai. 'Their eyes are dull, they seem ill and tired.'

when foreign timber traders came and offered cash for cherry trees, the villagers cut the trees down and dragged them by horse to where they could be collected by lorry.

I remember Mihai pointing out to me one Easter that there was now no more cherry blossom on the hills. 'It is not good,' he said. Soon some of the villagers could afford chain saws, others even tractors. With the new tools they could chop down always more trees. They worked long into the night and drove noisily back into the village, waking Mihai up at all hours as they passed. Then one of the richest families in the village closed a footpath which crossed one of its hay meadows. The whole village had been covered by a web of footpaths. They had been there 'for ever and ever', and nobody ever thought of closing them. Even the poorest had to sacrifice a few square metres of grass, potatoes or maize to the footpaths. But now money was needed, and, for some, private interest became more important than the good of the community. Again Mihai was sad.

The kiosks also had the effect of introducing plastic packaging to the village. Even in the cities, up until the mid-1990s there had been virtually no modern packaging. Mineral water, milk, yoghurt and beer were all sold in returnable bottles. Vegetables, fruit, meat and cheese were sold at the local market, to which people brought their own bags and baskets. Today, however, almost everything is sold in plastic. Bit by bit, plastic bottles and bags appeared in the shops. Soon after that you could see them in the rivers and on the roadsides, too. Everything sold in the new village kiosks was also packaged in plastic. Gradually, the stream began to fill up with litter, and the waters were poisoned by the new detergents.

Walking back from the fields one day,



I was accompanied by the 10-year-old son of a neighbour. With pride, the boy proceeded to tell me the names of all the trees and flowers which we passed. But then we reached the stream in the middle of the village, and saw all the plastic bags and bottles along its edges. 'A few years ago,' he told me, 'when I put the bucket in the stream to get water for the house there was a fish in it when I pulled it out. But I don't think there are any fish left in the stream now. The boys who go fishing have told me.' And as the modern products began to pollute the rivers, so the new advertisements began to pollute people's minds.

The psychological effect of this onslaught of advertising was to destroy the equilibrium of the village. The young were no longer content to live the way they had until now. This obvious unease confused their parents and grandparents. Something changed in the eternal quality of the old men and women. Their usually soft eyes looked troubled. Everything they had taken for granted – all the certainties of their lives – was now in question. What would happen to them and their village?

The most obvious and superficial change could be seen in the clothes people wore. For the first time in the history of the village, girls started to wear trousers instead of gathered skirts and petticoats. The new fashion started in the villages near the town, and worked its way to the remoter places. One day I bumped into the daughter of a neighbour. She was wearing a pair of jeans. It was the first time I had ever seen her in trousers rather than a skirt. I was saddened. Even here, traditional dress now seemed to be on the way out. 'But why shouldn't the poor girl wear

what she wants?' I imagine people saying. And it is a good question, because the answer is not perhaps what you would expect.

I asked the girl about the trousers. She looked a little embarrassed, and replied that all her skirts had just been washed. As we talked, an older lady walked past and gave us her opinion. 'The young people of today,' she said, 'are so easily influenced that if somebody told them it was the fashion to go around without anything on they would all walk down the street with their bottoms wobbling'.

Moving out

After the lady had gone the girl talked to me more frankly. 'You must understand William that it is difficult for us. I can't easily afford modern clothes, and in any case I prefer to wear skirts as they are more comfortable and more beautiful. But if you don't wear the latest fashions people laugh at you and say that you are poor. Before it was easier for us because we made our own clothes. Each year there would be a new stitching or knitting pattern which became that year's fashion. But now we have to buy things. Whether you are well dressed or not has simply become a matter of money.' After she told me this I felt ashamed that I had asked her. The truth was, as so often, the very opposite to what we believe. The girl was not able to wear what she wanted. She was obliged by the new western fashions and advertisements to wear modern clothes.

Gradually people started to be lured away from the village. The city lights glowed on the horizon. As Auden wrote, 'hinting at the forbidden like a wicked uncle, night after night to the farmers' children [the city lights] beckon'.

A few people had always been drawn

to the cities. The local girls considered it a step up to marry someone even from the small local town. When they did, they usually began to put on airs. To establish their new status, they started to wear town clothes – trousers or perhaps a frock. In the space of a few weeks they swapped their colourful past headscarves to respectable hairdos, sacrificing their beautiful long village tresses in the process. When they returned to the village, people would snigger behind their hands as they watched them stumble awkwardly down the stony track in their high-heeled shoes. Everyone knew they were country people in disguise.

Of course, there was a certain pathos in all this. But when only one or two were leaving, the structure of the village was not harmed. Today the situation has changed. The lure has become much stronger – not so much from the cities but from abroad. Such is the desperation to reach the West that people have been crossing the border illegally – perhaps clinging on to the underneath of trains, walking over mountains or swimming across rivers. Many of them end up living in squalid suburbs, earning low wages and doing menial labour. But despite the risk and the miserable conditions, thousands continue to leave.

Occasionally people return, some disillusioned, others traumatised. One woman, who had been in prison for a short period in communist times, managed to get a visa for the US. She came back after only a few months, and was not too proud to tell the truth. 'Living in the US,' she declared, 'was worse than being in prison in Romania.' But despite the scare stories, from her and many others, almost every young person I talk to still expresses the

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✦ same desire – to leave Romania for the West.

On 1 January this year the European Union opened its borders to Romanians, allowing them to travel without visas. Since then there has been an unseemly rush. Hundreds of thousands have left. Many more will follow in the coming year. It will be the death blow for the village where I lived. Even if those who leave come back they will not be the same. They will be like the others who went away to the towns in the past, and once in a decade came back for weddings or funerals.

Home is best

Mihai and I used to talk about those who would come back for these family ceremonies. Seeing them next to their village relations, you could compare them. The town people, who clearly thought themselves superior, had none of the cheerful, smiling good nature of the peasants. As Mihai once said: 'When people who have left the village come back they always look pale. Their eyes are dull, and they seem ill and tired. But when you talk to them, they tell you what a good life they have, on and on. They turn every topic into an excuse to mention what a good life they have. After looking and listening to them, I feel sure that life here in the village, even though we work so hard, is better.'

But history is made and written by those who leave the villages, by the ambitious. They affirm that 'progress' is best. They have to affirm it, both for reasons of pride and because they cannot go back. We do not hear from those who chose, like Mihai, to stay behind. Virginia Woolf, however,

described the peasants as 'the last great sanctuary of sanity'. 'When they disappear,' she wrote, 'there is no hope for the race'.

However destructive communism in Romania might have been, it did not manage to destroy the peasants' way of life. The influence of the West, on the other hand, has almost achieved that within a few years. Its advertising, pop culture and drugs have wrenched the young from their families, and devastated communities.

For a long time now, we have watched small communities all over the world – where people have lived happy, harmless lives – being destroyed by western consumerism's desire for growth. Primitive peoples have been

forced to become consumers. Barely a hand has been lifted to save them.

We are busy destroying the very things which most of us today would actually like to reintroduce into our lives: not just the sense of community, but the lack of litter, the clean rivers and food produced without chemicals. In Romania it is not yet too late to salvage something. The local knowledge of how to live without harming the environment has not disappeared entirely. Perhaps we should invite rural Romanians to teach us their skills, rather than watch them waste themselves as cleaners and lackeys on building sites in the cities of the West.

Recently, Mihai and I were walking to the fields – scythes, rakes and forks lashed together on our shoulders with a tie of twisted grass. When we reached the road a Coca-Cola lorry swept by, leaving us blinking with dust in our eyes. A hundred yards further on, it roared, horn blaring, past a fully laden cart. The truck missed the cart by a few feet. The horses took fright, and bolted down a steep bank. The carter tried desperately to control them, but inevitably the cart turned over. The horses fell in a tangle of harness, and their owner jumped out of the way to save himself. The lorry did not stop, but disappeared around the next corner, still at full speed, rushing on to its next delivery ■



WILLIAM BLACKER is a member of the UK steering group of Pro Patrimonio, the Romanian National Trust.

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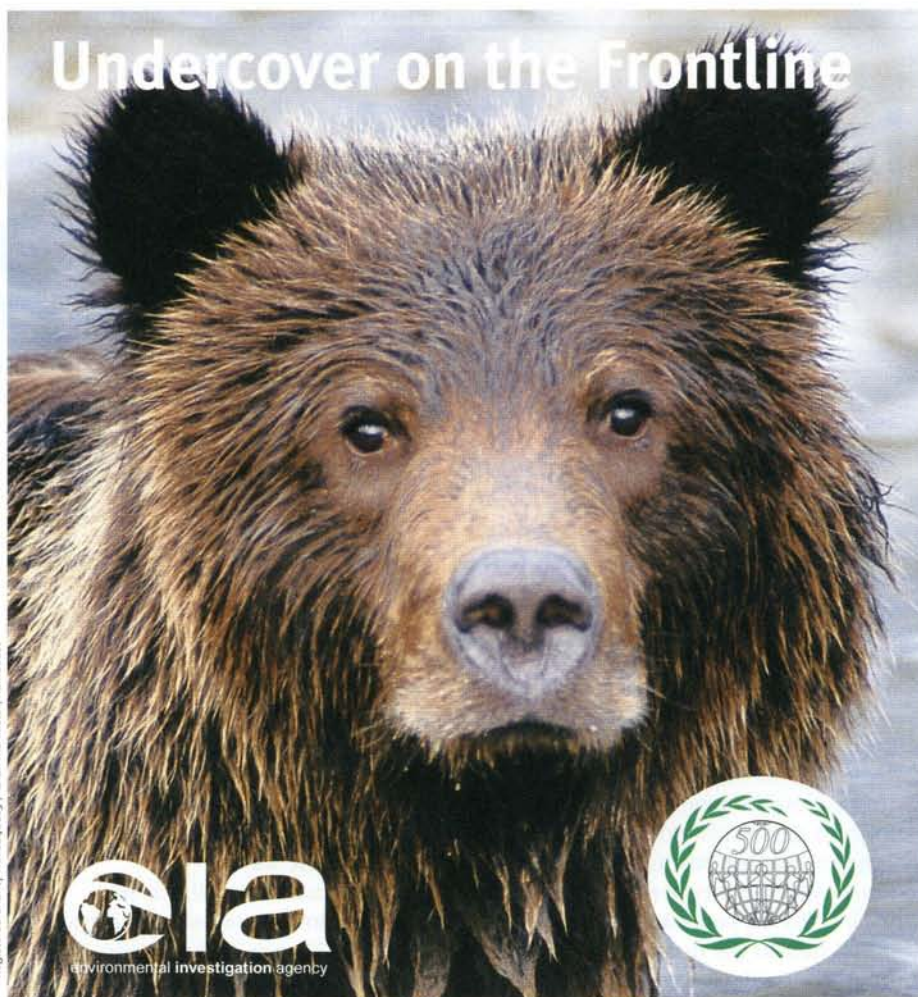
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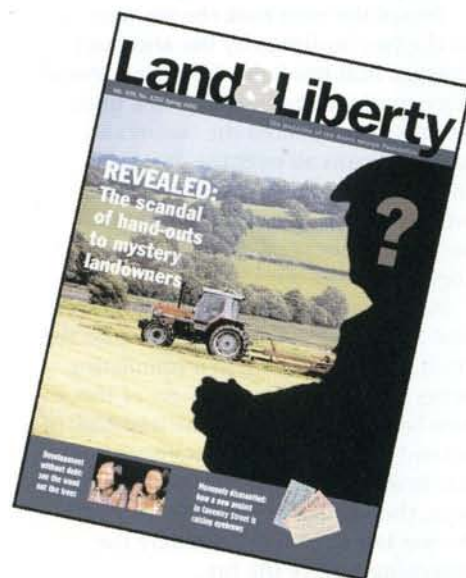


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Land rights

land wrongs

BY DANNY WINKLER

A report on what may be the last chance
for the Kalahari's first people.

As the bushman was returning home from the water tank he heard the news. 'The wildlife officials are killing your brother,' he was told. Dropping his water bottles in the bush, he ran home to find a group of men beating and pointing a gun at his older brother. When the younger bushman demanded to know who the men were, they just replied: 'Why do you ask?' They knocked him to the floor with his brother, and said: 'Today you bushmen are in for it. Today is your day, because you've been eland [a large African antelope] hunters for a long time.'

Two of the men took the younger of the two bushmen by the arms and dragged him inside his hut. Once inside they continued to beat and kick him. Another man poured the bushman's sacks of beans all over the ground. 'After today you will never have sex with your wife like you used to,' the men mocked. 'We will spend tonight together in the bush.'

With that the men took the brothers and 22 of their fellow bushmen into the bush, to subject them to a humiliating series of tortures. The younger of the two brothers was tied to the bushbars of a Land Rover, while his assailants built a fire beside a tree. The bushman's hands were then cuffed behind the tree, and he was left overnight to endure the scorching heat of the fire.

The next day the bushman was once again left tied to the bushbars of the Land Rover. When he was finally released, the wildlife officials demanded to know what animals he had killed. When he told them he had killed a kudu (a smaller antelope than the eland), they called him a liar and said: 'We will beat you until you say an eland.'

Again the officials handcuffed the bushman to the Land Rover. This time

they also jumped on his back, and kicked him in the stomach. They then left him to suffer the heat of the sun for the rest of the day.

Why did this happen? What crimes had been committed that this bushman and his tribesmen should be treated in such a barbaric way?

The bushman, himself, has no answers. 'I don't know why. They gave us a special licence, and now they are looking for people – for anyone,' he explains. 'It's difficult for me to live without eating meat. I'm used to meat. I can't stay without it. My grandparents and parents depended on meat. We were brought up on it. It's our culture to eat meat, and I can't abandon it.'

For the rest of the world, however, there is no mystery. It's all a question of land ownership.

First rights

The San bushmen call themselves the 'first people of the Kalahari'. They have lived in and around the Kalahari Desert for 25,000 years, surviving by hunting game and gathering wild berries. They believe they have rights to the land on which they live, and the freedom to pursue their traditional lifestyles.

The Botswanan government disagrees. It first laid claim to the San's resource-rich land in 1986. By 1997 it had started relocating people, often taking possessions first. Bushmen who refused to budge were subjected to different tactics. They found themselves restricted to a hunting quota of three antelope a year – nothing like enough to feed their families. Then in February the Botswanan government made its most decisive move yet. It took away the bushmen's water.

Robin Hanbury-Tenison is the president of Survival International, the





KALAHARI

pressure group in support of tribal peoples. He, like many others around the world, has been staggered by the Botswanan government's actions.

'I am appalled,' Hanbury-Tenison says. 'The government has ignored the massive international protest at the forcible and illegal removal of the bushmen from their ancestral lands in the Kalahari Reserve through the cutting off their only remaining water supply. Government officials still falsely claim that bushmen are leaving their homes willingly – although they admit that they want to remove all bushmen from their lands. If they succeed, it will entail the destruction of the Gana and Gwi, tribes who have supported themselves on their land for 20,000 years.'

It is highly likely the government will succeed. It's been pretty thorough so far. It dismantled the 10,000-litre water

tanks in each settlement – pouring whatever reserves had been collected into the ground. It then removed the pump and engine from the borehole at the water-gathering centre of Mothomelo. It also stole all the bushmen's radio transceivers – their only contact with the outside world. Finally, people attempting to take food and water to these communities were refused entry to Mothomelo, and now the San must apply for special permits to gain access to enter their homeland. At the time of going to press, only 26 Bushmen are still holding out at Mothomelo.

Trying to be heard

So what is actually going on here? Isn't the government simply implementing its stated policy of 'protecting wildlife and promoting tourism'? And if this can help the San adapt to the modern world in the process, isn't that all for the better?

Representative organisations of the San claim the cash economy the government wishes them to join does not serve their interests. Many feel they have become powerless through entering that economy. Khwe bushman Mathambo Nagakaeaja is a member of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). He says: '[The bushmen] see they have lost day-to-day control of their lives and the means of support. So, they end up drinking. They see their situation as hopeless. They give up and offer themselves as slaves.'

International spotlight

Candy Atherton, Labour MP for Falmouth & Camborne, goes further. She describes Botswana's actions as 'ethnic cleansing'. Atherton was a member of a recent British fact-finding mission to the country. While she approves of the government's approach to HIV/AIDS and its education programmes, she is puzzled by its intransigent attitude towards the bushmen. 'How anyone could close the water pumps and drain the water reserves of a desert-dwelling community, I find mind-boggling,' she says. 'It sends a shiver down my spine.'

Yet Nico Rozemeijer, a key adviser to the Botswanan government on rural development affairs, defends the overall policy of encouraging the San into resettlement camps. 'Settlements were created spontaneously in the reserve,' Rozemeijer says. 'The traditional way of bushman life does not exist anymore, despite what righteous "noble bushmen lovers" want you to believe.'

There are a number of 'well-meaning' attempts to integrate the San into mainstream Botswanan life. One example is the Kuru Development Trust (KDT). Taking its name from the Nharo (one of the Bushmen languages) word meaning 'to do' or 'create', the KDT is the foremost group in which the San actually have some say in development strategies. Though controversial in its make-up, the KDT has helped the San make a living through the development



What the Lord giveth (right) the Botswanan Government taketh away (above).



A race explained

Who are the bushmen?

The bushmen are the oldest inhabitants of southern Africa, where they have lived for at least 20,000 years. Their home is in the vast expanse of the Kalahari desert. There are many different bushman peoples. They have no collective name for themselves, and terms like 'bushman', 'San' and 'Basarwa' are used variously. The most widely-understood terms were mainly coined by outsiders and have a perjorative sense. The bushmen speak a variety of languages, all of which incorporate 'click' sounds represented in writing by symbols such as '!' or 'ǀ'.

How do they live?

They have lived in the desert for thousands of years as hunter-gatherers. They hunt various kinds of antelope, but their daily diet has always consisted more of fruits, nuts and roots found in the desert. They make temporary homes from wood that they gather. Many bushmen who have been forced off their lands now live in settlements in areas that are unsuitable for hunting and gathering. They now support themselves by growing food, or by working on ranches.

What problems do they face?

The bushmen had their homelands invaded by cattle-herding Bantu tribes from around 1,500 years ago, and by white colonists over the last few hundred years. They have faced discrimination, eviction from their ancestral lands, murder and oppression. All this amounts to a massive though unspoken genocide. Their numbers have shrunk from

several million to 100,000. They all suffer from a perception that their lifestyle is 'primitive' and that they need to be made to live like the majority cattle-herding tribes.

Specific problems vary according to where they live. In South Africa, for example, the Khomani now have most of their land rights recognised. But many other tribes have no land rights at all.

The Gana and Gwi tribes in Botswana's Central Kalahari Game Reserve are among the most persecuted. They have no ownership rights over their land, and the Botswana government has in fact been trying to force them off it for the last 16 years. In 1997, many were forcibly evicted from their homes in the Kalahari Desert. Those that remain have faced drastic restrictions to their hunting rights, torture and routine harassment. In the latest move to drive them out, the Botswana government has announced that it is cutting off all water supplies to Gana and Gwi communities in the reserve.

With thanks for information to Survival International.



environment in which they live, and so they learn but do not understand.'

San tribesman Daoxlo

Xukuri has a similar message. He says: 'Some children are

bullied by the teachers who tell them, "you are bushmen, you are stupid like your parents". So, the children quit school and hang

around and steal. There are many cases of beatings. Traders are impoverishing us by selling alcohol. It's killing people. It's influencing people to fight, rape and steal.'

After surviving and prospering for thousands of years, the break with their ancestral past has left a deep wound in bushman society. As Mosodi Gakelegolele, who was recently relocated, says: 'People are feeling bad, asking themselves why should this be happening to them. The only entertainment to be done is drinking, and they are not knowing what they are doing it for – young and old, at any time of day and any time of the week.'

For Matahambo Sesana such doubts are done with. One of the 25 Bushmen taken into the bush by wildlife department officials, his body was unable to survive the torture and he died. His words survive, however. 'The Bushmen are crying,' Matahambo said before his abduction. 'Our way should be taken and listened to by the world.'

The world may be listening, but what is it doing? ■

Do you want to get involved?

Please send an email protesting at the Botswanan government's actions to as many as possible of: parliament@gov.bw, dwnp@gov.bw, botswanatourism@gov.bw Further information can be found on Survival International's website at: www.survival-international.org/latest.htm

of the traditional manufacture of arts and crafts, as well as through new activities such as cochineal farming and the Dqae Qare Game Farm for tourists. Faced with a shortage of expertise, an unforgiving climate and poorly educated and trained staff, KDT failures have been as common as successes. But at least the San have some control over their lives, and failure is part of the learning curve.

Nagakaeaja believes, however, that the cash economy on its own is not conducive to development. He says: 'People want to adapt to the modern way of living. Our community and society is evolving, but this should happen from the inside.'

For this to happen, the bushmen say they must be granted full rights to the land taken from them. Their argument is that with their land rights restored they would no longer be

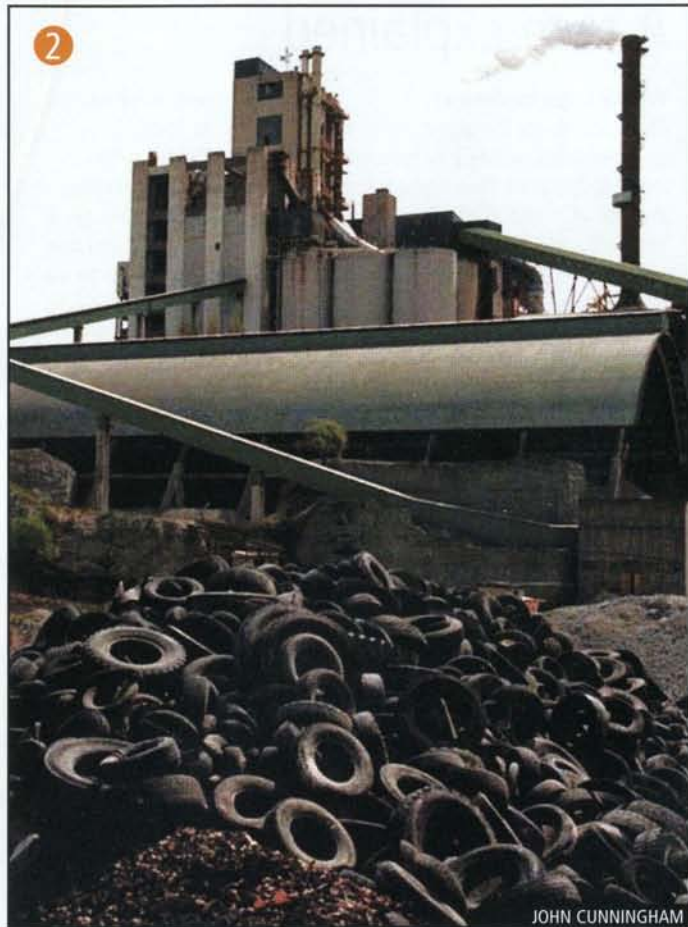
disenfranchised, they would no longer be subject to the whims of a distant and bullying government, they would no longer suffer at the hands of unworkable hunting permits and they would no longer face ongoing uncertainty. They would then be able to enter the cash economy as valuable participants, and could work towards the goal of long-term viability.

A matter of survival

The Khwe bushmen have other worries, particularly for their children's future. 'From a very early age our children are taught to speak in a foreign tongue by teachers who do not understand our language,' says Nagakaeaja. 'They are not taught to appreciate the

DANNY WINKLER is a freelance journalist

world views



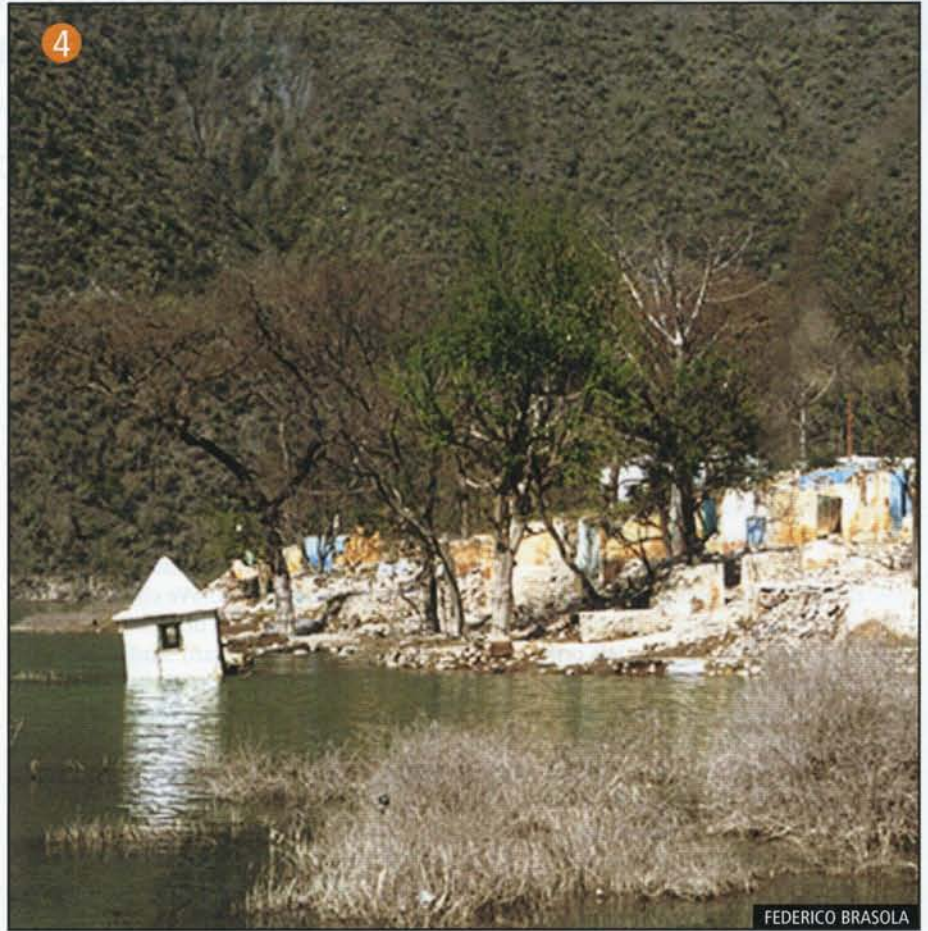
1 DIRTY MACS. They're certainly not old, they were probably all working when they were thrown away, but without the latest look who would want them?

2 TIRE WITH FIRE. At the Cementa cement factory in Gotland, Sweden, they burn recyclable plastic, car tyres and mixed oil wastes – and then call it 'reducing dependence on fossil fuels'.

3 AUTO DESTRUCT. As it now costs money to take your car to the scrap yard, many people just abandon unwanted vehicles on quiet local roads. The problem was reaching nightmare proportions in South Beds, UK, so the district council held an amnesty. They removed all abandoned and dumped vehicles from the roads, and arranged to collect vehicles that people no longer had a use for. This is the result.

4 DROWNING SPIRES. As the giant Tehri Dam in India goes up, many cultural and historical temples like this one have to go down.

5 WHEN IN ROME. Three million people attended a rally against Italian president Silvio Berlusconi and his plans for labour market reforms. At least he can still count on Blair for support.



FEDERICO BRASOLA



REPORT DIGITAL

MEDIA WATCH

ALL THE BLOODY CHILDREN – THE LIBERAL PRESS TARGET IRAQ

David Edwards and David Cromwell ask why our 'free' press is so scared of a rational debate on Iraq

"The unspoken rule [is] of reporting whole societies in terms of their usefulness to western "interests" and of minimising and obfuscating the culpability of "our" crimes." So wrote John Pilger last month on the subject of the UK's mainstream media.

Indeed, as journalists report that the US hawk is once again circling over the Gulf, the reality of Iraq as a community of 22 million people generally falls away. We are left only with the endlessly repeated imprecation 'Saddam', and are relentlessly reminded of the Western need to variously 'contain', 'punish' and 'destroy' this one brutal man. The fact that it is always ordinary Iraqis who are actually punished and destroyed by our bombs, missiles and sanctions, often goes completely unmentioned in the UK media.

A recent *Times* editorial provided a case in point. It declared the certainty and obvious justice of a further US attack. 'The US,' *The Times* wrote, 'is preparing to destroy the regime of Saddam Hussein. The timetable is flexible but will be dictated by the US's strategic and military readiness and by nothing else – certainly not by righteous whimperings from Brussels to Berlin. The goal is fixed.'¹

The sources of the 'righteous whimperings' referred to by *The Times* are those whingeing individuals, aid agencies and governments seeking solutions other than the mass bombing and slaughter of impoverished Third World people. We may live in the 21st century, but for those who would keep us trapped in 'the nightmare of history' nothing changes.

The 'liberal' press is full of similar declarations of the inevitability and justifiability of an attack on Iraq. Brian Whitaker, *The Guardian's* Middle East editor, even looked beyond the mooted military intervention to consider 'post-Saddam' scenarios. 'The most probable military scenario,' Whitaker wrote, 'starts with a massive US bombardment of Saddam's power base – and especially

those who protect him, such as the Republican Guard. Once that is under way, the hope is that opposition forces or his own guards will strike the fatal blow.'²

Media Lens asked Whitaker why he hadn't discussed the moral and legal legitimacy of these plans. And why had he made no mention of the vast suffering inflicted on the civil population of Iraq by the Gulf War and the subsequent sanctions? We cited Eric Hoskins – a Canadian doctor and coordinator of a Harvard study team on Iraq. Hoskins has reported that the allied bombardment of 1991 'effectively terminated everything vital to human survival in Iraq – electricity, water, sewage systems, agriculture, industry and health care'.⁴

Whitaker replied: 'It is... reasonable – and, in my view, essential – to ask before we have gone too far down this road: "where is it likely to end?" If the US does remove Saddam (as they removed the Taliban), what will happen to Iraq internally and to the neighbouring countries? Overall, will it make things better or worse?'

But this question of 'what will happen to Iraq internally' – to its civilian population – is exactly what was missing from Whitaker's article.

We asked Whitaker why, as *The Guardian's* Middle East editor, he had made literally no mention in more than 130 articles since 1998 of senior UN diplomats Denis Halliday and Hans von Sponeck. Halliday and von Sponeck resigned in 1998 and 2000, respectively, in protest at what they described as the 'genocidal' sanctions causing the destruction of 'an entire Iraqi generation'. Whitaker defended his record by responding with the results of a database search showing that *The Guardian* had mentioned Halliday 18 times, *The Independent* had done so 22 times, *The Telegraph* had done so once and *The Times* had done so twice.

Media Lens checked *The Guardian Unlimited* website on 5 March, 2002. We could find only 14 references to Denis Halliday. These included nine articles (including two by Pilger and one by

Halliday himself), four letters (including one from Halliday) and one advert for Pilger's film *Paying the Price – killing the children of Iraq*.

In other words, *The Guardian* and *The Observer* have mentioned the name of a highly credible and well-informed senior UN diplomat who has accused our country of genocide in just nine articles since September 1998.

Also reviewing the prospects for another US attack on Iraq, was *The Observer's* star thorn in the Establishment's side Nick Cohen. He wrote: 'I look forward to seeing how Noam Chomsky and John Pilger manage to oppose a war which would end the sanctions they claim have slaughtered hundreds of thousands of children who otherwise would have had happy, healthy lives in a prison state (don't fret, they'll get there).'⁵

We wrote to Cohen, pointing out that Chomsky and Pilger had made no such 'claims'. Instead they had *reported* the assessments of Halliday, von Sponeck, Unicef, Save the Children Fund UK, the Catholic relief agency CAFOD, Human Rights Watch, the International Committee of the Red Cross and many others who have identified sanctions as a cause of mass death in Iraq.

We quoted Richard Garfield, professor of Clinical International Nursing at the University of Columbia and co-chair of the Human Rights Committee of the American Public Health Association. Garfield concluded that 'most' excess child deaths between August 1990 and March 1998 were 'primarily associated with sanctions'.⁶

Save the Children Fund UK has described the economic sanctions against Iraq as 'a silent war against Iraq's children'. CAFOD has described the sanctions as 'humanly catastrophic [and] morally indefensible'.⁷

While Human Rights Watch has said: 'The continued imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions [against Iraq] is undermining the basic rights of children and the civilian population generally... The [UN Security] Council must recognise that the sanctions have contributed in a

major way to persistent life-threatening conditions in the country'.⁸

Cohen responded to Media Lens thus: 'Dear Serviles, I would have more respect for you if you showed the smallest awareness that a tyrant bore some responsibility for tyranny. I appreciate this is difficult for you. It involves coming to terms with complexity and horribly Eurocentric principles such as justice and universality. Truly, I share your pain. But, for your sake far more than mine, I'd like to know roughly how many deaths in Iraq are down to Saddam. If you admit that we're in double figures, or more, what should be done about it? Viva, Joe Stalin.'

We had observed in writing to Cohen that Iraq 'was (and is) certainly governed by a brutal dictatorship'. He chose to ignore this. Note that Cohen's response was that of a highly-respected journalist from the 'liberal' end of the mainstream media. We asked Noam Chomsky for his view on Cohen's abuse of him, Pilger and us.

Chomsky replied: 'It's a convention of intellectual life that those who depart from the party line are fair game, and

can be slandered at will without evidence. That's the way to be sure you're invited to the right parties. One would gain no points by telling the truth about who 'claimed' that the sanctions were responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of children, or who opposes the planned war.'

In response to our debate with *The Guardian* and *The Observer* on Iraq, Media Lens received literally hundreds of passionate and cogent letters of support from concerned readers. Several were written by an individual who knows all about the reality of war: an 83-year-old veteran who served as an officer in the tanks corps during WWII. He wrote a polite and rational letter to both Cohen and his editor Roger Alton.

This is the response our subscriber received from Alton: 'This is just not true... It's Saddam who's killing all the bloody children, not sanctions. Sorry.'

To his credit Alton has since apologised for his reference to 'the bloody children'. He claimed that he was referring to 'the interminable nature of this debate, not, obviously, to the children themselves'.



STEVEN J PARKHOUSE

But perhaps Alton should apologise to the British public more generally (and also to the people of Iraq) for his paper's performance in conducting this 'interminable debate'. For, in fact, there has been no such debate in *The Observer*. When we checked *The Guardian/Observer* website again on 18 March, 2002 we found that all of the mentions of Halliday noted above were in *The Guardian*. Halliday and von Sponeck have not been mentioned once in the *Observer* since September 1998. This, in our view, is outrageous – particularly given the belief among many people that *The Observer* is a liberal newspaper willing to provide space for arguments that challenge establishment power.

Cohen and Alton's views on Iraq are clear enough. So too is that of *Observer* reporter David Rose. In December, Rose wrote: 'The decisions made by the Western-led coalition at the end of the Gulf War in 1991 were a catastrophe. Now, as the US and its European allies argue over extending the 'war on terrorism' to Iraq, the doves are using the arguments they deployed 10 years ago. They were wrong then, and they are wrong now... There are occasions in history when the use of force is both right and sensible. This is one of them.'⁹

And yet a recent edition of *The Observer* boasted that the paper provided 'the broadest debate on Iraq'.⁹

Is it any wonder, then, that genocidal Western sanctions have been able to proceed, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives, with barely a whimper from the UK public? And is it any wonder that, for much of that public, Iraq is a non-issue? Clearly not. And equally clearly, the UK media's failure to honestly report the charge that our government is responsible for genocide is a stunning betrayal of the British public and the people of Iraq.

David Edwards and David Cromwell are co-editors of Media Lens. Sign up for free Media Alerts at www.medialens.org

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CORBIS

AMAZING DISGRACE

A DIRTY TRICKS CAMPAIGN LEADS STRAIGHT TO THE DOOR OF A MONSANTO PR COMPANY, SAYS JONATHAN MATTHEWS IN THE LAUNCH OF HIS NEW COLUMN

The journal *Science* recently reported on how the Mexican 'maize scandal' was driving the battle over GM crops 'to new heights of acrimony and confusion'. As part of its report, *Science* noted the part played by 'widely-circulating anonymous emails' accusing researchers Ignacio Chapela and David Quist of 'conflicts of interest and other misdeeds'.

These accusations first surfaced in late November on the day of *Nature's* publication of Chapela and Quist's findings of GM contamination of maize varieties in Mexico – the global heartland of maize diversity. Samples of native criollo corn were found to contain a genetic 'switch' commonly used in GM crops, and one sample was even found to contain a commonly inserted gene that prompts the plant to produce a poison. The results were particularly surprising as Mexico banned the growing of GM maize in 1998, and the last known GM crops were grown almost 60 miles from where the contaminated maize was found.

For the biotech industry this could not have come at a worse time. Its efforts to lift the European, Brazilian, and Mexican moratoria on GM seeds or foods were all coming to a head.

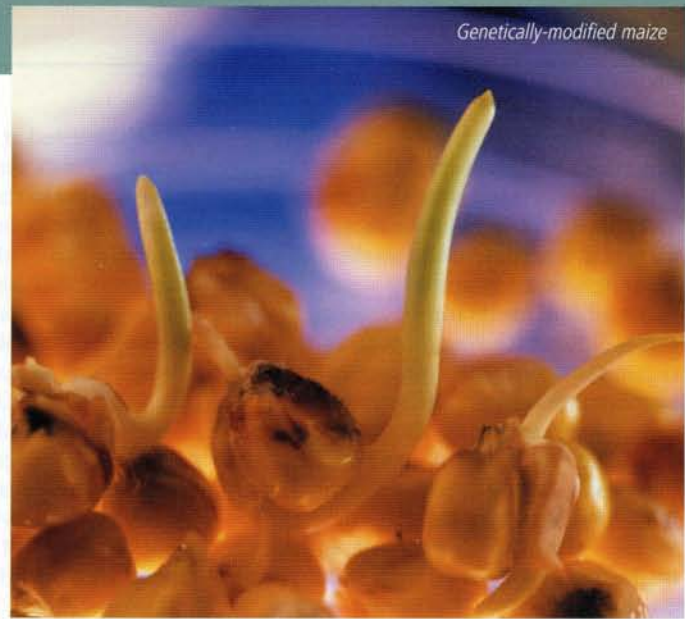
Chapela and Quist came under immediate attack in a furious volley of emails published on the AgBioView listserv. AgBioView correspondents calling themselves 'Mary Murphy' and 'Andura Smetacek' claimed that Chapela and Quist's research was a product of a conspiracy with 'fear-mongering activists'. The conspirators' aim, apparently, was to attack 'biotechnology, free-trade, intellectual property rights and other politically motivated agenda items'.

These claims prompted a series of further attacks. Professor Anthony Trewavas, for example, denounced scientists like Chapela who had 'political axes to grind'. Trewavas demanded Chapela be fired unless he handed over his maize samples for checking.

This was not Trewavas's first controversial intervention in the GM debate in response to material circulated on AgBioView. Last October, for instance, he was named in the High Court as the source of an anti-Greenpeace letter at the centre of a libel case. Trewavas subsequently claimed the letter originated on AgBioView.

The last piece in question was posted by one Andura Smetacek, who regularly posts vitriolic attacks on critics of the biotech industry. In Smetacek's early posts, interestingly, repeated reference is made to one particular website - CFFAR.org. Ostensibly, CFFAR - or the Centre for Food and Agricultural Research, to give it its full title - is 'a public policy and research coalition' concerned with 'food and fibre production'. But despite links to CFFAR.org from the websites of US public libraries and university departments, there appears to be no evidence the organisation really exists.

To judge by the frequent usage of terms like 'violence', 'terrorism' and 'acts of terror', the real purpose of CFFAR.org is



SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY

to associate biotech industry opponents with terrorism. This mission is facilitated by fabricated claims. In its 'vandalwatch.org' section, for instance, CFFAR.org accuses Greenpeace of engaging in multiple attacks on British farms. Greenpeace is accused of commandeering farmers' tractors and of crashing through fences in pursuit of farmers' families.

The domain registration details for CFFAR.org show the registrant to be 'THEODOROV, MANUEL'. Among early signatures of a pro-agbiotech petition launched by AgBioView list editor Professor CS Prakash, the following details can be found: Name: Emmanuel Theodorou. Position: Director of associations. Organisation: Bivings Woodell, Inc. Department: Advocacy and outreach

What kind of 'advocacy and outreach' does Bivings Woodell, aka the Bivings Group, do? According to an article in *The Chicago Tribune*, 'the Bivings Group has developed 'Internet advocacy' campaigns for corporate America since 1996... Biotechnology giant Monsanto [is] among the Bivings clients who have discovered how to make the internet work for them'.

As part of its brief, Bivings designs and runs Monsanto's websites. Theodorou is believed to have been part of Bivings' Monsanto team. Mary Murphy would also seem to connect to Bivings. Or so it would seem from the evidence of a fake Associated Press article on the bulletin board of the foxbghsuit.com website. The piece was posted by 'Mary Murphy (bw6.bivwood.com)'.

Between them Smetacek and Murphy have had 60 or more attacks published, often very prominently, by Prakash on the AgBioWorld listserv. Prakash presents AgBioWorld as a mainstream science group reliant on the support of individuals and philanthropic foundations. However, a website design specialist who studied the AgBioWorld site reported that there appeared to be evidence that part of its content was held on a Bivings' server. Furthermore, agbioworld.org, vandalwatch.org and the Bivings-designed thebivingsreport.com all seemed to be the work of the same designer.

Perhaps it's time for Prakash to clarify where AgBioWorld finishes and biotech industry PR begins. Come to that, the Royal Society might like to tell us why Trewavas, one of its media advisers, seems so keen to promulgate PR industry smears. And finally, Monsanto needs to explain how its much-vaunted pledge to abide by principles of openness, transparency and respect tallies with a dirty tricks campaign.

Jonathan Matthews is a co-founder of Norfolk Genetic Information Network (www.ngin.org.uk)

DON'T THROW MONEY AT HEALTH

A RETHINK OF WHAT CONSTITUTES GOOD HEALTHCARE IS THE WAY AHEAD, SAYS DR PETER MANSFIELD.



JOHN ROBERTSON

A GP trainer joined me at lunch one day, sighing with contentment. 'You've had a good morning, then,' I remarked. She responded with a litany of the dire diseases she had dealt with since breakfast. With the announcement of each item, my spirits sank another inch. 'That sounds like an appalling morning,' I said, trying to keep it light. Her face clouded. 'Show more interest in disease or I wouldn't give much for your career,' was her magisterial rejoinder.

Basically, she was right. Interest in health, as opposed to illness, gets you into all sorts of trouble. Particularly when politicians suggest we are all about to be taxed more on behalf of the NHS.

I don't know much about business, but it's pretty clear to me that our medical services are in the sort of shambles that can't be solved by extra spending. What we need is the sort of long-range new thinking that we can't expect from short-termist politicians. Here's an example of what I mean.

My chief professional interest is to get people healthy. I pursued this aim relentlessly throughout 28 years as a GP. I thought, advised and prescribed differently. When audits of GPs' prescribing were introduced, it transpired that my personal pharmaceutical prescribing was down to about 40% of the national average. That's right, 60% less than the norm. A little arithmetic suggested that wider use of my approach could save billions. So I wrote, via my MP, to one of Mrs Thatcher's junior health ministers. The letter I received back only reproached me for prescribing Vitamin C in cases other than scurvy.

I won't trouble you with the aggro I received locally for prescribing vitamins. In a moment of uncharacteristic candour, one NHS administrator said: 'Your ideas stand no chance in the NHS. You should go private.' Eventually, I did.

'Good HealthKeeping' is a long-winded name, but it's what I aim to put in practice. Subscriptions to the scheme sold slowly at first, but accelerated as health scares piled up. MMR tripled our membership in a year.

How is my practice different? Think of motoring. You can't sort out bad driving with a breakdown rescue service, or a body shop or even an MOT. What is needed is an advanced driving school. At Good HealthKeeping there is a call centre staffed by mature and knowledgeable people to help you make the next gear change. Put another way, we help our members live their lives confidently and competently with minimum reliance on professional help.

Part of the process is about persuading people to look at life in a more positive, self-reliant way. This isn't hard. Fever is not a disease, but part of the cure. Inflammation is on your side. The surgeon cuts it out, but you heal it up. 'Nursery nose' is not feeble immunity, but a childhood rite of passage. These are all sound bites used daily by GoodHealthKeeping advisers.

It's possible to do business differently too. We charge the least we can manage on, not the most we can get away with.

We live on the subscriptions to the scheme, then supply anything else at cost. That way members know they really need what we send them, and we know it's as affordable for them as possible.

Okay the scheme is tiny, and is just one approach. There must be others that would work even better. But just look at what this could achieve.

To begin with, it gives responsibility for health back to individuals. That's scary for some, but absolutely necessary. There's no way a state can make people healthy. Governments can only remove obstacles to health. Few have so far succeeded.

Also, many people are happy to pay. In our model, a family pays a maximum of £7 a month. Some pay only £3.50. With a daily supply of the best available essential food supplement added on, the top whack is £13 a month. That rules nobody out. Indeed our membership covers the full income range.

And members of a scheme like this do become more self-reliant quite quickly. We are easier to get hold of than GPs, so members call us first. As often as not, they manage on our home-spun advice. We may send them a leaflet, or refer them to the scheme's handbook or website. That way they learn, too. Next time they cope without calling us. Their confidence grows, and confidence is the beginning of reliable well-being.

Finally, living well actually prevents the great bulk of diseases. It is far easier to prevent cancer, fatigue, bowel disease or arthritis than to treat them. Once people learn how much depends on their own choices, we have a health service staffed by millions. Then we can reduce the scale of our professional services, and improve their quality. Doctors and nurses can regain their job satisfaction, and stop focussing so much on money. It really could be that simple.

So why not act accordingly? For a start, political attention spans are very limited. I have done my best to interest MPs and peers of every political persuasion, but with no positive outcome. Also, the healing professions resist such thinking instinctively. Many like things as they are. A deeper problem is their getting their heads round the reality of health. It would mean unlearning a lot of deep-rooted reflexes. Worst of all, they have to start trusting nature and her children a good deal more. This takes power away from them.

Nevertheless, it's tantalisingly close. NHS Direct, the national call centre, could broaden its way of working to take account of self-help and complementary remedies. The House of Lords Select Committee on Complementary and Alternative Medicine actually nudged it in this direction, just a year ago. Maybe it's time Cherie Blair exerted her formidable influence. Her next door neighbour wouldn't have to stump up any extra cash.

Dr Peter Mansfield was threatened with losing his medical licence in 2001 because he continued to allow patients to choose three separate injections rather than the controversial MMR vaccine.



IF IN DOUBT, CALL THE FBI

Paranoia and witch-hunts: terrorism is the new communism.

William Blum calls time on the neo-McCarthyism of George W Bush's US.

'Always strive to have empathy. Understand that from a policeman's point of view, a police state is a good thing.'
Paul Krassner (US humorist)

During the cold war one of the numerous dastardly things we in the West were taught about communist states was that people there were instigated to spy on their neighbours. They were supposed to watch and listen in on each other, and report any signs of unorthodox beliefs to the authorities.

In the *weltanschauung* of the present day US, the Evil Empire has been replaced by the Evil Axis and 'unorthodox beliefs' by 'suspicious behaviour'. What constitutes the latter may well be limited only by the imagination of a good citizen.

National Neighborhood Watch, which until recently was a folksy community programme concerned with burglars, muggers and drug traffickers, has now been enlisted in the war against international terrorism. The federal government has financed the doubling of the nation's local Neighborhood Watch groups to 15,000. The Department of Justice has published a *Citizens' Preparedness Guide*. And, to make sure that no one confuses Washington circa 2002 with Moscow circa 1936, familiar and heartwarming TV personality Ed McMahon has been brought in to publicise the Watch programme.

McMahon is best known as the sidekick of comedian Johnny Carson, whom the former would introduce on TV each night with the catch phrase 'Heeere's Johnny!' At a 6 March unveiling of the new Watch programme, McMahon introduced Attorney General Ayatollah John Ashcroft with, yes, 'Heeere's Johnny!' McMahon had his nine-year-old granddaughter with him. She smiled and carried a teddy bear. Who can mistrust such a government?

At the launch of the new campaign at a Washington Watch programme, the woman in charge declared: 'If we see a Ryder truck [a vehicle used in the two major terrorist attacks in the US prior

to 11 September – the Oklahoma and World Trade Centre car bombings] and we know nobody's moving in, somebody would call the police.' Decent Americans can only pray that the next would-be terrorists don't discover any other brand of rental truck.

Others whom the guide says should be reported include individuals seen 'suspiciously exiting a secured, non-public area near a train or bus depot, airport, tunnel, bridge, government building or tourist attraction'. Unfortunately, the reader is not advised what to do if an individual is seen exiting any of these places in a laid-back manner.

Helpfully, the guide lists various danger signs: 'You are told of or overhear someone discussing a plan for a terrorist act, to use a gun or other weapon in an unlawful manner, to mail or deliver a dangerous package or letter, to set off a bomb or an explosive, to release a poisonous substance into the air, water or food supply. You hear or know of someone who has bragged or talked about killing or harming citizens in terrorist attacks, or who claims membership in an organisation that espouses killing innocent people.' The problem with this, of course, is that the average American hears such things on an almost daily basis, and thus tends to dismiss them as idle chatter or good-natured kidding. Last summer, as we know, many people in New York observed several individuals, swarthy Middle East types all and who incredibly later turned out to be among the 11 September hijackers, tossing paper airplanes into buildings and yelling 'BOOM!' as they doubled over in laughter. The ever-trusting New Yorkers just looked on in appreciative amusement. This is an attitude that the Watch campaign is determined to change.

But since 11 September, and even before this new government programme, the citizenry has in fact been on relatively high alert. When, in November, a customer at a Chicago post office

requested stamps 'without the US flag' on them, the post office called the police, who were there within minutes to interrogate the young man.

The same month a young woman in North Carolina received a visit at home from two Secret Service agents. 'Ma'am,' said one of the agents, whose function is to protect the president, 'we've gotten a report that you have anti-US material.' The material turned out to be a poster which depicted George W Bush holding a length of rope against a backdrop of lynching victims, with the slogan: 'We hang on your every word. George Bush: Wanted, 152 dead'. The poster referred to the number of people executed by the state of Texas while Bush was its governor.

And a 60-year-old San Franciscan called Barry Reingold was working out at his gym when he expressed reservations about the war on terrorism to his fellow weight trainers. Questions were raised about his loyalty, which Reingold refuted. But next thing, the FBI was paying him a visit at home.

I stress that these three stories are all true. Similar examples have piled up like autumn leaves. When asked by a reporter about the civil liberties' implications of such happenings, White House press secretary Ari Fleischer replied: 'People have to watch what they say and do.'

The war on drugs had already turned the US into a police state – not the world's worst police state, to be sure, but a police state nonetheless. At times, the war on terrorism makes one feel as if the whole country has been turned into one large airport security checkpoint.

How long, I wonder, before the US is like Mexico – with everybody averting their eyes as the cops stroll by, but with better plumbing.

*William Blum is the author of **Rogue State: a guide to the world's only superpower**. <http://members.aol.com/superogue/homepage.htm>*



MOI'S ABATEMENT

Malcolm Tait believes that Kenya's President, Daniel arap Moi, had better heed the omens.

When lion and antelope are shown in the same picture, one is usually chewing on the other. Unsurprisingly, then, when photos appeared this year of Larsens the lioness walking side by side with her adopted oryx antelope in Kenya's Samburu National Park, the world's press went gaga.

Some journalists scabbled to find something biblical in the image – lions lying down with lambs, and so forth. Others decided that our pleasure in seeing predator and prey cosying up to each other was not entirely unrelated to the anthropomorphism that Disney has peddled so successfully over the years. Fair enough. One commentator, noting that the oryx is the likely source of the unicorn legend, even tried to find something about the British Empire in this lion and unicorn pairing.

Maybe that last effort was an illusion too far. But it is a fact that people will see in this simple yet unusual image just what they want to see.

This makes one wonder what Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi makes of it all. When nature behaves oddly – Macbeth's crows making wing to the rooky wood, for example – and the natural order is upset, kings are sometimes murdered and leaders upended. In fact, a lion walking with an oryx is the last type of omen a president wants to see in an election year. But Moi will probably pay no attention to any of this. After all, if he can ignore the rules of his own national constitution in his attempt to regain power, then a natural omen won't bother him one jot.

Constitutionally, Kenyan presidents are supposed to stand down after two five-year terms. That was decided in 1992, when Kenya held its first multi-party election. Daniel arap Moi had already been in power for 14 years at the time, but had bowed to international pressure and allowed other parties, nominally at least, to compete. Two

victories and 10 years on, Moi's supposed to stand down at this year's election.

In Kenya's *The Nation* newspaper last year, journalist Gitau Warigi wrote: '[Moi] needs to reassure us not only that he is going, but that he wants to make as peaceful an exit as possible. By and large, Moi inherited a peaceful country. The very least we, Kenyans, ask of him is to leave it no worse than it is today.'

This is a very optimistic desire, and one which is held by many Kenyans. But

'After this year's Zimbabwean election, Moi had no qualms about thrusting his hand of friendship at Mugabe.'

it's a desire that now looks to be doomed. Early clues as to Moi's plans came after this year's Zimbabwean election. With various African leaders shuffling around wondering how to respond to the Zimbabwe result, Moi had no qualms about firmly thrusting the hand of friendship at Mugabe.

As if inspired by the Zimbabwean, Moi has spent the last few months firming up his position. He may not be allowed to stand as president for a third term, but he's damn well sure he's going to be pulling the new president's strings.

By merging his ruling party, KANU, with one of the opposition parties; by making himself party chairman with licence to do virtually anything at will – even surpassing in power the president; by appointing as party vice-chairman Uhuru Kenyatta, the son of legendary Kenyan founding father Jomo; by selling off the country's resources – including 15 per cent of the forests – to shore up support for himself; by making it virtually

impossible for hundreds of thousands of people to vote; by encouraging and bankrolling ethnic clashes and murder – by these and many other tactics, Moi is ensuring that although his job title might change his power base – come the new government – is likely to be stronger than ever.

Will Kenyans stand for this? In terms of voting, it's hard to see the KANU-led coalition failing. Just as Mugabe romped home in Zimbabwe because he was in charge of the romping, so KANU is likely to be in the driving seat again next year, however the votes might fall.

Yet there are still many months to go before the election. Some Zimbabweans still have a twinge of allegiance towards Robert Mugabe. He was, after all, one of the men who only 20 years ago took up the reins of power in their brave new land and led it out of the years of fighting that had gone before.

Moi, however, has no such heritage. As a result, he does not have popular loyalty to fall back on. In fact, there's a growing sense of resentment towards Moi in Kenya. And, with the election not due until December, there is still plenty of time for that resentment to grow.

So what is a 78-year-old president – one that is desperate to shore up his millions and create a lasting legacy – to do? Should he keep hold of power at all costs, no matter the consequences to his nation? Or should he step down and accept the role of venerated elder statesman, in the way that Jerry Rawlings of Ghana did last year? You'd hope the answer was obvious.

Kenya's, and Daniel arap Moi's, fate won't be known until the end of this year. But if Moi forces the country's hand, then I believe Kenya will end up by forcing him right back. It could be, if he is not careful, that it is Daniel who does not survive the lions.

Or the oryx.

Malcolm Tait is managing editor of *The Ecologist*.

ELECTROPOLLUTION: THE SCANDAL CONTINUES...

ROGER COGHILL ARGUES THAT THE RECENT £7.2M GOVERNMENT FUNDING OF RESEARCH INTO MOBILE PHONE HAZARDS HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY GIVEN TO THE WRONG PEOPLE.

In 1981, then *Ecologist* editor Nicholas Hildyard devoted a whole chapter of his book *Cover Up: the facts they don't want you to know* to 'the electrical smog' generated by microwaves. Following his lead, about 10 years later I wrote *Electropollution* – a book which extended the issue across the whole electromagnetic spectrum. The book described the scientific concerns emerging largely in the US that the alternating electric and magnetic fields (EMFs) emanating from our modern technologies might pose a serious long-term health threat. Thorsons, the book's publishers, sold a few thousand copies before it went out of print with scarcely a review. Shortly afterwards the company was taken over, and the book was never reprinted.

The story of electropollution really begins in 1972, when Russian reports of ill health among workers at the Soviet Union's mighty 500kV electricity switchyards reached the West. By then the western establishment was already committed to electromagnetic technology in many ways. There was rapid growth in domestic electric appliances, an increasing rise in radio and TV demand, and the proliferation of military applications. So, there was little official enthusiasm for the idea that electropollution could have negative consequences for human health. In the US a few poorly conducted studies on little more than a dozen utility workers were cobbled together. These studies are still cited in the utilities' press propaganda as their main reason for rebutting the Soviet findings.

But the story didn't die. A 1979 US study by Nancy Wertheimer and her colleague physicist Ed Leeper investigated the possibility of a link between electricity wires and childhood cancer. It found a more than two-fold link between exposure to electricity distribution wires and acute lymphocytic or lymphoblastic leukaemia (ALL). The whole issue was set on fire again.

Response time

In the early 1980s the UK's Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB) – the predecessor of today's National Grid Plc – funded Dr Ray Cartwright to perform an epidemiological study in Yorkshire to see whether living near overhead power lines might cause cancer in children. The study was to pay particular attention to ALL – still the largest killer of British children. Cartwright's colleagues on this study included Dr John Male, a recent chief physicist for the National Grid, former CEGB employee JA Bonnell, Dr Anthony Myers and another Cartwright – Dr S Cartwright. (Bonnell incidentally also featured in Hildyard's book in a less than favourable reference to the 1978 Fishponds public inquiry). It was Dr S Cartwright who had originally made the observation of child cancer clusters existing near power lines. But she took little further part in EMF research.

Cartwright had also uncovered other evidence of a link between power lines and ALL through a pilot research project commissioned in 1989 by a children's cancer charity. He did

not make the findings public, however. That small study of 28 leukaemia cases between 1980 and 1986 showed a startlingly clear correlation between ALL and power line proximity. Yet Cartwright told the charity there was nothing in the data.

Cartwright's much larger Yorkshire study was presented in 1985. Unsurprisingly, considering the source of its funding, it reported that there was 'no significant increase in risk ratio with increasing field strength, nor was there any significant dependence of risk ratio on distance from the lines'.

When the report finally appeared in *The British Journal of Cancer* in 1990, however, its authors conceded that the study was calculated to have only an 18 per cent power of detecting a true relative risk of 1.5 for those living within 25 metres of a line. When the critical distance was 100 metres, that power was 54 per cent. In other words, the study was deliberately designed so as to avoid finding any useful results.

Growing evidence

In 1992 three much larger and better Scandinavian studies also reported a link between power lines or EMF exposure and cancers. One of these studies came from the world-renowned Karolinska Institute in Stockholm, and was authored by Anders Ahlbom and Maria Feychting. It came hard on the heels of a draft 220-page document from the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The EPA document was circulated widely in 1991, but was never published officially. That also declared an association between power lines and cancer, and that EMFs should be regarded as possible carcinogens. The EPA had originally concluded that EMFs should be classified as 'probable' carcinogens, but was overruled and forced to downgrade its level of concern.

The EPA draft prompted the UK's National Radiological Protection Board (NRPB) to set up an advisory group to review the literature. The group concluded in 1992 that, though more research was needed, no change in policy was necessary. But its conclusions were partly based on questionable methods. By pooling Cartwright's large but flawed Yorkshire study with other data the overall odds ratios became unrepresentatively weak. One of the advisory group members was professor Ted Grant, to whom we shall return later.

In the same year Cartwright was again asked to come to the aid of the CEGB. He acted as an expert on the North Yorks Power Line project. A long 400kV power line was to be routed



Giving off the wrong signals:
Activists demonstrate outside the Welsh assembly against the location of mobile phone masts in residential areas.
Pictures courtesy of www.mastaction.org

along the Vale of York, a valley which some say is the most beautiful in all England. On 30 October 1992 Cartwright wrote a five-page letter to the solicitors acting for the CEGB. He rubbished all three Scandinavian papers. Cartwright called the Ahlbom work 'deceptive', saying it added nothing new to the literature. Nearly everyone else in the scientific world rated it as excellent, however. As for the Floderus occupational exposure study, Cartwright complained that there were serious methodological difficulties. It was, he said, 'difficult to argue for a real effect'. Finally he called the third Scandinavian study, by Danish researchers, meaningless. It too added nothing to the literature.

power lines. Silk has been an ardent lecturer on effects, including 'dry eye', which are associated with exposure to computer screens.

One company that has not had to rely entirely on public funding is Microwave Consultants Ltd (MCL). Headed by Dr Camelia Gabriel and assisted for many years by the aforementioned Professor Ted Grant of Imperial College, London, MCL has derived the majority of its business from the mobile phone industry. The firm acts as a consultant for the industry. Gabriel also played a part in setting standards for mobile phone exposure. These standards are presently comfortably above the emissions of the present handset radiations, which



Cartwright showed himself firmly nailed to the utilities' mast. Almost every time a study appeared suggesting a link between cancer and power lines he wrote to deny or criticise the idea. In 1996, for example, my research centre Cogreslab published a peer-reviewed case-control study in *The European Journal of Cancer Prevention*. The study linked ALL to the electric component of the EMF. Cartwright immediately denied the credibility of these results. Now he has been given £265,000 of public money to investigate whether tumour formation in adults can be linked to the use of cellphone handsets.

While working at the Leukaemia Research Fund Centre for Clinical Epidemiology at Leeds University in 1989, Cartwright wrote a guest editorial article in *The British Journal of Cancer*. The article opined that 50-60 Hertz EMFs were 'the only major source about which concern has ever been raised on this issue'. This was palpably untrue. Ever since the discovery of radar, many research reports had been published which pointed to adverse effects from exposure to RF/MW. Cartwright was dutifully sceptical that there existed any cogent evidence of a link between power lines and ALL. He argued that all the epidemiological studies to date suffered serious deficiencies. He said: 'No proposed study will ever address the issue about which most people want to be assured.' A large-scale study would not justify its expense and would take many years. This was music to the ears of the power utilities.

Ring back

Several of the 15 studies so far chosen to research the health risks of mobile phones are also headed by scientists who, like Cartwright, are openly sceptical of there being any such risks. But reputable applicants, like Bristol University's Dr Alan Preece or optometrist Anne Silk, who think there may be adverse health effects from weak EMFs have been totally disregarded for funding. Preece has reported some minor cognitive effects of mobile phone use on laboratory subjects, and some major ones – for example, cancer – downwind of

are based on a flawed statistic known as the specific absorption rate (SAR).

Most MCL studies have been on the electrical permittivity of tissue. But research has been carried out on human cadavers, and, therefore, has little bearing on the conductivity and permittivity parameters of living flesh. MCL was awarded two separate contracts worth £570,000 for the mobile phone research. MCL director Dr Philip Chadwick is taking part in a third.

Similarly, £330,000 of mobile phone research funding has been awarded to Drs Anthony Barker and Leslie Coulson of Royal Hallamshire Hospital, Sheffield. The contract is for looking at effects of phones on blood pressure. Barker has for some years sat on the Institution of Electrical Engineers' (IEE) working group on EMF health effects. National Grid support helped Coulson become a member of the European Bioelectromagnetics Association (EBA). Coulson's appointment to the EBA gave him special responsibility for its newsletter, which has since disappeared altogether.

Every year the IEE has conducted an unpublished review of EMF literature. And every year it has concluded that there is no substantial evidence of a link between the energies their members work with on a daily basis and any health risk. In the last few years the IEE working group, which includes utilities' representatives, has extended that all-clear to higher frequencies.

The mobile phone research funding is administered by the NRPB. It won the contract by deviously underbidding the Department of Trade and Industry, and has awarded a large cut of the available monies to one of its own employees – Dr Zenon Sienkiewicz. The only study Sienkiewicz has ever published acknowledging a biological effect from EMF exposure focused on levels so high that they would never be seen in real life. All his other findings were negative, and related mainly to animal behaviour. Now he has been given £590,000 to examine the effects of RF radiation on brain

physiology and on functions such as learning and memory performance. Actually, Sienkiewicz awarded the money to himself. He is, after all, a member of the funding committee. NRPB employees Peter Dimbylow and Simon Mann have also gained contracts worth £141,000.

Those responsible for allocating this funding also include Dr David Coggon at Southampton University. Coggon is another epidemiologist on record for disbelieving weak EMFs can have adverse effects. In 1998 Surrey University asked him and fellow IEE member Dr David Jeffries to examine my PhD thesis. I rejected both examiners when I discovered an internal memo written in advance of the scheduled oral examination, setting out reasons why I had been failed. The matter has been languishing unaddressed before the university visitor ever since, and the PhD award lies in abeyance.

Altogether, these questionable funding awards for mobile phone 'research' total over £1.5 million. They represent about a third of the allocations so far announced, and support six of the 15 projects accepted.

The awarding body and the scientists chosen to do the research are supposed to be completely independent. But, clearly, there are conspicuous links between the members of the awarding committee and the fundees. Apart from the examples of Sienkiewicz and Professor Grant, Anthony Swerdlow (who received a sum well in excess of £1 million) is a member of the NRPB's advisory group on non-ionising radiation.

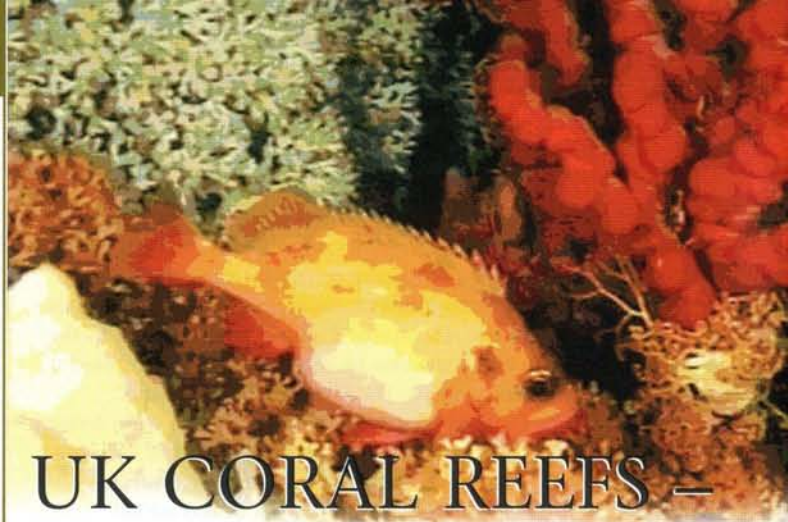
The direction of the research also raises eyebrows among those familiar with bioelectromagnetics. Why doesn't it address radiation from mobile base stations and masts? This is an area of intense public concern. At least 200 action groups throughout the UK are currently protesting against the installation of these masts, often on health grounds. True, a small side project funded separately by the DTI will look into this, but only in a minor way.

Insiders will be aware that there is a major controversy as to whether it is the continuous wave or the pulsating nature of the RF/MW wave that is the active bioeffector. The odds suggest the adverse effects come from the pulsed waves, especially when they are at frequencies close to those from the brain. This issue has been totally ignored in selecting which projects to fund. Other critics question the very validity of SAR – the parameter used for measuring potential effects. It is argued that this measure is only dependent on thermal effects. The concern, however, lies with non-thermal effects. SAR is notoriously difficult to measure or calculate. The IEEE sub-committee in the US still cannot agree on how to define it.

In 1998 Cogreslab took court action against the mobile phone industry, and demanded that warning labels be put on mobile phone handsets. Some say that the resulting international media attention led to the creation of the Stewart committee on mobile phone safety. The committee's ensuing findings omitted over 30 relevant reports, but nevertheless recommended a large independent research initiative. We were all naïve enough to believe that this would lead to a better scientific understanding of possible health hazards from mobile phones.

The grand plan behind the Stewart Committee is, however, at last becoming apparent. The money thereby available has largely been channelled to the very people who in the past denied any risk from weak electromagnetic radiation. It is not difficult to guess what results will transpire from the publicly and so amply financed projects.

Roger Coghill is founder and director of Cogreslab, an independent laboratory researching the effects of bioelectromagnetics.



UK CORAL REEFS – GONE BEFORE WE EVEN KNEW THEY EXISTED?

ONLY IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAVE WE REALISED THE EXTENT OF THE MAGNIFICENT CORAL REEFS OFF OUR SHORES. NOW, WRITE **DR SUE MARRS AND DR JASON HALL-SPENCER**, DEEP-SEA TRAWLING IS PUTTING THEM AT RISK.

The past decade's collapse of stocks of shallow-water fish such as cod has driven ever enterprising European fishers to trawl deeper and deeper along the edge of the north-east Atlantic continental shelf. As they haul their nets up from the ocean floor, all manner of strange looking deep-water species are being found within: round-nose grenadier, orange roughy, black scabbard fish and deep-sea sharks. And as quick as the fishermen find them, new markets are being opened up to sell some of these deep-sea oddities. Yet some of these species live for well over 100 years, and do not mature until they are 30. As a result, there is widespread concern over the sustainability of their exploitation. Nonetheless, this deep-water fishing continues unregulated.

Even less well-known than some of the fish being brought to the surface – and perhaps even more at risk – are the corals. Most of us associate coral reefs with the warm, well-lit waters off tropical coasts. However, lumps of coral the size of filing cabinets have been trawled by French fleets from depths of 840-1,300m off the west coast of Ireland. These deep-water reefs remain poorly studied. It is not until the past five years that video material from manned and unmanned submersibles has started to show a wider audience just how spectacular these reefs can be.

It has been argued that these deep-water habitats occur too far offshore for us to be able to manage their conservation. However, we now have the technology to protect fragile deep-water corals and the long-lived fish that they attract. A satellite-based vessel-monitoring scheme was recently introduced for all vessels greater than 24 metres in length and operating more than 12 nautical miles offshore from EU member states (Article 3, Regulation (EEC) 2847/93). The Faroe Isles, Iceland, Greenland, Russia and Norway have also adopted this satellite-tracking scheme as members of the North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission. We argue that this scheme offers an excellent means by which to protect European deep-water corals.

Vertebrate catch from a coral-rich haul; trawl started on 24 March 1996 at 23:45 (54°40'N-10°50'W, 1,270 m)

Common name	Taxon	Number	Weight (kg)
Roundnose grenadier*	<i>Coryphaenoides rupestris</i>	480	400
Roundnose grenadier (small discards)	<i>Coryphaenoides rupestris</i>	902	407
Orange roughy*	<i>Hoplostethus atlanticus</i>	80	200
Leafscale gulper shark*	<i>Centrophorus squamosus</i>	27	150
Portuguese dogfish*	<i>Centroscymnus coelolepis</i>		
Baird's smooth-head	<i>Alepocephalus bairdii</i>	750	2,400
North Atlantic codling	<i>Lepidion eques</i>	50	18
Small-eyed rabbitfish	<i>Hydrolagus affinis</i>	37	16
Spear-nose chimaera	<i>Rhinochimaera atlantica</i>	4	24
Rough-nose grenadier	<i>Trachyrincus murrayi</i>	325	80
Spear-snouted grenadier	<i>Caelorinchus labiatus</i>	125	31
Dogfish sharks	<i>Squalidae</i>	216	351
Risso's smooth-head	<i>Alepocephalus rostratus</i>	6	-
Pallid sculpin	<i>Cottunculus thomsonii</i>	2	-
Pudgy cuskeel	<i>Spectrunculus grandis</i>	1	-

*species landed commercially

Unclean sweep

On a typical 15-day trip, an offshore trawler sweeps about 33 square kilometres of deep-sea habitat. The fishers do not deliberately damage deep-sea coral, as coral by-catch is undesirable. The corals reduce the quality of the catch, and tear the nets. French deep-water fishermen target sedimentary areas on the upper part of the continental slope, and out of 229 trawls observed between 1995 and 1997 only five were notable for containing large amounts of coral by-catch.

Despite this, serious impacts from deep-water fishing have been observed in a number of cold-water coral reefs. As catches from shallower fisheries decline, the huge financial investment required of a modern fishing vessel owner means fishers work closer to the corals in the more thickly-stocked deeper waters. The risk of gear damage intensifies. Hamish Morrison, chief executive of the Scottish Fishermen's Federation, says corals also damage the nets of the UK monkfish fleet. Morrison calls for closer co-operation between the fishing industry and EU governments so as to prevent both long-term ecological damage and harm to fishing gear.

The problem with deep-water trawling

The box above shows the entire vertebrate catch from a coral-rich haul taken recently in the Rockall Trough. It shows just how wasteful deep-water trawling can be – most of the fish were discarded. But habitat damage has to be very long-term. Deep-water corals take centuries and even millennia to build reefs, and by-caught corals from the Rockall Trough have been shown to be over 4,550 years old. They can be destroyed in minutes.

The same problem occurs off Norway. Jan Helge Fossa, of the Institute of Marine Research in Bergen, recently used a remotely-operated vehicle (ROV) to survey two cold-water coral reefs at a depth of 200 metres off west Norway. A reef that had been intensely trawled for redfish and saithe during the 1990s was seen to have sparse, broken coral colonies. The reef was scarred by the 5-10cm-deep trenches left by the trawlers' otter boards. Other evidence of trawling activity included dead coral rubble littering the whole area. This contrasted starkly with the spectacular condition of untrawled reefs (see the photograph).

Acoustic surveys have also raised serious concerns about the ecological effects of deep-water trawl fisheries. Trawl marks up to

four kilometres long now criss-cross the seabed at depths of 200 to 1,400 metres all along the north-east Atlantic shelf-break off Ireland, Scotland and Norway. These trawl scars are characterised by parallel trenches where otter doors, rockhopper gear and nets have damaged epifauna, dragged rocks and turned over sediment. Awareness of the extent of damage to deep-water corals off Norway, and also off Tasmania, has led to a rapid response from national governments. In Norway, fishers first warned of widespread reef damage by trawlers in 1994. The reports led in 1999 to ROV surveys and area closures to prevent long-term ecological damage to selected coral reefs.

The need for action

Conservation areas are urgently needed to protect coral reefs within the Exclusive Economic Zone of EU waters. But the EU and its member state governments are being far too slow to react. In 1999, the UK High Court ruled that the EC Habitats Directive (92/43/EEC), which covers reefs in its first annex, applies to the UK continental shelf waters up to a limit of 200 nautical

miles. In October 2001, Margaret Beckett, Secretary of State for the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, announced that the Darwin Mounds – an area off north-west Scotland rich in cold-water corals – was expected to be the first offshore site to be confirmed as a Special Area of Conservation. However, the deep-water reefs of all EU countries remain unprotected from current commercial fishing practices.

Areas where corals are known to be at risk should be afforded legislative protection as soon as possible. 'These magnificent coral reefs should be off limits for fishing,' says Stephan Lutter, the director of WWF's north-east Atlantic programme. 'EU governments must act quickly and designate offshore coral reefs for protection under the European habitats directive. This year, the list of marine sites to be protected under the habitats directive is supposed to be finalised, and the Common Fisheries Policy is up for review. Both provide excellent opportunities to safeguard our amazing underwater natural heritage.'

In Ireland, allegations of deliberate trawling over corals led to the setting up of the Irish Coral Task Force last year. In a bid to record and protect coral reefs, the task force involves fishermen, scientists and the Irish government. No evidence has been found of deliberate damage to reefs, but the task force's chair Dr Anthony Grehan says: 'We know that corals have been damaged accidentally by trawling [because we reviewed] deep-water trawl fishery survey by-catch records. We are actively pursuing action in terms of the national application of the habitats directive and the inclusion of a suite of coral conservation measures in the next Common Fisheries Policy.'

Given that concerted action is needed to protect deep-water coral reefs, we urge EU member states to act quickly. We now know where extensive coral provinces are, and we have the vessel-monitoring scheme with which to track the activities of offshore fleets. A system of closed areas should be established and monitored using the satellite-tracking technology that has been fitted to vessels trawling deep-sea habitats. Combined with conservation legislation, vessel monitoring could be an excellent tool for the protection of our wonderful but vulnerable coral habitats. Otherwise they risk becoming yet another deep-sea treasure alive only in our memories.

Dr Jason Hall-Spencer and Dr Susan Marrs work for the University Biological Marine Station in Scotland.

FAMILY VALUES

THE SPIRIT OF THE DURRELL BROTHERS LIVES ON AT A NEW SCHOOL IN CORFU, AS ITS DIRECTOR RICHARD PINE EXPLAINS.

In many respects Corfu has changed enormously in the 60-plus years since the young Gerald Durrell and his elder brother Lawrence lived there from 1935 to 1939. That is obvious. Everything does change – especially when world and civil wars are followed by economic transformation.

Ironically, given their lifelong obsessions, the brothers Durrell were largely responsible for the exponential growth in Corfu's tourism industry. They both felt a serious level of guilt for this. *Prospero's Cell*, Larry's classic portrait of the island, appeared in 1945 and made Corfu immensely appealing to war-weary Britons. And Gerry's accounts of growing up on the island – most notably 1956's *My Family and Other Animals* – were instant hits. Holidaymakers wanted to see this island which both brothers had called 'paradise'.

The chief evidence of Corfu's transformation into a tourism mecca is the almost endless chain of hotels along the eastern side of the island. The huge concave sickle faces the Greek and Albanian mainland. The island's airport now covers about half of the lagoon where Gerry paddled as a youngster, and in which he learned the basics of wetland biotopes. There's a possibility that the remainder of the lagoon will be filled so as to build a runway expansion. At Kalami, the narrowest, most north-eastern point between the island and Albania, the White House where Lawrence Durrell lived and wrote is now a thriving taverna. The house no longer faces a silent, fish-filled bay, but a building development of bijou townhouses. The waters have been largely fished out. A high proportion of the mussels, red mullet and squid eaten on Corfu now comes from the Far East. The Mediterranean is dying.

The question of the olive crop – after tourism, the mainstay of the Corfiot economy – is another potential ecological disaster. The traditional method of spraying the island's four million olive trees so as to protect them from the dacus fly has been replaced by aerial bombardment with fenthion. The latter is an organophosphate insecticide manufactured by Bayer (trade name Lebaycid), which is harmful to wildlife and the environment. Helicopter spraying is not precise – quite the opposite. Tourist villas, hotels, swimming pools and many inland villages have been hit by indiscriminate fenthion showers. This is despite the fact that spraying is not permitted within 140 metres of habitation. Alternative methods of fighting the pest exist, including ecologically sound 'dacus traps'. These traps are used with some success in olive-producing centres like Paxos, which is just south of Corfu, and Kalamata in southern Greece.

The Durrells loved Corfu and the rest of Greece. Larry was always reluctant to revisit old haunts, but Gerry went back



Durrell boys: Mass tourism on Corfu was partly a result of Gerald and Lawrence's (l-r) literary celebrations of the island's unique human and natural environments

CORBIS

to his childhood paradise many times. He always regretted the onset of 'progress'. But when Gerry made the BBC documentary *The Garden of the Gods* in 1967, the affectionate tribute to his island paradise once more encouraged the local tourism industry and the further despoliation of the island's coastline.

Both brothers formed their basic ideas and conceived of their life's work on Corfu. Both developed a basic love of simple, unaffected living on the island. This incorporated good and, if possible, rich food and drink. Both brothers would happily sit at a long village table, enjoying a community feast of locally-sourced olives, lamb, fish and wine.

Zoologists and ecologists will be familiar with Gerry's vigorously expressed concerns about mankind's abuse of the planet. In *Two in the Bush* he wrote: 'We have inherited an incredibly beautiful and complex garden, but the trouble is that we have been appallingly bad gardeners. We have not bothered to acquaint ourselves with the simplest principles of gardening. By neglecting the garden, we are storing up for ourselves, in the not very distant future, a world catastrophe as bad as any atomic war... We now stand so aloof from nature that we think we are God. This has always been a dangerous supposition'.

Not so obvious was Larry's concern for the human condition and the arrogance which made man think he was 'OC Universe'. In books like *Tunc* and *Nunquam*, he explored the near madness which he had experienced when writing them. He was wary of the science which has been harnessed to man's irresponsibility: the Faustian compact in which soul had been bartered for knowledge. All of this anxiety was born in Corfu, as WWII became inevitable and Larry was cast into a footloose journey that saw him come to rest in Provence.

But despite everything, I think both Durrells would be pleased to know that in many fundamental respects Corfu

School of thought

The Durrell School will be concentrating on 'Land and Creativity'. It will examine the folk customs and practices which the Durrells described in their books, and which still flourish. There will be performances of the living tradition of the Karaghiozi shadow puppet theatre. A seminar will explain the theatre's continuing significance to a generation in danger of succumbing to the charms of satellite and cable TV. The school will also look at the gastronomy of the region. It will follow in the Durrells' footsteps with a one-day excursion to the Butrint lagoon and archaeological site in Albania. And it will visit a farm where Gerry's lifework – the breeding of endangered species – is demonstrated through the rescue of rare wild horses from the island of Skyros. Descended, like the Exmoor pony, from *pleistocene equus muniensis*, there are thought to be only 20 purebred examples of these horses left in their natural habitat.

The school will also bring together writers, translators and critics for a discussion of the extent to which the dramatic changes in Greek society over the past 50 years are reflected in literature. And, as a response to 11 September, the school will open with an international symposium entitled 'Understanding Misunderstanding'. A cross-section of scientific, political and artistic representatives will discuss how misunderstandings and polarisation result in such disastrous consequences.

Lecturers in week one (26-31 May) include Albert Memmi, David Bellamy, Misha Glenny, Ian MacNiven, Elemer Hankiss.

Lecturers in week two (3-7 June) include Mario Vargas Llosa, Douglas Botting, Edward Whitley, Jeremy Mallinson, Nicholas Gage.

For full information and online booking, see: www.durrellschoolcorfu.org; call Spear Travels on 01-423-324-545; or e-mail durrells@otenet.gr

For subscriptions to the school's Foundation Patron list, email: richardpin@eircom.net

hasn't changed at all. Of course, where Larry had to travel by water a road now connects Kalami to Corfu Town. And what is wrong with that? Indoor flush toilets, running water, street lighting – it can't be all bad. Delightfully, the advent of mass media and the cosmopolitan delights of the 21st century – including the island's first McDonald's – have done little to change the interior landscape of the island. More importantly, the character and mindscape of Corfu's people remain unchanged.

The kids of Corfu Town bow to fashion in entertainment, dress and comportment. But when it comes to the many important dates in the Greek calendar, they assemble in the traditional uniforms of their school or village band for the parades and concerts. With four schools of music and 17 bands, the musical vitality of the island is extraordinary. Every day, Corfu Town resonates with the sound of young people preparing for band practice.

Among older folk, especially in the mountain villages, life goes on much as it did 50 years ago. Dress is traditional, as is the basic way of life. The villages of Corfu are situated largely in the mountains. Historically, the island's population needed protection from the hordes of pirates who haunted the Adriatic before Venetian rule brought a relative calm to the region. And in a hilltop village like Pelekas, with its narrow, winding, whitewashed streets impassable to motor traffic, it is still possible to see life being lived much as it always has been.

Richard Pine is the academic director of the Durrell School of Corfu.

THE RIVER IS LIFE

PRECIOUS ECOSYSTEMS IN NORTHERN SPAIN ARE THREATENED BY A HUGE NEW HYDROLOGICAL SYSTEM. **DR SASHA NORRIS** REPORTS

On 11 March, 150,000 people took to the streets of Barcelona to campaign against a new Spanish hydrological plan. Voted into law last August, the plan will result in a massive new hydrological programme of 863 dams, reservoirs and installations. The network will move water between so-called water-excess and water-deficit areas. Some 1,050 cubic hectometres of water will leave the Ebro river in Catalonia, and arrive 1,000 miles away on the Mediterranean coast.

Spain is one of the highest consumers of water in the world. It consumes 1,174 km³ per capita per year. This compares with 507km³ in the UK, which itself is hardly a thrifty consumer. But Spain, as Leandro de Moral wrote in *Environment 1999*, is facing a more serious water crisis than any country in Europe. Furthermore, with 45 million tourists a year, it is the third most visited country in the world. The pay-offs for providing for these tourists are huge.

Some 80 per cent of Spain's water goes to agriculture – another thirsty business. To produce one cup of orange juice takes 220 litres of water. Spaniards have been trying to increase the availability of water for at least 2,000 years, and 'water for everybody, everywhere' has been a long-standing dictate. No other country in Europe has as high a proportion of its land devoted to reservoirs. By 1990 Spain's hydraulic infrastructure included over 1,000 dams, but this, it seems, is not enough.

Environmentally, the Pyrenees will be worst affected by the new scheme. But the Ebro Delta, whose eco-credentials include Ramsar and EU Natura 2000 status, will eventually all but disappear. Ironically, the eighth meeting of Ramsar, which promotes the wise use of wetlands, will be held in Valencia this November. And Spain's President Aznar is also the current president of the EU commission.

Spain is also a major migration route for British birds, especially hirundines such as swallows. It is a stop-over between the UK and Africa. The map of Birdlife International's 126 Important Bird Areas likely to be damaged by the hydrological scheme looks like a horrible rash over the face of the country.

The Spanish authorities are hoping that the plan will be part-financed by approximately £4 billion of EU money. Plaid Cymru MEP for Wales Jill Evans says: 'It's the responsibility of all MEPs to look after the interest of taxpayers across Europe, but Britain has seen this as an opportunity for UK companies to build dams and irrigation schemes.' Evans is demanding that not one penny of EU funding is spent on the scheme.

But what are the alternatives? Controlling demand is essential. Another option is desalination, which would cost half the price of the transfer. Furthermore, 60 per cent of irrigation and 40 per cent of water for towns and cities in Spain is wasted by leakage or inefficient systems. But whatever the alternative, the government must listen to the cry of those who demonstrated last month against the scheme. 'Lo río es vida, no al transvassament' – the river is life, no transfer.

Dr Sasha Norris is an environmental writer and broadcaster.

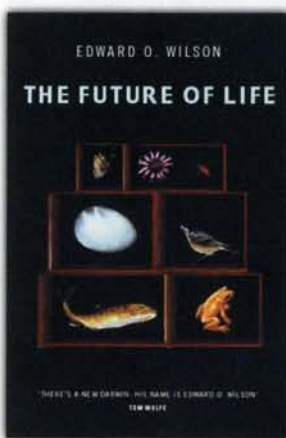
Reviews

Send your suggestions for *Ecologist* reviews to
Jeremy Smith at jeremy@theecologist.org

This month: **The Future of Life** Edward O Wilson • **The World and the Wild** David Rothenburg and Marta Ulvaeus • **The Arrogance of Power** Anthony Summers • **Genescapes** Stephen Nottingham • **Voices for Peace** Anna Kiernan • **Soil and Soul** Alastair McIntosh • **The Moral Universe** Tom Bentley and Daniel Stedman Jones • **Jack** Jack Welch

THE FUTURE OF LIFE

by Edward O Wilson
LITTLE BROWN 2002/£18.99
ISBN: 0316648531



How can a man who writes so joyfully and with such lucidity about the biological diversity of our planet understand so little about humankind's diversity? How can a man who has travelled the world seeking out the most obscure and instructive elements of the biosphere have seen so little of human society along the way?

Perhaps I am doing Edward Wilson an injustice. But I base my assessments on his latest book, *The Future of Life*. It expands on Wilson's past evocative volumes on biology to give us a blueprint for saving the planet. The book reveals that the king of biodiversity has the blinkered political, economic and social sensibilities of a Midwestern prairie farmer. This is Graham Greene's *Quiet American* recast as a top biologist.

Wilson just cannot countenance the idea that his nation and its ideologies may be fundamentally part of the problem he describes, rather than part of the solution.

Nor can he accept that there may be a route to salvation other than through some enlightened version of the market place. Perhaps he has been

talking too much to 'my friend' Bruce Babbitt – former interior secretary to Bill Clinton. Or perhaps Wilson's spent too much time in the plush offices of Washington lobby groups like the World Wildlife Fund, where he passed a decade as a director.

This book, like many by Wilson, starts with an evocative survey of the world's biological variety. Nobody does it better. Here he seeks the extreme rather than the obviously bountiful. His journey takes him from the McMurdo Dry Valleys of Antarctica (he finds bacterial life teeming in a place which 'on all of Earth most resembles the rubbled plains of Mars') to the bottom of the oceans and deep inside Romania's Movile Cave – 'sealed off from the outside world for 5.5 million years'.

He talks of nematode worms, which make up four out of every five animals on the Earth, and of unknown flowering plants almost in our own back yards. Rainforests, his old stomping ground, seem almost an afterthought.

But after that, things begin to fall apart. It is well-written, of course. But it's also a familiar, tired mixture of the mushy and the didactic. And it is riddled with tensions and contradictions. Wilson points briefly and regretfully to the rising disparity of incomes between the richest and poorest fifths of the world's population. He suggests this disparity is driving both the rich and poor to pillage the Earth. Fair enough. But he then says that 'the juggernaut of technology-based capitalism will not be stopped' – billions of poor people are trying to scramble aboard.

My dictionary defines a juggernaut as 'any terrible force, especially one that destroys or that demands complete self-sacrifice'. But Wilson does not see it like that. His juggernaut sounds quite kindly. 'Its direction can be changed by mandate of a generally shared long-term environmental ethic,' he says. 'A growing cadre of leaders in business and government now think in this foresighted manner.'

Wilson just does not understand the nature of the environmental and human rights battles going on around the world. He appears to think that if economists could see the longer term, internalise all those environmental externalities and put a dollar sign on the 'ecosystem services' provided by nature, then all would be well.

He believes that 'science and technology promise the means for raising per-capita food production' so as to feed the world. He fails to acknowledge that poverty and power are at the heart of hunger. He appears entirely sanguine about genetically engineered crops – happy that they will raise yields on the prairies, and allow him and his friends a better chance of fencing off nature. This is truly the prairieman's view of the world.

And a US prairieman at that. I lost count of the number of times he began 'in the US at least...' before making some breathtaking generalisation about the world at large.

He decries extremists, but then 'freely admits' to being one himself in demanding that 50 per cent of the planet should be given over to nature. 'Half the world for humanity, half for the rest of life.' That sounds to me like a kind of hell. There's no regard for the billions of people for whom 'nature' is a day-to-day personal resource, rather than a source of wonder or a provider of collective ecological services. For Wilson it would 'create a planet both self-sustaining and pleasant'.

How does he reconcile this with the observation a few pages later that 'a patch of forest fenced off and patrolled is a cruel insult to hungry people shut out, and [is] unworkable in the long run'? Well, he sounds briefly sympathetic to the hungry people, only to then observe that 'local people with families to feed do not see the larger picture'. Oh yes they do, Mr Wilson.

Reviewer **Fred Pearce** is UK Environmental Journalist of the Year 2001.

THE WORLD AND THE WILD

Edited by David Rothenberg
and Marta Ulvaeus
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS
2001/\$19.95
ISBN: 0816520631



In this book Rothenberg and Ulvaeus present a collection of essays from environmentalists across the globe which explore the concept of wilderness. Is the idea a useful formula for protecting the world's natural habitats, or just another instance of colonial thinking that the US is foisting on the Third World? Should the developing world be concerned with wilderness, or is it merely a western 'photogenic goal' out of touch with the struggle for survival occupying most of people on the planet? For Rothenberg, 'love of wilderness and the desire to maintain it are part of humanity's rise toward a less selfish state'. Not all the contributors agree, however. And that is why this book is so interesting.

Pramod Parajuli, for instance, adopts a line that may appear harsh to western readers. 'Protecting nature from human use is not a workable option,' he starkly states. Parajuli speaks as someone who grew up in a peasant family in the mountains of Nepal. To him, nature and culture cannot be separated. Instead they must co-exist for each others' benefit. This means the peasant economy must learn to use rather than abuse nature. Any attempt to preserve nature in a vacuum as 'wilderness' results in social injustice. The Amazon rubber-tappers who lost their livelihood when their habitat was turned into a biodiversity preserve are a case in point.

Philip Cafaro and Monish Verma take issue with this 'well-intentioned anthropocentrism'. They ask: 'Can we ever displace or seriously inconvenience human populations to safeguard'

THE ARROGANCE OF POWER

THE SECRET WORLD OF RICHARD NIXON

by Anthony Summers
PHOENIX PRESS 2001/£14.99
ISBN: 1842124315

The quiet ghost of Richard Nixon still haunts the US body politic. We can see his spirit moving over the dark waters of the current political scene: the bristling secrecy, the partisan rancour, the military posturing, the degradation of law and, above all, the brutal, overwhelming power of money. Behind all of this – now reaching a terrible apotheosis in the war-swollen regime of George W. Bush – stands Nixon, chief abettor of the long, slow corruption of the US state over the course of the last 50 years.

Anthony Summers captures this grim reality in *The Arrogance of Power: the secret world of Richard Nixon*, now out in paperback. The book is a well-written, well-documented account of the high crimes and misdemeanours that marked every step of Nixon's torturous rise to the US presidency. Summers has even managed to dig up fresh information that casts new light, and new shadows, on this now-familiar story.

Nixon had his hand in nearly every ugly US pie since WWII. He was one of the earliest instigators of the McCarthyite 'red scare', which left the US's rights of free speech and free association in tatters. As vice president in 1954, he was the first senior official to call for US troops to be sent to Vietnam. Simultaneously, he also secretly advocated a nuclear strike against the Vietnamese at the same time. ('You boys must be crazy,' President Eisenhower told Nixon and the generals who backed him. 'We can't use those awful things against the Asians for the second time in less than 10 years!')

As a private citizen, Nixon struck a backroom deal with the South Vietnamese government to scuttle peace talks during the 1968 campaign. This treasonable offence could have earned him a death sentence instead of the presidency. Once elected, he prolonged the war for six years. In that time hundreds of thousands of mainly civilian people died, and two more countries – Cambodia and Laos – were laid waste.

Nixon's malefactions in office – break-ins, wiretaps, bribes, slush funds, tax dodging, cover-ups – are well-known. But even here Summers finds new material. It seems clear, for instance, that the real reason Nixon ordered the ill-fated Watergate break-in – an otherwise incomprehensible risk during a campaign in which he was overwhelmingly favoured – was to discover what the Democrats might have known about his 1968 dealings. Summers also documents for the first time the true



extent of Nixon's illicit fundraising, his lifelong dependence on dubious sugar daddies (such as Howard Hughes) and his extensive connections to organised crime.

To be sure, Nixon won his share of public support. To a nation divided by war, he promised peace – declaring he had a 'secret plan' to end the conflict. He lied, of course, but many believed him. He promised to unite a nation wracked by social unrest. His so-called 'southern strategy' then proceeded to pit the 'silent majority' of working-class whites against blacks, Jews and other minorities. The 'strategy' carried him to victory in two elections, but left a legacy of racial division that still poisons US politics to this day.

All in all then, this is a devastating portrait. What is perhaps most disheartening is that Nixon's character flaws were so clearly evident from the very beginning. Still he was plucked from obscurity, groomed for the top and supported at every step by some of the most respected figures in the US Establishment. He was useful in advancing these figures' interests. Richard Nixon was not, as we like to think, some kind of 'aberration', but the very avatar of the age – the logical product of its 'corrupted currents', where 'tis often seen, the wicked prize buys out the law'.

Although Summers' book is generally well-paced, the sheer scope of the dodgy dealings sometimes makes it heavy going. The reader may struggle to untangle the thickets of obscure names and connections. There is also too much emphasis on Nixon's personal problems. The personal dirt, on subjects which include wife-beating and pill-popping, is almost always irrelevant. The exceptions are when it bears directly on his public actions – as when he almost blundered into a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union during the 1974 Arab-Israeli war because he was too drunk to deal with the situation. The dirt detracts from the larger public issues, and occasionally dilutes the impact of Summers' otherwise excellent, and sadly credible, indictment of Nixon and the system he served so well.

Reviewer **Chris Floyd** is a columnist for *The St Petersburg Times*.

Magazine Rack

Worthwhile reads you won't find in the shops

CADU NEWS is the newsletter of the Campaign Against Depleted Uranium. Published quarterly, its most recent issue leads with an article asking whether depleted uranium has been used in Afghanistan.

Campaign Against Depleted Uranium, Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick St, Ancoats, Manchester M4 7HR, UK; tel: +44 (0) 161

273 8293; email: gmcnd@gn.apc.org or visit www.cadu.org.uk

HAZARDS is a quarterly investigating health and safety in the workplace. Focused on the UK but with worldwide reports as well, the latest issue has articles on corporate crime and the continuing menace of asbestos. The latter killed twice as many people in the UK in 2001 as died in car accidents.

Hazards, PO Box 199, Sheffield, S1 4YL, UK; tel: +44 (0) 1142 678936; email: sub@hazards.org

or visit www.hazards.org



ERGO is published quarterly by Global Action Plan and aims to be a 'guide to all things green'. Its first issue focuses on food, covering a range of issues from food miles to how to make your own compost.

Ergo, 8 Fulwood Place, London WC1V 6HG, UK; tel: +44 (0) 7405 5633; email: gavin@gapuk.demon.co.uk

or visit www.globalactionplan.org.uk



PEACE MATTERS is a quarterly publication from The Peace Pledge Union promoting peaceful resistance. Its most recent issue features a letter to Ariel Sharon from 62 Israeli youths who refused to be conscripted, and an article on German citizens who resisted the Nazis during the Third Reich.

Peace Matters, Peaceworks, 41b Brecknock Road, London, N7 0BT, UK; tel: +44 (0) 20 7424 9444; email: enquiry@ppu.org.uk or visit www.ppu.org.uk



‘wildlife?’ Their answer is ‘yes’, especially when human needs conflict with measures necessary to preserve a species. Cafaro and Verma's premise is that non-human nature has an intrinsic value per se to the Third World and developed world alike. One way of protecting that value, they maintain, is by defining and setting aside habitats as wilderness.

Other essays include Dan Imhoff's tale of Doug Tompkins, the sportswear executive who is now using his fortune to purchase millions of acres of the Chilean

rain forest. And Kathleen Harrison describes the healing plants and practices of the Mexican Mazatecs, whose world is now being turned on its head by development.

By pooling the research and views of different environmentalists, the book sheds light on the often complex and conflicting issues surrounding wilderness and its preservation.

Reviewer **Ed Metcalfe** is a freelance journalist.

GENESCAPES

THE ECOLOGY OF GENETIC ENGINEERING

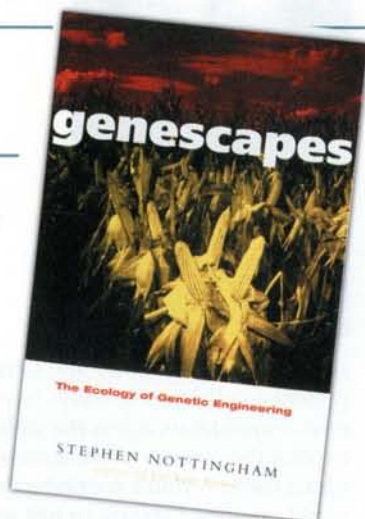
by Stephen Nottingham
ZED BOOKS 2002/£12.95
ISBN: 1842770373

In *Genescapes*, Stephen Nottingham presents the facts about growing GM crops in a calm and measured manner. He states clearly that he is not campaigning for one side or the other, and accepts that there may be some great social benefits to be gained in the future from genetic engineering. But Nottingham then proceeds to demolish many of the myths that the biotech industry has woven around itself in its attempt to deceive the public and the farming community. He paints an honest picture of the impacts that these crops can and do have in the ecosystem.

He is at his strongest when guiding us through the complex world of ecological study. He concludes that 'unforeseen impacts on non-target species demonstrate how little is really known about the indirect ecological effects of transgenic crops'.

Genescapes is an essential primer for anyone who has an instinctive distrust of GM crops, and who wants to back this up with sound facts. And for a book that could be a rather dry presentation of data, it is a remarkably accessible read.

Reviewer **Hugh Warwick** is the editor of *Splice*, the magazine of the Genetics Forum.



VOICES FOR PEACE

Edited by Anna Kiernan
SIMON & SCHUSTERS 2001/£7.99
ISBN: 0743230663

Voices for Peace is a brave and broad attempt to deal with the complexity of the issues raised by 11 September and its ensuing events.

Insightful connections are made with the many contradictions in our own experiences. Paul Foot writes of the striking gap between the multiplicity of our human responses and the seeming unanimity of those who are said to represent us in government. Courtia Newland describes growing up in a multicultural neighborhood in London. Ahdaf Soueif expresses the displacement of those Egyptians who see their religion being used either as a smokescreen or a call to arms.

In many of these essays anti-US sentiments are

addressed in a critical light. Edward Said pulls the strings of continuity and contrast between east and west. George Monbiot concentrates on the hypocrisy, duplicity and uselessness of the aid operations in Afghanistan. On the other hand, Ziauddin Sardar reflects on Islam's struggle to cope with modernity, and on how the original values and ideology of the jihad have been profoundly distorted and misunderstood.

In all, the book serves as a vital reminder of how many divergent voices there are, and of how important it is that they are all heard.

Reviewer **Carolina Stupino** is a freelance journalist.

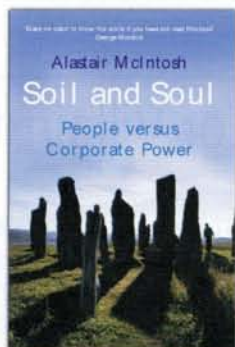


SOIL AND SOUL

By Alastair McIntosh
AURUM PRESS 2002/£17.99
ISBN: 1854108026

McIntosh's book describes how he and others got the better of Scotland's feudal landowning system on the Isle of Eigg, the academic establishment in Edinburgh, and multinational mining companies on the Isle of Harris. It is a magical mix.

He starts by saying: 'I must start where I stand. As children, we used to be told that if you dug a really deep hole, you'd come out in Australia. I think in some ways this is very true. If any of us dig deep enough where we stand, we will find ourselves connected to all other parts of the world.' And dig he does, down to Celtic ecology, liberation theology and Jungian psychology. He weaves everything he



finds of use into the personal philosophy that has inspired and sustained his fight for justice. The treasures he finds are gems for any environmental activist in any part of the world.

But the book isn't just a collection of philosophical insights. It's also a

practical, funny and, at times, self-indulgent look at the characters and events that come about in any environmental campaign. It has been said that environmentalists are pain-in-the-arse contemporaries who will come to be regarded as great ancestors. Like a latter-day Gaelic bard, McIntosh has recorded the part he has played. More of us should do likewise.

Reviewer **Jake Bowers** is a Romani activist and co-founder of *Earth First!*, the environmental direct action group.

THE MORAL UNIVERSE

Edited by Tom Bentley and Daniel Stedman Jones
DEMOS 2001/£10
ISBN: 1841800244

The word 'morals', and associated terms, emerged to define the 'typical' or 'proper' behaviour of human beings in society. 'Morals' and 'ethics' are closely related, often synonymous.

Standing at the dawn of the 21st century, our schools and universities explain away the past in evolutionary terms. The story is of our blinking emergence from the cave on to the couch, complete with that apotheosis of appetite and advance – the TV dinner. The accepted view is that the *quality* of life, for which read life itself, is better on a couch than in a cave. Similarly, the world is considered to be a better place for being filled with innumerable scientists, priests, politicians and journalists.

For sure, western style democracies bring with them important values such as freedom. Likewise, it is true that being part of a society necessitates compromise. But what is most at stake today is why we make these compromises, and where doing so will lead us. And to answer this we have to ask ourselves: what is really important in life?

The Moral Universe comprises 16 essays which discuss 'morals' and how their shift in usage and meaning has contributed to the current state of

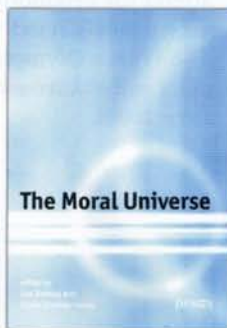
insecurity. Contributors range from Noble Prize winner Amartya Sen to John Gray, former Bishop of Edinburgh Richard Holloway, a senior White House adviser and even a slick piece

by two BP employees (corporate disclaimer included, of course). Essentially, the questions are two. What's to blame? (On the whole, the Enlightenment and Christianity.) And what has to be done?

A few stand out above the rest. Zygmunt Bauman for his description of what's at stake; John Gray for a vision that embraces much of 'men as they are and laws as they can be'; John Kampfner for being frank about media politics; and the London School of Economics' Nicholas Maxwell for trashing the very foundation upon which universities stand.

These are profoundly changing times, but a world of insecurities can also be one marked by opportunities. Some of these are offered up in the pages of *The Moral Universe*. The world is constantly changing, and can change for the better – if only we let it.

Reviewer **Stephanie Roth** is campaigning against the proposed Romanian Dracula park.



Web Rack

What's pushing our buttons this month...

www.socialcritic.org

The Social Criticism Review critiques the 'alienation between man, nature, and a dysfunctional scientific-technical complex' in one of the most extensive selections of articles on the web. Under headings such as 'Progress and its critics', 'Environmental degradation and overpopulation' and 'Individualism and the loss of community', it presents hundreds of articles by key authors like George Monbiot, Noam Chomsky and Kirkpatrick Sale.



www.amazonwatch.org

Amazon Watch works with indigenous and environmental organisations in the Amazon Basin to defend the environment and advance indigenous peoples' rights. It is battling with large-scale industrial development, oil and gas pipelines, power lines, roads and other mega-projects. Its website features online campaigns, up-to-date news and more in-depth focuses.

www.blackrhinoceros.org

Under the categories of 'Biodiversity', 'Conservation', 'Energy', 'Environmental', 'Habitats' and 'Pollution', Black Rhinoceros provides links to numerous campaigns, both on- and offline. If you're angry but don't know where to turn, it's a good first port of call.



www.nikewages.org

Don't let last month's article on Nike become just a memory.

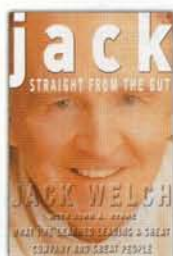
www.consortiumnews.com

Like Alternet and Common Dreams, Consortium News provides an independent round-up of news you won't often find in the mainstream. In an era of media concentration, the more dissenting voices there are, the better.



JACK

By Jack Welch
 HEADLINE 2001/£20.00
 ISBN: 0747249350



'Imagine having a crook on your payroll,' writes the CEO of General Electric in this immodest autobiography. Though speaking of an employee who diverted Pentagon funds to supply the Israeli military with GE jet engines, it's probably not that hard an exercise for the CEO of a firm that faced 14 other fraud charges from 1990 to 1994. Nonetheless, only corporations like GE with the 'unyielding integrity' to 'fight for what's right', can take on government. During GE's bid to acquire Honeywell, for example, Welch was stung by the 'extreme positions' of European government 'bureaucrats', who had an unsporting lack of 'incentive to compromise'.

Similarly obstinate has been the US Environment Protection Agency. It is currently attempting to force GE to dredge the Hudson River of PCBs. Welch expounds his 'principles' for not giving in to the 'politically motivated' agency. But his arguments are an inadequate rebuttal of the expertise of five independent review panels.

As further evidence of GE's 'enrichment' of people's lives, Welch argues that strong companies pay taxes for important services. Is this the same CEO who supports Bush's corporate tax relief programme, giving GE alone a US \$671m rebate? A similar public spirit doubtless also informed GE's political backing for the Patients' Bill of Rights, which would coincidentally result in subsidies for private medical companies.

It is disappointing that the godfather of the race to the bottom is unable to engage with globalisation on anything deeper than an anecdotal level. His perception of the 'bright faces' of workers with jobs (but few labour rights) seems bereft of the 'reality' he was so fond of meting out to those US suppliers and employees unwilling to operate on a barge.

Reviewer *Esther Perkins* is a freelance journalist.

Philanthropy or Villain-trophy?

Every month *The Ecologist* keeps you updated on what corporate responsibility really means. This month, we look at how Indonesian sweatshop activist Dita Sari refused to be co-opted by shoe giant Reebok.



On 7 February Dita Sari was supposed to go to Salt Lake City to receive Reebok's 13th annual Human Rights Award (sic). Sari undoubtedly deserved to be recognised. In 1995 she was arrested and tortured by the police for leading 5,000 workers on a strike at PT Indoshoes Industry, the maker of shoes for Adidas and Reebok. At the time the workers were earning only US \$1 for an eight-hour day. Sari was imprisoned until 1999, since when she's been developing a union for workers across Java.

Sari's original intention was to attend the ceremony, and then very publicly reject the award. The Winter Olympics were taking place simultaneously in the same town.

However, when she discovered that Reebok had lined her up for a whole host of pre-speech public appearances, Sari withdrew. She was unwilling to be co-opted into providing the company with any positive exposure. Instead she sent a written copy of the speech she had intended to give.

The text of her speech read: 'I have taken this award into a very deep consideration. We finally decide not to accept this. On the one hand, this is a kind of recognition of the struggle and the hard work that we have done for years. But on the other hand, we are very conscious of the condition of the Reebok workers from the Third World countries such as Indonesia, Mexico, China, Thailand, Brazil and Vietnam.'

'In Indonesia there are five Reebok companies. Eighty per cent of the workers are women. All companies are sub-contracted, often by the South Korean companies such as Dong Jo and Tong Yang. Since the workers can only get around \$1.50 a day, they then have to live in a slum area, surrounded by poor and unhealthy conditions, especially for their children. 'At the same time Reebok collected millions of dollars of profit every year, directly contributed

by these workers.

'The low pay and exploitation of the workers of Indonesia, Mexico and Vietnam are the main reasons why we will not accept this award.'



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The site offers serious commentaries on selected topics. There's space for news and contributor's articles and loads of photo backgrounds to download. You can send virtual cards and obtain help on buying reference texts. And there's still more.

one small step

In this era of globalisation and giant multinational corporations, our individual actions can often seem little more than futile gestures. But in a consumerist world, it is often only when we change our habits that those who depend on our purchases for their profits respond.

Fridges

Starting this month, *The Ecologist* will look, one issue at a time, at the ways we can all make a difference. First off, fridges, freezers and all manner of home refrigeration.

THE PROBLEM

Domestic refrigerators and freezers account for 36 per cent of all the energy consumed by electrical appliances in the UK. This is equivalent to the total amount of electricity used to power all the offices in the country.

In the majority of new fridges, ozone-depleting CFCs have been replaced by hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs). While an improvement on CFCs, HFCs are still harmful greenhouse gasses which are 1,200 times more powerful than carbon dioxide.

Furthermore, with manufacturers bringing out new models as fast as consumers can rush to replace their old, perfectly good machines, there is a huge and ever-growing waste problem. A staggering 3.2 million refrigerators, freezers and fridge freezers are sent to UK landfill sites each year. This represents 600 tonnes of CFCs, approximately 45,000 tonnes of ferrous materials, 5,000 tonnes of non-ferrous metals, 1,500 tonnes of glass and 14,000 tonnes of plastic.

Energy efficiency: NEXT TIME YOU BUY A FRIDGE MAKE SURE IT'S ENERGY-EFFICIENT. An energy-efficient fridge uses up to 70 per cent less energy than more inefficient models. So, although they can cost £50 more to buy, within 18 months you will have clawed back the extra cost thanks to cheaper running costs. Look for the annual energy-consumption ratings that now have to be displayed on all models. The most efficient models have an A grade, and the least efficient have a G grade. Contact the Energy+ project. It brings together retailers and European institutions to promote the most energy-efficient fridge-freezers on the market. Its website is www.energy-plus.org

KEEP THE COILS AT THE BACK OF YOUR FRIDGE FREE FROM DUST
When dust accumulates on the condenser coils energy consumption can increase by 30 per cent.

BUY A FRIDGE-SAVER PLUG

A saver plug works on the basis that when a fridge is running, its compressor is not fully loaded all the time. The plug senses these times, and cuts out power to the motor in rapid short bursts without changing the operation of the fridge. This can reduce the energy used by the fridge by over 20 per cent, giving you a return of £140 over 10 years. Find out more at www.savawatt.com/savaplug.htm



RAY ROBERTS

KEEP YOUR FRIDGE BETWEEN 3° AND 5° CENTIGRADE

Fridges don't need to be any cooler than 3° centigrade. Any lower, and they are wasting energy. If you aren't sure of what the settings in your fridge represent, keep a thermometer in the fridge for accuracy.

TRY NOT TO STOCK YOUR FRIDGE OR FREEZER OVER THREE QUARTERS FULL.

If the fridge is too overstocked, the cool air cannot circulate as easily. This makes the fridge less efficient, and increases energy consumption. So does putting warm food directly into it.

MAKE SURE YOUR FRIDGE IS FREE-STANDING AND IN A COOL ENVIRONMENT... That way it cools most efficiently.

Ozone-friendly: Domestic refrigerators and freezers account for two per cent of the EU's total greenhouse gas emissions and over 62 million tonnes of CO₂ emissions each year.

If possible, consider buying one of the latest 100 per cent 'ozone-friendly' fridges known as 'Greenfreeze' fridges. These are now widely available. As they work on a mixture of propane and butane, they contain no CFCs, HFCs or HCFCs. For more information, go to www.greenpeace.org/~ozone/greenpeace or www.ecomall.com/greeshopping/icebox2.htm

Disposal: Three million fridges containing 2,000 tonnes of CFCs or HFCs are still scrapped in the UK each year. Although some local authorities do provide a coolant-removing service, only 15 per cent of coolant is currently removed. So, make sure you take old fridges to recycling points that deal with them safely. Find your nearest one at www.wastepoint.co.uk/wasteconnect. Many retail outlets say they will take your old fridge when you buy a new one from them, and will dispose of the redundant one safely. Remember to ask them if they do, and if they don't, why not.

And finally for the very committed... the 'pot-in-pot'. Take a large pot and place a smaller one within it. Fill the space between the pots with moist sand, and place perishable goods in the inner pot. In communities without electricity – even where temperatures can exceed 40° centigrade – a dietary staple like the aubergine now lasts 27 days rather than three. Discovered by Nigerian business lecturer Mohammed Bah Abba, this refrigeration system has helped stem disease, and in some areas has even halted rural migration.

THE Exchange

The Exchange is a noticeboard for environmental and ethical services and needs, open to all. Entries are FREE for individuals and NGOs, charities and campaign groups. For businesses and educational institutions, the cost is £54 per listing, including a year's free subscription to the magazine. Repeat listings are £20 per issue, £10 extra for a boxed ad. Please send entries – no more than 40 words long – together with cheques where necessary made payable to *The Ecologist*, to Sally Snow, The Ecologist, Unit 18, Chelsea Wharf, 15 Lots Road, London SW10 0QJ, or email sally@theecologist.org. For more information, call Sally on +44 (0)20 7351 3578. Free listings are allocated first-come first-served, and we reserve the right to refuse any entry. *The Ecologist* does not necessarily endorse the products, organisations or services listed.

APPEALS

The Galapagos Conservation Trust is launching a Marine Appeal to help protect the Galapagos Marine Reserve. We need to raise £200,000 to ensure that there are enough resources to pay for the necessary research, equipment and expertise to protect this beautiful underwater paradise. Visit www.gct.org

Wanted! Company teams to tackle conservation challenges in beautiful and remote landscapes across Scotland. Further details from Julia Downes, Conservation Volunteer Manager, on 0131 243 9427; email: jdownes@nts.org.uk; or you can write to Julia at: Corporate Challenge, The National Trust for Scotland, Wemyss House, 28 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh EH2 4ET.

CAMPAIGNS

22 May, **NOISE ACTION DAY**. For more information, contact National Society for Clean Air and Environmental Protection, 44 Grand Parade, Brighton BN2 9QA; telephone: 01273 878770; fax: 01273 606626; email: admin@nsca.org.uk; website: www.nasca.org.uk

Stop Hinkley! For details of demonstrations, debates, Annual General Meeting, campaign plans, etc, visit www.stophinkley.org

FREE THE SOUTHPORT TWO! The Captive Animals Protection Society is campaigning for the release of **two chimpanzees** currently being kept in small cages at Southport Zoo into the care of Monkey World, where they could enjoy space, stimulation and the company of other chimps. Contact us for an info pack. Telephone: 01384 456 682; email: info@captiveanimals.org; website: www.captiveanimals.org

Unions Fightback, a labour movement campaign for public services, union rights and a workers' voice in politics, is holding meetings in London and the north of England to plan the May Day demonstration and model motions for this year's union conferences. With reports and discussion on Post Office privatisation and other issues. Workers' Liberty, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA; telephone +44 (0)20 7207 3997/0706/4774; Fax +44 (0)20 7207 4673; email: office@workersliberty.org; website: www.workersliberty.org

DON'T ATTACK IRAQ! New campaign launched by The Stop the War Coalition. For details, contact office@stopwar.org.uk

www.web.net/nben/enghome.htm This site allows visitors to send faxes to support current environmental campaigns. There are Red Alert Campaigns needing immediate and urgent

action and long-term issues requiring your supporting letters. Please visit and support these campaigns – from low-impact forestry to hog farming to...

COURSES

Training for Transformation is an exciting programme based on the principles of Paulo Freire. Re:generate and the Centre for Human Ecology are running a residential workshop from 7-19 July in Malpas, Cheshire. For more information, visit www.che.ac.uk/Events/malpas2002.htm

Living 'The Good Life', Middlesex University Summer School, 15-26 July. Permaculture design course of interest to anyone interested in wildlife, conservation, diet and nutrition, ecological building and development. For more information about fees and enrolment, contact Summer School Office, Middlesex University, Trent Park Campus, Bramley Road, London N14 4YZ; telephone 020 8411 5782; email sschool@mdx.ac.uk or visit www.summermdx.ac.uk

15-30 August. **Earth Activist Training** with Starhawk and Penny Livingston-Stark, Ragmans Lane Farm, Gloucestershire, UK. A **permaculture design course** for visionary activists. Learn the skills to transform a piece of land, a community and our political and economic systems. Cost – £100-£400, according to income. Camping/dorms. Organic vegetarian food. Application form from Earth Activist Training, 3 Yew Tree Cottages, Pitt Court, North Nibley, GL11 6EB; email: earthactuk@yahoo.com

The Center for the Study of Political Graphics has vacancies for two undergraduate students (either residents or students in Los Angeles) for full-time, 10-week internships this summer. For more information, visit <http://politicalgraphics.org/positions.html>

DIARY DATES

28 April-1 May, London, UK.
Auction of over 60 original paintings and other works of art by leading international wildlife artists and celebrity friends, including David Shepherd, Robert Bateman, Simon Combes, Sue Crawford, Gary Hodges, Spencer Hodge, Anthony Gibbs, Chris Tarrant, Phil Collins, Rolf Harris and many more. Auction will be held at Christies, South Kensington in aid of The David Shepherd Wildlife Foundation. Free viewing. Ticket-only auction on 1 May, 6pm. Telephone 01483 272323, for more details.

29-30 April, Washington DC, USA.
14th ABCDE. This year's conference (sponsored by Chief Economist Nicholas Stern) includes an opening address by World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn and a keynote address by John Taylor, US Treasury. Topics covered include: Trade and Poverty; Africa's Future; Rural or Industrial Development; Education and Empowerment; Investment Climate and Productivity. Requests to attend may be emailed

to abcde@worldbank.org or faxed to Boris Pleskovic, conference organiser on +1 202 522 0304 (indicate your name, title, and institutional affiliation).

1 May, London, UK
May Day Rally in Highbury Fields (nearest Tube: Highbury and Islington). Noon march to Trafalgar Square. Speakers include Mark Serwotka and Tony Benn, plus MPs, trade unionists, environmentalists and anti-capitalists. The demonstration was initiated by the London May Day Organising Committee/Greater London Association of Trades Councils. More details of these organisations at: www.glatuc.org.uk

3 May 2002, London, UK.
BAE Systems AGM. Contact: CAAT on +44 (0) 207 281 0297.

5 May, Manchester, UK
Manchester Radical Bookfair, 1pm-5pm, MERCi, Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick St, Ancoats, Manchester M4 7HS. Bookstalls, workshops and food all day. Wheelchair accessible. For more information and ways to get involved, email manchesterbookfair@hotmail.com

6-8 May, Hamburg, GERMANY
EU and German climate policy – challenges before the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. There is no fee, but space is limited. Register early with Iris Mohr. Email: iris.mohr@hwwa.de or telephone +49 40 42834 353. For more information, visit www.hwwa.de

9 May, Cardiff
Cardiff Conference for Real Democracy.
'What has the EU achieved for Britain?' Assessments on economy, jobs, democracy, health, education, etc. For more information, contact Ian Phillips, Lyndham, St Florence, Tenby, Pembrokeshire SA70 8NP; telephone/fax: 01646 651138.

22 May, London, UK
10 am, Commissioner's Briefing Room, New Scotland Yard. **'The New Threats facing Industry and Commerce'**. For details (or further information about SIESO), contact Derek Heathcote, The Oaks, Thames Lane, Cricklade, Wiltshire SN6 6BH; telephone 01793 759225; email sieso@sieso.ndirect.co.uk

23 May, London UK
From Curious Plants to Crocodiles – Conservation in Africa. Talk by Dr Alison Leslie, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, plus Dr Martin Cheek and Ben Pollard, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Free admission, but ticket-only. Contact Earthwatch. Tel: 01865 318813; fax: 01865 311383; email: info@earthwatch.org.uk

23 May, London, UK
Rhino Mayday Symposium. Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, 12-5pm. Tickets £3 (£1.50 concessionary), available on the door or in advance from Tony Chadwick. Tel: 020 8347 8171. Numbers are limited.

SCHUMACHER UK

Promoting Human Scale Sustainable Development
CREATE Environment Centre, Smeaton Road, Bristol, BS1 6XN
Phone & Fax: 0117 903 1081; email: schumacher@gn.apc.org;
Website: www.schumacher.org.uk



SCOTTISH SCHUMACHER LECTURES

Re-rooting the Future: the politics and ecology of agriculture in crisis.

SPEAKERS:

Helena Norberg-Hodge, *Director of the International Society for Ecology and Culture*
Wes Jackson, *President of the Land Institute, Kansas, USA*

AT

The Assembly Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh, as part of the Edinburgh Independent Radical Book Fair ON

Saturday 18 May, 2002, 3-5.30pm (start time to be confirmed)

TICKETS £10/£5 (concessions)

ORGANISED BY, AND TICKETS FROM:

Centre for Human Ecology, 12 Roseneath Place, Edinburgh EH9 1JB. TELEPHONE: 0131 624 1972; EMAIL: info@che.ac.uk; WEBSITE: www.che.ac.uk

23-4 May, Bradford, UK
INES Seminar in Co-operation with Scientists for Global Responsibility. **New Security – global and regional priorities.** For more details, contact Scientists for Global Responsibility. Email: sgr@gn.apoc.org

30-31 May, Guildford, UK
Entrepreneurship, Corporate Social Responsibility and Globalisation. The Surrey European Management School (SeMS). University of Surrey. Visit conference website at www.sems.surrey.ac.uk/semsnew/Conference/ConferenceIndex.asp.

6-7 June, Salisbury, UK
In Praise of Trees conference, arranged by English Nature and Salisbury Festival 2002. £110. Non-residential. Booking by 5 May essential. Tel: 01722 332241; fax: 01722 410552; website: www.inpraiseoftrees.co.uk

20-24 June, Missoula, Montana, USA
The Global Justice Action Summit – to give a public voice to people hurt by the globalisation of corporate power. Join us for this edu-action festival. For information, visit www.globaljas.org

21-22 June, Bangor, UK
'It's Our Children's Future' Exhibition. Pritchard-Jones Hall. Promoting sustainable use of natural resources in daily life, including

renewable energy and many other topics. Contact Jennie Jones on 01248 602819 or contact@svsi.org.uk to exhibit or for details.

21-23 June, Dublin, Ireland
16th Low-level Radiation & Health Conference. Dublin Institute of Technology. Registration deadline – 30 April. June is peak tourist season, so accommodation must be confirmed by this date. Please contact Dr Fiona Lyng. Tel: +353 1 4022818; Fax: +353 1 6620884; email: fiona.lyng@dit.ie

8-14 July, Edinburgh, UK
35th World Vegetarian Congress, Heriot Watt University. Hosted by The UK Vegetarian Society. To find out more about the congress, visit www.vegsoc.org/congress. For a booking form, please email congress@vegsoc.org, or telephone Belinda on 0161 925 2003.

27 July, Lampeter, UK
Nature and the Virgin Mary: Perspectives from Theology and Human Ecology. University of Wales, Lampeter. Fee for the day, including lunch – £20. To offer a paper or reserve a place, please contact: Dr Sarah Jane Boss, Centre for Marian Studies, 12 Grange Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DX; tel: 01223 741057; email: sjb@cam.ac.uk

10-29 November, Devon, UK
The Power of Communities. Taught by

Frances Moore Lappe, Helena Norberg-Hodge and Richard Douthwaite – three leading critics of globalisation – to discuss ways that people can work towards creating more sustainable and empowered communities. For more information, contact the Administrator, Schumacher College, The Old Postern, Dartington, Devon TQ9 6EA; tel: 01803 865 934; email: schumcoll@gn.apc.org, web: www.gn.apc.org/schumachercollege

HOLIDAYS

EAST SUSSEX B&B. Double room in family home with cats. Quiet rural location. Convenient for High Weald, South Downs, Rye, Battle and south coast. Vegan, vegetarian or full English options. Single £26, couple £40. Telephone: 01435 863099 or 07811 764238.

Saturday 15-18 June. Come and join us on an exclusive **whale and dolphin watching cruise.** The price of £199 is based on two people sharing a cabin on P&O Portsmouth's cruise ferry Pride of Bilbao, and includes the cost of the voyage, cabin, on-board lectures and naturalist guides. For reservations, call The Company of Whales on 01950 422483 or visit www.companyofwhales.co.uk

SITUATIONS VACANT

Female help wanted for a woman with multiple chemical sensitivities and ME. £6 an

hour plus travelling expenses. Flexible hours, approx. One-two days a week, five-six hours a day. NE London. Non smoker, preferably driver, 25+-. Telephone The Independent Living Association on 020 8593 6677.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Intelligent graduate seeks advice on careers in sustainable tourism. All help gladly received. Please email cathconway@hotmail.com

RESOURCES

Freelance Translator

Social, political, labour and environmental issues. Portuguese, Spanish and French into English. Contact Chris Whitehouse, 47 Hackford Road, London SW9 0RE; telephone: 020 7735 3237 or email: chris.whitehouse1@virgin.net

VISIT

The EcoTech Centre For Sustainability Visitor Centre, Swaffham Norfolk. Educational resources and business advice. Ongoing events programme. Includes EcoShop, demonstration gardens and wind turbine. For more information and opportunities for involvement, telephone: 01760 726100; email: info@ecotech.org.uk; or visit www.ecotech.org.uk

Ecologist READER OFFERS

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Spiezia Organic Care has launched the country's first complete range of Soil Association certified pure organic cosmetic skin care products and herbal ointments.

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We have 3 Earth Friendly Products starter kits worth £30 to give away. The contents of each kit are pictured below and will enable you to start cleaning without harsh chemicals. For a chance to win one of our kits, contact us at Natural Eco Trading Ltd, PO Box 115, Tunbridge Wells, TN4 8WJ, or phone 01892 616871 or email info@greenbrands.co.uk and quote 'Ecologist prize draw'. Closing date is 31st May 2002



Pictured are washing powder and liquid, dishwashing liquid, multisurface cleaner, washing up liquid, toilet cleaner and air-freshener.

"I can't believe what I'm reading - every page grabs my attention. Every article is relevant. You've done a tremendous job in making accessible some of the most censored stories in the British media. I want to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the content, style, design and relevancy." Anita Roddick

6 reasons to visit the new *Ecologist* website www.theecologist.org

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Sustainability	Technology	Toxic	Trade	Transport	Tribe	TRIPS	Vegetarianism
Waste	Water		World bank				WTO

1 SEARCH THE ARCHIVE

Our archive already features almost every article published in the magazine over the last two years. We are continuing to add articles all the time, keeping you up to date and taking you back into the magazine's 31-year history.

The Archive can be easily and quickly searched in two ways:

- Clicking on a **KEY CATEGORY**, eg Cancer. This will call up all the articles in the archive that have Cancer as a main theme.
- Using the search facility. Type in the title/author/subject you are interested in and press **SEARCH**. This will bring up all articles mentioning the chosen keyword/s.

2 HAVE YOUR SAY

Each and every article, debate, campaign and hot topic featured on the website can be discussed online. Select **CLICK HERE** to have your say and you will be connected to the discussion board where you can comment on what you've read or maybe what you'd like to have read! Either way, get on line and have your say!

3 VISIT THE EXCHANGE

The Exchange is a noticeboard for environmental and ethical services, products and needs. Website entries are FREE, so if you have a need for writers; a call for papers; a campaign to support; volunteers to recruit; events to fill; projects to fund; eco-products to buy or sell; courses to attend; publications to read; places to visit; organisations to join; websites to visit; and vacancies to fill... log on to *The Ecologist* website, click on **THE EXCHANGE** button, and complete the online form. We will then post your listing.

Call For Papers/Writers

Air Pollution 2002

International conference on Modelling, Monitoring and Management of Air Pollution. Segovia, Spain. Paper deadline: 5 February 2002. Conference date: 1-3 July 2002. Website: www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2002/air02/index.html

Brownfields 2002

International conference on Prevention, Assessment, Rehabilitation and Development of Brownfields Sites. Cadiz, Spain. Paper deadline: 23 April. Conference date: 2-4 September. Website: www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2002/brownfields02/index.html

4 SUBSCRIBE TO THE NEWSLETTER

If you want to be kept informed of what's happening in the world of *The Ecologist* then subscribe online to receive our regular email newsletter, guaranteed to keep you abreast of the latest worldwide environmental stories and campaigns to support.

5 JOIN A CAMPAIGN

Visit the website for the latest full and detailed information on the campaigns currently being supported by *The Ecologist*. And for each and every campaign:

- Find out more about the campaign by clicking on the featured links.
- Discuss the campaign and its objectives with others using the online discussion groups.
- Help spread the word, and increase people's awareness of a campaign, by clicking on the **EMAIL** button and forwarding the campaign to a friend, colleague, or whoever else you think should know what's going on.

Draining the Río Grande to water Malaga



Guaro is a small village 24km north of Malaga. Situated east of Sierra de las Nieves in mountainous countryside, its fertile plains are of great agricultural importance. Famous for its almonds, Guaro also boasts olive, citrus and avocado trees, all watered by the nearby Río Grande.

All this is set to change. Malaga's ever growing tourist industry and golf courses need more and more water. While Madrid and Bilbao need an average 280 litres of water per inhabitant per day, Malaga's per capita consumption is 480 litres per day. Currently there are about 40 golf courses on the Costa del Sol, with 12 more coming. With each square metre using up about 7 litres of water per day, an average sized course needs a lot to drink.

DATE	SUBJECT
31/10/2001	Is FTSE4Good just stock market capitalism dressed in green?
31/10/2001	ECGD and contamination of the Black Sea
31/10/2001	Draining the Río Grande to water Malaga
31/10/2001	Protect Victoria's threatened woodlands
31/10/2001	The danger of hydrom
31/10/2001	What if the World Trade Centre had been a nuclear power station?
31/10/2001	Europe: a new 'big idea'
31/10/2001	Education: on the ropes

6 DEBATE HOT TOPICS

Whether it be a feature in this month's magazine, a paper that no-one else dare publish, or just an issue that has to be discussed, Hot Topics ensures that the issues that matter get heard, and get discussed.

And for each and every issue:

- Have your say, by joining the online discussion.
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- If the article interests you and you think a friend or colleague would be interested in it as well, click on the **EMAIL** button and pass it on.
- And if you prefer to read the article offline, just click on the **PRINT** button for a pre-formatted print-out.

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ABOUT US How to contact us; a brief history of *The Ecologist*; writers' guidelines; letters to the Editor; and staff contact details.

references

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- 8 'Voices in the Wilderness UK',

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March 2002

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Further Reading
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Elm Farm Research Centre, an educational charity, seeks to develop sustainable land-use, agriculture and food systems, primarily within local economies, which build on organic principles to ensure the health and well-being of soil, plant, animal, man and his environment.

We offer scientific research, education and training, publications, a farm trail, organic advisory and consultancy services, and an organic demonstration farm network.

For more information elmfarm@efrc.com, call 01488 658298 or write to Elm Farm Research Centre, Hamstead Marshall, Near Newbury, Berkshire RG20 0HR.

The Ecologist special issues

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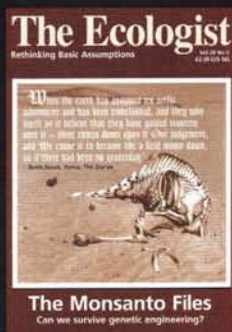
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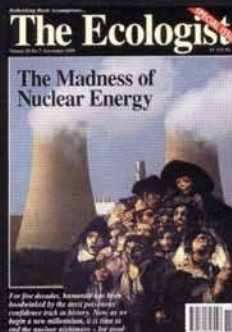


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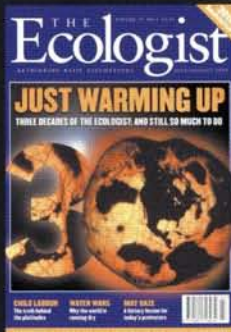
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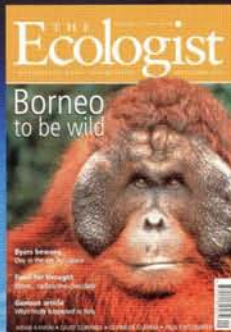
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