

PLANET • PEOPLE

THE ecologist

SEPTEMBER 2003 • £3.50

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Dying for De Beers



SPECIAL REPORT



KALAHARI BUSHMEN



AVEDA

the art and science of pure flower and plant essences

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Associate Editor Matilda Lee
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Distribution Manager Belinda Bush
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Publisher Ian McAuliffe
Researchers Layla Dayani, Les Pickford, David Mitchell, Tom Hargreaves, Clint McGilvray

Senior Sales Caroline McLoughlin
Classified Sales Julie Riches
To advertise telephone: (020) 8962 3020

Founding Editor Edward Goldsmith

Editorial Board: Helena Norberg-Hodge, Steven Gorelick, John Page, all of ISEC.

Editorial Office: Unit 18, Chelsea Wharf, 15 Lots Road, London SW10 0QJ, UK.
Tel: +44 (0)20 7351 3578
Fax: +44 (0)20 7351 3617
Email: editorial@theecologist.org
Website: www.theecologist.org

Editorial Panel:

Agriculture Vandana Shiva, Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, India
Biotechnology/GM David Suzuki, David Suzuki Foundation, Canada
Jeremy Rifkin, Foundation on Economic Trends
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Out of financial sight... out of human mind

Stalin is quoted as having once said that the death of an individual is a tragedy, and the death of a million merely a statistic. 'Statistics' being his area of expertise, he had a point. Look at the way the media prioritises the disappearance of one girl into the arms of a rogue internet-cruiser over floods affecting thousands on the other side of the world. We can relate to the individual, the torment of her parents. The tragedy is on a scale that resonates.

This rule applies still more to business. I recently met the manager of a small investment fund. He is a likeable man with a conscience. His job is to persuade people to deposit their savings with him for investment in companies he believes will perform well. His judgment is generally good, and stakeholders in his company are happy. It's a straightforward relationship. He takes their money and returns a profit. If it is not satisfactory, investors withdraw and move on. It is the bottom line that interests them, and the bottom line that he seeks daily to improve.

Profit being his principal interest, he will examine a firm's ability to remain flexible in ever changing conditions. That means growing and shrinking where necessary, and avoiding unnecessary costs wherever possible. What he cannot afford to do is to examine the wider

repercussions of the various decisions a company takes. If a firm reduces overheads by so many units and still appears to be performing, that is good. If it settles out of court a particular dispute without being embarrassed or punitively fined, that too is good.

The trouble is that in the context of a hurried board meeting, where the goal is profit maximisation, decision-makers simply do not interpret decisions from any other perspective than that of improving the bottom line. And otherwise decent people will happily put a tick by the name of a company that is doing just that, even while laying off thousands of people, re-locating for the fourth time in as many years to a cheaper environment, bribing local officials to avoid fines relating to environmental destruction, bankrupting countless local industries and adding to the corruption of a greedy local authority.

These considerations don't figure. In real terms they can't. How can an investor judge the ethics of a company that handles minerals in southern Africa, or one that sells bath-tubs in Indonesia? How can he know if people are paid sufficiently, if the environment is sufficiently protected? He can't, because he is not there. He does not drink from the river or talk to the workers. He is dealing with statistics.

My friend is honest about all this and admits that

he probably invests in companies that, were he to investigate them personally, he would despise. The solution, he suggests, is a regulatory body for policing global businesses with the power to impose genuinely proportionate fines. I asked him how many of his colleagues would agree with him. 'All of them,' he told me with complete confidence. He said it would never be possible to effect change on a voluntary basis; that would mean career suicide for numerous executives. But if everyone were forced to work within strict parameters, then sacrifice would be unnecessary.

With huge, roving businesses there is clearly a need for an international framework — a 'world trade organisation', but with completely different priorities to the one we have now. It would need to be limited in scope, applicable to multinationals and foreign-owned companies only, and it would need teeth. Above all, it would need to be wholly independent, as institutions that threaten big business are invariably corrupted. I once read in a Monsanto report that the company had been

designated as a 'potentially responsible party' at 92 Superfund sites (uncontrolled or abandoned places where hazardous waste is located). Nevertheless, Monsanto assured its shareholders that its 'profitability is not expected to be materially affected'.

Fines are pointless if they constitute acceptable costs.

The danger with international institutions is that they risk evolving into giant bureaucracies that cannot distinguish between multinational corporations and locally controlled enterprise. Were a new regulatory body to take the form of a fledgling world government, as some advocates naively demand, this risk would be a near certainty. A global government would automatically mean greater distance between people and their representatives. It could not be expected to be sensitive to local issues, and could never be influenced by ordinary people. It would inevitably develop into an unmoveable, self-serving bureaucracy, subject to lobbying on a scale we've never seen before. Independence is key. And so is scale.

It is only through shortening links between consumers and producers that the global economy can be brought under control. That means an end to subsidies, political decisions and trade rules that lend the biggest operators an irresistible competitive edge. Smaller businesses operating within local economies cannot thrive indefinitely in such a climate. It is one thing signing off a 'cost-cutting' initiative on the other side of the planet to save money. It is another when those people are your neighbours.



In the context of a hurried board meeting, executives simply do not interpret decisions from any other perspective than that of improving the bottom line

Dying for De Beers



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Sandy Gall gives a powerful and moving account of the Bushmen and their continued genocide at the hands of the Botswana government.

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Janine Roberts reports on how DeBeers cons the world into paying such high prices for its cheap, plentiful diamonds, whilst turning a blind eye to the killing of the Bushmen.

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In their own words, the Bushmen make it painfully clear that they want to be allowed to return to their homes, and their age old ways of existence.

COMING UP

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SPECIAL: TUNA – A FISH OUT OF TIME

An insider blows the whistle on the international aid network; taking a trip to SeaGaia, the world's largest indoor ocean; Bill McKibben and Roger Higfield debate 'Why we should learn to stop worrying and love technology'; and the truth about your shampoo



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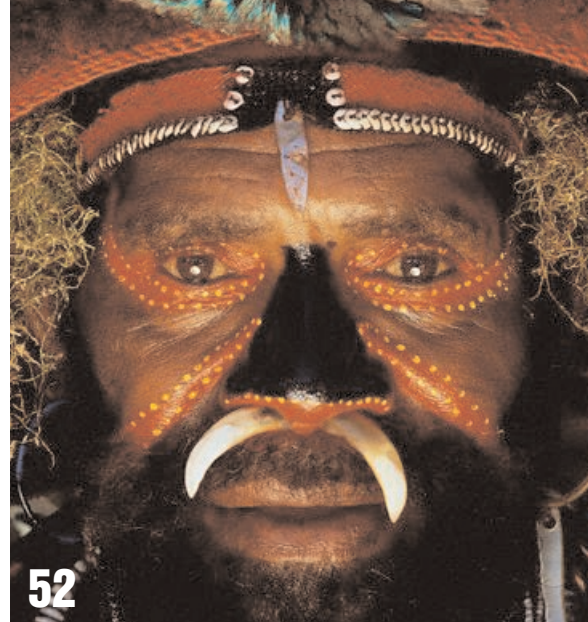
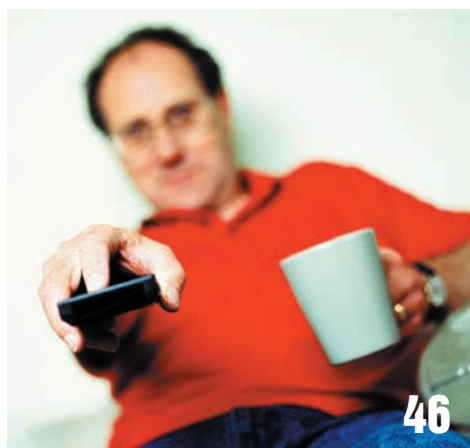
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In the interminable pursuit of perfection, we shoot up Botox, we nip, we slice, we suck and we tuck...whatever the cost.

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Revolving door appointments; strange droppings from the Sellfield pigeon; and weasel words.

UNITED STATES



Two-hour warning

The Pentagon plans to develop a drone in the next 20 years that could strike any point on the planet from the US in under two hours. Named the 'Hypersonic Cruise Vehicle' (because it would travel at more than five times the speed of sound), the drone would allow the US to undertake prompt 'global reach missions' without using overseas bases.



US used bio-weapons on own armed forces

The Pentagon has also revealed that it tested chemical and biological agents on its own military personnel in the 1960s and 1970s. Pentagon documents released in July show that 5,842 US service members were involved in 50 secret tests between 1962 and 1973 in a project to measure the weapons' combat capabilities. Many of the service personnel were not told what was happening, despite some of the tests involving releases of deadly nerve agents including E. coli.

Big brother under the bumper

In July three residents of the city of Boulder in Colorado discovered Global Positioning System devices attached to their cars. The devices gave no immediate clues as to who had planted them. However, the three do share an 'interest'. They are all animal rights activists – or 'terrorists', as defenders of animal welfare are now known in the US.

Behind the revoking door... Monsanto

Prior to becoming the Supreme Court judge who put George W Bush into the White House, Clarence Thomas worked as a corporate lawyer for Monsanto. Thomas is by no means the only one of Bush's Washington allies to have taken the Monsanto shilling. US secretary of defence Donald Rumsfeld and secretary of agriculture Ann Veneman were directors of Monsanto subsidiaries Searle Pharmaceuticals and Calgene, respectively. And secretary of health Tommy Thompson received \$50,000 of Monsanto donations when he successfully ran to become governor of Wisconsin. While the two congressmen who received the most donations from the biotech giant during the 2000 US elections were the Republican chair of the House Agricultural Committee Larry Combest and US attorney general John Ashcroft.

Morally AND financially bankrupt

Washington estimates that the US federal budget deficit will reach a record \$455 billion this year; that's 50 per cent higher than was predicted just five months ago. Given such a climate of economic recklessness it should be no surprise that the Democratic and Republican parties accepted more than \$9m from corporate criminals during the 2002 election cycle. Nor should it be surprising that US firms including GE and Halliburton bypass economic sanctions barring Americans trading with Iran, North Korea, Libya and Sudan; to do so they use offshore subsidiaries that employ only foreigners.

Speaking in strange tongues

- 'Life experts' are using 'equine-assisted coaching' to help clients attain dramatic insights into how to achieve success. Apparently, it's much less difficult to accept feedback from a horse than a human.
- Business is also booming for 'pet psychics', who claim to understand animal 'emotions' and are able to do most of their work remotely by having pets stand close to telephones (at about \$100 per hour).
- The Christian Broadcasting Network said it was no coincidence that Bush's April announcements backing a separate Palestinian state were followed by 'the worst months of tornadoes in US history' (375 twisters in eight days). Clearly, God is punishing the US for supporting the biblically unthinkable division of Israel.

Cost of War

At the time of going to press, the war with Iraq had cost the US \$71,626,076,824. Every passing second adds another \$3,000 to that figure. For the same sum, 30 million US children could have been provided with healthcare for a year. To see how much the war costs now, go to www.costofwar.com.

SWITZERLAND

WTO says yes to irradiation

The WTO has decided that food can be irradiated at any dose – no matter how high. Consumer groups have reacted with shock to the effective gutting of international food radiation laws in place since 1979. 'The UN and the World Health Organisation have abandoned their mission to protect the health and welfare of the world's population,' said Andrianna Natsoulas of the US consumer group Public Citizen. 'People who eat irradiated foods will become guinea pigs in one of the largest feeding experiments in history.' See: www.organicconsumers.org

EGYPT

US wrath over GM withdrawal

Egypt has withdrawn its support for the US's WTO complaint against the EU's ban on genetically-modified foods. In retaliation, the US has suspended plans to advance free-trade talks with the north African country. The US had announced in May that Egypt – along with Argentina and Canada – would join it in a WTO complaint aimed at forcing the EU to approve the sale of new GM varieties.

BRAZIL

Monsanto 'goes organic'

In early June Roberto Requião, the governor of the Brazilian soya-producing state of Paraná said he intended to expropriate a 43-hectare farm used by Monsanto to test GM crops. 'I want to turn it into a centre for organic crops', the governor explained. He said he had taken his decision after hearing about a letter Monsanto had sent to importers of Brazilian soya beans to warn them that it could sue them for not paying royalties on its GM crop. The commercial cultivation of GM crops is illegal in Brazil but GM seeds have been smuggled over from neighbouring Argentina and have contaminated conventional soya harvests. Brazil's environment minister Marina da Silva commented: 'Let this be a lesson to farmers how they will be treated, if Monsanto's crops are permitted here'.

FRANCE

An environmental constitution

The French cabinet has approved a plan that would modify the country's constitution so as to place as much emphasis on environmental protection as human rights.

The new environmental charter has 10 articles, which state (among other things) that 'everyone has the right to live in a balanced and healthy environment', that humans have a duty to 'preserve and improve' the natural world and that people should pay damages if they harm the environment. The charter advocates the 'precautionary principle', whereby officials should act to halt practices that have not been proven to be safe.



COLOMBIA

Court orders government to suspend fumigation flights

A court has ruled that the Colombian government should suspend its US-backed programme of spraying herbicides on drug crops until more is known about the impact the practice has on human health and the environment. The government plans to appeal the ruling and will continue the fumigation while the appeal is pending.



ICELAND

Environmentalists call for dam support to end

Environmentalists have asked the European Investment Bank (EIB) not to finance the controversial Karahnjúkar dam in Iceland. If built, the Karahnjúkar project would consist of nine dams, three reservoirs, a series of tunnels and river diversions and a 690-megawatt power plant. In their letter to the EIB's president, the environmentalists pointed out that the project contradicts the bank's corporate operational plan, which prioritises support for innovative technologies, environmental projects, small- and medium-sized companies and social and economic cohesion within the EU. The dam's main contractor is Italian company Impregilo. In June a South African consultant pleaded guilty to bribing on Impregilo's behalf the chief executive of the EIB-backed Lesotho Highlands Water Project.



To download the CEE Bankwatch Network's report Karahnjúkar – a Project on Thin Ice, visit: www.bankwatch.org

JAPAN

Victory in 25-year battle against toxic waste

Environmental campaigners have won a 25-year battle to end toxic dumping in a Japanese national park. Teshima Island is located in Japan's oldest national park – the Seto Inland Sea park Setonaikai. For decades it has also been the site of illegal toxic dumping by Japanese industry. Environmental activists and Teshima residents have now secured a clean-up process that could cost up to \$500m.

SOUTH KOREA

Destruction of globally important wetland proceeds

Despite prolonged national and international protests, South Korean president Roh Moo-hyun has announced the resumption of the highly-controversial project to reclaim the internationally significant Saemankeum wetland for industrial development. Saemankeum is one of Asia's most important tidal wetland sites, with threatened species of migrating birds depending on it for their survival.

Two years after warnings over water pollution and damage to fisheries halted work on what is the largest reclamation project in the world, construction of a 33-kilometre dyke (which is already 60 per cent complete) has recommenced. By the time of the project's completion – expected to be in 2006 – 401 square kilometres of tidal flats and shallows will be lost. The disappearance of these habitats will have very serious consequences for eight globally threatened species.

For further information, contact Gareth Gardiner-Jones at BirdLife International; tel: +44 (0)1223 279903; email: gareth.gardiner@birdlife.org.uk

LAOS

Dam project in doubt

Lead investor Electricité de France has withdrawn from the controversial \$1.1 billion Nam Theun 2 (NT2) hydro-power project. The move is a major blow to the credibility of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Since 1989 these institutions have encouraged Laos to borrow tens of millions of dollars and devote large amounts of scarce resources so as to attract foreign investors into hydro-power. It was forecast that Laos would achieve an economic miracle by exporting energy to Thailand. These hopes were scuppered by the 1997 Asian economic crisis, which led to a massive drop in regional energy demand.

NT2 would displace 5,000 people living on Laos's Nakai Plateau. The livelihoods of a further 130,000 would be threatened by diverting the Xe Bang Fai River to fill the dam.

AUSTRALIA

Aboriginal Tent Embassy firebombed

Canberra's Aboriginal Tent Embassy (ATE) was firebombed in late June, and 31 years' worth of documents and photographs were destroyed in the process. The ATE was founded in 1972 on 'Invasion Day' – the 26 January anniversary of Captain Cook's discovery of Australia. It has represented all 520 of Australia's aboriginal nations in their ongoing struggle for sovereignty, and it has received visits from tens of thousands of supporters.

PHILIPPINES

Protesters blockade development bank

Around 10,000 people occupied the Manila site of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) as it held its AGM inside in June. They were protesting against privatisation programmes the ADB is funding. These include the privatisation of the Filipino water service MWSS. A spokesman for the protesters said: 'MWSS is a classic case of a badly-designed privatisation programme... The aim appears to be the creation of opportunities for foreign water companies rather than [ensuring] affordable and quality water services for all.'

ICELAND

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INDIA

Chemical companies seek right to poison

The Indian chemical industry has urged its government not to ratify the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants. The Indian Chemicals Manufacturing Association claims: 'The globally, legally binding treaty would be detrimental to the health of the Indian chemical industry.'

Persistent organic pollutants contaminate the food chain and accumulate in animal and human fat. Extremely persistent and toxic, they are particularly harmful to children and pregnant women – even in very small doses. The Indian chemical industry, on the other hand, makes more than \$25 billion a year.

For more on the Stockholm convention, visit: www.panna.org/resources/panups/panup_20021101.dv.html.



NEWS Britain at a glance

Tesco garden furniture made from illegal timber

An investigation by Friends of the Earth has revealed that Tesco, the UK's biggest retailer and self-proclaimed corporate social responsibility pioneer, is selling garden furniture made from illegally sourced Indonesian timber. The furniture is manufactured in Vietnam but made from logs imported from Indonesia. It has been illegal to export Indonesian logs since October 2001, when the Indonesian government introduced a log export ban in a desperate attempt to control escalating levels of illegal logging. The rainforests of Indonesia are among the most threatened in the world. Home to species such as the orang-utan, Sumatran tiger and Asian elephant, over 50 per cent of Indonesia's rainforests have now been completely cleared. The World Bank estimates that all the lowland forest in Sumatra and Borneo will be destroyed by 2010.

For more details, visit: www.risingtide.org.uk

School realises renewable energy dream

Nidderdale High School and Community College in Pateley Bridge near Harrogate switched on its own wind turbine in July. The turbine will save the school about £3,000 a year and is expected to have a life span of over 20 years. The school paid for the turbine with a £13,000 grant from the DTI's Clear Skies renewable energy scheme.

Stonehenge sexed up

A retired professor of gynaecology has proposed an unusual theory as to the significance of Stonehenge in the July issue of *The Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*. Anthony Perks believes the paired stones – one smooth, one rough – represent the different textures of male and female skin, and that the altar-like structures of the stones represent the vulva and clitoris. 'Stonehenge,' Perks says, 'could represent the opening by which the earth mother gave birth to the plants and animals on which ancient people so depended.'



Arming the oppressors

What did the UK government do when the Indonesian government recently declared martial law in the oil-rich province of Aceh? It increased sales of arms to Jakarta. Last year Downing Street announced that UK arms sales to Indonesia increased by 2,000 per cent since 2000 – from £2m to nearly £41m. New equipment now planned for export to the country includes components for military training aircraft, rocket launchers, tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

Meanwhile, one of the largest arms fairs in the world – the MoD-sponsored Defence Systems and Equipment International (DSEi) – takes place in London from 9-12 September. In an attempt to disrupt the fair, the campaign group Disarm DSEi is coordinating a week-long festival of actions. To find out how you can get involved with the protests, call 0781 7652029 or visit www.dsei.org.



Animal experiments at a nine-year high

Home Office statistics show that there was a 4 per cent increase in animal experiments (to 2.7 million) in the UK last year. This represents the largest number of animal experiments in Britain since 1994. Shockingly, there was an increase of 43 per cent in animal trials for household products, and a 34 per cent rise in food-additive vivisection. A group of MPs have signed an early day motion calling for a ban on all experiments on monkeys in the UK.

See if your MP has signed the motion at <http://edm.ais.co.uk/weblink/html/motion.html/ref=1307>

Want not waste

The Household Waste Recycling Bill went through its report stage and third reading in the House of Commons in late July, and should become law by October. The bill requires that every household in England must have at least two types of recyclable waste collected from its doorstep by 2010.

Joan Ruddock, the MP sponsoring the bill, said: 'I thank Martyn Williams and those in the parliamentary unit at Friends of the Earth, which has made sure that our post bags were constantly full and ensured that 360 MPs signed the supporting early day motion.'

BAT told to get out of Burma

Foreign Office minister Mike O'Brien has asked British American Tobacco (BAT) to withdraw from a joint venture it has with the Burmese military dictatorship. BAT refuses to admit how much money it gives to the junta, but the Burma Campaign UK estimates that it has paid the generals \$16m in taxes alone since 1999. More than 80 MPs have signed an early day motion calling on BAT to close its factory in Burma.

For more information, visit: www.burmacampaign.org.uk



Plowshares court victory

A hung jury has meant that Mary Kelly, a peace activist on trial for damaging a US warplane at Shannon Airport in Ireland, has been set free. Her case was aided considerably by the standard of witnesses called in her defence. These included former UN weapons inspectors Denis Halliday and Scott Ritter and former US attorney general Ramsey Clarke. When the prosecution asked Clarke how he would feel if someone did 1.5 million worth of damage to his home, he replied that he would be actively inviting people to damage it if it were complicit in the murder of innocent civilians.

For further information, visit: www.plowsharesactions.org

River hit by chemical pollution

Environmental experts in Northamptonshire say a chemical leak into the River Nene at Northampton has caused the biggest impact on the ecosystem that they have ever had to handle. It could take several years before insects such as water boatmen and water shrimps return to the infected stretches of water.

Charting the growth of resistance to GM across the UK

Ryedale district council in West Yorkshire has voted to declare itself 'GM-free' with a 19-3 majority following the tireless efforts of councillor and organic farmer John Clark.

Clark is keen to coordinate a list of other GM-free councils. If your council has gone GM-free, or for advice on how to pressure it to do so, call him on 01751 417131.

ALSO... • Lord Sainsbury announced that £90m of taxpayers' money will be spent over the next six years to develop nanotechnology • Spending by the MoD on research and development rose to £2.61 billion in the financial year 2002-03; that's an increase of 27 per cent on the previous year • Government support for the proposed Arundel by-pass has been axed, as have equally destructive road schemes in Worthing and Chichester.

Bechtel to handle UK nuclear waste

The story so far... The government has hired Bechtel (which won a \$600m contract to rebuild Iraq earlier this year) to help set up Britain's Liabilities Management Agency. The agency will take responsibility for dumping of nuclear waste from British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL), British Energy and the Atomic Energy Authority. Solomon Hughes reports



Who are Bechtel?

A privately-owned family firm, whose accounts are not open to the public. Known in the 1980s as a 'training ground for Reagan's cabinet', government staff like former US defence secretary Caspar Weinberger and ex-secretary of state George Shultz worked for the firm – as did CIA directors William Casey and Richard Helms.

Like Reagan, Bechtel had good relations with Saddam Hussein. It helped build a chemical plant for the Iraqis, only pulling out of construction of the 'PC2' site just before the first Gulf War. And when Donald Rumsfeld met Saddam in 1983, he lobbied the dictator to back a Bechtel proposal for an oil pipeline across Iraq.

Bechtel is equally chummy with Bush: CEO Riley P Bechtel serves on the President's Export Council; senior vice-president Jack Sheehan is on the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board; in June 2001 Bush made former Bechtel Energy Resources Corporation CEO Ross Connelly the executive vice-president and chief operating officer of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation; and current Bechtel executive Stew Burkhammer sits on a government committee on construction safety and health.

Has Bechtel worked in Britain before?

New Labour hired it to work on the Jubilee Line extension. Soon after its appointment,



electricians on the project went on strike over fears about safety and intimidation. Bechtel was then offered a contract to privatise part of London Underground.

Does Bechtel treat its workers well?

Last November Bechtel was forced to pay compensation to Clint Jensen, a worker at a Bechtel-run nuclear facility in Idaho. Jensen made Depleted Uranium (DU) linings for US Army tanks. He noticed that managers turned off smoke alarms before he operated his DU burning oven, that buckets of DU-laden water leaked, that there were no ventilator fans where he worked and that he frequently had no respirator. All these irregularities increased the chances of DU becoming airborne and dangerous. Feeling ill, Jensen complained about conditions.

Bechtel forced Jensen to see a psychiatrist, accused him of malingering, took away 270 hours of his leave, increased his security clearance to stop him speaking to his doctor and tried to prevent him from talking to government officials. An Idaho court supported Jensen's complaint, and forced Bechtel to make his job permanent, restore his leave, pay his legal fees and improve working conditions.

Back in 1996 Bechtel sacked Bill Bricker, a safety officer at Washington State's Hanford Nuclear Reservation (where the plutonium for the US's nuclear arsenal used to be produced). Bricker had complained about safety procedures being circumvented, untrained workers operating forklifts in the nuclear reactor, the removal of safety tags, and poor tracing of workers' exposure to radiation. The US Department of Labor subsequently ordered Bechtel to reinstate Bricker and to pay him all the lost wages he was owed.

In 1997 Bechtel was ordered to pay \$300,000 dollars to James Pillow, who was sacked for protesting about safety at Florida's Turkey Point nuclear power



station (above). In 1995 Wisconsin nuclear labourer David Johnson won back pay from Bechtel after it refused to re-hire him because *he* had complained about safety. And in 1993 Bechtel was forced to pay the back-pay and legal costs of another Turkey Point worker – carpenter Roy Nichols. The award followed years of litigation, which started when Bechtel sacked Nichols in 1987 because of his 'attitude problem'. He also had complained about safety.

Can we trust Bechtel?

Bechtel's costs and safety standards were also slated in a US Department of Energy report last year. Site inspectors visited a tritium facility Bechtel is building at the Savannah River nuclear complex in South Carolina. The programme was running late and over budget.

Inspectors also found that the plant was unsafe because it is 'not designed to confine the hazardous materials during a... seismic event'. Savannah River is in a region that experiences earthquakes and tremors. Officials noted that in the event of an earthquake 'worker protection' was limited to staff being trained to run out of the building. Yet any earthquake that did occur would cause 'door binding' that would leave staff 'trapped in a

processing room' and exposed to 'significant radiological hazards from tritium and potential asphyxiation by nitrogen'.

Bechtel told *The Ecologist* that construction on Savannah River's tritium-extraction facility 'is now ahead of its revised schedule by roughly 10 months'. But construction is running ahead of schedule only because the revised timetable gave the firm an extra 17 months – up until July 2007 – to finish the plant.

Anything besides nuclear?

A partnership between Bechtel and British firm United Utilities was responsible for the infamous 1999 privatisation of the water supply in the Bolivian town of Cochabamba. The resulting price rises sparked an urban insurrection, which Bechtel tried to blame on drug lords. Bechtel was kicked off the water concession, but sued the Bolivian government for \$25m in compensation.

In 1997 the Manila Water Company, a subsidiary of International Water (a partnership between Bechtel and Edison International), was awarded the contract to operate one of two newly privatised water supply systems in the Philippines. The deal was supposed to keep prices low, but when the Philippines' currency was devalued shortly afterwards the water companies raised water rates by 400 per cent to cover their losses.

In January 2001 International Water and United Utilities purchased from the Tallinn city government a 50.4 per cent stake in the Estonian water utility company AS Tallinna Vesi. Four months later the two companies were accused of attempting to collect payment for water drainage that had already been paid for through local water tariffs.

Solomon Hughes is a freelance investigative journalist

World Bank failing the poor...

The World Bank's misguided infant-nutrition schemes are driving up the debts of impoverished countries, according to a new Save the Children report called *Thin on the Ground*. Save the Children health adviser John Seaman says the bank's programmes as being based on a 'widely discredited' approach. To download a free copy of *Thin on the Ground*, visit: www.savethechildren.org.uk/functions/indx_pubs.html.

...and failed by the UN

Hot on the heels of Save the Children's attack on the World Bank comes the UN Development Programme's *Human Development Report 2003*, which dismisses the IMF and World Bank development model of privatisation and austerity measures as a failure. View the report at: <http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/>.

Money co-opts health

US pressure group the Center for Science in the Public Interest has released a new study looking at how corporations co-opt non-profit organisations. *Lifting the Veil of Secrecy* describes many such organisations as 'corporate creations', citing the American Council for Fitness and Nutrition (ACFN) as an example. The ACFN's members include McDonald's and trade group the Snack Food Association. Visit www.cspinet.org for more details.

The case for a GM-free sustainable world

The Independent Science Panel (ISP) was launched in May with the release of a report called *The Case for a GM-free Sustainable World*. The report included evidence from more than 200 sources documenting the problems and hazards of GM crops and the many health, environmental and social benefits of sustainable agriculture. The members of the ISP's Genetic Modification Group include David Bellamy, Ecologist founder Edward Goldsmith, Institute of Science in Society director Mae-Wan Ho blacklisted GM whistleblower Dr Arpad Pusztai. To find out more about the ISP and to download a copy of its inaugural report, visit: www.indsp.org.

Animal transplant ban urged

A landmark review into the ethics and legality of animal organ transplants has concluded that the practice should be banned. However, the government has rejected without explanation the results of the UK Xenotransplantation Interim Regulatory Authority (its own adviser), feeding fears that policy has already been decided in line with drug company wishes.

NEWS Report Watch

Each month *The Ecologist* will focus on one headline-grabbing report and fill in the detail the mainstream media leave out

Government-backed report rubbishes Labour's airport plans

Title: *Budget 2003 and Aviation (HC 672)*

Published: 29 July 2003

By: The House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee. The committee's remit is: 'To consider to what extent the policies and programmes of government departments and non-departmental public bodies contribute to environmental protection and sustainable development; to audit their performance against such targets as may be set for them by Her Majesty's Ministers; and to report thereon to the House.' It was first established in November 1997. Its members are appointed by the House of Commons.

The report

Purpose:

The committee's inquiry was prompted by the Treasury/ Department for Transport (DfT) discussion document *Aviation and the Environment*, in which the government accepted for the first time some responsibility for the scale of international air traffic and attempted to estimate the environmental costs of aviation. The committee's findings make uncomfortable reading for the government.

Findings:

- 'The forecast growth in UK aviation could accentuate global warming.'
- 'The proposed growth in emissions into the atmosphere [caused] by the aviation industry is unsustainable and unacceptable. Were such growth to occur, it could totally destroy the government's commitment to a 60 per cent cut in carbon dioxide emissions by 2050.'
- 'In emphasising economic and social objectives for airports, the DfT is placing a lower priority on environmental objectives and is focused more on mitigating the environmental impacts rather than avoiding them where possible.'
- 'The DfT should not have released a major consultation that assumes [air] passenger numbers will increase by 4 per cent every year for 30 years and that fares will decrease by up to 40 per cent over the same period without a far more extensive discussion of the underlying implications of such assumptions.'
- Where roads are concerned the government appears to have at last accepted the need for some form of congestion charging or road-pricing framework. Yet the secretary of state for transport, Alastair Darling, entirely dismisses the validity of such an approach to dealing with the congestion caused by aviation. The report's authors said they were 'astonished that [Darling] denied there was any parallel in this respect between road transport and aviation' and that 'he re-iterated his opposition to "pricing people off planes"'. The committee concluded that the DfT 'is little interested in sustainability'.
- In the absence of any 'robust evaluation', the committee was taken aback by 'the overt bias that the DfT has displayed by emphasising so consistently the economic benefits of aviation'. The consultation document, for example, quoted figures for the positive economic benefits of tourism, but 'entirely failed to mention that in overall terms aviation costs the UK economy £15 billion.'
- In reality, the net present value associated with the increase in the cost of aviation emissions is minus £18 billion. If this were taken into account it would totally defeat the economic case for runway expansion. The only way the DfT could make the case for expansion is by demonstrating that substantial wider economic benefits would follow. It has not attempted to do this.
- Environmentalists argue that aviation receives over £9 billion in subsidies due to the absence of a fuel tax and VAT on tickets, and that this unfairly penalises competing forms of transport – rail, in particular.

Recommendations

- In light of its findings, the committee recommends that the government 'replaces the current Air Passenger Duty with an emissions' charge levied on flights [that would be] clearly displayed on travel documentation'. It advises initially setting this at a level that would raise £1.5 billion a year, but that the charge should be subject to an annual escalator so that revenue would increase over time.
- Furthermore, the committee recommends that the government should consider introducing VAT on ticket sales for domestic flights and that it should set out the results of such a review in the next pre-Budget report.

To see the full report, visit: www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_committees/environmental_audit_committee.cfm

A roundup of the latest deceptive ways our world is repackaged and sold back to us

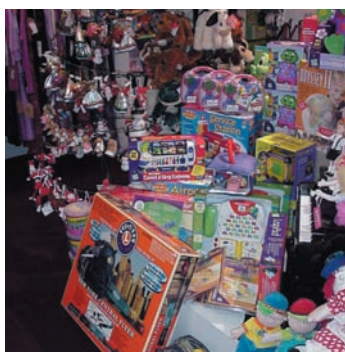
NEWS Offensive PR

Watching the watchdogs

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI) has launched a new website, NGOWatch.org, as part of its campaign against NGOs, which the AEI says are 'unregulated and spared any requirement to account for expenditures, to disclose activities or sources of funding or even to declare their officers'. Readers should bear in mind that the AEI is a libertarian thinktank and NGO that does not publicly disclose its institutional funders.

Making plastic fantastic

The American Plastics Council (APC) has launched a new \$19m marketing campaign targeting women and children. A spokeswoman for the APC's advertising agency, Grey Worldwide, said that the fact that a lot of baby supplies can be made



with plastic means that there is great potential to get children thinking about the material from the beginning of their lives. The campaign is not expected to focus on getting mothers to think about the risks posed to their children's health by the toxic additives in plastics.

Krafty business

Kraft Foods recently announced that it intends to change the way it makes and market its products in a bid to help combat the global rise in obesity. Anyone impressed by Kraft's apparent concern for the health and wellbeing of consumers might be interested to know that Kraft is majority owned by the Altria Group – formerly known as fag company Philip Morris.

'Allo Allah

A new Arabic-language magazine was launched in the Middle East in July. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution reports that Hi magazine aims to 'dispel misinformation and misconceptions' about the US by focusing on similarities between US and Middle Eastern cultures through articles about lifestyle, technology and health. The magazine is published by the US State Department.

SELLAFIELD PIGEON

What's in a name?

US authorities in Iraq have been forced to change the name of the planned Iraqi armed forces, after learning that the acronym produced by the initials of 'New Iraqi Corps' ('Nic) is a colourful Arabic synonym for fornication. The force will now be known as the New Iraqi Army.

Rent a moo

Cheese lovers are being given the chance to hire their own cheesemaker – a brown-and-white cow living on a Swiss mountain. Dairy farmer Paul Wyler is offering his cows for rent on the Internet, with all the cheese they produce going to the cows' temporary owners.



See the Sars

Thousands of people a week are flocking to Beijing's newest tourist attraction – a decommissioned Sars hospital. The Beijing Morning Post reports that the hospital has been included on a tour of urban Beijing that costs £2 a head. Sightseers can also buy replica masks used when treating infected patients.

And in other news...

McDonald's is suing an Italian food writer for telling an interviewer: 'Gastronomically speaking, I find their meals repellent.' ● A Norwegian man caused a security alert at Brussels airport when scanners mistook some goat's cheese for explosives ● New Zealand farmers are posting sheep and cow dung to politicians in protest at a tax on their animals' contributions to greenhouse gas emissions ● Ornamental fish genetically modified with DNA from jellyfish to make them shimmer in the dark have gone on sale in south-east Asia ● A Coca-Cola worker has been fired for drinking Pepsi at work ● Camels in Israel's Negev desert are being fitted with luminous safety strips to make them more visible to motorists ● Horses rented for rides on Mexican beaches are being dressed in nappies as part of an effort to cut down on coastal pollution ● A young woman travels from Marbella to Blackburn every week so she can work three shifts at an Asda supermarket.

DON'T THEY KNOW WHO WE ARE?

Each month The Ecologist receives a range of PR materials from firms keen to promote their green credentials.

THIS MONTH

Safeway

On the brink of non-existence, the UK's fifth largest supermarket is still eager to tell us how green its regional distribution centres are. Apparently, they are so good that four of them have been awarded 'ISO14001 status'...which means they have achieved internationally accredited distribution centres with segregated cardboard and plastic recycling projects. Meanwhile Safeway lorries drive huge distances across their network of distribution centres making local food an impossibility, clogging up our roads with lorries, chugging up and down the country to make those 'just-in-time' deliveries of Zambian sugar-snap peas.



TOP JOBS

ED GILLESPIE – chairman of the national committee of the Republican Party

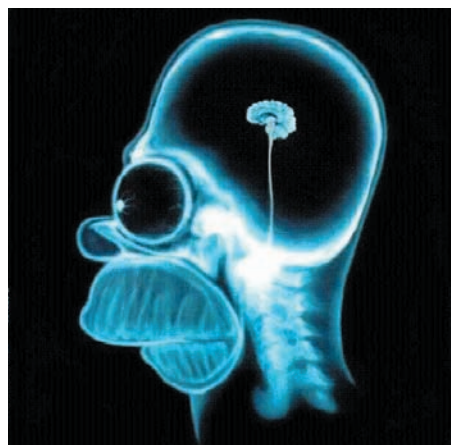
As chair of the Republican Party's national committee, Ed Gillespie is the party's lead fundraiser and spokesman, and closely consults with Washington on policy and electoral strategy. Such information must be invaluable to Gillespie's clients at PR practice Quinn, Gillespie & Associates.

Examples of Gillespie's corporate good deeds include:

- Before its collapse in 2001, Enron paid Quinn Gillespie \$700,000 to lobby against the regulation of US electricity markets following the California power crisis.
- In 2001 Gillespie channelled \$100,000 from Enron and DaimlerChrysler via two right-wing groups to the 21st Century Energy Project – an organisation Gillespie himself directed. The project bought print and television ads 'to counter enviro-leftist propaganda' and tout the Bush administration's energy plan.
- Tyson Foods, the US's largest meatpacker, paid Quinn Gillespie \$440,000 last year to help burnish its image after federal charges were filed against Tyson for conspiring to smuggle illegal immigrants into the country to work at its poultry plants.



DAN AMSTUTZ – In charge of Iraq's agricultural reconstruction



as well as a past president of the North American Grain Export Association. More recently, Amstutz has been president of Amstutz & Company, a US consultancy specialising in agribusiness and international trade issues. 'Putting Amstutz in charge of agricultural reconstruction in Iraq is like putting Saddam Hussein in charge of a human rights commission,' said Oxfam policy director Kevin Watkins.

Dan Amstutz (left) was under-secretary for international affairs and commodity programmes in the Reagan administration between 1983 and 1987. He then served as the US's ambassador and chief negotiator for agriculture during the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks. He is a former executive of the Cargill Corporation (the world's biggest grain exporter) and the International Wheat Council,

OPINION Economics Special

GLOBAL TRADE

George Monbiot argues that fair trade is the answer to world poverty. He proposes a radical new system that would allow calls to support poorer and protect labour rights and the environment.

World Trade Organisation

Developing in direct competition with established institutions is the last thing the world needs in a world that is already too full of them. You are likely to be surprised and disappointed to find that the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is not a charitable organisation. It is a global institution that is not only not charitable but also not particularly successful. The WTO is a global institution that is not only not charitable but also not particularly successful. The WTO is a global institution that is not only not charitable but also not particularly successful.

BLIND FAITH

Your article about traditional diets ('Nasty, brutish & short', July/August 2003), some of which are high in fat and protein but are still accompanied by perfect health, highlights the way big business has hijacked our search for truth and the improvement of the human condition.

The big corporations (drug, chemical, etc) have been remarkably successful in persuading the average person to be afraid of all the wrong things and to turn to their products for all the solutions.

Continual scare stories in the press have ensured that many people now fear that vitamins, minerals and herbs are dangerous – even though virtually no one dies from misuse of them. The few reports of harm that are made do not usually stand up to investigation. Meanwhile, thousands of people die every year after using thoroughly tested and properly prescribed drugs. Yet we are assured that the use of prescription drugs is the safest way to deal with ill health.

Beyond medicine, our soil is deficient in minerals because of modern farming methods, and our food is denatured, refined and laden with additives and chemicals at every stage of production. We are told that this food is safe and good to eat because it has been sprayed, irradiated, and heat-treated to kill germs. Yet calves die when fed pasteurised milk.

We are taught to fear germs that a healthy body should be able to deal with. And we fill babies' bodies with toxic vaccines and artificial chemicals of many kinds. This, we are told, is the way to health. Yet chronic diseases are at astronomical levels.

For an example of these topsy-turvy values in practice, look to the story of stevia – a natural plant, which has been used as a (calorie-free) sweetener for thousand of years in South America. The plant has now been banned after Monsanto questioned its safety. Monsanto produces aspartame, which is legal and officially considered safe – even though there are numerous studies showing how harmful it is.

The average person still seems to assume that the authorities have their best interests at heart. Unfortunately, (even though many individuals may have good motives), these authorities seem mainly to be driven by the desire for money and power.

We are so used to denatured foods that they are considered normal. People who insist on wholefoods are considered a little odd. If we could get back to an understanding of the healthy environment that nature gave us, the drug companies and chemical factories would become bankrupt – which is precisely what they are afraid of.

Helen Jarvis, Derby, England

FLUORIDE NATION

Layla Dayani was right to point out the legal case against the government's plans to empower the health authorities to extend the fluoridation of our water supplies ('Water fluoridation, July/August 2003). It not only contravenes the Human Rights Act, but would appear to violate the Poisons Act, the EU Codified Pharmaceuticals Directive,

the Code of Medical Ethics as set out in the Council of Europe's Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine and consumer

legislation besides. But the ethical issue is much stronger. My institution is pressing its members to sign up to a code of ethics that would make it very difficult for them to deliver the government's plans. I know that some water industry colleagues will be relieved that the decision to fluoridate or not will not rest with them, but with the health authorities. However, it will be water company scientists who would be required to implement the health authorities dictats. This will cause much angst and soul-searching.

Nick Reeves, executive director, Chartered Institution of Water and Environmental Management, UK

'FAIR' TRADE? FORGET IT

George Monbiot's proposals ('World fair Trade Organisation', June 2003) are at best impractical (remember the Kyoto Protocol) and at worst a recipe for corporate takeover (see the identical mass-produced 'organic' vegetables that are a new money spinner for the supermarkets).

Trade is only mutually beneficial when it takes place between equal partners – an impossible situation. Consequently, trade benefits the rich more than the poor.

Before we hypothesise about establishing another unwieldy global institution we should reinforce the groundswell of support behind the local food movement and try to revitalise other local institutions.

Benjamin Gill, Oxfordshire, England

STOP PASSING THE BUCK

I write to applaud Kirkpatrick Sale's article ('An illusion of progress', July/August 2003). The only thing Sale did not address is that we, ourselves, are part of the environmental catastrophe. Not only are we wiping out species and forests (our planet's lungs), but we are also creating epidemics of illnesses that were unheard of 25 years ago.

A toxic brew of lethal chemicals has created massive immunity problems, hormone and endocrine disabilities, a proliferation of previously rare cancers for children and adults alike, and uterine illnesses that were also scarce 25 years ago. Most people do not equate environmental troubles with their own declining health or serious illness, but millions of people suffer from illnesses

that are directly related to the out-of-control use of thousands of chemicals.

We are guinea pigs for the chemical industry, which has known for decades how lethal its products are. Reports have been intentionally hidden. The chemical industry's bottom line is corporate profits – not our wellbeing and safety.

We could have the final say, if we used our untapped power as consumers and did not buy any products that cause harm either to us, any other living creature or the planet. As I have always told my students: 'The buck really does stop at the cash register.'

Dr Ilya Sandra Perlingieri, San Diego, US

FLAGS OF CONVENIENCE

Thank you for the recent invitation to renew my subscription to *The Ecologist*, a magazine whose articles anger and amuse, explain and confuse me in equal measures. The most recent example of this was Matilda Lee's piece on flags of convenience (FOCs) ('Flags of convenience', June 2003). One sentence in particular summed up the whole farce: 'FOC nations are countries that lack the resources or political will to properly regulate the ships on their registers.'

Surely, when dealing with global shipping one vital resource is access to the world's oceans? A quick glance at the article's map showed that Luxembourg and Bolivia are FOC countries. What oceans do these countries border on?

John Austin, County Derry, Northern Ireland





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JAY GRIFFITHS

Calling time on the New American Century

When an aggressive superpower declares the century its own, it's time to take notice

Three words make me shiver: 'New American Century' – the phrase used by the neo-conservatives now ensconced in Washington to describe their dream of US global empire. Pol Pot used time to underline his rule, declaring 1975 to be 'year zero'. When Mussolini came to power in October 1922, a new calendar was introduced in Italy, marked '*era fascista*'. During the French Revolution, 1792 was designated 'year one' – the beginning of the republican era. Time past was guillotined from time present.

For those in power time has long been a component of invasion and control. Britain 'ruled the waves', and with them vast parts of the world. How? Through clocks. Through mastering, with chronometers, the mystery of longitude, the British paved the pathless oceans in pursuit of power and profit.

The chronometer, far from being just a jolly clever little piece of clockwork, was a power tool – a weapon of empire and the handcuffs of slavery. The most accurate clocks were kept at the Greenwich Royal Observatory, the centre of Britain's maritime empire. In 1852 the chief clock at Greenwich was called the 'master' clock; it sent out signals to 'slave' clocks elsewhere. At Greenwich today, amid all the surrounding pomp and shippery, there is a plaque (in a dismally obscure position on a run-down housing estate) that quietly commemorates the slave trade, which 'was to enrich England for centuries and correspondingly destabilise and impoverish Africa'.

The phrase 'New American Century' similarly links an empire-building foreign policy with the power of time. But in the linked rise of Christian fundamentalism in the US, a far more frightening idea of time has become apparent: the ease with which

the end of the world, the end of time itself, is conceived by those in power in Washington. Nor do the Americans just

'In George W Bush, that son of a Bush, we have the nuclear bomb in the hands of a fanatic'



conceive it; they hasten it, crying 'bring it on'. Star Wars, talk of crusades and the 'axis of evil' and the language of the book of *Revelations* (all so important to Reagan and Bush) are sinister to me,

because they combine the flatulent stupidity of fundamentalism with the most

terrifying power the world has ever known: nuclear power. And in George W Bush, that son of a Bush, we have the nuclear bomb in the hands of a fanatic.

In the past, there were protests when power got out of control. In May 1968 student protesters in Paris stopped a clock at the Sorbonne, writing below it '*nous y mettrons le temps*' meaning both 'let's take time off' and 'we will decide what the time is'. More recently, British anti-road protesters wrote a manifesto declaring: 'We do not recognise the Gregorian calendar... this day shall be known as "one". Be afraid, be afraid, all ye that hear. Respect this state.' The New American Century is the new face of old brute power, whose hour has come, whose century is upon us, slouching toward Baghdad to be 'born again' between a church and an oil well. It's time to disrespect that state.

Jay Griffiths' *Pip Pip: a sideways look at time* is published by Flamingo, price £7.99

MALCOLM TAIT

Cat got your tongue?

Cats kill 55 million birds a year in Britain – yet the RSPB says this isn't a problem. Who do they think they are kidding?

We all know who killed Cock Robin. It was the sparrow, with his bow and arrow. He even 'fessed up. But now the little feller is dying himself, and this time we've got a real mystery on our hands.

The mysterious affair of *passer domesticus*, however, is a murder mystery with a difference. The interest lies not so much in the 'who-dunnit', but in the 'who-do-I-want-to-have-dunnit'. For the agendas of those who put forward each suspect are just as intriguing as the potential killers themselves.

For a start, there's the agricultural commentator – the Colonel Mustard of the affair, who has noticed that house sparrows have declined in rural areas where modern farming practices have reduced the food available in winter. Intensive farming is the colonel's suspect – although his theory fails to explain the urban fall-off, where food is available all year round.

In her garden, Mrs Peacock blames pesticides. Widespread use has minimised

the aphids available to sparrow nestlings, which depend upon the former in early spring. A nice idea, but how do you explain the recent success of blue and great tits, which also feed on these insects?

Then there's the holier-than-thou Reverend Green, who casts blame on the recent rise in raptor populations. Too many sparrowhawks, too few sparrows. 'We must look after our songbirds,' the reverend preaches. However, as many songbird survivalists are pigeon-fanciers and game bird owners; there's a reasonable suspicion that a mask of faith is hiding the reverend's true agenda.

Maybe, like Miss Scarlett, you're campaigning against mobile phone masts. This particular line might be more pertinent. The remarkable rise of the mobile phone has coincided with the sparrow's decline. Thus, Miss Scarlett is of the opinion that electromagnetic waves might be interfering with the bird's ability to reproduce or navigate.

Meanwhile, Professor Plum has come

up with a suspect all of his own: unleaded petrol. Its fumes might be hampering the survival rate of some of the sparrows' favourite insect foods, giving the professor's battle against the car new impetus.

In truth, it's all about ulterior motives. Whatever your campaign, the house sparrow is likely to be there – or, rather, not – for you. And to be honest, with the exception of the somewhat shady Reverend Green, all the players may be on to something. It's an avian equivalent of the *Murder on the Orient Express*: they all did it.

But there's one character we haven't come to yet, and here lies the shame. Deep down, Mrs White has a pretty good idea of the culprit's identity. But as she owns one herself, she's holding back. For Mrs White owns a cat, and the degree to which Mrs White is implicated in the death of the house sparrow is being played down by the RSPB. More like Mrs Whiter-Than-White.

Domestic cats in the UK now number around eight million, and rising. And no one's sure how many feral cats there might be. Despite the fact that most domestic cats are fed and watered by their loving owners, they still prowl around gardens and urban areas picking off birds and small animals at will. That's what cats do. Now, no one is suggesting that cats should be outlawed, but you might have thought that such a significant predator of birds would be the subject of mighty concern and lobbying by the leading bird conservation group.

Yet no. For years, the RSPB has taken a thoroughly cowardly stance on the issue – hoping not to offend those many of its million

supporters who are also cat-lovers. What about licences? Not interested. How about penalties for owners who allow their pets to kill off nature? No

thanks. Instead, the society shows great concern that 'the welfare of cats must not be ignored', while denying any interest in the well-being of birds in this case; 'the RSPB is not a welfare organisation,' it says.

The quotes come from the RSPB's own documentation on the cat issue. The society goes to great pains to show that



'The RSPB has taken a thoroughly cowardly stance, hoping not to offend those many of its million supporters who are also cat-lovers'

cats are not really much of a problem. 'Despite the large numbers of birds killed, there is no scientific evidence that predation by cats in gardens is having any impact on bird populations UK-wide... According to a recent major survey by the Mammal Society, birds comprise a relatively small proportion (about 20 per cent) of all the creatures caught by cats.'

Only 20 per cent? The Mammal Society suggested cats catch around 275 million prey items per year, of which about 55 million are birds. Let's just underline that: 55 million birds are killed by cats every year. Research suggests that the commonest garden bird to suffer in this way is the house sparrow. To give that a little context, the nation's population of breeding house sparrows averages (according to Chris Mead's definitive *The State of the Nation's Birds*) at around 3.6 million pairs. There are about 1.1 million pairs of starlings, 4.2 million pairs of robins, and so on. In fact, each year cats account for the equivalent of the nation's entire breeding stock of house sparrows, starlings, robins, blackbirds, blue tits, great tits, dunnocks, chaffinches and greenfinches combined.

How much longer can the RSPB pussy-foot around this one? All it's done is issue a few leaflets and run the odd piece in its membership magazine suggesting that, if it's not too much trouble, cat-owners might think about putting a bell on their pets and maybe try keeping them indoors during the breeding season.

If I want to own a wild bird, I need a licence. If I want to own a cat, which I then allow to kill wild birds, I don't. Nice logic, RSPB.

None of which is to say, however, that the rise in the numbers of domestic cats is the sole reason for the decline in house sparrows. It's probably only part of the

picture, but while lobby groups like the RSPB sit on the fence and fret about membership numbers, it will remain to be a part of that picture. It's time for Mrs White to get into the game.

Malcolm Tait is the former managing editor of *The Ecologist*



'Press people are saying, "Is it Vietnam yet?" hoping it is and wondering if it is. And it isn't. It's a different time. It's a different era. It's a different place.'

The ever observant US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld

'We have a 9,000-year-old culture, you have a 200-year-old culture. I think we can figure out our own future.'

Unknown Baghdad citizen

'I had a discussion recently with someone about the US's contribution to civilisation (after talking about ancient Greece, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China). I pondered for many hours, then came up with the answer: peanut butter – both smooth and crunchy... I have that every now and then and it tastes fairly good.'

UK Guantanamo Bay captive Moazzam Begg, in a letter to his family



'I play terminator, but you guys are the true terminators.'

Arnold Schwarzenegger to US soldiers during a visit to Iraq

'Americans ask the question, "why do people hate us?" The real question is, "who's us?" Tens of thousands of Americans help the impoverished all over the world with health-care, food and relief, helping their liberation efforts and so on. But for a foreign person to observe the US, they hear Bush all the time, the right-wing media... what are they to conclude? I believe that if they hate us, it's our corporate political leaders... That's not the US people.'

Former US Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader

'How many of you have come to work at gunpoint? You came to work because that's the best job you can get for your family, for your life. What you wanted to do... that's what you did. So this nonsense of legislating relative pays, capping this, capping that – why don't you just cap invention? May you all do as well as you can, as well as you want to do, how you want to do it, but don't ever try and justify any one of the numbers on an absolute basis. It can't be done. It's what the market does. It's the free market.'

'Neutron' Jack Welch, ex-CEO of General Electric

‘Imagine walking into a store and having a computer take an inventory of everything you’re wearing – right down to the size and colour of your underwear. Store employees could even read the contents of your wallet to determine whether you’re a desirable customer or someone they want to ignore. The possibilities for discrimination are quite disturbing.’

Katherine Albrecht, director of Consumers Against Supermarket Privacy Invasion and Numbering

‘Bush is seeking legitimacy for his illegal activities. One is to push GM food on the African continent. Africa is not for sale.’

Pan Africanist Congress leader Motsoko Pheko

‘It’s important that people in Europe realise that it’s not true when the media here say that family farmers’ organisations are backing [GM foods]. The organisations that back it are pseudo-farm organisations that take corporate advertising from these firms.’

Iowa farmer and president of the US National Family Farm Coalition George Naylor



‘The Berlusconi regime [in Italy] represents a degenerate form of democracy: a halfway state between democracy and a new form of totalitarianism that we have not witnessed before. The latter cannot be described as fascism even though the two share characteristics, and even though the Berlusconi phenomenon can be understood only in the context of a country that was fascist and still bears in its polity and mindset some of the traits of that period. But just as fascism was a completely novel form of politics when it first appeared, so the Berlusconi phenomenon must also be seen as new and distinct.’

Martin Jacques writing in *The Guardian*



‘[Bin Laden] will launch a significant attack against US and/or Israeli interests in the coming weeks... The attack will be spectacular and designed to inflict mass casualties against US facilities or interests... Attack preparations have been made. Attack will occur with little or no warning.’

CIA briefing for George W Bush, July 2001

ANDREW LEEDHAM

The corporate militants

Hostile to reform, hopelessly unproductive and insatiably hungry for better pay, today’s militants reside in the boardroom

The triumph of the free market evangelists has been to institutionalise the dogma that (big) business is good and anything that ‘burdens’ it – unions, taxes, regulation or a decent wage for your workers – is bad. To question the wisdom of this approach, to argue that these ‘burdens’ are in fact valuable checks and balances on corporate power, is to invite howls of derision and talk of mass redundancies and a return to the darkest days of militant unionism. The hidden hand of the market, we are told, will meet all our needs; we just need to leave it alone and stop interfering.

Until, that is, the market becomes unfavourable. In that case government intervention to ‘support’ the market is presented as a responsible course of action. Thus, the US airline industry went cap in hand to Washington when times got tough. And in the UK Railtrack secured government bail-outs to the tune of several hundred million pounds when it got into financial difficulty. The largesse to Railtrack occurred despite its having made large profits and its paying out large dividends to shareholders; and that at a time when its

management of the railways was poor. When the company became insolvent and went into administration, its big institutional shareholders – the major finance houses in the city – demanded compensation from the government. Without the slightest hint of irony, the same people who had been the cheerleaders for unfettered free-market capitalism (people who preached that the government should not support failing industries) went wailing to the government for help when their own jobs were on the line.

Protecting workers and jobs seems to have been the last concern of the corporate world for over 20 years now. Instead there’s

been the drive towards ‘flexible working practices’. The phrase is standard Orwellian for an attack on workers’ rights: longer hours, less pay, fewer benefits and reduced job security. A recent survey by the public sector workers’ union Unison found that one in four employees now work six days a week or more. Despite Britain introducing the European Working Time Directive in 1998, nearly four million people in the UK now work more than the weekly 48-hour limit; and that figure is rising.

Yet consider the furore over the government’s latest attempt to give people the right to ask their employers for (not have the right to) flexible working hours. There have been squeals from business that the legislation is a mandate for the workshy and that businesses will buckle under the cost. The argument seems to be that we should have flexible working practices, but only those that favour business. Asking for some commensurate level of flexibility for workers is derided as anti-business lunacy.

The same free market fundamentalists who are casting their toys from the executive pram over flexible working legislation are the same ones who argued ferociously against the introduction of



‘feeling is growing that big business has had it all its own way for too long and that it must now be brought to heel’

a minimum wage – against the notion that in 21st century Britain people should be guaranteed a minimum, living wage. Business couldn’t afford such a measure. It was economic suicide. Five years and steady falls in unemployment later, these arguments seem a little hollow.

The singular travesty of these arguments is that they have been made at a time when executive pay has become grossly excessive. The top executives at American Airlines recently awarded themselves exorbitant pay increases just as they were negotiating \$1.8 billion worth of reductions in pay and benefits for their workers. In 2001 FTSE 100 executives awarded themselves average pay rises of 17

per cent in the year; at the same time, the combined value of the companies they controlled dropped by 30 per cent. The rewards for failure in corporate life now seem as generous as those for success.

The same double standards are apparent in workers' benefits. A recent survey by the trade union-based organisation Labour Research has shown that 29 of the companies in the FTSE 100 have closed down their final salary pension schemes to new members. Yet the directors of these companies still retain generous pension rights. BT, for example, recently closed its final salary pension scheme to new members. But Sir Peter Bonfield, who guided the company to a series of disastrous results, is receiving a guaranteed pension of £321,000 per year. Lloyds TSB has performed equally badly, but company CEO Peter Ellwood will receive a guaranteed £336,000 pension on retirement. And GlaxoSmithKline boss Jean-Pierre Garnier, who has presided over a 30 per cent fall in his company's share price and a 25 per cent drop in its profits, will be receiving a pension of nearly £1m a year.

But after years of striving to meet the increasingly fanatical demands of big business, we may have just reached a watershed. The first signs of revolt are there – if, that is, institutional shareholders' recent unrest over boardroom pay is anything to go by. Just as was the case with the militant unions, the feeling is growing that big business has had it all its own way for too long and that it must now be brought to heel.

Andrew Leedham is a journalist. For more information visit www.andrewleedham.com



Free market economics for dummies

NUMBER 1 • FREE TRADE

Launching his new column, Andrew Simms looks at the fiction that is free trade; it's never really existed and nobody, not least the corporations, has ever really wanted it

'The real losers in Seattle'. These were the words *The Economist* chose to accompany a front-page picture of obviously poor and hungry African children. It was right after the WTO's 1999 meeting fell apart in a haze of tear gas.

Free trade was on the front page of the world's newspapers and clogging its TV channels. *The Economist* was mad because the march of its 'liberating' free-trade ideology had been halted. Campaigners were delighted. They thought of free trade's emancipatory power in much the same way that Iraqis today think of being liberated by the US military.

writes: 'From about 1780 or 1800 onward, every serious attempt by a non-Western society to move over into a fast lane of development or to regulate its terms of trade was met by a military as well as an economic response from London or a competing imperial capital.'

Of British India, Davis states: 'Between 1875 and 1900, years that included the worst famines in Indian history, annual grain exports increased from three million to 10 million tons – an amount equivalent to the annual nutrition of 25 million people.' Indian grain exports have remained at these levels ever since.

'From about 1780 onward any attempt by a non-Western society to move into a fast lane of development or to regulate its terms of trade was met by a military as well as an economic response from London or a competing imperial capital'

But, as we approach the WTO's next big meeting in Cancun, Mexico, what exactly is this free trade that both excites and despairs? Nonsense, that's what.

We have never had it. And, no one, apart from a few market extremists, really wants it. Free trade is just a neat rallying cry and veil for the pursuit of naked national and corporate self-interest.

Globally, Britain and the US are the leading advocates of the benefits of free trade. Historically, however, both countries have chosen to pursue a very different course.

Both the dominant economic powers of the last two centuries employed radical protectionist measures to establish their dominance. It was only later that they began to preach free trade to the world. British protectionism peaked in the early 19th century. For another country to sell us anything it had to pay tariffs worth 50 per cent of the original value of its goods. In the US the same was true, more or less, up to the 1930s. The old man of economics JK Galbraith has observed: 'Free trade was for the first arrival, where (as in Britain) it was an attractive design for confining later contenders to their earlier stages of development.'

So, free-trade hysteria is relatively new. Economic historian Robert Heilbroner says that for much of the last millennia the 'notion that a general struggle for gain might actually bind together a community would have been held as little short of madness'.

But, of course, when other nations tried to emulate the experience of Britain and the US they ran into a little trouble. In *Late Victorian Holocausts*, Mike Davis

Similarly, in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa countries are told to sell off grain reserves even in the shadow of looming famine.

Even the conservative thinker Karl Popper could see in the operation of free markets pursued to their logical conclusion a fundamental threat to an open global society. He said: 'The paradox of economic freedom, which makes possible the unrestrained exploitation of the poor by the rich, results in the almost complete loss of economic freedom by the poor.'

So much for the official line from governments. But what about those lovers of the laws of the international business jungle, the multinational corporations? Well, it seems, when it actually comes to it, that they'd prefer to wrap up warm, stay inside and keep protected from the cut and thrust of real international competition.

'Chicago school' economist and Nobel laureate Ronald Coase pointed out in a classic article on the theory of the firm that 'firms are islands of central planning in a sea of market relationships'.

Similarly, the critique of former World Bank economist Herman Daly has never yet been answered. 'Islands of central planning become larger and larger relative to the remaining sea of market relationships as a result of merger... And this is hailed as a victory for markets.' So, there we have it: there is no such thing as real free trade. What we get is a victory for corporations against governments and the public interest.

Andrew Simms is policy director at the New Economics Foundation

Letter from America

BY WILLIAM BLUM

Winning the hearts and mindless

It's up to Americans to stop their government. Oh dear

Since Washington thumbed its nose at the world by invading Iraq, the burning question among the ranks of the anti-war movement here in the US as well as elsewhere has been: How do we stop the monster before it kills again?

With European and Arab governments lacking the courage to stand up to 'the empire', it's the US people we have to look to: no one has more leverage over the monster than its own children. And that's the problem, for the US people are... well... How can one put this delicately? Look at this way: one in every 50 US adults claims a UFO abduction experience; a National Science Board survey found that 27 per cent of them believe the sun revolves around the earth; and most Americans believe that God 'created' evolution.

One in 50 US adults claims a UFO abduction experience, 27 per cent believe the sun revolves around the earth and most are creationists

There are all kinds of intelligence in this world: musical, mathematical, artistic, literary, and so on. Then there's political intelligence, which might be defined as the ability to see through the bullshit that every society (past, present and future) feeds its citizens from birth onwards.

Polls conducted in June showed that 42 per cent of Americans believed Iraq had a direct involvement in what happened on 11 September; most were certain that Iraqis were among the 19 hijackers; 55 per cent of us believed that Saddam Hussein had close ties to al-Qaeda; 34 per cent were convinced that weapons of mass destruction (WMD) had recently been found in Iraq (7 per cent were not sure); and 24 per cent believed Iraq had used chemical or biological weapons against US forces in the war (14 per cent were unsure).

One opinion poll question asked: 'If Iraq had no significant WMD and no strong link to al-Qaeda, do you think we were misled by the government?' Only half of my fellow Americans think the answer to that question is 'yes'. 'Given the intensive news coverage and high levels of public attention [of and to the events in Iraq],' one pollster said, 'this level of misinformation suggests some Americans may be avoiding having an experience of cognitive dissonance.' That is, having the facts conflict with their beliefs.

One can only wonder what it would take to diminish the support of these people for what the empire does to the world. Maybe if government representatives visited their homes, seized their first born and took them away screaming? Well, probably not

if the government claimed that the adored first born had played soccer with someone from Pakistan who had a friend who had gone to the same mosque as someone from Afghanistan who had a picture of Taleban leader Mohammed Omar on his wall.

These are people who get virtually all their news from the shock-and-awe tabloid weeklies, AM-radio talk shows, and television news programmes that, because of market pressure, aim low so as to reach the widest possible audience. Thus, TV news in the US is composed of short programmes with lots of commercials, weather, sports, and entertainment; the latter is often packaged under the rubric of 'infotainment'.

These news sources don't necessarily have to explicitly state the falsehoods referred to above for

people to believe in them; they need only channel to their audience (with a pretence of neutrality) a continuous stream of statements from the government and conservative 'experts' justifying the war and demonising Saddam Hussein, while at the same time ignoring contrary views except when an expert is on hand to ridicule them and label them 'conspiracy theories', and never put everything together in a coherent and enlightening manner. One broadcasting company called Clear Channel, which owns 1,200 US radio stations, even sponsored 'rallies for America' promoting the White House plan to attack Iraq.

Many Americans, whether consciously or unconsciously, actually pride themselves on their ignorance. It reflects their break with the overly complicated intellectual tradition of 'old Europe'. It's also a source of satisfaction that they have a president who's no smarter than they are. They could be happy under totalitarianism, might well come to prefer it, and may be helping to advance it in the US even as you read these words.

This, then, is the target audience of the US anti-war movement, which has the unenviable task of winning over such hearts and mindless. But as Schiller wrote, 'with stupidity even the gods struggle in vain'. And a 24 June survey by *The Washington Post* and ABC News showed that 56 per cent of those questioned backed the use of force against Iran.

William Blum's books include *Rogue State: a guide to the world's only superpower*; www.killinghope.org

ROBIN PAGE

Enemies in high places

You must be doing something right when both the government *and* the BBC snub you.

Doesn't time fly when you are enjoying yourself? Incredibly, it is now 10 years since the launch of the Countryside Restoration Trust (CRT). From having no members, land, money or knowledge of how to run a charity, the organisation now has three farms, a Yorkshire wood and a Sussex field, 1,000 acres, £3m, 6,000 members and an overdraft of £870,000.

As the CRT's director, it was never my intention to run a charity connected with farming and conservation – all I have ever wanted to do is farm and write books. But other things keep intervening. Regarding farming and conservation, everybody was *telling* farmers what to do; nobody was *showing* them what to do. So, we were the first purely farming charity launched to farm our own land so as to show farmers – and anybody else interested – how to grow quality food in a wildlife-friendly way. We are as concerned with the corn bunting as the corn grower, and are desperately trying to keep the farmer and the farmworker on the land.

Way back in 1980 I went with the late, great countryside artist Gordon Beningfield to the RSPB to urge it to take action to save the general countryside and its wildlife, but we were given the bum's rush. 'Special areas' and 'island conservation' were, we were told, the answer. No sooner had we launched the CRT, than the RSPB experienced a miraculous conversion and became the saviours of farmland wildlife – even buying its own farm, Hope Farm, which is situated just six miles from the CRT's Lark Rise Farm.

To mark our fist 10 years, and to say 'thank you' to a wide array of people, we held a celebratory event at the Royal Institution in London's West End. So successful has the CRT been in promoting its aim and apportioning blame that despite the galaxy of top-line speakers at the event the entire farming establishment stayed away; The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs ministers Margaret Beckett, Lord Whitty,

Elliot Morely, Alun Michael and Ben Bradshaw were all absent. Government rural affairs adviser Lord 'cream of the milk' Haskins accepted his invitation at first but then changed his mind. One unkind individual incorrectly suggested that the absence of the secretary of state, the lovely Mrs Beckett, was caused by the fact that she does not know what or where the countryside is. If only her caravan had more windows.

The other great achievement of the CRT is that during the whole of its 10 years, and despite its pioneering aims, it has never been mentioned on the BBC's 'flagship' countryside programme *Countryfile* or on its government press release recitation programme *Farming Today*. True to form, both *Countryfile* and *Farming Today* kept well away from the 10th anniversary party.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the corporation's boycott was the presence of three BBC rejects who were actually allowed to speak from the podium. Robin Maynard is the national coordinator of Farm, the campaigning organisation for independent farmers. His contract on *Farming Today* was not renewed after complaints from the NFU (No 'Effing Use) that he was too 'green'. The great and good professor David Bellamy has been side-lined for being 'anti-Europe'. And I

was sacked as a presenter on *One Man and His Dog* because of my 'attitude towards the programme'; I objected to its pathetic dumbing-down (normal shepherds do not don colourful rugby shirts before jumping up and down and cheering wildly as their border collies round up sheep). There were, of course, my 'other activities', though the



'The BBC's current countryside team consists of a fat cook, two urban ex-children's TV presenters and a London celebrity 'birder'

BBC never would tell me what they were.

Never mind, the BBC nearly forgave me the other day and invited me to take part on *Question Time*. The great battler for free speech David Dimbleby even announced my appearance on 'next week's panel'. The following Monday I was told my presence on the programme would no longer be required; why, I have no idea.

Bellamy's performance in London was brilliant: funny, angry, happy, sad, serious and optimistic – all in 18 minutes. He is still by far and away Britain's best and most popular communicator on countryside and conservation issues. So why has the BBC excluded him? The corporation's current countryside team consists of a fat cook, two urban ex-children's TV presenters and a London celebrity 'birder'. Just imagine: '...And now over to *Panorama* and its presenters this week Jim Davidson and Bart Simpson...'

Meanwhile, we are told that the issue of GM crops is being taken seriously; the consultation process will ensure that all strands of opinion are heard. They will be heard, of course, but totally ignored as

various EU directives make it quite clear that GM will have to be allowed in Britain. What you, I or Parliament think is irrelevant. That great and honest lover of

freedom and democracy 'Bomber' Blair will convince us all that the consultation is 'democratic' and has been properly conducted. As a genuinely 'independent' member of South Cambridgeshire District Council I duly received my invitation to the GM consultation meeting in Cambridge... two days after it had been



held. Open and honest? I don't think so.

Mention of honesty reminds me that my great, good and much maligned near neighbour Lord Archer of Weston-super-Mare is now a free man again. When he is resident in Grantchester and not London I am the district councillor for both he and the fragrant one. As Mary is chairman of Cambridge's Addenbrookes Hospital Trust she actually does spread her fragrance far and wide – by arranging flowers in some of the hospital wards. Such goodness is wonderful to behold.

I was once invited to the Archers' famous summer garden party. It was a chance to mingle with the great, the good and the free-loading. But I declined. I preferred to watch paint dry in my bathroom that afternoon.

A full week before Jeffrey's release a film crew was filming a celebration in Grantchester – no, not the CRT's 10th anniversary. Outside the Blue Bull pub was a banner – 'welcome home Jeffrey' with a happy throng eating shepherd's pie and swilling champagne. And who, according to locals, had paid for and filmed this incredible party (before the event it was celebrating had actually happened)? stand up with pride the BBC. Come on Greg – cut the crap – is this true?

Robin Page is Head of the Countryside Resoration Trust

BUSHISMS

'It's very interesting when you think about it: the slaves who left here to go to the US, because of their steadfast and their religion and their belief in freedom, helped change the US.'

Senegal, 8 July

'I'm the master of low expectations.'

Aboard Air Force One, 4 June

'I'm also not very analytical. You know, I don't spend a lot of time thinking about myself, about why I do things.'

Aboard Air Force One, 4 June

'I recently met with the finance minister of the Palestinian Authority – was very impressed by his grasp of finances.'

Washington DC, 29 May



Nature & Resources Isolated by the surrounding desert, Kashgar was once an oasis on the old Silk Road. Now the city is being overwhelmed in the rush to open up the region's oil and gas reserves. By **Dan Box**.

Xinjiang

China's forgotten occupation

The railway has brought modern China across the desert to Kashgar. For those arriving in China's westernmost city, the station clock tells the time in Beijing two time zones away. This is the official time in China, and is used by the trains that facilitate a state-supported migration of millions of Han Chinese. China's dominant ethnic group, the Han account for 93 per cent of the country's population. Until recently they were a minority in Kashgar, but in a few years their numbers have increased from seven per cent to 43 per cent of the city's population. The migration has been driven by the discovery of estimated reserves of a trillion cubic metres of natural gas and 20 billion tonnes of oil.

Before the railway's construction, to get from Kashgar to Beijing it was four days by road to the nearest city of Urumchi and from there another four days by rail to the capital. Now, it takes just 24 hours.



Surrounded on all sides by desert, Kashgar is a heat-scorched oasis. The last outpost before the border with Pakistan, the city grew rich on the silk trade from Beijing to Europe. The trade's influence can still be seen

At our hotel, signs advertise the evening's performance of traditional Uyghur dancing. Unsurprisingly, no mention is made of the Chinese government's efforts to eradicate their culture altogether

in the old town. Bazaars spill across narrow streets spiralling out from the Id Kah mosque. Kashgar rings with the noise from copper workshops, jewellers and market traders. The indigenous Uyghur people speak a language common to central Asia, not Chinese.

The Chinese army occupied the region in 1949, claiming the desert and its people as their own. In 1955 what had been the Islamic Republic of East Turkestan was renamed the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region; the name was chosen to disguise what is total Chinese rule. While officially autonomous, 'Xinjiang' translates as 'new territory' or 'new frontier'.

In contrast, 'Uyghur' means 'allied'. The name unites a people exiled from Siberia and now scattered across central Asia. In Xinjiang, one-sixth the size of China, the Uyghur number roughly 11 million. They are mostly shepherds and oasis farmers isolated in the few belts of fertile land in the south of the region. Beijing perceived the absence of urban population as emptiness. From 1964 to 1996 Xinjiang was used to test China's nuclear weapons.

EXTINGUISHING A LANGUAGE

Outside in Kashgar, the wind twists – throwing bleached white sand against the station walls. Sitting opposite, an Uyghur girl watches the desert beyond the railway tracks. ‘This is the hottest place in the world,’ she says. ‘As hot as Palestine.’ She speaks with an accent learned from US films seen at university in Beijing. Not wanting to be identified, she gives herself the English name Lisa.

University offers Lisa an opportunity unavailable in Xinjiang; state education means a better chance of success within Han society. But that opportunity means choosing secular lessons taught in Mandarin, over Islamic education taught in her own tongue. The choice is between joining the new society or remaining Uyghur, and parents must make it for their children at an increasingly early age.

‘When I was in elementary school,’ says Lisa, ‘we had to learn Chinese from third grade. Now they have to learn from first grade. This is the beginning of starting to forget.’

The Uyghur’s language defines their independence from the Chinese. Following occupation, this independence provoked China to begin a programme of redefining Uyghur identity. Compulsory education was established in state schools to ‘abolish narrow nationalism and... genuinely reach a state of ethnic equality’. Uyghur parents fear their children may become so equal that they cease to be different from the Chinese.

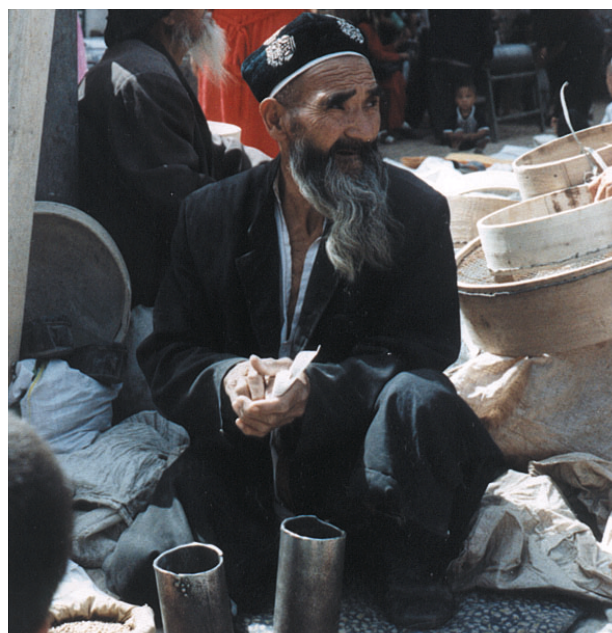
‘In two decades there will be no Uyghur people or culture left,’ says Lisa. ‘Our language has faced many challenges, but this is the greatest. If we can stand this challenge we will win, we will survive. If we can’t stand this challenge, we will die.’

The last we see of Lisa, she is setting out across the empty station car park – walking the few miles that separate Kashgar station from the old town. This vast suburban space, divided only by roads, marks the ambitions of the Han. A new concrete city is being built around old Kashgar, filling the emptiness between it and the station. Great tracts of land have been bulldozed for two-lane highways. Uyghur families now live in the shells of houses with walls torn open by the road. Where the narrow streets remain, grey office blocks tower above. The roads meet at a central roundabout, built where Uyghur houses used to stand. One technicolour billboard announces: ‘You cannot say you have seen the Silk Road until you have seen Kashgar.’ Another says: ‘Kashgar has taken on a new look. The Silk Road is even more shining.’

TRANSFERRING RESOURCES

This shining future, outlined last year in China’s 10th five-year plan, promises to ‘open up’ the country’s west to development. The whole of Xinjiang is being transformed with new roads, new railways and new industries to harness its natural wealth. Since 1994 more than \$700m of World Bank development loans have been used to build roads in Xinjiang. A further ►





CALLUM DOUGLAS

\$160m has been spent on railways linking China's east and west. Work continues on a massive 4,200-kilometre pipeline to carry gas from the Lunnan fields in southern Xinjiang across China to Shanghai.

According to the *People's Daily* newspaper, the scale of this construction will 'demonstrate the heroic spirit of the industrious and valiant Chinese people' and will 'bring an unprecedented mammoth transfer of resources'. Its completion will turn China's west into 'a powerful energy base'; the east will be the country's 'production base'. The work is controlled by the state company PetroChina; three foreign companies – Royal Dutch/Shell, ExxonMobil and the Russian firm Gazprom – share a 45 per cent stake in it. These three also enjoy exclusive rights to develop five oilfields within Xinjiang. Between the competing interests of Beijing and foreign capital, the Uyghur are being ignored.

The benefits of development are available only to the Han. A UN report into the east-west pipeline found that 93 per cent of people in the, predominantly Uyghur communities near Lunnan had never heard of Shell, and less than half of PetroChina. Even in the cities, Han Chinese and Uyghur live in virtual segregation. While a few Uyghur occupy positions in government and business, real power resides in the parallel organisation of the Communist Party. Officials state that party membership and the Uyghur's Muslim faith are incompatible.

CHINESE ISLAMOPHOBIA

Sporadically, this situation gives rise to violence, which the Chinese then use to justify increased control. Beijing warns of separatist Uyghur conspiring to establish an independent Muslim state within Xinjiang. Yet, according to a 2002 Chinese government report, there has only been one act of 'terrorist' violence since 1999. That attack, the murder of a court official in Kashgar,

took place in February 2001.

Chinese reaction is out of all proportion with the reality of the threat. Policy in Xinjiang is dictated by a secret document of the Standing Committee of the Communist Party; the document advocates using the 'rule of law' to combat 'the infiltration and sabotaging activities of foreign religious powers'. Mosques, imams and Islamic schools must be officially sanctioned. Communist Party regulations instruct local authorities to 'establish a political verification' dossier to make sure imams meet political requirements. At the Id Kah mosque, the number of those attending worship is counted and their names taken.

The full extent of this repression is unknown, the information limited by Chinese control on foreign journalists. What is known is this: since September 11, the government has claimed al-Qaeda has trained Uyghur terrorists, and thousands of Uyghur have been detained. Official sources state that 8,000 have been given 'political education' courses; many remain imprisoned. Amnesty International reports that Xinjiang

The scale of the construction will 'demonstrate the heroic spirit of the industrious and valiant Chinese people' ...In two decades there will be none of the indigenous Uyghur people or culture left

is the only province in China where execution of political prisoners is still common. The ratio of death sentences to population is several times higher here than elsewhere in China.

Less well known are the more subtle forms the occupation takes. Arriving at our hotel, signs advertise the evening's performance of traditional Uyghur dancing. As daylight fades, bare electric bulbs flood the courtyard and busloads of Han tourists arrive and occupy rows of plastic seats.

A troupe of Uyghur dancers emerges hesitantly and lines up before the watching crowd. The girls wear loose black dresses and tie gold plastic coins in their hair; the men wear black robes fastened on the right with long waistbands. Almost sullenly, the dancers start to circle each other, then begin to spin faster and faster. Soon, both girls and men are swept along by the applause and cheering of the crowd.

Beaten out on drums and stringed instruments, the dance borrows from the 'Mukam', or '12 Great Melodies', that have been Uyghur tradition for centuries. But after the crowd applauds the costumes are returned to the hotel and the Uyghur return to their homes. Every evening the spectacle is repeated; it serves to separate the Uyghur culture from the world at large, as if it were a soon-to-be-extinct museum piece. ■

Dan Box is a freelance journalist

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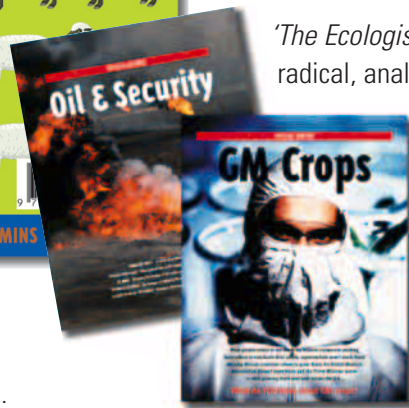
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In the past 50 years the global economy has grown by over 500 per cent... the richest fifth of the world now earn 86 per cent of global income... the poorest fifth earn just 1.3 per cent... life expectancy in the world's most 'developed' countries is 79 years... in the least 'developed' it is still just 42... we consume 22 million tonnes of oil every day... chop down 1 per cent of the world's forests every year... and have killed 90 per cent of the world's big fish. Has the time come to give up on globalisation?

Globalisation

use it or

“ Dear Helena,



Until quite recently, I believed that everything that can be produced locally should be produced locally. This appeared to me to be the only likely means of preventing the damage inflicted on both the environment and the rights of workers, consumers and the poor by the global race to the bottom known as 'free trade'.

But my search for positive solutions to the problems we both contest has forced me to think more rigorously. I have sought to approach the issue from first principles; that is to say the principles of economic justice. Having done so, I have found that the doctrine I once supported is gravely unjust. There is, I believe, a far better, subtler approach – one that would achieve all the environmental outcomes we seek while facilitating the distribution of wealth.

'Localisation', as Colin Hines (author of the best-known manifesto on the subject) would have it, means that countries should

'produce as much of their food, goods and services as they can. Some long-distance trade [would] still occur for those sectors providing goods and services to other regions of the world that can't provide such items from within their own borders – eg, certain minerals or cash crops'. To earn foreign exchange from the rich world, in other words, the poor world must export raw materials.

This, of course, is exactly what the poor nations have been desperately struggling to avoid. Raw materials will always be worth less than manufactured products. Moreover, their production tends to reward only those who own the primary resource. As the workers are unskilled, wages remain low. Every worker is replaceable by any other, so they have no power in the marketplace. There is no need to educate them, so there is less danger that they become empowered and politically effective.

Hines's prescription damages precisely those interests he seeks to protect. To earn sufficient foreign exchange to import the



Culture clash: Turkish Muslims chat in front of advertising hoarding

goods they cannot produce themselves poor nations would need to export more, not less, of their natural wealth. This would increase their contribution to climate change, soil erosion and the loss of biodiversity. Here, economic survival is reliant upon biological growth, but the demand for foreign exchange would soon outstrip the ecosystem's rate of renewal.

A reliance on agricultural exports is also likely to accelerate the destruction of smallholder farming. As international trade rewards (to a greater extent than local sales) economies of scale, cash cropping displaces peasant producers.

The authoritarian measures Hines and

others have proposed to prevent international trade in any products that can be produced at home (protectionist barriers, trade rules forbidding states to 'pass laws... that diminish local control of industry and services', and an investment treaty prohibiting nations 'from treating foreign investors as favourably as domestic investors') appear to me not only to subvert national democracy but also quite unnecessary.

A far better approach to regulating international trade would surely be to constrain the behaviour not of nation states but of the agencies trading between those states: namely, multinational corporations.

becomes more expensive to train and harder to replace.

Economic justice depends on the transfer of wealth from rich nations to poor ones. This, in turn, requires some kind of globalisation. I have suggested the kind that, I believe, would be the most effective. The key question you have to answer is: 'What would you do instead?' If international trade is not the solution, what is?

**Yours Sincerely,
George**



Dear George,



I too have thought rigorously about alternatives to globalisation. In fact, I have been working on these issues for nearly three decades, in both the North and the South. And I've come to very different conclusions .

Your critique of localisation rests heavily on the extraordinary assertion that localists believe that the countries of the South should export only raw materials. This is the exact opposite of the truth. The localist position is that as much value should be added to traded products as possible.

The essence of localisation is to enable communities around the world to diversify their economies so as to provide for as many of their needs as possible from relatively close to home. Economic activity on this scale can be adapted so as not to undermine biological and cultural diversity, and seems essential if we are to avoid further ecological and social breakdown. This is not about some sort of protectionism for the wealthy – nor does it mean eliminating trade altogether, as some critics like to suggest. It is about finding a more secure and sustainable balance between trade and local production.

Like you, I too believe in economic justice. However, I would argue that the best way of achieving it is to encourage the building of strong local economies across the world. I would like to see more economic power returned to the local level. This would mean, among other things, less reliance on long-distance trade. As you point

HELENA NORBERG-HODGE

**is a director of ISEC, an
organisation promoting localisation
as a solution to global problems**

on
lose it?



GEORGE MONBIOT
is author of *Age of Consent – A Manifesto for a New World Order* and a columnist for *The Guardian*

This would mean subjecting them to mandatory fair-trade standards: if they failed to meet these standards, they would lose their right to trade internationally. Among the requirements would be that the full environmental cost of the products they sell, and of those products' transport, be included in their eventual price.

What we then find is that the very opposite of Hines's prescription comes into play. International trade in high-volume, low-value products (especially those requiring rapid transport, such as mangetout from Kenya or milk from Spain to Britain) would become prohibitively expensive. Those nations that are currently producers of raw materials would become the most favoured locations for specialist manufacturing: it would be far cheaper to transport aluminium pans than the bauxite from which they are made.

Our concern for the environment thus helps, rather than hinders, the citizens of poor nations to escape from the poverty trap. Wealth is redistributed from rich nations to poor. Within the nation, specialised manufacturers are forced to distribute some of the wealth they accrue to their workforce, as labour is able to demand better wages and conditions as it

out, 'international trade rewards (to a greater extent than local sales) economies of scale'. In other words, such trade is suited to large-scale production, which inherently favours a few large producers over many smaller ones. Over the years, countless small farms, village shops and a myriad of other small businesses have been replaced by giant transnational corporations (TNCs) – and the process is escalating. It's clear that a system built on global trade cannot lead to either sustainability or equity.

For the time being, such trade is a reality. So how do we best control it? Among other things, I believe that countries or regions in both the North and the South should be allowed to put up barriers to protect their own interests. Don't you agree, for instance, that the UK should be able to impose a ban on the import of GM foods? You seem to think that such bans should be avoided because they are 'authoritarian'. I see no problem with governments being 'authoritarian' in their dealings with TNCs. (Nor, apparently, do you; that is exactly what your 'mandatory standards' would be.)

Reducing the scale of economic activity does not mean localising all political decision-making. Internationally enforceable measures are clearly needed to protect the environment and human rights so that nations and communities can defend themselves against exploitation. But global governance – which would inevitably disempower us all still further – is not necessary to make such measures work; multilateral agreements could do the job. History shows that the best agents of environmental and social change – and the best watchdogs – are people on the ground putting pressure on national governments, and not distant (even if supposedly 'democratic') bureaucracies.

You argue that a greater focus on high-tech exports from poor to rich nations is the key to economic justice. This is fundamentally no different from the tired old trade formula that has been foisted on these countries for generations. Do you really believe that producing electronic address books and robotic toys for fickle markets will create an educated and empowered workforce? If so, why is there so little economic justice in the North, where we have had value-added production and higher levels of education for decades? Even here, poverty not only exists, but is increasing. Even here, hard-nosed CEOs have no qualms about sacking thousands of people if their work can be done more cheaply elsewhere. Even here, the economy of an entire region can be decimated at the stroke of a computer key.

Worldwide, the growing gap between rich and poor is largely due to the fact that large mobile corporations are positioning themselves between producers and consumers – and they grow fatter and more powerful as the distance between the two grows. One result of this process is that countries around the world, including the UK, routinely import and export identical products – fresh milk, butter, live animals – in identical quantities. It's utter madness, but it's the logical consequence of an economy built by and for TNCs.

We clearly need to move in a quite different direction – reducing the power of the big corporations by bringing

the economy home. In stark contrast to your proposals, localisation can begin right now; it does not depend on elaborate international structures. In fact, such a process is already beginning to happen, and is already bringing social, environmental and economic benefits to people around the world.

**Best wishes,
Helena**



Dear Helena,



I can understand why you might wish to deny that confining poor nations to trading in raw materials is an outcome of localisation, though it is there in black and white in Colin Hines's manifesto on the subject. But, even if it wasn't, surely you can see that it's an inevitable consequence of the policies you propose? Rich nations, once they have obtained raw materials, can manufacture everything they need within their own borders. But many poor nations do not possess a domestic market of sufficient size to make high-value

GEORGE MONBIOT

“ The paradox of localisation is that it actually relies on massively enhanced globalisation. Without major restrictions on the behaviour of nation states by global treaties and the bodies which enforce them, they will continue to trade globally, not locally ”

manufacturing for home consumption worthwhile. They will continue to import manufactured goods, yet be prevented from exporting them; localisation in the rich nations will force them to sell only raw materials. Their economic position, as a result, will deteriorate still further.

This illustrates just one of the basic contradictions at the heart of localisation. Here is another. You say there should be no global governance. How, then, do you propose to deal with issues such as climate change, debt, nuclear proliferation and war? How, too, without global governance, do you prevent those who currently

exercise power at the global level from picking off our local and national solutions one by one, just as the financial speculators have prevented Lula from pursuing an autonomous economic policy in Brazil? Here we encounter the paradox of localisation: that it actually relies on massively enhanced globalisation. Without major restrictions on the behaviour of nation states by global treaties and the bodies that enforce them states will continue to trade globally, not locally.

But it really isn't easy to see what you do believe in. You claim, for example, that you are opposed to global governance but in favour of multilateral agreements. But, when applied to trade, global governance consists of multilateral agreements and their enforcement mechanisms. You accept that such agreements are necessary to permit communities to 'defend themselves against exploitation', but then suggest that localisation 'does not depend on elaborate international structures'. You claim that 'as much value should be added to traded products as possible', then go on to denounce this policy as 'the tired old trade formula that has been foisted on these countries for generations'. You cannot take all these positions at once and expect to be taken seriously.

Most importantly, you have failed to address – let alone to answer – my question. So, I will put it to you again. How, if not through trade, would you redistribute wealth from rich nations to poor ones?

**Best wishes,
George**



Dear George,



Your attack on localisation is based on misquoting just one of its proponents. Have you not read others like Gandhi, Schumacher and Vandana Shiva? They all make it clear that localisation is about greater self-reliance. This means that the North would be less dependent on the South for raw materials, and that the South would be less dependent on volatile global commodity markets. You and I both agree that value should be added to traded products, but you are advocating increased global trade and I'm advocating increased local and regional trade.

SPECIAL REPORT



The Bushmen of The Kalahari



THE BUSHMEN O

CORBIS

Sandy Gall describes the genocide the Botswanan government is waging to clear the Bushmen from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve

On the sideboard in my dining room in Kent there is a small bowl of very fine, reddish sand from the southern-most tip of the Kalahari Desert and a large, gleaming white ostrich egg with a hole drilled in the top. The two objects, so far removed from their place of origin, conjure up for me and my daughter Michaela (who bought the ostrich egg at a tourist camp in Namibia and collected the sand from a dune in a north-west Cape squatter camp called Welkom) vivid if nostalgic memories of the Kalahari and the Bushmen who still live in it. But they symbolise much more: they speak of an ancient civilisation that existed and flourished for thousands of years under the great dome of the African sky.

The Kalahari 'sandface', as the Bushmen call it, stretches across seven countries: the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Zambia in the north, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia in the centre, and South Africa in the south. Unlike the Sahara and Saudi Arabia's Empty Quarter, it is partly covered with thick bush and trees and criss-crossed by underground rivers that support a wide variety of plant and animal life – including the ostrich. To the Bushmen the ostrich is a legendary bird – it first gave fire to man – and also the butt of many stories and jokes.



to elder Mathambo Sesana describing how profoundly attached he and the rest of his people were to their ancestral land – a land from which the Botswana government was trying to evict them. 'We all want to stay,' he began. Then, scooping up a handful of sand and letting it trickle through his fingers, he said: 'We are made the same as the sand. So this is our land, because we were born here.' Two and a half years later he was dead from a suspected heart attack after a violent raid on the village by Botswana wildlife officials and police (of which more later).

Another villager, Ganema – the sprightly middle-aged wife of the local shaman or medicine man, told me she and her family were also determined to stay despite government threats. 'They say they

Scooping up a handful of sand and letting it trickle through his fingers, he said. 'We are made the same as the sand. So this is our land, because we were born here.'

They prize it as a source of protein and for its tough eggshells. The latter have both artistic and practical applications; they are used in the manufacture of jewellery and as containers to store water under the sand against times of drought.

So for the Bushmen, far from being a hostile environment, the sands of the Kalahari are a life-giving force. One day early in 1998, sitting in the shade of a big acacia tree in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve community of Molapo, I listened

will drop a bomb on us if we don't move... [They say] "This is not your land, you stole this land. You are finishing the game, you have stolen the land and killed the game." But I was born here, my mother suckled me here, so I will not move. I want to die here.'

As my daughter and I travelled through the Kalahari reserve (created by the British in 1961 as a permanent home for the Bushmen 'to allow them the right of choice of the life they wish to follow') we repeatedly heard both men and women say ►

OF THE KALAHARI

they could not leave 'because the graves of our ancestors are here'. This was of paramount importance because the Bushmen used sand from their family graves for healing, rain-making and even, one woman said, to put on their crops if they were doing badly.

The Bushmen's affinity with the natural world, and above all with the animals they hunted, was most strikingly expressed in two ways: through their rock art and the trance dance. The paintings and engravings go back thousands of years and are found all over the southern half of Africa – from Zimbabwe and even farther north in Tanzania to the Cape. Throughout this vast area you can find caves and overhangs decorated with still extraordinarily vivid pictures of animals, hunters and mysterious half-human half-animal hybrids. The latter are shamans: the medicine men-priests who may well have been the artists as well, and who achieved potency as healers through the trance dance – the most important of all Bushman rituals.

One of the most famous rock paintings is the Laurens van der Post panel at Tsodilo, a huge repository of Bushman art in north-western Botswana. There, high up on a rock face, gazing out across the Kalahari, is the image of a magnificent red eland bull, 'painted,' wrote van der Post in *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, 'only as a Bushman who had a deep identification with the eland could have painted him'. Below and facing the other way stands a female giraffe, motionless as if alarmed by some predator. The rock face bears the images of several

other animals and two still vivid and fresh blood-red handprints – the signature, van der Post presumed, of the unknown artist.

My first visit to Tsodilo made a deep impression on me. I discovered that a vibrant Bushman culture, producing a wealth of art, existed there at least 2,000 or 3,000 years ago, and that the Bushmen (or their ancestors) had lived there more than 30,000 years ago. This, of course, was not a civilisation of great public buildings and conquering armies, but a society of hunter-gatherers who had learned to survive and even flourish in daily osmosis with the natural world – even in the harsh confines

Is the Botswana government's campaign to remove the Bushmen from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, where they have lived for possibly 20,000 years, genocide 'by stealth'?

of the Kalahari. Based on the extended family, it was perhaps the first democratic society on earth – with no kings, chiefs or even headmen. Each man considered himself as good as the next. All decisions were taken by consensus and only after discussion among all the adults in the family group – both men and women. Once the majority view was established, everyone was expected to adhere to it.

To survive as a hunter-gatherer (we were all hunter-gatherers once) you have to be pragmatic and flexible. Bushmen are sometimes incorrectly described as nomads. Nomads have flocks and herds and travel long distances in a predictable pattern of

seasonal migration. Bushmen, who have no flocks or herds and only a minimum of personal possessions, travel much shorter distances in pursuit of food and water and always in their own territory. Each territory, known as 'nyore' in Nharo (one of the many Bushman click languages) was jealously and often fiercely guarded because it contained the resources on which the Bushmen depended for survival: water, game and the wild plants of the Kalahari.

The Bushmen know and use more than 100 plants, many of which are highly nutritious. But sadly their vast knowledge of the natural world, which is now proving

so valuable to modern medicine, is rapidly being lost as they are forced by a ruthless and indeed racist Botswanan government out of their ancestral territories like the Central Kalahari Game Reserve and into resettlement camps that the Bushmen call 'places of death'.

Years of threats and intimidation culminated in August 2000 in a raid by half a dozen wildlife officials and tribal policemen on Molapo. Thirteen Bushmen were arrested for alleged poaching, taken to a camp in the bush and held without food or water for three days. There, according to a Survival International report that was based on an on-the-spot investigation by one of the indigenous peoples' pressure group's senior staff, the detainees were kicked and beaten until they 'confessed' that they had killed giraffe and eland. One victim called Kebabseisa Thekiso said that he was 'tied to the bush bars of [a] vehicle and beaten all over the body... with fists and kicked', and that he was told 'if you don't say you killed a giraffe you will die'.

Then at the beginning of February 2002 the Botswana government cut off the water supply to the six communities in the Kalahari reserve – even emptying half-full water tanks into the sand, and evicted the remaining inhabitants. Hunting, the lifeblood of Bushman life, had already been banned. Now, if Bushmen want to revisit their old homes in their ancestral territory they have to obtain a permit. In the two drab resettlement villages of New Xade and



ALL PICTURES: SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

Kauduane, on the fringes of the reserve, there is no hunting and, because there is no plant food, no gathering – only government handouts, unemployment, alcoholism and despair.

Despite all these obstacles and restrictions, about 120 Bushmen have slipped back into the reserve; they are determined to cling to their old way of life.

To defy a government that has shown (at Molapo, for example) that it is more than willing to use storm-trooper tactics takes courage. But to survive the lack of water takes determination and resourcefulness. The Bushmen who have stayed on or gone back will have to re-learn to exist in the traditional way – by using the old sip wells (from which water was sucked up from



deep in the sand through a hollow reed), or by storing ostrich eggshells full of water under the sand.

Shamefully, consecutive British governments (including the present one), the EU, so-called liberal MEPs like Glenys Kinnock, anthropologists (with some honourable exceptions) and (perhaps more understandably given the internal pressure) Botswanan human rights' organisations have all turned their backs on the Bushmen.

Since Bushmen are the most studied human social group on earth, it is particularly odd that the anthropological world has either kept silent or, like the young South African anthropologist James Suzman (who has close connections with the diamond giant De Beers), argued against bestowing ancestral land rights on indigenous peoples. One outstanding exception is the US anthropologist professor Susan Kent, who has pointed out that it is only very recently that the Botswana government has started to stop the Bushmen hunting and gathering 'with an aggressive programme of assimilation to the Botswana agro-pastoralist way of life. Only now, under an involuntary resettlement scheme, has the extinction of the [Bushman] culture become imminent'.

Another notable exception is the British academic and member of the International

Association of Genocide Scholars Dr Mark Levene, who says that the Botswana government could face charges of genocide at the International Criminal Court. Survival International, the only human rights' organisation apart from Botswana's First People of the Kalahari that is prepared to fight for the Bushmen's cause, says that many Bushmen fear that the loss of their land will lead to their extinction.

One Bushman, living in the New Xade resettlement camp told Survival: 'My children have been taken off their land. Our culture, which I wanted to teach them, is just about to die. My children are like an unknown nation. Nobody knows where they are from. They are lost. They are like dead people. We are all – me, my children and my people – in prison. It's genocide. It's like a big hole has been dug and all the Gana and the Gwi [Bushman] have been tipped inside and buried.'

Recently, the Botswana president Festus Mogae (who has twice visited Britain in the past two years as a guest of the government to promote Botswanan diamonds as 'clean') was picketed in Oxford by Survival protesters. Asked by a student if the Bushmen would be allowed to return to their ancestral territory in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, he replied: 'No, it is only for animals.' In a formal statement issued to counter the Survival campaign, Mogae claimed that the resettlement programme had been carried out 'in the most sensitive and constructive manner possible'. Tell that to the Bushmen who were tortured at Molapo.

In my book, *The Bushmen of Southern Africa: slaughter of the innocent*, I ask whether the Botswanan government's campaign to remove the Bushmen from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve is genocide 'by stealth'. It is genocide, alright, but not by stealth. It is open, unashamed and contemptuous of world opinion. ■

Former ITN presenter Sandy Gall is the world affairs editor of LBC. *The Bushmen of Southern Africa: slaughter of the innocent* is published by Pimlico, price £12.50

WORLD OF THE BUSHMEN

Where are they found?

The Bushmen are the oldest inhabitants of southern Africa, where they have lived for at least 20,000 years in the Kalahari desert.

How many of them are there? 100,000.

How do they survive?

The Bushmen's hunting skills are remarkable. They can tell an animal's age by examining its droppings, and can measure how old its tracks are in the time it takes termites to rebuild a nest that the beast has trampled on. They use the nest of the penduline tit bird to keep things like tobacco or unused poison pupae dry.



What is their social structure?

Historically, they lived in groups of between 25 and 50 people who are related to each other through blood or marriage. With no specific leaders, decisions are made by discussion and consensus. Food and water are divided according to seniority, and what limited possessions they have are shared.

Central to their rituals is the trance dance, in which the women sit around a fire and clap out a rhythm, and the men dance in a circle around them. The intense concentration, hyperventilation and highly rhythmic dancing involved in the ceremony send the participants into a state of trance. During trance, they assume the character of various animals and are able to communicate with spirits – pleading with them to help perform tasks like curing the sick.

Other important tasks performed in trance include rain-making and visiting other camps in out-of-body travel. Sometimes the participants see spirit animals attracted by the dance standing out in the darkness. They direct one another's attention to these animals, thus pooling their experiences of the spirit world. Afterwards they collapse in exhaustion until the next day, when, fully recovered, they share their trance experiences with one other.



Since 1997 the government of Botswana has been systematically removing the Bushmen from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). Keen to make sure that Botswana's image isn't sullied by the extinction of the world's oldest civilisation, the government has strenuously denied that the expulsion of the Bushmen from their ancestral lands has anything to do with diamond mining. Apparently, it's all to do with development and conservation.

Why are the bushmen being evicted?

the government of Botswana claims the CKGR was set up for conservation purposes, and that the Bushmen threaten the game

There are two reasons why this won't wash. First, the CKGR was originally ceded to the Bushmen by the British in 1961 to provide them with an area where they could continue their traditional lifestyle of living sustainably off the animals there.

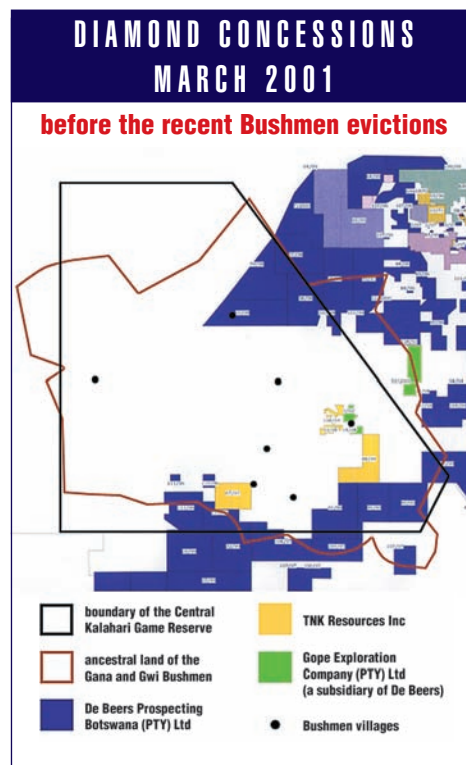
Second, Bushmen hunting is intelligent and controlled and has developed over thousands of years. They know better than anyone else the extent of local animal populations; they have never driven animals to extinction. Unlike most people in the 'developed' world, the bushmen know how best to use scarce resources.

Yet the Botswana government is committed to this fallacy. In 2001 13 bushmen were charged with over-hunting. In January this year the charges were dropped when the authorities failed to produce any witnesses.

The government also believes that the Bushmen should be 'developed' from their 'primitive' state

Margaret Nasha, the minister who authorised the present removals, has said: 'We do not want to see pictures of semi-naked prehistoric people.' Botswana president Festus Mogae put it another way: 'If the bushmen want to survive they must change otherwise, like the Dodo, they will perish.'

So offended is the Botswana government by the Bushmen, that on numerous occasions government officials have resorted to torturing them. In one



incident a man was castrated – all in the name of development, of course. In another incident in August 2000 wildlife officials and police in the CKGR town of Rakops spent six days working over 20 men and four women as punishment for their 'over-hunting'. The officials were so keen to develop the Bushmen that they tied them to a Land Rover for 48 hours. One of the Bushmen victims later elaborated: 'They told us to line up naked in front of the Land Rovers. We were tied upside down and handcuffed to the Land Rovers, with our feet tied to the bushbars until 10pm.

For the first two days we slept tied to the bushbars. This land belonged to our great-great-great-grandfathers. The game and wild fruits are important to us. We grow melons on this land and we hunt animals like gemsbok. This land is important to us.'

The Botswana government's offensive attitude and actions rest on a racist premise – the notion that the Bushmen's hunter-gatherer lifestyle is somehow inferior and should be 'developed'. But Survival International director Stephen Corry describes the Bushmen's lifestyle as 'an intelligent reaction to an otherwise inhospitable climate'. Corry says: 'In many parts of the world, hunting and gathering allow humans to inhabit areas that would otherwise remain empty – not just deserts, but parts of the Arctic and tropical rainforest. Nor are the Bushmen living a life that is "unchanged" over hundreds of years; they adapt to changes like everyone else. But they must be allowed to choose how.'

The government says the Bushmen must be 'brought to where the services are'...

The most important 'service' for the Bushmen is water. They had a perfectly good borehole in the CKGR until government officials dismantled its pump. When the New Xade resettlement camp was founded, Bushmen were taken from a community where many services existed and dumped on a site outside the CKGR where there were no services; water had to be piped in at a cost of hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Furthermore, investigations of the CKGR's Gope diamond mine for De Beers

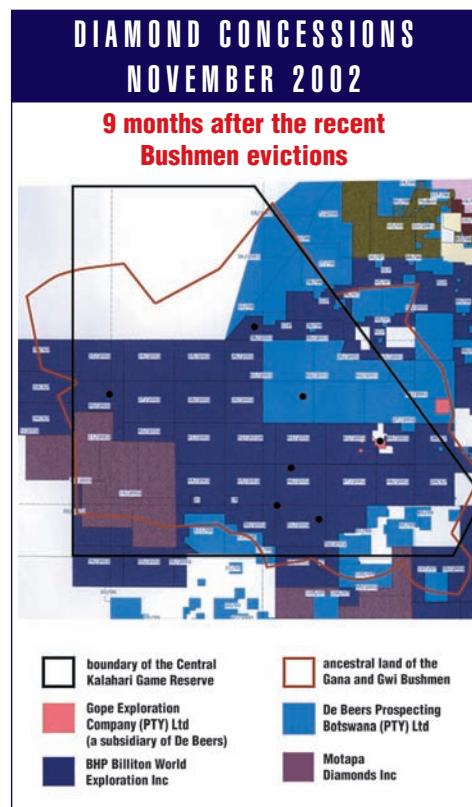
uncovered a vast underground lake from which 9,000 cubic metres of water could be sustainably extracted every day. And that figure allows for the diamond mine using 12,000 cubic metres of the water a day.

...it says it's too expensive to provide 'services' to the Bushmen in the CKGR

According to the authorities' own figures, it was costing just 20 pula (\$3) per person per week to provide such services. The government resettlement camps, on the other hand, have cost millions. But anyway, Botswana had a budget surplus of 2.58 billion pula in the financial year 2000/2001.

But the truth is that Botswana is more interested in developing its Diamond industry

Dr Akolang Russia Tombale is the permanent secretary of the Botswana ministry of minerals, energy and water affairs. He's also deputy chairman of Debswana – the mining company that is half owned by De Beers and half by the Botswana government.



'There is neither any actual mining nor any plan for future mining inside the reserve'

President Festus Mogae, November 2002

BUSHMEN EVICTION HISTORY	
1979	Hunting regulations introduced. Bushmen are given special game licences restricting the numbers and species of game they can hunt.
1980s	Diamond deposits discovered at Gope (Bushman community in CKGR).
1982	De Beers launches a joint venture with Canadian mining firm Falconbridge to evaluate the Gope deposits.
15 July 1986	Botswanan government white paper on Bushman communities in CKGR makes clear relocation is official policy.
12 October 1986	Botswana's minister of commerce and industry announces decision to move the communities.
March 1997	Botswana's minister of local government, lands and housing requests that the Botswana parliament approves funding for the resettlement of the Bushmen outside of the CKGR.
May-June 1997	The government resettles the people of New Xade, the largest Bushman community in the CKGR, and others from the south-central part of the reserve in Kweneng District. Some 1,500 people are evicted, but about 700 refuse to move.
March 2000	New regulations state Bushmen must apply in writing for hunting permits and permission to collect veld foods in CKGR. Permission will be issued at the reserve's director of wildlife's discretion.
August 2000	Wildlife department officials descend on the community of Molapo, forcing their way into several Bushman homes, bullying and later torturing at least two dozen men and women. Bushman Mathambo Sesana dies a few days later.
13 August 2001	The government announces that water and other essential services will be cut off in the CKGR at the end of January 2002.
February 2002	Bushmen told they need permits to enter their own land. Community radios confiscated by police. Most of the remaining 700 Bushmen evicted by force from their homes in CKGR to resettlement camps. Dozens refuse to move.
March 2002	Bushmen prevented from taking food and water to those resisting eviction in CKGR.
November 2002	Post-evictions, virtually all the CKGR is carved up into diamond-exploration concessions.
16 June 2003	Group of Bushmen who had returned to Molapo issued with courts summons, charging them with entering a game reserve without a permit.

In a recent court case concerning the Bushmen's right to return to their ancestral lands, Tombale assured the court that the evictions had nothing to do with diamonds. This was strange, because the bushmen's lawyers had never mentioned diamonds. They were just defending the Gana and Gwi Bushmen's right to live on lands they had occupied for thousands of years.

And yet when Margaret Nasha said in February 2002 that the relocation of the Gana and Gwi was not unprecedented she cited an example of people being relocated 'to give way for projects of national interest' in Jwaneng. They were, in fact, relocated to make way for a diamond mine.

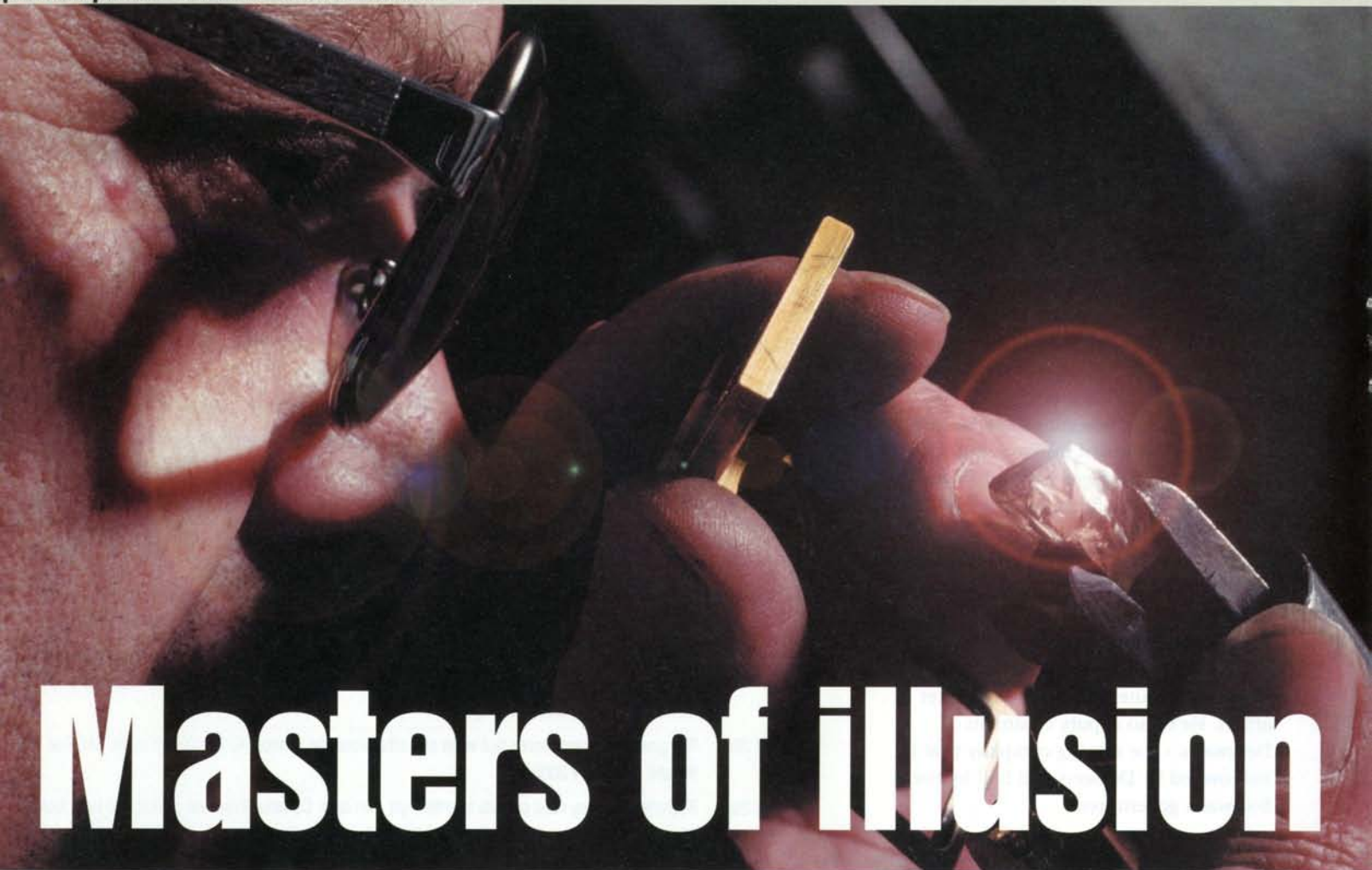
As Botswana's foreign minister Mompoti Merafhe has explained: 'Many Bushmen have been removed because of economic interests. In Orapa, my area, a great chunk of people were removed because of the mine. Botswana is where it is today because of this facilitation. These

people are no exception.'

And Eric Molale, an official in Botswana's ministry of local government, has said: 'Government has always encouraged and persuaded its citizens to give way for developments of national importance.' (This was the same Molale who told the BBC last year that nobody was being forced to move.)

Meanwhile, back in the Kalahari the Botswana government has been parcelling up the CKGR into diamond concessions and sharing them out between De Beers, the Australian-based company BHP Billiton and the Canadian outfit Motapa Diamonds Inc. And by November last year virtually the entire game reserve, bar a small bite-sized chunk in the northwest, had been dished out.

So either the government has pulled off a fat scam by selling dud concessions to three unsuspecting multinationals – or it's lying.



Masters of illusion

Janine Roberts describes how De Beers cons the world into paying so much for its cheap, plentiful diamonds and turns a blind eye to the eradication of the oldest culture on the planet.

Forever, as the diminutive pop star Prince once sang, is a mighty long time. But for the world's largest diamond company De Beers forever is not about time. It's about money. It was in 1948 that an advertising agency working for De Beers first came up with the line 'a diamond is forever'. The slogan was not a comment upon the legendary indestructibility of diamonds. Rather, the underlying message was: 'Once you've bought a diamond, never sell it.' But the purpose of the campaign was not so much to encourage people to keep diamonds as heirlooms as to discourage the market in second-hand gems; the second-hand market might limit the profitable (for De Beers) trade in 'new' diamonds. For diamonds, in fact, are not for ever.

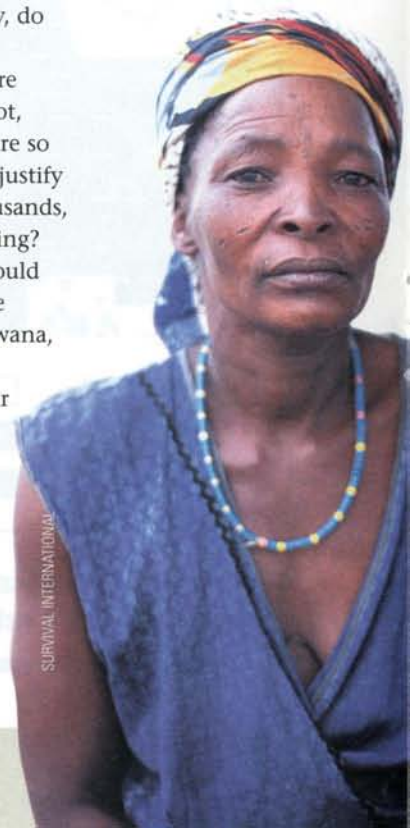
They are brittle and can burn.

The eternity ring – a ring inset with several small diamonds – is not, therefore, so much a symbolic expression of love given to one's long-term partner. It is a marketing device thought up by De Beers and its ad agency in the 1970s to sell a surfeit of undersized diamonds that had been recently found in Siberia.

Eternity and indestructibility are just two of many illusions in the diamond world. And while it certainly is no illusion that

diamonds are expensive to buy, do you know why they are so expensive? Is it because they are expensive to mine or cut? If not, then surely it is because they are so rare? How else could De Beers justify charging hundreds, if not thousands, of dollars for an engagement ring? More importantly, what else could justify the removal of an entire people – the Bushmen of Botswana, a people whose culture is the oldest in the world – from their ancestral lands?

It costs De Beers, on average, \$6.40 to mine a high-quality diamond weighing 0.8 carats in size. When cut, such a diamond would be worth \$1,000 dollars on the market.



SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

Myth 1: Diamonds are expensive to mine

In the course of 15 years of investigating the diamond industry, I have met mining company executives and diamond mine workers from all the major diamond producing countries in the world – in southern Africa, Australia, northern Canada and Russia.

I've learnt that to extract a carat-weight (a fifth of a gram) of diamonds in the Orapa mine in Botswana it costs \$9, in the Finsch mine in South Africa it costs \$12, and in the Argyle mine in Australia it costs just \$2.90. If that doesn't sound much consider further that \$12 is roughly equivalent to the weekly take-home pay of many sub-contracted black mine workers.

At the Kleinzee diamond mine on South Africa's Atlantic coast, it costs De Beers, on average, \$6.40 to mine a high-quality diamond weighing 0.8 carats in size. When cut, such a diamond would be worth \$1,000 dollars on the market. Kleinzee's black mine workers laughed when I asked them if they ever bought their girlfriends diamond engagement rings. They said that De Beers brings them divorce, not love. For these black mine workers are not allowed to live with their wives in the diamond mining town. The same rules do not apply to Kleinzee's white mine workers.

More extraordinary still is the fact that diamonds don't have to be mined at all. De Beers has secretive plants in the Isle of Man and southern Africa that produce high-class pure diamonds from methane gas. US military scientists are now using the same technology, and gas from a sewage plant in Washington DC, to produce hard diamond-coated missile cones. It is a cheap process; the heat needed can be supplied by a blowtorch. ►

HOW DE BEERS GAINED CONTROL OVER THE WORLD'S DIAMONDS

1870 Diamonds found on a South African farm owned by the De Beers family.

1884 With Cecil Rhodes' support, De Beers adopts a slave system. All black mine workers are to be confined to barracks while on contract. The apartheid system is founded.

1888 Founded by Rhodes (right), De Beers Consolidated Mines is funded by a London-based price-fixing syndicate of diamond merchants to buy control of all new cheap diamond mines in South Africa. All the diamonds produced must be sold to the syndicate.



1895 Ernest Oppenheimer and several of his brothers travel from Germany to London to work for the diamond syndicate. In 1902 Oppenheimer is sent by the syndicate to South Africa.

1910 Oppenheimer writes: 'Common sense tells us that the only way to increase the value of diamonds is to make them scarce – that is to reduce the production.'

1917 Oppenheimer founds Anglo-American. Its name hides German interests that would otherwise be forfeited as enemy property because of WWI. In 1919 Oppenheimer gains control of German diamond reserves in what is now Namibia. Black workers are employed to crawl over the desert at night and pick up diamonds sparkling in the moonlight. Their mouths are gagged to stop them swallowing diamonds.

1927 More diamonds found in South Africa. Oppenheimer writes: 'We bought the farms with the mineral rights so that we can either work them or keep them locked up. It is a most valuable purchase... It will, of course, leak out in due course that we have bought this ground but [we] felt that it was better not to publish the fact, and for that reason we are forming a company called HLG Limited... The director of the company will be one of our auditors, and the registered address will be in his office.'

1928 Oppenheimer is appointed chairman of De Beers, and promptly also takes over the London Diamond Syndicate. De Beers effectively becomes the property of the Oppenheimer family.

1938 De Beers employs advertising agency NW Ayer to help boost the image of diamonds after a worldwide fall in their price. The campaign aims to alter the 'social attitudes of the public at large and thereby channel US spending toward larger and more expensive diamonds instead of competitive luxuries'. Specifically, NW Ayer stresses the need to strengthen the association in people's minds between diamonds and romance.

1940 De Beers gets 20,000 diamond stories placed in US magazines and newspapers as it begins to build the diamond myth.



1942 Allied Intelligence discovers that major Belgian companies in the diamond syndicate are supplying Nazi factories with diamonds to be used for cutting steel. The Allies conclude that De Beers-contracted mines in the Congo are supplying both themselves and the Nazis, and that cutting off this trade would dramatically shorten the war. US intelligence discovers that UK government employees with close links to De Beers are protecting the Nazi trade.

1943 The US indicts De Beers and other members of the diamond syndicate for running an illegal price-fixing cartel. De Beers immediately threatens to cut off all diamond supplies to US war industries.



1948 An NW Ayer copywriter comes up with the caption 'a diamond is for ever', which is shown on the bottom of a picture of two young honeymooners.

1974 The US Justice Department again recommends indicting De Beers and its associated companies on criminal charges for running an illegal price-fixing cartel. De Beers does not contest the action. In return, only its subsidiaries are indicted. The subsidiaries are found guilty, fined and bound over not to engage in price fixing again.

2000 The UN accuses De Beers of violating ethical guidelines in the Congo.

2003 The South African Justice and Reparation Commission recommends that corporations, particularly mining firms, be made to pay reparations to the victims of apartheid. Using legislation previously used to gain compensation for Jewish victims of the Nazis, a multi-billion dollar action begins against De Beers in the US.



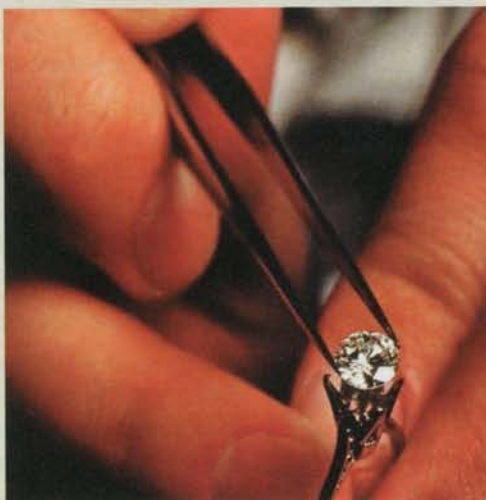
THE REAL COST OF DIAMONDS

Secret production cost figures leaked by a very senior diamond industry executive reveal the real cost of diamond extraction. Per-carat costs are:

Mine/firm	Country	Cost of extraction
Jwaneng	Botswana	\$12
Finsch	South Africa	\$12
Orapa	Botswana	\$9
Miba	Congo	\$7
Argyle	Australia	\$2.90

At the Kleinzee diamond mine on South Africa's Atlantic coast it costs De Beers an average of \$6.40 to mine a diamond weighing 0.8 carats.

Despite the vast profits made by the people who control the diamond industry, the wages paid to mine workers are low everywhere apart from in Canada and Australia. In 2002 mine workers' wages in one South African De Beers mine were officially about \$30 a week, but sub-contracting meant that many of the black workforce received one third of this figure.



Myth 2: Diamonds are expensive to cut

Up until 2000 men, women and children recruited from impoverished farming villages in Gujarat, India, received just 40 cents for every diamond they cut and polished. That year their wages were slashed even further. Today some 85 per cent of the world's gem diamonds are cut for 20 to 25 cents each. The take-home pay for

Indian diamond workers is a miserly \$6 a week.

The total cutting, mining and transporting costs for a gem diamond of an average engagement ring size is less than \$10. Thus, De Beers' profits are huge. Perhaps this explains why the Oppenheimer family firm that controls De Beers is registered in Liberia, where there is no need for offshore companies to produce annual audited reports.

Billboard featuring super-model (and wife of David Bowie) Iman outside the site of De Beers proposed new store (November 2002)

Myth 3: Diamonds are rare

When in 1870 diamonds were discovered in vast numbers in South Africa, a number of very rich European merchants panicked. Sitting in their secure rooms were some genuinely rare and expensive Indian diamonds. They feared that their stock would become worthless. So, they financed the British empire builder Cecil Rhodes to buy up all the diamond finds in South Africa – on condition that all the diamonds produced there were sold back to Europeans. Thus, the latter's stock would not be undercut.

Rhodes thus set up De Beers not so much to produce diamonds as to control their production – to propagate the myth of scarcity and keep prices high. The future chairman of De Beers Ernest Oppenheimer summed up the company's philosophy in 1910 when he said: 'Common sense tells us that the only way to increase the value of diamonds is to make them scarce, that is to reduce production.' It has been doing this ever since.

Rocks to the core

But what, you might wonder, has all this got to do with Botswana? The point is that Botswana is the jewel in



the De Beers crown. It is the country, above all others, whose diamond production De Beers must control if it is to maintain its stranglehold over the diamond market.

Of the diamond mines De Beers currently operates in Botswana, Jwaneng is the richest in the world. Last year it produced a huge 13 million carats worth of diamonds. These reserves, along with those at Orapa, Letlhakane and Damtshaa, make Botswana the most valuable producer of diamonds in the world. Botswana's total diamond sales (all of which

million carats in 2002. Quite simply, Botswana matters to De Beers.

An 'uneconomic' mine

One mine in Botswana, however, is not producing any diamonds at all. That mine is Gope, which is located on the edge of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) – right where the Bushmen are being evicted from. When the Canadian mining firm Falconbridge found a rich diamond deposit there in 1980, De Beers purchased it immediately. But, not wanting to draw attention to the discovery (the profits of which

'Common sense tells us that the only way to increase the value of diamonds is to make them scarce – that is to reduce production' – Future De Beers chairman Ernest Oppenheimer in 1910

are marketed by the De Beers-owned Diamond Trading Company) amounted to \$1.8 billion in 2002. Incredibly, Botswana produces 25 per cent of all the world's rough diamonds.

Compare these figures with those for South Africa – the birthplace of De Beers. The country now produces only 11 per cent, by value, of the world's diamonds. The biggest De Beers mine in South Africa, Venetia, produced around 5

million carats in 2002. Quite simply, Botswana matters to De Beers. the Bushmen may rightfully, perhaps, have considered as their entitlement), De Beers and the Botswana government announced that the mine was 'uneconomic', and that they had no plans to exploit it for the foreseeable future.

Yet the projected water consumption figures for the Gope mine (4.2 million cubic metres of water a year) show that it is anything but 'uneconomic'. De Beers estimates that the average

water consumption of its mines is 0.65 cubic metres per carat of production. On the basis of these figures, Gope would produce about 6.5 million carats worth of diamonds a year. In terms of carat-weight of diamonds produced, that would make Gope the fifth largest diamond mine in the world. The average value given by De Beers for Botswana diamonds is a minimum of \$80 a carat (that is, at least, what De Beers tells the Botswana government). If the Gope mine were to produce more than 6 million carats of diamonds, therefore, their official value would be in excess of \$500m a year.

Even without the extra money that Gope would bring in, diamonds already account for 70 per cent of Botswana's foreign exchange earnings, 50 per cent of government revenue and 30 per cent of its gross domestic product. They are inextricably linked to the country's economy. So too is De Beers, which controls the country's diamond industry through a 50-50 joint venture with the government called Debswana. So closely are De Beers and the Botswana government joined that the country's president Festus Mogae has described them as being like ►

Survival activists replaced De Beers poster (opposite) with this Bushman woman and the slogan 'the Bushmen aren't forever'.



SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

'siamese twins'. Yet despite such obvious and enormous influence, De Beers has remained silent while the Bushmen have been evicted from the CKGR.

Survival of the fittest

On 26 March 2002 Survival International, the organisation that campaigns for the rights of indigenous peoples, wrote to current De Beers chairman Nicky Oppenheimer, saying: 'It is obviously more expedient for the [Botswana] government to remove the Bushmen now and so avoid bad publicity at the time of mining

and any risk that Bushman claims over the area might inhibit or complicate extraction. We believe that there really is no other plausible explanation for [the government's] actions... In the 33 years since we have been studying these matters we have never come across a case anywhere in the world where tribes have been moved against their will merely to "develop" them [the reason given by the Botswana government for the Bushmen's removal]. In every single case, it has been because others have wanted their land or its resources.'

Survival appealed for De Beers to support the Bushmen.

On 7 June 2002 Survival wrote to Oppenheimer again, asking if De Beers had yet interceded with the Botswana government on the Bushmen's behalf. This time De Beers replied, saying that Survival's campaign would bring the organisation into 'disrepute'. But De Beers failed to explain, as it had previously been asked to do, why it was paying fees to hold onto mining interests at Gope – its supposedly 'uneconomic' mine.

In a further letter to Survival dated 15 October 2002 De Beers stated: 'In your letter you ask if De Beers has a policy to cover indigenous rights. We have given much thought to this matter.' The firm then explained that it supported the abolition of apartheid in South Africa but not the rights of indigenous minorities. '[South Africa's] new constitution made it quite clear that never again would [its] people be classified by ethnicity. A policy to cover indigenous rights would head straight down that path once again, which is something that no one in southern Africa could, or should, contemplate.

De Beers went on to say: 'Leading anthropologists, such as Tim Ingold, Adam Kuper, Carl Wilmsen and James Suzman oppose in principle the granting of any group special privileges or status on the basis of ethnic identity. 'They argue that indigenous rights ideology is indeed based on the same discredited social theorising that justified apartheid and separate development. 'It is,

HOW CLEAN ARE DIAMONDS?

In accordance with an international agreement called the Kimberley Process, diamond-producing states issue certificates supposedly guaranteeing that mined diamonds have not been used for criminal or unethical purposes. These certificates are mandated by legislation like the US's Clean Diamond Act. Referring to this act, US senator Dick Durbin said: 'The diamond – a symbol of love in the US – should not be paid for by the blood of Africans... The brutal wars in African nations may be thousands of miles away, but the source of the funds that buy the weapons may be as close as your ring finger. Our legislation says: "If you can't prove to US Customs agents that your diamonds are legitimate, take your business and your diamonds elsewhere."

But contrary to claims in the media, diamonds continue to be used to finance wars and oppression.

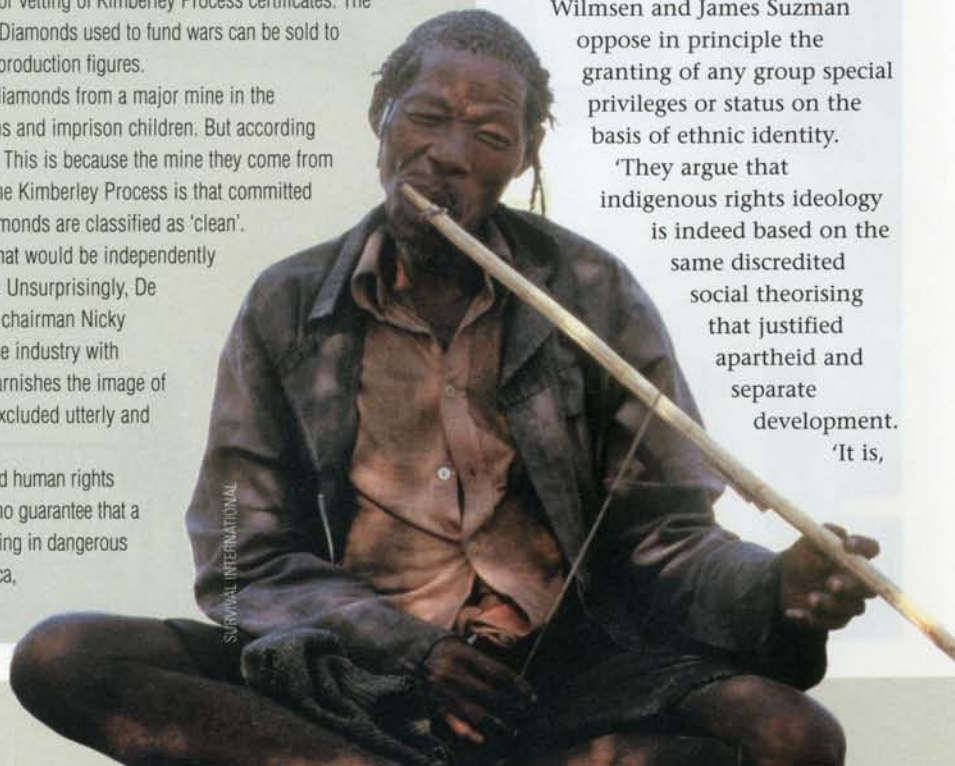
In February 2002 the US General Accounting Office (GAO) pointed out: '[Diamonds] are virtually untraceable back to the original source... Diamonds are a high-value commodity that is easily concealed and transported. These conditions allow diamonds to be used in lieu of currency in arms deals, money laundering and crime. Lack of transparency in industry operations also facilitates illegal activity.' The GAO also noted: 'The nature of diamonds makes them attractive to criminal elements... Smuggling routes are well established... Once mixed [diamonds are] virtually untraceable... Any "conflict" diamond could be claimed as a stockpiled diamond.' The GAO concluded that 'under the current import system, the US cannot determine the true origin of diamond imports to ensure that conflict diamonds do not enter the country' and that much still had to be done to make the proposed system work.

As the GAO has pointed out, there is no independent verification or vetting of Kimberley Process certificates. The process is easy to bypass. The UN has detailed how this can happen. Diamonds used to fund wars can be sold to merchants that have a 'legitimate' business and then included in their production figures.

Earlier this year Amnesty International strenuously objected to diamonds from a major mine in the Congo being labelled as 'conflict-free'; the mine police shoot civilians and imprison children. But according to the logic of the Kimberley Process the diamonds are conflict-free. This is because the mine they come from is government-owned, and the only kind of violence banned under the Kimberley Process is that committed by rebels. If a government is guilty, that's OK. That government's diamonds are classified as 'clean'.

There are now calls for a Kimberley Process 'Mark Two' – one that would be independently checked and which would genuinely ban all human rights violations. Unsurprisingly, De Beers strenuously opposes the need for a 'Kimberley Two'. De Beers chairman Nicky Oppenheimer has said: '[The Kimberley Process already provides] the industry with precisely the insulation it requires to ensure that any diamond that tarnishes the image of our beautiful product and threatens the integrity of our business is excluded utterly and completely.'

This is, of course, nonsense. If the Kimberley Process is not revised human rights abuses will assuredly continue to tarnish diamonds. Currently, there is no guarantee that a certified Kimberley stone will not have been cut illegally by a child working in dangerous conditions in India, or by a miner breathing asbestos dust in South Africa, or from land from which indigenous people have unjustly been evicted.



moreover, virtually impossible to assess who is indigenous. Genetic measures are meaningless given levels of hybridity in southern Africa.' (It's worth noting that Ingold has denied expressing the views attributed to him here, while Suzman has undertaken work on behalf of De Beers on more than one occasion.)

It is shocking that De Beers should advance such arguments. In Australia courts have ruled in favour of indigenous ancestral land rights precisely on the grounds that not to do so would be racial discrimination. In a letter to Survival about De Beers' statement, Geoff Clark, the chairman of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, wrote: 'Giving effect to indigenous rights is not "apartheid" remodelled. To suggest this is nonsensical and offensive. Apartheid is a policy that seeks to justify colonialism and enforce a subordinate status on colonised people. By contrast, the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples removes the legacies of colonialism and promotes the self-determination of indigenous peoples. The apartheid bogey is one that is occasionally used by sections of Australian society for simplistic political purposes. It is a suggestion that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples hold in the deepest contempt.'

Diamond dogs

Last November De Beers was on the verge of opening a high-profile

🗨️ The government of Botswana doesn't listen to the Bushmen. Why? Is that not racism and oppression? Is this the way a democracy should be run? 🗨️ DAUQOO

jewellery store in the West End of London; it had recruited the super-model (and wife of David Bowie) Iman to promote its diamonds. De Beers placed a large advertisement featuring Iman on a hoarding outside the site of its new store. But Survival activists replaced it with a poster of a female Bushman with

DE BEERS' SECRET DIAMOND NETWORK

De Beers has long tried to keep its operations secret – moving diamonds along international trails similar to those used by arms' merchants and covert intelligence operatives. The UN recently complained that this has made the tracking of conflict diamonds impossible.

In 2001 the UN reported: 'To date, not a single parcel of illicit Angolan diamonds has been intercepted anywhere... No dealer has... witnessed Angolan gems being sold by trader or by bourse. The gems seem to vanish into thin air after leaving Angola. How is this possible?'

The UN also reported on De Beers' use of a system that conceals the facts about the diamond production of individual nations. Originally, this served the purpose of making it impossible for diamond miners to discover the profits De Beers made when it sold on their diamonds. It also prevented sanctions being effectively imposed on diamonds from apartheid South Africa, and it protected Russian diamonds from an import tax imposed by the US.

Furthermore, the UN found that De Beers maintained a warehouse in the free-trade zone at Zurich airport. Diamonds arriving there were not officially counted as arriving in Switzerland. De Beers used the site to mix and sort its diamonds before sending them on elsewhere. But there was another twist. If De Beers did the paperwork to export a parcel of, say, Congolese diamonds from this free-trade zone to, say, Russia, it could then legally import them into Switzerland as Russian gems – even though they had not left the free-trade zone since their arrival. This made it particularly difficult for the UN to track 'blood' diamonds; gems arriving at the Zurich free-trade zone were 'losing their identity'. They could arrive from Africa and by the next day be transformed into Australian or Russian gems. Blood free!



CORBIS

the slogan 'the Bushmen aren't forever'. Iman decided not to attend the store's opening (though she is still happy to take De Beers' money for appearing in the advertising campaign).

Soon afterwards, De Beers counter-attacked. Lawyers acting for the company wrote to the Charity Commission querying Survival's charitable status. Fortunately, this did not put Survival off. Responding

very existence as a people is now in jeopardy.'

The last thing de Beers wants is negative publicity for its diamonds. This would threaten its exorbitant prices. In recent years concerted public pressure has resulted in stones from war-torn countries such as Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo being labelled 'conflict' or 'blood' diamonds. A similar effort is now needed to save

to De Beers' lawyers, Survival's solicitor wrote: '[Your] letter was designed to intimidate. Our clients have not been intimidated... The available evidence indicates that your client has been complicit in an assault on the rights of [Botswana's] Gana and Gwi Bushmen, one so oppressive and extreme that their

Botswana's Bushmen. De Beers and the Botswana government must be made to understand that if the Bushmen are not allowed to return to their ancestral lands then they will have the unenviable task of persuading the world to buy diamonds tainted not just by conflict, but with genocide. ■

Janine Roberts is the author of *Glitter & Greed: the secret world of the diamond cartel*, a powerful new book on human rights violations in the diamond industry



Listen

to the **Bushmen**

“ The government has tried to kill us. It has cut off everything that enables us to survive. We won't move, because we were born here. The government can do what it likes with the young generation, but we old people – we will carry on living here. The government is going around the world telling people there is no oppression in Botswana and that the people there are just fine. That's why we decided we will stay here even if other people moved, and we will see whether the government is telling the truth while it tells the world that there is no oppression and everyone is free to live where they are. ”

Nare, who has remained inside the CKGR



‘My children have been taken off their land. Our culture...

To have a chance of survival the Bushmen need one thing – the right, guaranteed by their country's constitution, to live on their own land. In recent years various precedents have been set in other countries (see 'Victories' box) that suggest that, with the right pressure and support, this could still happen. Despite what the Botswana government says, the Bushmen insist that they were forced off their land and that they want to return. It's time the world listened to them – before they all die in government camps.



“ The government doesn't care about us. Even though it has taken away the services, we are going to remain in our ancestral lands. We love it and we were born there. ”

Moeti

“ We keep telling them we don't want to relocate. But now you find us here, against our will. We were forced to move here. But we are not going to stay here a long time. I want to encourage you to put more pressure on the government. ”

Molathwe

“ The government treats us like rubbish, just like pieces of rubbish flying up and down in the wind. It just does whatever it wants, pushing us off our land like so much garbage. You can sweep up waste and put it on the rubbish pile, but not human beings. The government would rather push us away from our wild animals, our wild roots and our ancestral spirits. It treats us as if we were insects running around in the sand. ”

Mogetse





“ Don't give the government money, please. If it goes internationally and asks for money in our name, don't give it money, because it has killed us. It is not giving us the chance to live.”

Ramarari

“ We say, even if they want to dig the diamonds they can just dig them and sell them and leave us alone, because what we are interested in is getting our land.”

Qoroxhgoo

“ No Bushmen, that is the aim of the government.”

Takeore

“ We are saying to those people who can help with campaigning not to stop campaigning. Talk to the government. Make a hell of a noise, and maybe the government will change its policies. Organisations like Survival have to carry on making campaigns and making noise and informing the whole world what is happening with the Bushmen. The government is not telling the truth when it says that people have voluntarily relocated... Even the government officials, some of them tell us that they move us only because of the diamonds. They say that the people shouldn't sit next to the diamonds.”

Mongwegi



WHAT YOU CAN DO

For the Bushmen to get back their land, as much pressure as possible needs to be put on the Botswana government. There are several ways this can be done.

1 Don't go to Botswana. The country promotes itself as a centre for ecotourism; it doesn't want the Bushmen 'spoiling' the view of the animals. If you *are* going on safari to Africa, go somewhere else and let the Botswana government know that you will not visit its country until the Bushmen are given back their land. And tell everyone you know to do the same.

2 Let De Beers know what you think. De Beers is the most powerful force in Botswana's economic and political life. As Botswana's president Festus Mogae has said, De Beers and the government are like Siamese Twins. De Beers alone could influence the government to change its policy – and it might well do so if it believed its diamonds were going to be tarnished as 'blood' diamonds. Don't buy from De Beers. Let De Beers know why. Email Iman Bowie's website (www.i-iman.com/home.html) and ask her, as a Somali refugee who has supported the War Child campaign, not to sell her face to De Beers.

3 Write to your MP and ask them to sign on to Early Day motion 1500 which calls upon the UK government to urgently investigate the situation of the Bushmen of the CKGR and use their ties with the government of Botswana to encourage the respect of their rights.

4 Support Survival International in its fight to save the Bushmen. Contact: Survival International, 6 Charterhouse Buildings, London EC1M 7ET; 020 7687 8700; www.survival-international.org.

re, which I wanted to teach them, is just about to die'



“ The Botswana government is cheating. It wants to make business out of tourism, but it doesn't want us to benefit. It knows the animals here are going to make money for Botswana. Why does it want to remove us? It wants to throw us off the land so it can do business with tourism. So it gets the money and the Bushmen get nothing.”

Letsema

“ When I look around at my hut I feel great pain because I'm not free here. When you are here you just sleep and wake up early in the morning and just sit here. And you think of what to do and where to go, but there's nothing. I start thinking a lot, and my heart gets more and more painful.”

Mamo

“ The government of Botswana doesn't listen to the Bushmen. Why? Is that not racism and oppression? Is this the way a democracy should be run?”

Dauqoo



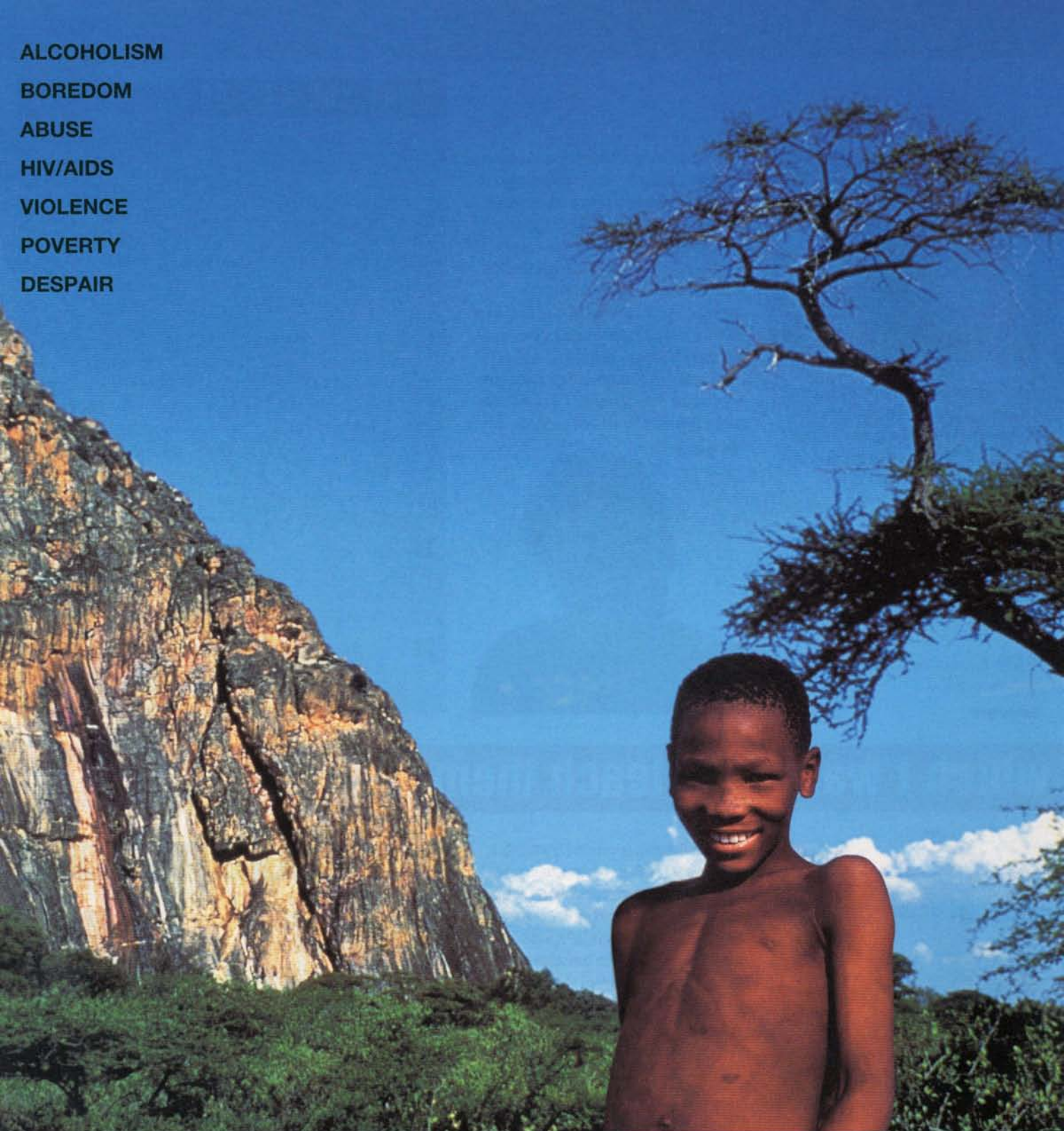
INDIGENOUS LAND VICTORIES

AUSTRALIA – Since 1971 the Mirrar Aborigines have opposed the construction of a uranium mine on their land in the Northern Territory. In a remarkable victory earlier this year, Rio Tinto chairman Sir Robert Wilson, whose company now owns the deposit, said Rio Tinto would not develop the mine without the consent of the Aborigines: 'We won't develop it without their consent, full stop,' Wilson declared. In response, senior traditional landowner Yvonne Margarula said: 'I'm not going to agree to the mine for whatever reason they want from it – money or whatever else. Mining ruins the land. My mind is firmly set.'



NICARAGUA – In 1995 the Sumu Indians of Awastingni, a village in the Nicaraguan rainforest, learned that a Korean company had been granted the right to log 62,000 hectares of their land. After a protracted struggle in Nicaragua, the Sumu took their case to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. This body issues decisions that are legally binding on virtually all governments in North, Central and South America. The court found that, rather than selling the logging rights to outsiders, the government should have recognised the Sumu's ownership of their ancestral lands. It ordered Nicaragua to recognise the Sumu's ownership rights over all their territory.

ALCOHOLISM
BOREDOM
ABUSE
HIV/AIDS
VIOLENCE
POVERTY
DESPAIR



WHY WOULD THE BUSHMEN WANT TO COMMUNE WITH NATURE WHEN ALL THIS COULD BE THEIRS?

The Gana and Gwi 'Bushmen' are being brutally evicted from their ancestral land in the Kalahari Desert of Botswana. The authorities have cut off their water, forbidden them to hunt or gather food, and forced them into bleak resettlement camps. The government says this is to 'modernise' them and that they must not be left on their lands 'communing with flora and fauna'. We are doing everything we can to ensure that the Bushmen are allowed to return to their land and live how they choose. You can help. Send a donation to 'Survival - Bushman campaign'. **Every penny will go to saving the Bushmen.**

name		BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE	
address			
city	postcode	I wish to donate £	

If you would like to donate by credit card please call 020 7687 8700

www.survival-international.org



© Survival International Charitable Trust (reg. charity 267444)

Please return form & cheque to SURVIVAL, LONDON, EC1M 7ET

We both agree that stringent global regulations are essential. But I don't support your idea of a global government. How would it be immune from co-option by vested interests? And how long would it take to erect such a body? Surely longer than people and the planet can endure.

Multilateral treaties that allow communities and nations to band together to reduce their dependence on TNCs represent a much better option. These treaties are not synonymous with a global government. Nor is there a contradiction between arguing for such agreements and acknowledging that, even without them, many communities are already benefiting from their grassroots steps towards localisation.

HELENA NORBERG-HODGE

“ You claim that global trade would redistribute wealth from rich nations to poor ones’. This is decades-old neo-liberal hogwash. It’s hard to believe anyone still takes it seriously ”

You claim that global trade would ‘redistribute wealth from rich nations to poor ones’. This is decades-old neo-liberal hogwash. It’s hard to believe that anyone still takes it seriously. Furthermore, much of the wealth that we have pillaged from the South is used to feed our throwaway economy, and ends up in landfill. It is not something that can be simply repatriated.

More importantly, to define wealth in purely monetary terms (as you have done) is a real regression. Can it really be said that a nation is wealthy because its children are buying the Coca-Cola and Barbie dolls that billion-pound advertising campaigns have persuaded them are necessities? The global consumer monoculture, which you implicitly equate with wealth, is destroying identities, communities and the earth itself. Its only beneficiaries are the giant corporations.

In fact, by attacking localisation while encouraging global trade, you are playing right into the hands of the TNCs.

Best wishes,
Helena



“ Dear Helena,

Your continued failure to answer my question speaks volumes. The unfortunate truth, with which you refuse to engage, is that your system keeps the poor world in poverty. While self-sufficiency may work well for



some rural communities, it is palpably not viable for the inhabitants of the vast urban slums. This is why Oxfam has launched such a fierce attack on localisation.

Instead of engaging with my arguments, you have chosen to invent a series of positions that you can then attack. I have not called for a ‘global government’; simply for the democratisation of the global governance that already takes place. What would you do instead? Leave a handful of self-appointed men to run the world’s institutions? I have not called for increased global trade; simply for fair global trade. In terms of volume, international trade would, of course, decline under my system. Nor am I advocating global monoculture or an increase in consumption.

You call the idea that trade can be redistributive ‘decades-old neo-liberal hogwash’. Are you really unable to discriminate between existing trade patterns and a fair trade system in which only ethical companies would survive? Do you really seek to deny that when I buy fairly traded tea or coffee, I am helping the people who produce it to improve their position? And can you still not grasp the blindingly obvious fact that self-reliance in the rich nations prevents poor nations from

GEORGE MONBIOT

“ Can you still not grasp the blindingly obvious fact that self-reliance in the rich nations prevents poor nations from selling manufactures to them, trapping the poor world in a trade in raw materials? ”

selling manufactured goods to them, trapping the poor world in a trade in raw materials?

Rather than setting up straw men to tear down, I think you would be better advised to deal seriously with the points I have raised, and seek to understand why it is that someone who once embraced your agenda now believes (having examined it more carefully) that it is unjust.

Yours sincerely,
George



“ Dear George,

Straw men? In your new book you do advocate world government. You’ve even suggested that the value of the individual’s vote should depend on how ‘democratic’ that person’s country is. How on earth could all this work? In practice, it would distance people further from decision-making. Such a system would inevitably be corrupted by big business. And, as you’ve conceded elsewhere, setting it up would take decades – which we simply don’t have.



HELENA NORBERG-HODGE

“ Global trade structurally favours the large over the small, the few over the many. The only way forward is to take economic and political power away from big business and return it to the people ”

For the third time, the answer to your question is localisation. Around the world, countless community projects – from farmers’ markets to local credit unions – are already bringing enormous benefits: helping to reverse the madness that sees bottled water and fresh milk criss-cross the globe, and relieving the poverty of urban slums. Most of these local initiatives receive no government funding, no mention in the media. We should be supporting this movement. And you want to attack it?

Grassroots renewal needs to be combined with international resistance aimed at pulling power back to the local level. The most realistic strategy for reining in the TNCs is to lobby governments worldwide to progressively break away from the corporate stranglehold. It won’t be easy, but sustained efforts from international alliances – labour unions, consumer organisations, environmentalists, etc – could make it happen. The pressure would eventually reach the point where governments would renegotiate trade treaties to regulate corporations, protect the environment and human rights, and re-direct public investment. In fact, the process has started: citizen pressure prevented the ratification of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment – which would have placed foreign investment before democracy.

Global trade, fair or unfair, structurally favours the large over the small, the few over the many. In my opinion, the only way forward is to take economic and political power away from big business and return it to the people.

Best wishes,
Helena



This month’s debate can now be joined online at www.theecologist.org

COSMETIC SURGERY • In the interminable pursuit of perfection, we shoot up Botox, we nip, we slice, we suck and we tuck... whatever the cost. By Layla Dayani

BOTOX SHOTS £200 PER TREATMENT

Fancy a shot? Derived from botulinum toxin A (classified as a biological weapon by the US State Department), Botox is the new glamour drug of choice. It has become so pervasive in Hollywood that casting agents are whingeing about the difficulty of finding actors who are able to make facial expressions.

What it involves: A small amount is injected directly into the nerves around age lines, deadening the nerves for as long as six months so that frown and laugh lines appear to vanish. Although Botox is not licensed for removing wrinkles in the UK (as it is in the US), doctors can prescribe it 'off-licence' at their discretion.

Short-term effects: Clinical trials show that four in 10 people who have botox shots suffer side effects such as respiratory infections, nausea, double vision or headaches.

Long-term effects: With repeated treatments, atrophy (thinning of the muscles) occurs. This produces more enduring results. The long-term health effects are still unknown, but Botox manufacturer Allergan has received a stern warning from the US Food and Drug Administration for 'misleading' advertising and down-playing the treatment's side effects. The lawsuits have started.

CHEMICAL PEEL £750

Don't let your skin betray your life experience. Eradicate all signs of the laughter and passions of yesteryear. Improve and smooth the texture of your skin, and say goodbye to unsightly facial blemishes and wrinkles.

What it involves: Acid is applied to the skin, causing the top layers to separate. These are then peeled away from the face, revealing the pink flesh beneath. After a phenol (deep) peel your eyes swell shut. You'll then be instructed to cover the area affected with antiseptic powder several times a day.

Short-term effects: A scab will form, and within 7-10 days new skin will develop.

Long-term effects: While the new skin will be red at first, the colour will lighten during a period lasting from a few weeks to a few months.

BEING LITERALLY ABLE TO TALK OUT OF YOUR ARSE £350-£400

You too can achieve that seductive pout and have ultra kissable lips simply by removing fat from your buttocks and re-injecting it into your lips. Mmm, lovely.

What it involves: Age makes your cheeks hollow and your thighs spread. So why not kill two birds with one stone and inject fat from below into your face. Instead of merely eliminating the signs of age (wrinkles) and laughter (crows' feet), fat injections can actually provide a fuller, more youthful-looking face.

Short-term effects: Swelling and redness for the first 24-48 hours. Itching and mild discomfort.

Long-term effects: Typically, more than half the fat is absorbed by the body within six months.

'CORRECTING' A 'TOO-YOUTHFUL' FACE £2,500

For 'moon face' jowls or other unsightly facial fatty deposits, liposuction could be the solution.

What it involves: A novocaine solution and adrenalin are injected into the fatty areas. A thin tube is then inserted and pokes around and breaks up the fat deposits. These are then vacuumed out.

Short-term effects: Expect bruising and swelling, and to wear a compression band for several weeks

Long-term effects: Can result in saggy, extra skin, which will have to be removed by face-lift.





FACE-LIFT **£3,000-£6,000**

If you're losing the fight against ageing and gravity is taking its malicious toll, why not turn back the clock with a face-lift?

What it involves: Incisions start above the hairline at the temples, pass down in front of the ear and continue behind the earlobe to the lower scalp. The skin will then be separated from the fat and muscle below. Fat is trimmed or suctioned to improve contours. The underlying muscle and membrane are trimmed and tightened and the skin pulled back.

Short-term effects: Injury to the nerves that control facial muscles or feeling is usually temporary.

Long-term effects: 95 per cent of face-lift patients get complete return of function within a year.

HAMSTER CHIC **£3,500**

High cheekbones are one of the facial features most commonly associated with 'natural' beauty. Today, they can be created with implants.

What it involves: Incisions are made inside the upper lip near the gums, so you won't be able to open it fully for a couple of weeks and you'll be put on a liquid diet for several days (you can lose weight too!).

Short-term effects: You will experience discomfort and swelling, temporary difficulty smiling and talking, and black and blue marks where the incisions are made. Stitches should dissolve within 10 days.

Long-term effects: Due to swelling, results may not be visible for three to four months. There is also a risk of implant displacement, in which case a second operation will be necessary.

'FIXING' AN UNDESIRABLY SHAPED NOSE **£3,500**

If your unbalanced face is making you self-conscious, have a nose job.

What it involves: Incisions are made on the nose so as to provide access to the cartilage and bone, which can then be sculpted to remove a hump, create a snub nose or narrow your nostrils.

Long-term effects: Plastic surgery clinics report that the most nose job operations are undertaken to correct an earlier operation. 'Nurse, scalpel again please'.

THE NEW KID ON THE BLOCK **£2,500**

Since its UK debut in November 2002, anti-ageing process Isolagen has been used on over 200 women.

What it involves: A piece of skin, about 2mm x 3mm, is taken from the crease behind the ear and put into a tissue culture so that it can generate new cells. When enough cells have been made, they are transferred via a very fine needle back into areas where there are wrinkles, lines or acne scars. Introduced into the US in 1996, Isolagen has since been taken off the market and reclassified as being in need of a licence. In the UK, however, we can get it without having to hang around aging and waiting for back-up trials.

Short-term effects: Some redness and swelling reported.

Long-term effects: Totally unknown

COSMETIC SURGERY NUMBERS

- 1,000** estimated number of cosmetic surgery providers/establishments in the UK
- Up to 75,000** cosmetic surgery procedures carried out in the UK each year
- £200m** estimated UK spending on cosmetic surgery every year
- 175,000** cosmetic surgery procedures performed on teenagers in the US in 1999 – three times as many as in 1997
- 1.3 million** people in the US who had cosmetic plastic surgery procedures in 2000
- \$25m** global Botox revenues 1993
- \$430m** global Botox revenues estimated for 2002
- \$11 billion** projected 2007 revenues in US alone from Botox, collagen, chemical peels, dental whitening and laser therapy
- 23 per cent** of patients seeking Botox treatment at a US dermatology clinic had a 'body dysmorphic disorder' (obsession with an imaginary flaw); research shows that psychotherapy would be a more appropriate treatment
- 1,500 per cent** rate of increase in the use of Botox for treating facial lines in the US in the past four years

GETTY IMAGES

Society, Media & Culture In 1984 George Orwell imagined a society in which TV sets would monitor human activity, adjusting their messages in accordance with our behaviour.

David Burke thinks that time has come

I wonder if you're sitting at home right now. I wonder if you are divorced or happily married. What is it that motivates you? What could I say to make you feel that I truly understand you and can help you find your better self? I wonder what your children are doing in their bedrooms. I wonder how I could get them to come downstairs and say something that would benefit me.

If you think this is none of my business, take a quick look at your TV set-top box. Is it, by any chance, plugged into a telephone point or broadband connection?

information back.'

If you could follow the flow of that information out of your living room, along the wires and into the computers of men and women you will never probably meet, you'd find people like Bob Evans, a sales director for the US interactive advertising company SpotOn. Speaking at a New York conference, Evans pointed to a TV set-top box and boasted: 'See that box? That box can hold 64,000 pieces of information about you.'

It is what can be done with that data that is impressive. The graphics on iTV may be ugly, and the services may feel

ALL PICTURES: GETTY IMAGES



Who's watc

Probably not. But that doesn't mean that you won't have broadband one day; everyone will eventually. And just because you don't click when your TV says 'tell me more' doesn't mean nothing has changed. What makes a TV set interactive is its 'return path' – not those new buttons you've been ignoring, but the way every one of the old buttons is now linked to a database with your name on it.

This is the world of digital interactive television (iTV). It's not new, sexy or even very successful... yet. For decades people have been writing articles with headlines like 'Order a pizza with the TV of tomorrow' or 'Is this the year interactive TV finally takes off?'

Matthew Timms, head of interactive TV services provider Two Way TV, explains: 'Somehow, people feel they're sitting there; it's just them and the television – even though the reality is that it's got a wire leading straight back to somebody's computer. So, it actually gets interesting

clumsy. But the way interactive TV collects and uses data is many times more sophisticated and powerful than the internet. That is because, unlike the internet, one company supplies everything.

As Phil Swain of Cable and Wireless says: 'Changing channels, selecting certain programmes, viewing habits, browsing through interactive sites, purchasing habits, all that kind of stuff we can track. Every click we can track. We will be recording that information.'

Massachusetts-based company Predictive Networks specialises in the passive, unseen surveillance of TV viewers. Predictive started out following internet users, but found it couldn't keep up. It now uses iTV to profile people. How you use the remote, even the mute and volume buttons, creates a fingerprint – what Predictive calls a Digital Silhouette™ – that can identify you and tie your behaviour to that of other people. Predictive can already tell men from women just by what buttons they click.





Analytic techniques such as 'collaborative filtering' and 'Bayesian analysis' are already used to recommend books when you visit Amazon.com. But interactive TV provides a richer stream of data, linking the viewing habits of people with comparable tastes, lifestyles, or – for that matter – political views. Similarly, a project now being funded by the EU will label viewer profiles with the words used to describe various programmes: 'drama', 'hospital', 'political', 'provocative', etc.

WE HAVE THE POWER

Pat Dade, of marketing consultancy Synergy, wants to group viewers by 'psychographic profile'. Dade studies the answers to thousands of questionnaires detailing everything from people's deeply

interactive TV. We've only been able to do it in the last six months.'

Dade elaborates: 'Let's say the hypothesis is that an inner directed person, if they watched "da-da-da" would react in such and such a way. Now you can test that. You can test it at the end of each time, because you're starting with the question: "Can we change or reinforce behaviour based on this information?"'

Modifying behaviour and attitudes is what advertising and public relations is all about. And interactive television doesn't just gather data. It sends viewers personalised content.

The XTV Prime software of News International subsidiary NDS will soon be used to configure the new Sky Plus set-top boxes. Like a game of 'Simms' with real

Who's watching who?



held beliefs to their views on soft drinks. He classifies his volunteers according to Maslov's hierarchy of needs (the things humans need first and foremost are food, clothing and shelter) and redefines that hierarchy according to his own categories of British backgrounds and attitudes – an analysis based on 25 years of research. Dade has a very detailed understanding of these groups. What he has so far lacked is some new system that would link his volunteers with someone like you, who didn't volunteer for anything.

Dade plans to match the electronic 'fingerprint' of how you use your TV remote to that of one of these groups. The information flowing from your TV set will reveal that you are not just 'male' or 'male over 35' but 'male over 35 with a strong need for approval from his peers'.

'Twenty-five years ago you couldn't do it,' says Dade, 'because the basic research hadn't been done. 15 years ago you could just about do it, but we didn't have

human beings, XTV allows a programming director to describe types of viewers, types of commercials and the individual moments of each TV programme. Software on the set-top box then manages these 'tags' to make sure that the right people see the right messages at just the moment in their viewing when they are most likely to be influenced.

Readers of this magazine might be interested to know how prominent green consumers are in the thinking of interactive TV evangelists. 'Let's say you watch every nature programme,' says Virginia McMullan of broadband provider NTL, 'and it becomes clear you're a nature freak. Well, we can say, "Here, buy this organic food or environmentally friendly washing powder".'

Similarly, Jonathan Plowden Roberts of the Database Group describes how your TV will be able to choose a car advert: 'If you're picking up lots of information from the types of programmes people are watching, ►

you might be able to identify “well, this person watches all of the programmes to do with social issues”. Well then, don’t tell them how wonderfully thirsty this car is. You might talk to them about the fact that everything on it is recyclable.’

DIGITAL GUINEA PIGS

What really excites the men and women I interviewed was the way this new technology creates experimental conditions in the home. Your TV set will be able to show you something, monitor how you respond, and show you something else – just working on you over time until it sees the change in behaviour it has been told to affect.

Here Robin Melvyn of NTL speaks the new vocabulary of home entertainment: ‘You have to create some control group testing – in effect throw people some placebos. So if we’re trying to increase spend, usage or customer satisfaction scores, we’ll take one group and split it

offered to whom and who is pushing the buttons? Some academics and creatives still speak hopefully of ‘empowering’ people; a recent conference at the University of Brighton was titled ‘From viewers to actors’. But such optimism ignores where all the development has always been heading. Unlike the internet, iTV has been designed, from the start, as a digital counter-revolution – a massive extension of corporate (or government) power into the home.

For real enthusiasm, listen to the Database Group’s Neal Muranyi. It is Muranyi who first proposed (among other things) that interactive TV could be used by insurance companies to identify high-risk applicants. ‘I can tell you loads of things about Brighton,’ he says. ‘I can tell you wonderful things about the electoral roll, lifestyle data, demographic data. I can get huge amounts of information off that. Okay? If only I could then start to segment those households further by their behaviours or their emotions or their

mean groups as large as a million, or as small as two... or one. Ben Isaacson, a senior adviser of the Association of Interactive Marketing (Aim), reassured members of the association’s privacy sub-committee that ‘with a birthday and a Zip code I can identify a person with 97 per cent accuracy’. Isaacson was writing Aim’s privacy guidelines at the time – the ones meant to soothe public anxiety about iTV’s data collection. He believes that data linked to an individual with 97 per cent accuracy could still be called ‘aggregate’.

More importantly, what is privacy? If we define it purely in terms of data protection, then sure, TiVo or Predictive might create a system that never removes personal data from your home. But does that matter anymore, when they control a powerful computer that sits on your television and holds 64,000 pieces of information about you? If your TV set can learn about you over time and experiment on your behaviour, if artificial intelligence

Your digital TV set can learn about you over time and experiment on your behaviour. How you use the remote, even the mute and volume buttons, creates a fingerprint, what Predictive call a Digital Silhouette™, that can identify you and tie your behaviour to other people.

down the middle and expose it to two separate batches of data presentation.’

This loop of stimulus, response and measurement will embrace us all within 10 years. It is just the scientific method. Any psychologist studying what it takes to make people behave certain ways would use the same words. But notice two important novelties. First, there is the location: this is manipulation happening in your living room, your bedroom, maybe your children’s’ bedrooms. That has never been allowed before.

Then there is the difference between experimental and applied science. Melvyn isn’t testing how theories hold true for the general population. He’s using tested theories to directly affect that population, the people who pay him money every month – the subscribers to his firm’s broadband services. Interactive TV is not an experiment, but a manufacturing process that changes attitudes and behaviour.

Digital TV has been sold with words like ‘choice’ and ‘control’, but what is being

personal likes and dislikes from their TV viewing. It’s fantastic. It’s phenomenal.’

Men like Pat Dade and Muranyi have been waiting a long time for the raw data they need to become available. But their wait is over. In June, for instance, interactive TV company TiVo announced it would begin selling a second-by-second record of what commercials and programmes its users are watching.

Companies like Predictive and TiVo insist that their systems protect viewer privacy by a strict separation of ‘aggregate’ from personally identifiable data. They claim that the former may be passed back to head office but that the latter never leave the viewer’s home.

Such claims need to be examined carefully. In the case of TiVo, they turned out to be just plain false. In the US the Denver-based Privacy Foundation put an electronic ‘sniffer’ on a TiVo set-box and watched a stream of personal data run out the back of it. TiVo quickly altered its software when this was made public. But even ‘aggregate’ is a relative term. It can

software is working continually to change your view of the world in your living room, do you still have privacy?

A larger problem arises if we imagine the kind of products that can be sold this way. Interactive TV won’t just shape attitudes about detergents and holidays. It will be used to sell political parties and government policy – just as any form of advertising does today. Your TV set will learn what motivates you to vote a certain way or support a particular campaign. Your TV set will offer anyone in that campaign (or working against it) the power to communicate with and influence you.

When they live with autonomous, learning, engines of persuasion every day from childhood to old age, how will ordinary people say who they are or why they think as they do? How will they raise their own families or run a democracy?

We are about to find out. ■

David Burke is the UK director of White Dot, the anti-television organisation (www.whitedot.org); his most recent book is *Spy TV* (Slab-o-Concrete)

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BEER • Can you live on beer? At Montfort Boys Town in Suva, Fiji, they do and it provides them with a balanced diet, jobs and a decent income.

By Tom Hargreaves

The brewery on the Fijian island of Viti Levu used to discard almost 92 per cent of its malt and hop waste into the sea or pass it on as animal feed to nearby farms. This process was incredibly wasteful and had disastrous knock-on effects for the marine ecosystem. The waste would block out sunlight and choke surrounding coral reefs, and as almost 70 per cent of it was made of indigestible fibrous lignocellulose it was a useless farm animal feed. The brewery made a profit, but the true costs of its operations were inestimable.

A few miles away in the Viti Levu town of Suva is Montfort Boys Town school. The school operates a fish farming business to generate food and funds for its disadvantaged pupils. It is experimenting with using the brewery's waste as fish feed. Besides helping to sustain the school itself, the new system protects the environment, creates jobs and stimulates a local, diverse and profitable economy for Fiji; so far, it has generated an additional five new enterprises.

FINANCIAL VIABILITY

Labour for the fish farm is provided free by the school's 15-18-year-old students. Thus, the project's only costs arise through infrastructure development, transport, biogas containers and food supplements. Estimates suggest that it will pay for itself very rapidly. Every year it generates:

- \$10,000** through mushrooms
- \$20,000** through its 4,000 chickens
- \$15,000** through its pigs
- \$10,000** from two fish ponds
- \$5,400** through the sale of methane
- \$1,500** through the sale of fruit and vegetables

This adds up to a gross annual turnover of \$60,000 and, after costs, a net annual profit of \$45,000. According to Bank of Hawaii estimates, this is equivalent to the wages of about 20 Fijians at zero cost to the environment.



1

Mushrooms

The mushrooms produce an enzyme that breaks down the fibrous brewery waste by separating lignin from cellulose. In doing this they also extract the energy they require for growth, and they leave a residue that can be used as feed for animals.



2



3

Earthworms

The brewery waste also serves as an excellent feed for earthworms. Feeding on such nutrient-rich waste, the worms can provide a high-quality chicken feed. They also produce a rich humus that can be used to boost agricultural activities.



Chickens and pigs

On a conventional mushroom farm the residue from mushroom growth would be treated as waste and dumped on nearby fields; it might fertilise crops but often overwhelms them. At Montfort Boys Town the mushroom residue is shovelled daily into nearby chicken and pig houses. It provides the animals with a very nutritious and safe food.



4

Beer

The original brewery continues to operate unchanged, but where previously it discharged its waste into the ocean and gave it to local animal farmers to use as (indigestible) feed, today it supplies it for free to Montfort Boys Town. The school uses mushrooms and earthworms to break down the fibrous material into a useful product.

Fruit and vegetables

On the algae and fish ponds – and on dykes surrounding them – flowers, fruit and vegetables are grown aquaponically and quadropionically. They are fertilised by nutrients from the fish waste, by humus created by the earthworms and by the high-grade fertiliser produced in the algae ponds.

8



Fish

7

The nutrient that emerges from the last algae pond is used as an ideal food in the school's fish farm. The fish ponds are stocked with seven kinds of fish – from surface-feeding grass carp, which eat napier and elephant grass from the banks of the ponds, to bottom-feeding spum-suckers, mud carp, crabs, prawns and plankton. Stocking multiple species emulates nature by creating a mini ecosystem. This reduces the need for regular pond cleaning and antibiotics used to fight disease. The school's techniques have eradicated almost all the costs of a conventional fish farm.



6

Algae

Thanks to gravity, the solid matter left after the gas is bled off moves in a solution of water through two digester compartments. By the time it emerges from the last compartment this decontaminated manure has been converted anaerobically to matter that resembles very closely farm fertiliser. This "waste" then flows through three algae ponds in which bacteria, plankton and other micro-scavengers consume any remaining parts of the original animal waste. The algae is regularly harvested and used for composting as a high-grade fertiliser for fruit and vegetables grown on the site and as feed for the livestock.



5

Biogas

Animal waste from the chicken and pig sheds is flushed every other day into a "digester". The digester is a concrete and metal object about the size of a skip; it separates the natural chemicals in the animal waste. Methane gas is collected in a compartment at the top of the digester and captured in bottles. It is then taken to a gas generator where it produces electricity used to power the school's lights and to assist in steaming the mushrooms. This produces the equivalent of three gallons of petrol per day.



FIJI FACTS

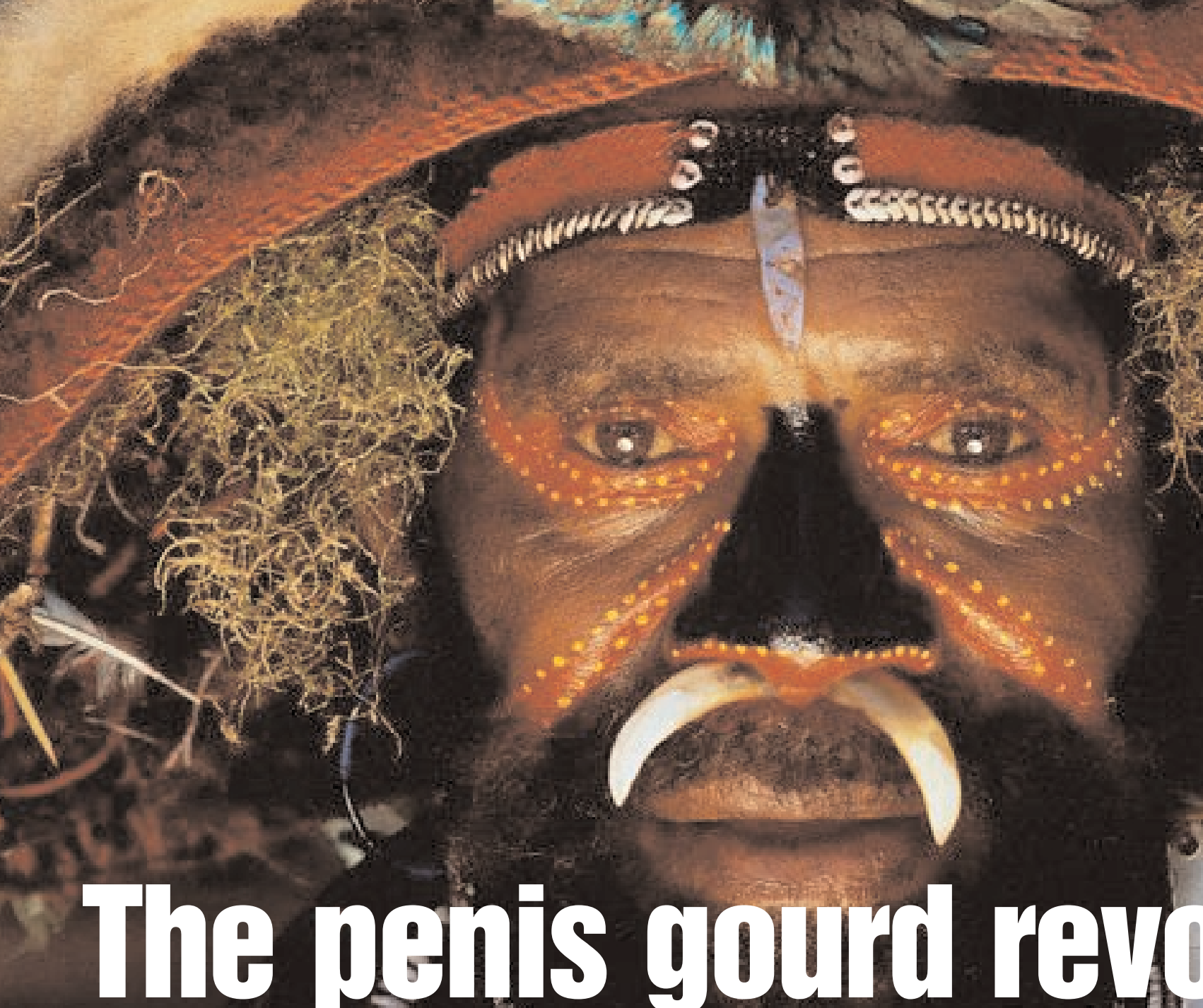


- Dutch explorer and navigator Abel Tasman was the first European to encounter the Fiji Island group in 1643. Credit for the archipelago's "discovery" is often given to Captain Cook who disembarked in Fiji in 1774, but the first charting of Fiji was completed by Captain Bligh who was marooned on one of the islands following the Mutiny of the Bounty in 1789.
- Fiji became independent after nearly a century of British colonial rule in 1970.
- Since 1970 democratic rule has twice been disrupted by coups (in 1987 and 2000) resulting from tensions between native Melanesians and Indian settlers.
- Fiji is made up of over 800 islands and islets; 110 are inhabited. The largest island is called Viti Levu and contains the archipelago's capital – Suva.
- Fiji's main industries are sugar and tourism. Sugar makes up around a third of all Fiji's industrial activity. The islands attract up to 400,000 tourists annually.

THE PROBLEM

The Fijian economy is incredibly fragile. It is largely dependent on the sugar industry. Some 98 per cent of the islands' sugar is exported – much of it to the UK, which props up the trade with preferential prices. Without these prices Fiji would not be able to compete with the large economies of scale of Indonesia and Brazil, but the WTO is in the process of phasing them out. The Fijian economy is thus under direct threat. Some back tourism as a way of diversifying that economy, but the benefits of tourism do not accrue to the Fijians themselves, and recent political events have shown the fragility of the industry. Fiji urgently requires a solution that gives it control over its own economy and reduces its dependence on unreliable global trade.

SOURCE: GUNTER PAULI (1996) *UPSYDING*
GREENLEAF PUBLISHING.



The penis gourd revo

Politics Grasberg Mountain is the holiest site of West Papua's Amungme people. Every week the world's 'most maverick multinational' removes rock from it equivalent in size to the Great Pyramid of Cheops. By **Paul Kingsnorth**

Two lanky, sunburnt, six-foot Englishmen are nervously leading a troupe of war-painted, whooping five-foot tribesmen through a thatched arch into the centre of a roadless village in the highlands of New Guinea. The mountains that encircle them on all sides are layered with untouched rainforest and hung with ribbons of

cloud. Before them jog two painted men, bones through their noses, dried white mud patterned on their lean torsos, feathers of hornbill and bird of paradise in their matted black hair. They dance 10 steps forward and five steps back, motioning ritually with hardwood spears. On each side of them dance two ancient women, bare-breasted, similarly

painted, wearing nothing but grass skirts, swaying their hips and thrusting sticks at the sky.

The whoops and whistles grow louder as the two white men reach a semicircle of village leaders gathered to greet them. They halt, and the warriors behind them sit down as one. The Englishmen remain standing in the high, thin sunlight, trying to look honoured.

Slowly, painfully, one of the men in the centre of the semicircle begins to cry. It starts with a forced sniff and graduates to a circling, howling sound, the tears flowing freely. Soon, the 30 or so men and boys with him are crying too; an unearthly rolling barrage of sobs



olution

us. The villagers are moving off towards another clump of people arriving through the gates. The new arrivals are carrying bows and arrows, spears and four live pigs trussed up and strung on wooden poles carried across the shoulders of eight lithe tribesmen.

'Now,' says Galile, 'you must kill pig.'

'Who, me?'

'You must both kill pig. With bow and arrow.'

'Shit, Galile,' I say, 'I can't kill a pig.'

'It is traditional. To welcome you into our tribe.'

'But I'm a vegetarian. Anyway, I'd miss.'

Galile turns to Steve, who is standing next to me looking equally uncomfortable.

'I think I'd miss too,' he says. 'Do we have to? Really?'

'OK,' says Galile, 'they will kill pig. But we must eat it. And now you must watch.'

Two pig carriers approach us with their struggling load.

'You must take the pole,' Galile instructs us. Steve and I struggle with the pole and the extremely unhappy pig, and heave the load on to our shoulders as instructed. Then, at Galile's prompting, we say in unison

'Wa, wa, wa, wa, wa...' – the ubiquitous highland word for both thank you and hello. The 100-strong crowd bursts into riotous applause and another round of whistling and uncanny animal noises. Now I really do feel honoured.

Then an old man, in nothing but a *koteka* – the cultivated gourds that highland tribal men wear as sheaths on their penises – kneels before us and thuds four arrows nonchalantly into the hearts of the pigs; they flap about frantically for a minute or so, then subside into stillness.

A village elder rises bone-creakingly from the crowd and addresses us in Lani as the pigs are gleefully carted off around the corner to where the women are building earth ovens.

'Now,' Galile translates, 'he says you are Lani family and Lani tribe.'

He says this is your village and any time you want to build house here, land is yours. Anywhere in jungle forest, you may build your house, and live with your tribe.' Everyone grins, and so do we.

'But first,' says Galile, 'we must get free.'

PIG IGNORANT

Pigs are central to Papuan highland culture. In every village pigs mingle with the people and are killed and eaten only on special occasions such as a war feast or the return of a long-lost family member. If a man wants to marry, his fiancée's family will expect to receive 10 pigs as a dowry. If one tribe messes with another tribe's pigs, the men will paint themselves for battle. Pigs are central to war, marriage, status and wealth. It's even possible to pay for a plane ticket in the remoter highland areas with a couple of good pigs.



'You must both kill pig. With bow and arrow. It is traditional. To welcome you into our tribe.' 'Shit, Galile,' I say, 'I can't kill a pig, I'm a vegetarian. Anyway, I'd miss.'

Not everyone in Papua, however, likes pigs. Take Freeport McMoran, for example, the US-based mining multinational that is integral to an understanding of the country's recent history and of what Galile means when he says he wants to be free. When Freeport arrived in the 1960s, it found the pigs smelly, flea-ridden and distressingly 'inefficient'. ▶

So, after replacing the traditional but 'scruffy' round, thatched huts of some Papuan villages with nice, square tin-roofed houses, Freeport decided to help the Papuans with their pig problem.

In the village of Banti the mining company built a pig shed on the outskirts of the community, rounded up the animals and locked them into it. In other places, Freeport exiled the small, black, bristly indigenous pigs altogether and imported fatter, faster-growing, pink US animals ('not as tasty,' grumbled one local villager to me). In one fell swoop Freeport had knocked away the central pillar of Papuan village culture – one that had stood for centuries. It took the corporation a long time to work out why its kindness had not been received with the expected gratitude.

Unfortunately, this is far from the worst thing the company has done to West Papua. Indeed, the story of what Freeport has done to the people and the environment around West Papua's Grasberg gold mine is emblematic of the devastating consequences of a wider corporate invasion in the region. The figures alone are staggering. In 2001 the Grasberg mine produced more gold in three months than most gold mines produce in a year. Every day Freeport shifts 700,000 metric tonnes of rock: the equivalent of moving the Great Pyramid of Cheops every week. Freeport subsidiary PT Freeport Indonesia provides a fifth of Indonesia's entire tax base and accounts for half of West Papua's GDP. In 2001 the pay of Freeport's chief executive 'Jim Bob' Moffett was just under \$7m (that doesn't include an extra \$4m or so in stock options).

Freeport Indonesia employs 9,000 workers, of whom at least three quarters are non-Papuans. The Indonesian government has requisitioned almost a million hectares of tribal ancestral land for the mine and its surroundings. Thousands of families have been 'resettled' without compensation to make way for the mine, which



operates in an area of 3.6 million hectares, and uncounted numbers have been killed by Indonesian soldiers paid by Freeport to guard the mine site from disgruntled locals. According to the mine-monitoring group Project Underground, the company has violated at least eight of the human rights contained within the UN

To the Amungme, the 'miracle' of the Grasberg gold mine is, quite literally, the slicing off of their mother's head. It is the spiritual equivalent of drilling for oil under the altar of St Peter's Cathedral in Rome.



declaration of human rights. By the end of Grasberg's working life, Freeport expects to have dumped 3 billion tons of waste rock into the valleys surrounding the mine – that's twice the volume of earth extracted during the construction of the Panama Canal. The firm has, observers say, damaged 30,000 hectares of rainforest in the last three decades, and every day it dumps up to 200,000 tons of mine waste laced with acid and heavy metals into the sacred Aikwa river, from which local people used to drink and fish.

It is facts like these that have made the Freeport mine the lodestone of anti-globalisation activity in Papua. Freeport – a corporation that the *Far Eastern Economic Review* has called 'the most maverick US multinational in the world today' – is central to the Papuans' resentment of corporate invasion and central to the clash of worldviews that the global market has brought to these people.

From the point of view of Freeport the Grasberg site is a miracle of engineering, built with pioneering techniques and technologies in one of the most inaccessible places on earth. The mine itself – the open-cast hole that used to be the Grasberg mountain –

is one of the biggest in industrial history, a place with a kind of arrogant, awesome beauty.

To the Papuans, though, there is no beauty here. What Freeport didn't know when it first arrived in West Papua – and what it later learned but ignored – was that Grasberg mountain was a holy site for the local Amungme tribe. Amungme mythology tells of a woman who sacrificed herself in the midst of a famine to save the lives of her children. She asked them to kill her, to cut up her body, to throw her head to the north, the right side of her body to the east and the left side to the west, and to cast her feet south towards the river. The next day, the children awoke to find a great mountain – Grasberg – where their mother's head had been. Where they had thrown her body and feet they found gardens full of fruit and broad expanses of hunting land. Today, the remaining Amungme still live on what they see as their mother's torso – the place nearest her milk, where children can sleep in her lap and where her people can be comforted by her embrace.

To the Amungme, the 'miracle' of the Grasberg gold mine is, quite literally, the slicing off of their mother's head. It is the spiritual equivalent of drilling for oil under the altar of St Peter's Cathedral in Rome.

DIFFERENT WORLDS

Galile and I talk of such contrasts over our dinner of roasted pig. Galile is in thoughtful mood as he gnaws on a pig bone. The light of a single candle is patchworking the four people with us. I am having trouble with the more unsavoury bits of my pig, but Galile has no such qualms.

'I want to know, Paul,' he says, slurping the marrow out of a thigh bone, 'what you think about this. Our culture, I think, is special, and I think we must fight for it. You think so? I think it very different to other cultures but I have not been out of Papua. I think we must keep this culture.'

FREEPORT FACTS

'We find [former Indonesian dictator] Suharto to be a compassionate man.' Freeport McMoran CEO 'Jim Bob' Moffat

1965 Suharto seizes power in Indonesia. At least half a million people are killed.

1967 Freeport becomes the first company to sign a contract under Indonesia's new foreign investment law.

1972 Freeport Sulphur begins mining. Immediately has problems with weather and with mining at 13,000 feet above sea level.

1975 The Indonesian military invades East Timor. An estimated 200,000 Timorese die. The Suharto regime prevents journalists from entering the former Portuguese colony.

1977 Amungme tribal people steal dynamite and blow up a slurry pipeline at the mine. Military crackdown kills as many as 900 local villagers.

1980 Freeport and the Indonesian government start relocating Papuan tribal people in the lowlands.

1988 Freeport is named the top corporate polluter by the US Environment Protection Agency.

1990 Moffat earns \$8.82m from Freeport. Compensation expert Graef Crystal names Moffat the fifth most overpaid CEO in the US.

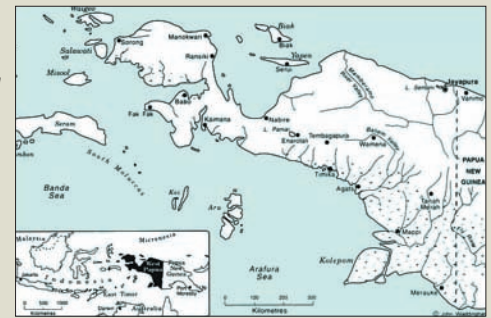


1991 New discoveries of ore at Grasberg cause Freeport to double estimates of mine reserves to \$50 billion. Two months later, 200 civilians are killed by the Indonesian army while attending the funeral of another citizen who died at the hands of the military.

1995 The Australian Council for Overseas Aid releases report detailing dozens of human rights abuses at Grasberg. Freeport security personnel implicated. The Indonesian Commission on Human Rights confirms the abuses.

1996 The Grasberg mine produces 120,000 tons of mine tailings per day. (Since 1972 the tailings have been dumped in the Aghawagon River.) A Dames & Moore environmental audit reports that 420 million tons of acidic waste rock have been dumped in a nearby valley, with another 2.8 billion tons projected to be dumped in the future. In April, Amungme tribal leader Tom Beanal files a \$6 billion class action lawsuit against Freeport, claiming the Amungme were forcibly removed from their land without compensation.

2000 Indonesian troops shoot at West Papuan protesters, injuring 28 people who were trying to stop the West Papuan separatist flag from being lowered.



'I think you should, too.'
'Papuan culture very different to English culture?' he asks.

'Well, yes, you could say that. You know, Galile, I think the important thing is for you all to get a real picture of what the West is like. This stuff you see on the films – we don't really live like that. You have to get both sides of the story before you decide how you want to run your country.'

'What do you mean?'

'Well, I mean that you have to know what it will cost you. Everything has a price. You could gain many things if you wanted to try to live like us, but you'd lose a lot of what you have. You can't do both. Listen, just one example: there are about 7 million people unemployed in the US.'

'Pheew!' His eyes widen.

'And something like 2 million without homes.'

'Without homes? What you mean without homes? Where do they sleep?'

'They sleep on the streets. And they eat rubbish, from bins.'

Galile is speechless. He has lost all interest in the rest of the pig; an indication of the seriousness of the subject.

'But I think everyone in the US and England is rich!' he says. 'Everyone has cars, jobs, big houses, much money...'

'Well, they don't. And listen – something else: no land. I can't even afford to buy a house where I live.'

'But my family has three houses.'

'If I wanted to buy a house the size of yours in England, guess how much it would cost me.'

'How much?'

I wish I had a calculator. 'Maybe about 3 billion rupiah.'

Galile nearly faints into the fire. A toothless, old man sitting across from us grins through the flames and waves his rolled tobacco leaves at us to indicate that he hasn't got a clue what we're talking about but he's enjoying listening to it anyway.

'Paul,' says Galile, very seriously, 'I want to know why you live like this.'

'That's just the way it is. We have

plenty of things you don't have, which a lot of people in Papua probably want. But some of the things we have you're lucky not to have. If you want to live like us, you'll have to have some of them, and things will change a lot. It's a kind of cost-benefit thing, I suppose.'

'What else you have?' he asks, sounding as if he doesn't want to know.

So I tell him about old people's homes and rehab clinics, Prozac and cardboard cities, motorways, genetic engineering and landfill sites. He looks as if I'm having him on. I'm beginning to feel cruel. But I have to tell him one last thing.

'Do you want to know something else?'

Galile steels himself.

'Our pigs live in factories.'

'Factories?' This is the killer blow. Had Galile been sitting on a

chair, and not on the grass-strewn floor, he would have fallen off it.

'Why?' he pleads.

'Because it makes economic

By the end of the Grasberg mines's working life, Freeport expects to have dumped 3 billion tons of waste rock into the neighbouring valleys

sense. It makes them cheaper to buy. So do the chickens and the ducks.'

There is a tingling silence, broken only by the contended slurping of the village dogs gnawing on bones outside.

'Now my head is spinning,' says Galile, slowly. 'They never tell us any of this.' He looks at the dejected remains of the pig, but his mind is elsewhere. ■

© 2003 by Paul Kingsnorth
Extracted from *One No, Many Yeses* (Simon and Schuster), Paul Kingsnorth's book on the global resistance movement

FARMED COD • Already on sale in some British supermarkets, is farmed cod really the long-term solution to the problem of declining wild populations.

By Tom Hargreaves

Marks and Spencer has recently sold the UK's first farmed cod to consumers. The cod came from the UK's first commercial cod farm – situated on the shores of Scotland's Loch Striven (pictured right). Many more cod farms are proposed, particularly in Shetland, and large numbers of salmon farmers are considering diversifying into this new branch of aquaculture.

Historically, it used to be possible to catch vast numbers of Atlantic cod supposedly just by lowering a basket into the ocean and scooping them out. Today, wild populations of the fish are almost extinct. The EU is constantly reducing fishing quotas for cod, but it may be that the only way wild populations will recover is through a complete ban.

Cod farming is being hailed as the salvation of the dwindling cod fishing industry, but the broader truth is that we eat too much of the fish.



COD-FARMING TECHNIQUES

Captive females are mated with wild-caught males. Artificial light is used to encourage spawning out of season. Once hatched, juvenile fish are given antibiotics and vaccinated against diseases before being stored in seawater-filled tanks. For "on-growing" to market size the cod are graded according to size so as to counter their cannibalistic tendencies, and *may* be transferred to sea cages.

ADDING PRESSURE TO FISH STOCKS

While cod farming is supposed to benefit wild stocks, the feed required actually contributes to the depletion of the wild fish. Adult cod are fed on fish-meal pellets that are made out of fish oil extracted from "trash fish". It is estimated that four kilograms of fish are required to produce one kilogram of farmed cod. This trebles the pressure on marine fisheries, harming natural food chains and making it harder for wild cod stocks to recover.

POOR CONDITIONS

Farmed cod are stocked at high densities, with up to 1,000 fish per tank. This density leads to deoxygenated water. In addition to this, the fish are constantly transferred from one over-crowded tank to another.



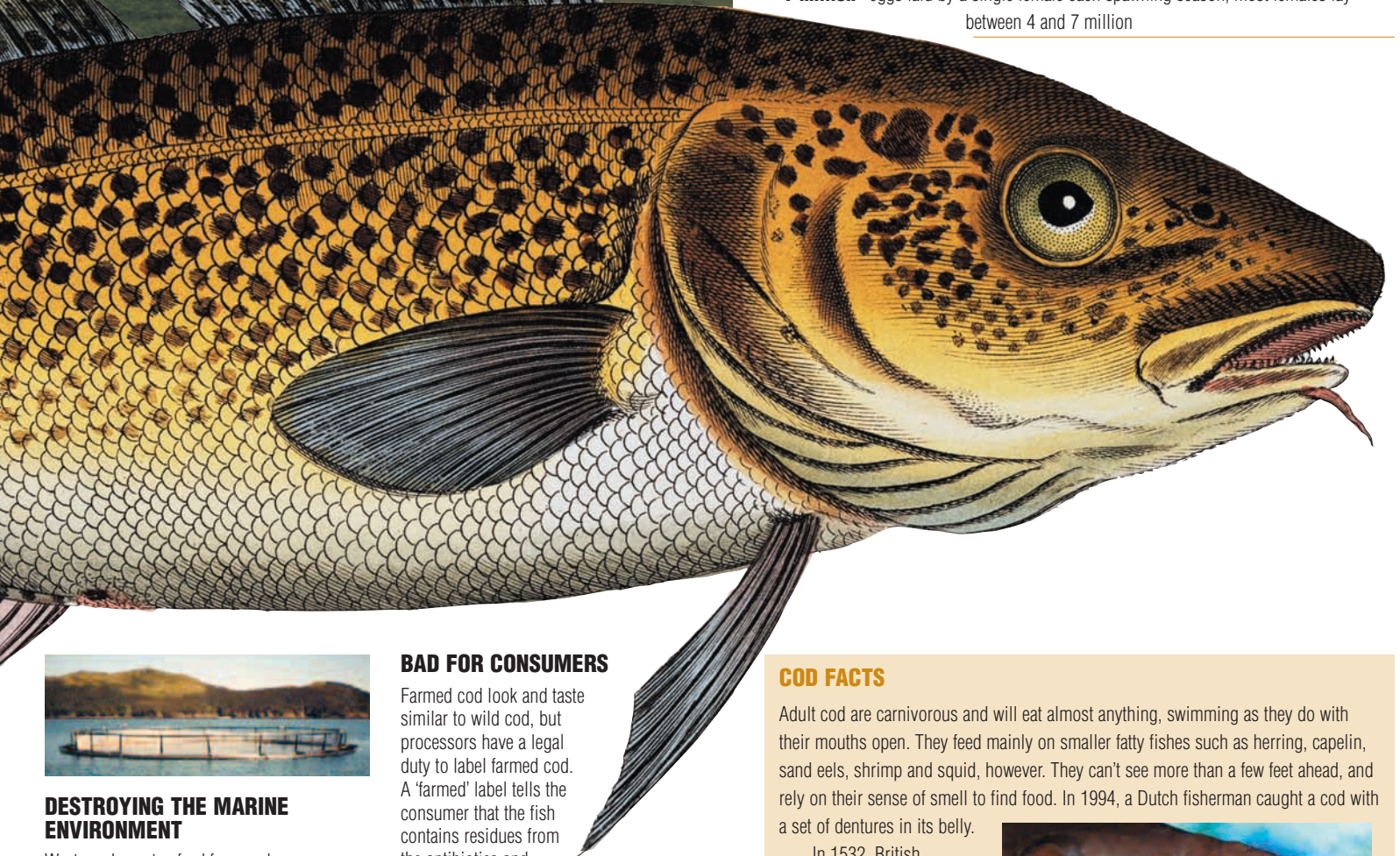
HARMING THE FISH

The poor conditions farmed cod are subjected to cause physiological deformities. Overcrowded tanks cause the fish to rub tails and fins, which then become damaged. Overcrowding also increases the risk of disease and lice being passed from fish to fish. And the fish's oily diet causes their livers to swell up.



COD IN NUMBERS

- 4** different continents have eaten cod in hundreds of different recipes over the last 1,000 years
- 7** per cent of the cod consumed in the UK comes from the North or Irish Seas; 85 per cent comes from Iceland, Norway, the Faroes and Russia
- 10** per cent of all fish caught worldwide is cod
- 15th** century – when John Cabot arrived in what are now Canadian waters cod were supposed to be so plentiful in the sea that they impeded the progress of his ship
- 30** number of years cod can live for
- 40** kg/m³ – said to be the “successful” stocking density of cod tanks and cages
- 45** per cent – the cut placed on cod quotas by the EU in December 2001; this reduced North and Irish Sea catches from 49,000 to 29,000 tonnes
- 211** pounds – the record weight for a caught cod (the fish in question was more than six feet long); most fish caught today weigh between five and 14 pounds
- 1,000** the number of cod that farms frequently store in a single tank
- 150,000** tonnes of cod currently consumed in the UK each year
- 7 million** eggs laid by a single female each spawning season; most females lay between 4 and 7 million



DESTROYING THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT

Waste and uneaten feed from cod sea cages are spread on the seabed, fouling it and causing deoxygenation. This leads to localised destruction of the marine environment, which can harm population levels of other fish and bottom-feeding animals like prawns.



BAD FOR CONSUMERS

Farmed cod look and taste similar to wild cod, but processors have a legal duty to label farmed cod. A ‘farmed’ label tells the consumer that the fish contains residues from the antibiotics and vaccines used to control disease among cod. ‘Organic’ farmed cod has been dubbed a ‘consumer con’; it contains and ‘bio-accumulates’ PCBs and dioxins from the wild-caught fish used in fish-meal pellet feed.



COD FACTS

Adult cod are carnivorous and will eat almost anything, swimming as they do with their mouths open. They feed mainly on smaller fatty fishes such as herring, capelin, sand eels, shrimp and squid, however. They can’t see more than a few feet ahead, and rely on their sense of smell to find food. In 1994, a Dutch fisherman caught a cod with a set of dentures in its belly.

In 1532, British fishermen fought with the Hanseatic League in the first of many ‘cod wars’.

Some believe it was the Basques who were the first people to encounter North America thanks to their fishing expeditions, which took them further and further west in search of cod.



Malcolm Tait

100 years ago this month...

In September 1903 Paul Cezanne wrote to fellow artist Charles Camoin: 'We must hasten out and by contact with nature revive within ourselves the instincts, the artistic sensations that live in us. What shall I wish you: good studies made after nature, that is the best thing.' Cezanne himself was perpetually inspired by the natural beauty of Mont Sainte-Victoire in Provence, which he painted over and over from his Provencale studio...

But in the 1980s two forest fires devastated much of Mont Sainte-Victoire's forested areas. An extensive programme to reforest the mountain has, so far, led to 90,000 replacement trees being planted. The planters, however, have come under some flak for their choice of species. Keeping away from fire-sensitive pine, which is common to the region, they have chosen the more fire-resistant downy oak.

A population of blue tits has become so successful in a downy oak woodland in the city of Montpellier, that they have spilled over into a neighbouring woodland of evergreen oak. Downy oaks produce leaves that attract caterpillars in May – giving the birds a useful food source at precisely the time when they breed. But evergreen oaks attract caterpillars in June, which is not such good news for the overspill blue tits. The case shows that wildlife cannot always simply 'move somewhere else' in the event of local habitat destruction...

...Radar systems and equipment are often named after wildlife with names that refer to colours of the rainbow – ie, Red Fox, Blue Parrot and Orange Poodle. Blue Tit was an early name for the Sea Spray radar, which is used in Lynx helicopters.

In 2001 environmental researcher Richard Stone used Lynx helicopters in Antarctica to test a story from the Falklands War: pilots returning from the South Atlantic claimed that they had seen penguins falling over backwards as the birds watched them flying overhead. After five weeks of fly-over tests, Stone decided the story was a myth. What Stone noticed instead was that the birds would waddle away from his aircraft. This could be significant if increasing Antarctic air traffic coincides with breeding seasons, when penguins need to stay on their eggs to keep them from freezing.

It's fortunate that penguins don't fall over, because those in east Antarctica will be able to watch an extraordinary sight this November: a total eclipse of the sun. The last time this happened in the region was on 21 September 1903 – 100 years ago this month.

September

Sunday

Monday

Tuesday

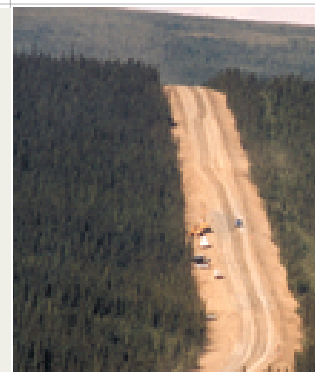
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THE ABBOTS BROMLEY HORN DANCE, ABBOTS BROMLEY, STAFFORDSHIRE

Festival: Dancers – six deer-men, a fool, a hobby-horse, a bowman (or Robin Hood) and a Maid Marian – don reindeer antlers and Tudor costume and perform a spiralling, hunting-like dance to music from an accordionist and a triangle player. The Maid Marian (played by a man) collects alms for the village church in a cudgel-shaped wooden box.

Route: The horns are taken from the Church of St Nicholas on a 10-mile journey around the parish before being returned to the church, where they remain on display until the following year.

History: Dates back to Anglo-Saxon times and the granting of hunting rights to the villagers in Needwood Forest. Introduction of the Julian calendar moved the event from August. Fertility rite aspects of the dance explain why the horns visit parish farms. But the dance's origins may be much older. It could be a relic of a Stone Age hunting ritual or connected with ancient reindeer migrations.



14-15 Natural Trade Show Harrogate

Dedicated to independent retailers and practitioners in the natural product, organic and CAM markets. 01875 611554 www.naturaltradeshow.com



16

UN International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer

Marking the day the Montreal protocol was signed. This date focuses public attention on the need to preserve and monitor changes in the ozone layer. www.uneptie.org/ozonaction/event/s/ozoneday/main.html

22

Car-Free Day

Reduce pollution and improve the quality of urban life by giving up your car for a day, or – better still – for ever.

01932 828 882 www.eta.co.uk www.22september.org



23-24

Annual Meeting of the World Bank and IMF

Venue: Dubai, United Arab Emirates. For more details, visit: www.imf.org/external/am To protest, visit: www.50years.org www.whirledbank.org

28

Stop Stansted Expansion

Horseshoe's Hike 11am-3pm. March to send a clear message to transport secretary Alistair Darling that concreting over our countryside to make the world's largest airport is unacceptable. 01279 870558

www.stopstanstedexpansion.com

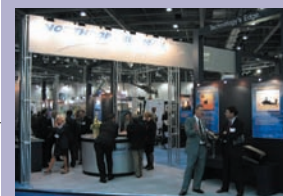


Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	<p>4/11/18/25</p> <p>Oppose BP's planned Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline. Every Thursday Rising Tide will picket one of the pipeline's potential funders – starting with the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. 4.30-6pm, Bishopsgate London. www.risingtide.org.uk</p>	<p>5-7</p> <p>Size Does Matter; reducing our ecological footprint</p> <p>Centre for Alternative technology members conference. 01654 705988 www.cat.org.uk</p>	<p>6-7 The Organic Food Festival</p> <p>The UK's largest celebration of organic food and drink. Bristol Harbourside, Bristol 0117 914 2451 www.soilassociation.org</p>

10-14 WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE, CANCUN, MEXICO

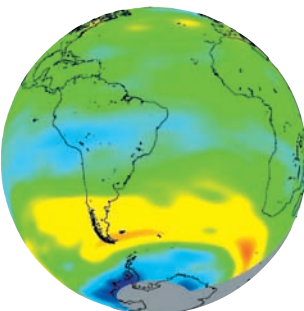
The rules that govern world trade are loaded against the poor. The injustice is likely to get worse at the WTO's fifth meeting in Cancun. Rich countries are pushing for more trade rules that would increase the power of big business, but they are dragging their feet on reforming trade rules in a way that could help developing countries break out of the vicious cycle of poverty.

It is vital you tell the decision-makers what you think. To lobby Tony Blair, visit: www.foe.co.uk/campaigns/global_trade/press_for_change/email_blair/; to target corporate bosses, visit: www.wdm.org.uk/campaign/cancun03/cutcorp.htm; to lobby DTI boss Patricia Hewitt, visit: www.waronwant.org/?lid=3778; and to lobby your MP, visit: www.advocacyonline.net.



6-12 Shut Down DSEI

A mass international protest has been called to protest against Defence Systems Equipment International – Europe's largest arms trade fair. ExCeL Centre, Docklands, East London. 0781 7652 029 www.dsei.org



18

Power and Politics in Cancun

Reactions to the WTO ministerial. Speakers: George Monbiot, Carmen Diaz, professor Yash Tandon and Barry Coates. Free, but booking necessary. Friends Meeting House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ. 0800 328 2153 www.wdm.org.uk



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Carrots

Carrots contain the most vitamin A of any vegetable. Eating just two and a half carrots a day has been shown to lower cholesterol by 11 per cent in three weeks.

NB: By the time a kilogram of South African carrots has landed on your plate, they will have travelled over 9,500 kilometres, causing 5,484.5 grams of CO₂ emissions. Buy local.

HISTORY OF CARROTS

- 900s** Merchants bring purple carrot seeds from Afghanistan into Spain.
- 1400s** Introduced to England by the Flemish.
- 1600s** Dutch growers breed carrots in colours of the House of Orange.
- 1940s** Experiments with high carotene varieties are conducted during WWII to reduce night blindness in pilots.
- 2000** The world's second favourite vegetable.



FRUIT Apples, blackberries, grapes, pears, plums, raspberries, rhubarb, strawberries

VEGETABLES Aubergine, broccoli, Brussels sprouts, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, courgettes, leeks, lettuce, mange-tout, marrows, new potatoes, onions, parsnips, potatoes, pumpkins, radishes, runner beans, spinach, spring onions, swedes, sweet corn, tomatoes, turnip, watercress

THIS MONTH IN HISTORY

1 September 1961 USSR ends moratorium on atomic testing with above-ground explosion in Asia. Two weeks later, the US resumes underground testing.

14 September 1976 US scientists discover a new species of sponge growing on steel cans containing radioactive waste that were dumped near the Farallones Islands from 1946 to 1970.

1978 The Amoco-Cadiz oil tanker spills a record 1.6 million barrels of crude oil off France's Breton coast.

1989 The village of Copsa Mica in Romania is exposed as one of the most polluted places in Europe. Despite clean-up efforts, the region is still heavily contaminated.

1992 The US performs its last nuclear-weapons test, in the desert of Nevada.



26 September 1998 It is reported that timber companies are poisoning hundreds of baboons in Zimbabwe.

30 September 2002 It is reported that asparagine, a naturally occurring amino acid, forms acrylamide, a suspected carcinogen, when it is heated with certain sugars.

Reviews

BOOK OF THE MONTH

Don't Worry (it's Safe to Eat): the true story of GM food, BSE and foot and mouth

by Andrew Rowell

Earthscan, £16.99

Don't Worry (it's Safe to Eat) was inspired by questions that will have troubled many people. In a country with a large and sophisticated scientific community how could the disaster of BSE occur? And what does its occurrence tell us about the system of public science in the UK today?

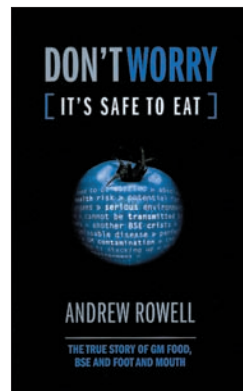
Employing an abundance of statistical and factual detail, Rowell minutely explores the dominance of money in the scientific arena and how its pernicious influence has corrupted a whole range of public institutions: the Royal Society, scientific research councils, learned journals and backbench House of Commons committees.

Using his knowledge of the history of BSE and foot-and-mouth disease, Rowell is able to provide a framework for the current debate over GM food. And lo and behold, we see the same depressingly familiar special pleading on behalf of the privateers, with their trail of embarrassingly supine politicians and scientists in tow.

The story of Arpad Pusztai, the scientist who was destroyed because his findings showed that GM food might not be so wholesome after all, shows how far the establishment will go to protect its baby. But Pusztai has shown extraordinary resilience in the face of continuing vilification and ostracism. Commenting on the treatment he has received, he is unwavering: 'They picked the wrong guy. I will kick the bucket before I give up.'

REVIEWED BY MOLLY SCOTT CATO

Don't Worry (it's safe to eat) is available to *Ecologist* readers at a 20 per cent discount. Please quote '20% Ecologist reader discount' when ordering and fax/e-mail/post order to Earthscan, FREEPOST 1, 120 Pentonville Road, London N1 9JN, UK. Fax +44 (0) 0727 81142, e-mail earthinfo@earthscan.co.uk. Postage and packing: UK £2.50, Airmail: £4.60



Empires of Capital

by Ellen Meiksins Wood

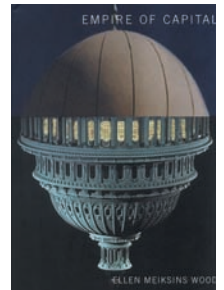
VERSO, £15

In this era of globalisation, we hear a great deal about a new imperialism and its chief enforcer, the United States. But what does imperialism mean in the absence of colonial conquest and direct imperial rule?

In this lucid and lively book, Ellen Meiksins Wood explores the new imperialism against the contrasting background of older forms, from ancient Rome, through medieval Europe, the Arab Muslim world, the Spanish conquests, and the Dutch commercial empire. Tracing the birth of a capitalist imperialism back to the English domination of Ireland, Wood follows its development through the British Empire in America and India.

The book brings into sharp relief the nature of today's new capitalist empire, in which the political reach of imperial power cannot match its economic hegemony.

REVIEWED BY HARRY RAM



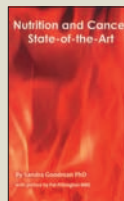
BOOKENDS

Nutrition and Cancer: state of the art

by Dr Sandra Goodman

POSITIVE HEALTH PUBLICATIONS, £12.99

Using the massive research database she compiled at the Bristol Cancer Help Centre, Goodman sets out the scientific evidence about nutrition and cancer prevention.



Citizens Dissent: security, morality and leadership in an age of terror

by Wendell Berry and David James Duncan

THE ORION SOCIETY, \$8.00

Two powerful essays criticising current US policy and defending the morality of dissenting action in such circumstances.



Privatising Culture: corporate art intervention since the 1980s

by Chin-Tao Wu

VERSO, £12

Exploring the various ways that corporate sponsorship has taken over and co-opted the visual arts since the 1980s.



World On Fire

by Michael Brownstein

OPEN CITY BOOKS, £14

Combining narrative, poetry and social analysis, *World on Fire* offers a unique and impassioned view of corporate globalisation.

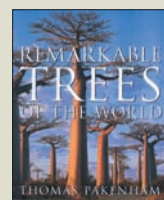


Remarkable Trees of the World

by Thomas Pakenham

WEIDENFIELD & NICHOLSON ILLUSTRATED, £25

Following on from *Meetings with Remarkable Trees*, Pakenham extends his fascinating survey beyond the British Isles to take in the most magnificent trees in the world.

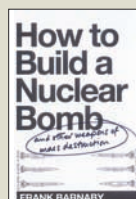


How to Build a Nuclear Weapon, and other Weapons of Mass Destruction

by Frank Barnaby

GRANTA BOOKS, £9.99

Nuclear physicist Frank Barnaby describes in non-sensational terms what is involved when a state or terrorist group sets out to make WMDs.

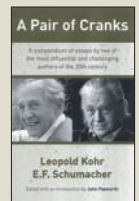


A Pair of Cranks

by Leopold Kohr and E.F. Schumacher, edited by John Papworth

NEW EUROPEAN PUBLICATIONS, £10.95

A collection of essays by two of the most profound alternative thinkers of the 20th century.



Zacarias, My Brother: the making of a terrorist

by Abd Samad Moussaoui

SEVEN STORIES PRESS, \$14.95

The brother of the supposed '20th hijacker' tells the story of their childhood together in an explanation of why someone turns to fundamentalism.



You Back the Attack! We'll bomb Who we Want

by Micah Ian Wright

SEVEN STORIES PRESS, £10.99

A series of spoof WWII propaganda posters mocking the reality of life in George W Bush's America.



The War We Could Not Stop

edited by Randeep Ramesh

FABER AND FABER, £7.99

Gripping reportage from *Guardian* correspondents from across the world. From Baghdad and Basra, to Washington, Brussels and London, the story of the battle of Iraq is told using both on-the-ground reporting and government sources. The impressive detail doesn't get in the way of a lively narration of the events leading from the first Gulf War in 1991 to Saddam Hussein's disappearance in April this year. The perils of multiple authorship do sometimes show, however, as the naive acceptance of government spin by some of the writers dilutes others' intelligent critique of the propaganda war. The book also suffers slightly from some unconvincing rhetorical flourishes. Nonetheless, a fascinating first draft of history that comes complete with cast list, time line and glossary.

REVIEWED BY TOM STAFFORD



The Greatest Seditious Silence: four years in America

By William Rivers Pitt

PLUTO PRESS, £18.99

Aimed squarely at the author's fellow Americans, this powerful book asks many questions of its readers. Pitt does not shy away from confronting the issues of US politics, media and culture over the last four years. The approach is direct: 'Bush's support among Americans is a mile wide and a centimetre deep.' But Pitt goes beyond simple Bush-bashing as he targets corporate scandals and a pliant media to leave the reader with no chance to deny that it's time for a change.

REVIEWED BY DAVID MITCHELL



Poisoned Arrows: an investigative journey to the forbidden territories of West Papua

by George Monbiot

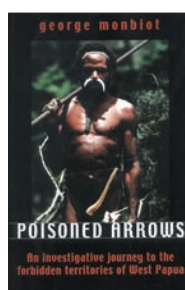
GREEN BOOKS, £9.95

The Indonesian government said the tribes of West Papua were an embarrassment who lived in the wrong houses, wore the wrong clothes and spoke the wrong languages. So they decided on a process of 'transmigration' – moving 20 million people from overcrowded Java into West Papua – and the elimination of the indigenous tribes.

George Monbiot set out to see West Papua for himself. Along the way he would see a land where men wore gourds on their penises and amputated their own fingers in mourning. He would also witness a desperate battle for survival, in which spears and arrows were pitched against machine guns and fighter jets.

The writing is raw and bleak. It would have been easy to sensationalise the destruction in West Papua, but Monbiot lets the horrors speak for themselves. 'The people of Ats were able to grow bananas. But the trees, 8000 of them, were growing in the wrong place. They stood between the houses and the waterfront, so the village couldn't be watched from the river. Soldiers came with chain saws, and cut down all the trees.'

REVIEWED BY LES PICKFORD



The Whaling Season: an inside account of the struggle to stop commercial whaling

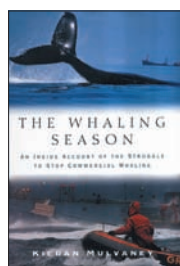
by Kieran Mulvaney

ISLAND PRESS, \$26.00

Part adventure story, part history, *The Whaling Season* describes Mulvaney's four Greenpeace expeditions to stop whaling and his attempts to expose those countries (Japan specifically) that continually flout, for 'scientific purposes', the moratorium on commercial hunting.

The narrative constantly engages, easily blending the battle between environmental activists and commercial whalers with the history of whaling, Antarctic exploration, Greenpeace itself and the global effort to regulate the industry. Nor does Mulvaney lose sight of the reason for the expeditions – the majesty of the whales themselves. 'We were literally surrounded by them – 50, 100; it was impossible to say. We turned off the engine and sat there, the only sounds the lapping of the water against the hull and the blowing and surfacing of the whales.'

REVIEWED BY LES PICKFORD



MY FIVE MOST INFLUENTIAL BOOKS

Greg Palast

George Monbiot describes Greg Palast as the journalist he admires most. For politicians on both sides of the Atlantic, the verb is more likely to be 'fear'. Palast's investigative



scoops include exposures of: how George W Bush stole the 2000 Florida election by illegally removing African American's from the voter rolls; how Dubya also killed off the FBI's investigation of the bin Laden family prior to 11 September; and the Blair government's cash-for-questions scandal.

1 Which book first made you realise that 'something was wrong'?

Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems*. I looked at what was happening in Nixon's America and in the jungles of Vietnam and on the shitty streets around me in the dark-brown Chicano end of Los Angeles, and thought either I'm insane or the world is. Answer: maybe both. That's when I read Ginsberg's words, the soul 'should never die ungodly in an armed madhouse'. Amen.

2 Which one book would you give to every politician?

The UN *Human Development Report*. Everything else is a footnote.

3 ...to every CEO?

A Borowitz's *Who Moved My Soap? The CEO's guide to surviving in prison*. And Martin Luther King's *Why We Can't Wait*. Let them listen to a guy who would rather give than grasp.

4 ...to every child?

Charles Bukowski's *Confessions of a Man Insane Enough to Live with the Beasts*. Why be normal? Ideas of what to do between youth and execution.

5 It's 2050. The ice caps are melting, sea levels are rising. You're only allowed one book on the Ark. What is it?

Chaim Antzen Remembers – the book of the Palast family, privately published – how we survived the LAST flood.



Greg Palast is the author of the *New York Times* bestseller *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy: an investigative reporter tells the truth about globalization, corporate cons and high-finance fraudsters* (Constable and Robinson). The book includes an expansion of 'The project' – Palast's 2000 *Ecologist* report on Tony Blair. Subscribe to Palast's writings for *The Observer* and *The Guardian* newspapers and view his investigative reports for BBC Television's *Newsnight*, at www.GregPalast.com.

Next Month, Anita Roddick picks her five most influential books


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Jalisco Ecologist
Collective - Mexico
George Monbiot
author and journalist
Prof. Yash Tandon
African delegate to the
WTO
Barry Coates
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number in millions of people in Bangladesh estimated to be drinking water from arsenic-tainted shallow wells

24



number of the 28 most commonly used pesticides believed to be carcinogenic

23

percentage increase in global sugar consumption over the past 10 years

22



number of the 23 species seriously depleted by the 1989 Exxon Valdez spill that didn't recover

21

percentage of the Earth's original forests that remain undisturbed

20

percentage of the average U.S. household budget devoted to transportation

19



number of months the average consumer uses a mobile phone before replacing it

18



Percentage of Chinese who say they have never heard of AIDS

17

16

pounds of marine life killed by a trawler for every pound that reaches market



maximum number of years a Burmese citizen can be sentenced to jail for owning an unregistered computer

15

average percentage of household water consumption used by a washing machine

14

number of Chinese people it takes to consume as much as one American person

13

pounds of chocolate consumed by the average American in one year

12

Years before current world oil consumption could empty the known reserves of Saudi Arabia (the world's largest)

11

number of the ten trade disputes involving environmental or public health issues that have resulted in a weakening of national laws

10

billion dollars would be needed each year (in addition to current expenditures) to provide water and sanitation for all the people in developing nations

9



pounds of grain are needed to produce one pound of beef

8

number of gallons of crude oil needed to produce one car tyre

7



number of species estimated to go extinct each hour

6

average pounds of wild ocean fish that a fish farm needs in feed to produce a single pound of salmon

5



number of feet by which the Arctic Sea has thinned since 1976

4

number of plant species that provide one-half of the world's food supply

3*

age at which a child can develop brand loyalty

2

days after the US invaded Iraq that Sony trademarked 'Shock & Awe' for video games

1

number of people besides Al Gore who called the Washington Post in March 1998 to point out that it had printed a photo of the earth upside down

0



SOURCE: STATE OF THE WORLD 2003, THE WORLDWATCH INSTITUTE

* rice, corn, and wheat

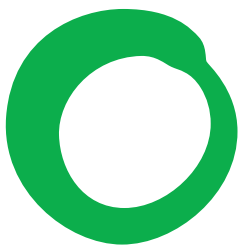


The White House and American business should not have the right to decide what we eat in Europe.

The US is bringing a case to the World Trade Organization arguing that the European Union's moratorium on GM foods is 'illegal'.

This move, almost certainly a result of pressure from the biotech industry, could force the people of Europe to eat GM food when they don't want it.

The European Commission and national governments must find the courage to stand up to this bullying.



Friends of the Earth

Support Friends of the Earth's campaign to fight for Europe's right to say no to GM.

www.foe.co.uk/gm_trade_war/

Friends of the Earth inspires solutions to environmental problems, which make life better for people

Care for others as you care for yourself



Viridian is a new kind of vitamin company dedicated to ethical business practices including environmental awareness, pure ingredients and charity donation.

In fact, in 2001/2002, Viridian is donating £30,000 to a range of environmental, children's and other selected charities including NSPCC, Friends of the Earth, Childline, Woodland Trust, Shelter, The Orangutan Foundation, Help the Aged, Amnesty International, Terrence Higgins Trust, Barnados, National Deaf Children's Society, RSPB, Trees For London, UNICEF, Hackney City Farm, Born Free Foundation and Maggie's Cancer Care. Viridian supplies specialist health food stores and each year the stores vote which charities will benefit the

following year – as the company grows, so do the charity donations.

Viridian vitamins and herbs are excellent quality and cost no more than comparable, non-donating brands found in the mass market. So, by switching to Viridian, you not only get the best in nutrition, you also help generate thousands for charities. Everyone's taking vitamins these days and what better way to take them than with a large dose of Viridian's feel-good factor.

The Viridian range of vitamins, minerals, herbs, amino acids and nutritional oils is available from selected independent health food stores.



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