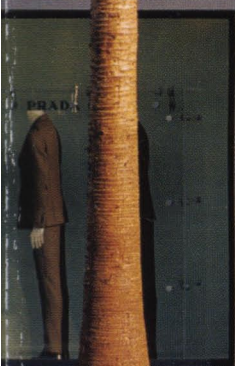


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No Future



DETAIL OF PAINTING BY TOM HOPKINS



People of the next century will gaze back in ghastly awe upon our time...
a time of waste and abandon on a scale so vast it knocked the
human enterprise out of whack for a thousand years.



CRAIG WYLIE

WWW.USGS.GOV



This, finally, is the punch line of our two hundred years on the Great Plains: we trap out the beaver, subtract the Mandan, infect the Blackfeet and the Hidatsa and the Assiniboin, overdose the Arikara; call the land a desert and hurry across it to get to California and Oregon; suck up the buffalo, bones and all; kill off nations of elk and wolves and cranes and prairie chickens and prairie dogs; dig up the gold and rebury it in vaults someplace else; ruin the Sioux and Cheyenne and Arapaho and Crow and Kiowa and Comanche; kill Crazy Horse, kill Sitting Bull; harvest wave after wave of immigrants' dreams and send the wised-up dreamers on their way; plow the topsoil until it blows to the ocean; ship out the wheat, ship out the cattle; dig up the earth itself and burn it in power plants and send the power down the line; dismiss the small farmers, empty the little towns; drill the oil and the natural gas and pipe it away; dry up the rivers and the springs, deep-drill for irrigation water as the aquifer retreats. And in return we condense unimaginable amounts of treasure into weapons buried beneath the land that so much treasure came from – weapons for which our best hope might be that we will someday take them apart and throw them away, and for which our next-best hope certainly is that they remain humming away under the prairie, absorbing fear and maintenance, unused, forever.

IAN FRAZIER
Great Plains

MICHAEL SCOTT BIERMAN



As a child I lived by stories. I laugh now about some of them, while others are simply embarrassing. When I was nine years old I was so sure that the hockey card in the spokes of my green five-speed bicycle would somehow make my bike faster. For years I was terrified of werewolves and the half-human creatures in the *Sinbad* movies, not to mention the three-legged black bear limping through the woods in Holberg. I was too fascinated by the sasquatch to be afraid, spending many Saturday afternoons looking for footprints. I still like to think one may be out there, deep in an old-growth rainforest, rubbing its back against ancient spruce trees and venturing down to the water only when the salmon arrive to spawn.

Many of these ideas fell away as I got older, only to be replaced – without my permission – by even more sacred truths that are proving to be only too difficult to unload:

- voting by half the adults every four years is evidence of a democracy
- the way we live in North America is sustainable
- finish your school and you'll secure a well-paying job
- treaties signed mean lasting peace

The childish myths I lived by twenty years ago appear to be harmless and helpful compared to what I have come to embrace these days:

- cows don't feel the branding iron, fish don't feel the hook, and chickens love to live in a barn with 40,000 of their friends
- the free market and free press keep us all well-stocked and well-informed
- it matters that over-priced athletes in my town beat the ones in your town
- golf is a sport
- those who have medals are heroes
- technology is of course a positive thing and benefits us all equally
- make the world a better place: accept Jesus, sponsor a child, buy American

I wonder now who profits from these grim fairy tales? Who benefits from our absence of intellectual self-defense? Can we live without chains? Not an easy task.

Tom Feakins



Existential Angst
Alienation
Spiritual Vacuum
Inner Famine
Anomie
The Great Sickness of Modern Man
Soul Hole
Crisis of Meaning

Whatever the label, it speaks of disconnection
and yearns for something to fill the postmodern void.

We oblige too willingly and pour in

Fast food
The internet
Spectator sports
Quick religion
And consumerism.

We're medicated to keep our minds glazed and distracted
from the side-effects of progress.

Psychotropics slide down our Evian-coated throats.
Paxil, Zoloft and Prozac.
They sound more like planets than pills.

The occasional war is offered up against the enemy-of-the-day,
in order to bring us into formation,
to ensure that our questions remain short and shallow.

But . . . despite all this
something ignites the Zapatista rebel demanding autonomy
the Palestinian suicide bomber resisting occupation
the Earth First activist serving her six year sentence
and the 67 year old Maryknoll nun who blocks the logging road.

Our pets arrive at Doggy Daycare wearing sweaters and mittens
as city dwellers reside in moving crates and storage boxes.

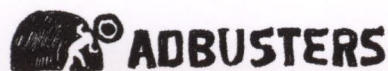
Global Warming
Fast Food
Child Labor
Homelessness
They all thrive on our inability . . . no, our refusal to connect.

-Victor

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HEATHER ACKROYD & DAN HARVEY





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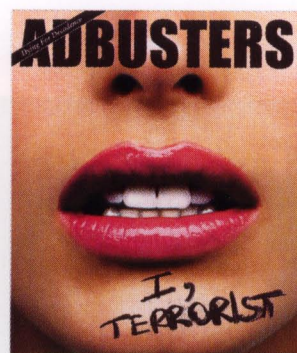
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I read most of *Adbusters* #54 "I, Terrorist" and was somewhat disappointed by the collective apathy about the infotainment shackles and consumption. If we are to collapse into ennui, then here is our epitaph from Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, 1857:

"What kind of lives were they leading now? Cities, busy streets, buzzing theatres, brilliant balls – such surroundings afforded them unlimited opportunities for deep emotions and exciting sensations. But her life was as cold as an attic facing north; and boredom, like a silent spider, was weaving its web in the shadows, in every corner of her heart."

YEARY
 Moscow, Idaho

This line from Jim McClellan's story "The Drive To Mastery" in *Adbusters* #54 really hit home: "Thanks to modern technology and consumer capitalism, our bodies are no longer something we work with, but something to work on. Similarly, our lives have begun to seem like projects, things we need to plan and control to get the most out of."

It made me realize how often I planned my life, planned my schedule, planned my career. When you begin to think about it, planning could be our real oppressor.

We're so off into the future, we forget what is happening right now.

TESS HOTCHKISS
 via email

While shopping the other day, I saw an angelic-looking young boy of no more than 12 with his mother. "What would you like for dinner, honey?" she asked. The boy made no response

as he tapped frantically on a handheld video game. Frustrated by the lack of response, his mother snatched it from his hands. "What do you want for dinner?!" she semi-screamed. For a second, the boy looked shocked at this unexpected intrusion into his pixel-perfect fantasy. But the shock quickly faded to indifference as he snatched the video game back and muttered, almost inaudibly, "Whatever. Whatever you want." The boy had successfully immersed himself in a fantasy world. Food and conversation became meaningless in this universe where values of competition and violence prevail, where the only God is Nintendo and the only religion is consumption. In this technological surreality, life itself is reduced to a single word: "Whatever."

PAUL CULLINAN
 London, England

Reading *Adbusters* #53 was saddening. It graphically illustrated that nothing has changed in 250 years of US history. Never has the American agenda been so clearly documented: war and subversive terrorism have replaced diplomacy, under the guise of 'democracy' and 'freedom.' America is a country where a president can wrap himself in the flag and lie to the world and not be held accountable.

ERIC JOHNSON
 Vancouver, British Columbia

I appreciate the historical context that *Adbusters* #53 adds to the current extension of neocolonialism. But one thing I found inadequate was your treatment of Native American history. We all know the master narrative: white man arrives, moves west, and violently eliminates Indians through physical and cultural genocide. This version of history not only fails to acknowledge that Indian communities and individuals continue to thrive today, but it places Native Americans in the role of "thing." This denies Indians their agency in the past and present, teaching us that they were inactive victims forced to choose between annihilation and assimilation.

CHRISTOPHER CASSIDY
 Parkland, Washington

TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO I BEGAN TO MAKE A HABIT OF going to rummage through the store trash, every morning, because of the cost of food. That is when I learned the best days and times to go. I was young and beautiful then, and often wore shorts and brief blouses to do my outside shopping, and many times the produce and grocery managers would watch me while I was selecting the best throw away produce for my table.

I shamelessly used my appearance to coax more throw aways from them. They told me that the FDA regulates the coded dates on all products, and if they are not sold within that date, they must be thrown away and written off. This is done to promote the economy – or lack thereof.

These are the kinds of valuable and useful items I've dug out of the trash over the years . . . package upon package of turkey breast deli slices, dozens of packages of bologna, box upon box of dry cereals like Wheaties flakes, cans of international flavored coffees, plastic packages of: flour, corn, whole wheat, regular size, jumbo size tortillas, cardboard cartons of many flavored ice creams, and other foods. Then the compactors came. Compactors crush the trash to get more into a smaller space, but trash pickers cannot access the trash to salvage useful items. Usually the entrance where the trash is thrown

is inside the stores. I don't know any self-respecting trash picker who would want to go into the back of the store.

Many times I have seen workers from grocery stores with shopping carts full of foods and goods, children's toys, binkys, clothing, balloons, many jars of baby foods and juices, hundreds of packages of deli items from tamales to ice cream cakes, standing near the trash compactor and taking each item out to remove the UPC code and then throwing it away into the compactor. What must those workers feel at this wanton waste, especially if they have had no breakfast before they got to work?

I have seen dozens upon dozens of loaves of bread, maybe a day old, dumped in the trash compactor and the button pushed, crushed up beyond use. I have seen crates and crates of eggs dumped the same way, and then there are the hundreds of cartons of milk thrown in, leaking out of the dumpsters and stinking to high heaven.

Right now, my small car is full of beautiful loaves of bread, given to me by a vendor driver who was going to throw them away. This happens a lot. Sometimes I take the bread to the local charity store and they put it into a shopping cart and give it away. I will continue to do this as long as I can get gasoline to drive.

Tena A.



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I ONCE KNEW A GRASSY KNOLL THAT HELD MY DELIGHT, AND SUPPORTED my weight with even greater efficiency. I used to end my outings there frequently to find inspiration. I stood in hopes to receive through the soles of my feet encouragement, inspiration, even revelation, which was frequently offered. I set my face to the wetlands, illuminated and abundant with all the vibrancy of the spectrum, set in motion by the sun that fell behind me (a beautiful display that so many people are not aware of as they gaze at the setting sun and are rendered permanently incapacitated).

This was a sanctuary in which I held more faith than all my closest friends combined. Wherein the flora ne'er refused the fauna refuge, and the fauna welcomed all with a majestic display of flight, in both the water and the sky. The sparrows, as they flew, became a crown unto my head, soaring close enough to allow me insight into their banter. The mothers of the humble pond paraded in a proud procession with their young.

One day I went there in search of my thoughts; if I lose them, they wait attentively on the grassy knoll for me to pick them up. The sun was hanging high in the sky. I then looked to my grassy knoll, which seemed to hide from me; then I saw it not hiding, but flattened. The limbs that once stretched toward the sky, awaiting the sun, now laid in a rotting heap. The soil was raped of its covering, shame laid bare.

A few small trees remained barely anchored to the Earth. Their roots protruded from the soil, gasping for drink from the nearby pond.

I became indignant, though I still held a morsel of compassion, and I approached what shrubs were wasting away on the banks to offer my condolences.

Turned over amongst the small bit of brush that remained was the grotesque reality of malicious carelessness; a container of poison, corrosive to the touch. Not a few feet away lay an ignorant muskrat on her back, from whom life had fled. The only good of this situation was that the tortured muskrat would decompose, feeding the grasses, and the grasses would grow merely to bury the dead.

I've been forced to convene at the opposite end of the wetlands, where now my delight is placed in an old tree, my own weight supported by wood that creeks under the weight of the light of the sun. On one occasion I was blessed, however, to witness the sky tuck the sun under itself. The canopy became engulfed with iridescence. A display of gold and silver made preparations for the brilliant luminosity that overcame the evening, earth and sky alike.

Beauty still exists, but is becoming harder to find. I cannot help but wonder what further devastation will be wrought by the continuing industrialization of our nations. What will the rash suicidal tendencies of corporate development bring to all life?

Anonymous

In the otherwise excellent *Adbusters* #53, Chris Tenove's justification for NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia contains arguments that are incorrect. The NATO bombing effectively supported the aims of the terrorist/separatist Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Has Tenove fallen for the pro-war propaganda of Tony Blair, Vaclav Havel and CNN? Later in 1999, Tony Blair announced triumphantly to the Canadian parliament that NATO bombs had ended ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Tell that to the Roma, Jews and Serbs who have been largely expelled from Kosovo in the last five years by the victorious KLA.

RICHARD PIPER
via email

I find it disturbing and ironic that the United States of America was a nation founded by people seeking freedom from imperialist England, only to learn that 250 years later, they have become imperialists the likes of which no English king could ever have dreamt being. Who was it that said "those who do not know history are doomed to repeat it"?

DAN SHEREMETO
London, Ontario

Lets face it: people like to consume and it's not going away. I'm in my final year training to be a fashion designer. My aim: make ethical and organically-produced *desirable* clothing. I'm talking real fashion. I want to make ethical the 'new cool' and I'll use every marketing trick in the book. I want every McDonald's eating, rubbish throwing, Britney Spears loving person to wear my clothes and get the message. I realize this bothers people - that their once elitist ethical lifestyles might become popular. Well, I say fuck elitism.

OLGA TIERNAN
via email

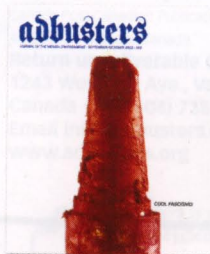
I recently went to a park in the middle of the city, which has tall trees and a lake, to fool myself that I was alone in an open wide forest. That I wasn't listening to those millions of contaminating and disturbing cars and that I wasn't smelling burnt gas through the trees. While I was walking by the lake I took some pictures of ducks trying to get

away from it and I wondered: would those be trying to fool themselves to not see that their world is being contaminated, and it's eventually going to kill them? I felt like a duck swimming in a lake called Earth.



Alexander Lincon
Miami, Florida.

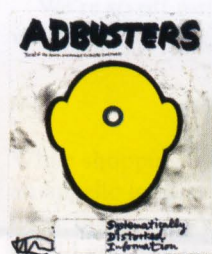
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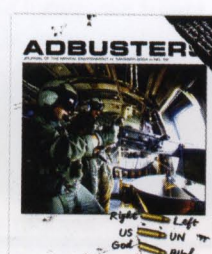
49 Cool Fascismo



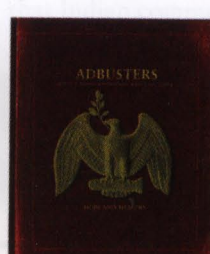
50 Winners/Losers



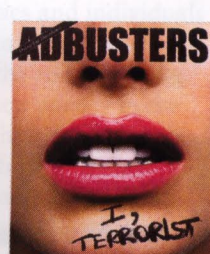
51 Distorted Info



52 A Slap In The Face



53 Hope And Memory



54 I, Terrorist

I teach in public school, but I frequently find myself in a hostile environment for taking up ideas outside the “mainstream.” Is there a place for critical thinking among staff? Can we even feel safe asking questions?

If you try to post information in the teacher’s lounge about speakers or topics regarding peace or justice, the newly installed shredder comes into play. Within hours such fliers are gone. Try to share a bag of fair trade coffee and you are pushing your political views.

The principal may still be upset at me for asking about the holiday gift we all received. I noticed the shirts she ordered for the staff were made in Bangladesh. I thanked her, but asked if she knew anything about the sweatshops there?

She told me that in her entire educational career (probably about 30 years) she has never met anyone like me.

Upstairs is a classroom decorated in Coca-Cola logos and products. Try to share information about the possibility that Coke may be a negative influence for children, healthwise, let alone Coke’s role in labor issues in other countries . . . forget that! How un-American to question the Real Thing! Why do I insist on sharing information? I guess it’s got something to do with being a teacher. Recently, school leadership explored the idea that with a national ‘Orange Alert’ our school should undertake the posting of guards at doors and/or the locking down of this K-3 building to thwart terrorism. I wonder if the terrorism is

actually coming from outside, or if it has already made itself at home within.

JAN & DURL KRUSE
Urbana, Illinois

As an artist and a music fan, I believe music should be free – and that artists should be paid. The Creative Commons, Open Source music model provides an alternative. Both fans and musicians ought to be accountable to each other. Fans need to reward talented artists with recognition, so the artists don’t require the marketing budget of a big record company. If my music provides value to you, I suggest that you, like at a restaurant, shoot me a tip.

CHAD MANNEY
via email

WORKING IN A HIPPIE/PUNK RESTAURANT – THE MORNINGTOWN Pizza Co-op – was pure anarchy. The restaurant was small, but had nice handmade wooden tables they had made for the shop in exchange for sandwiches. The shop’s specialty was whole wheat pizzas and whole wheat sub sandwiches, as well as teas and juices. There were oil lamps on tables at night.

Performers would play music, as rain poured outside, in exchange for a pizza. There was a huge red and black Eat the Rich poster on the wall, and the toilet seat was see-through plastic with razor blades, nails, pins, etc. in it. A sticker on the bathroom wall had Colonel Sanders’ face, and the words “Chicken Killer.” A sign above the ordering counter said “the boss is everyone.” And as a co-op worker, you were allowed to eat and drink all you wanted, whenever you wanted, whether working or not. The way the co-op worked was it paid each co-op member’s rent, and they had all the food and drink they needed. They got tips and a per shift wage on top of that. But the interesting thing was the working relationship we had with the community. At that time in Seattle, there were many co-ops. Left Bank Books is the only collective of that era I still see functioning as a collective.

What amazed me about working at Morningtow was that we could trade free pizza script all over town for things. And vice versa for other co-op members, who could trade script from their shops for food with us. We could trade pizza script to eat at Soup ‘n Salad vegetarian restaurant or buy books at Left Bank Books in Seattle’s Market. We could trade pizza script for beer at the Blue Moon Tavern, for handmade ice cream at Cause Celebre, for movies at alternative theaters, for tapes and records at Cellophane Square.

I was a street performer for decades also. And that involves a lot of barter too. There would be days when I made no money at all performing on streets, but then, at the end of the day, a crafter would walk up and give me a beautiful handmade toy for my son, or a set of tuned wind chimes or obsidian earrings.

Restaurants would ask me to play in exchange for food, which I did often. At one fair, a crafter gave me a “fairy tail” which was a tuft of sparkly pink tutu material, with a crystal in the middle of it and a pin on its back, so you could pin it to your butt. Someone gave me a handcarved, handpainted, very small thing that looked like a bird house, but was way too small. When I asked what it was, they said “a mosquito house.” A crafter who makes toys dropped an empty bag with a label on it: it was “the emperor’s new clothes” for dolls and teddy bear dress-up. I worked at a bakery a few years ago, and they had leftover baked goods every night. I found out that the pizza and Mexican food places next to us had leftover food nightly too. I talked them into doing trades with our bakery, so in no time, instead of employees sick of pizza or beans, throwing them out at the end of the night, they brought them to us, and we gave them whole wheat pastries, cookies and muffins that we were sick of, and would get stale and be useless to us in no time. The workers turning the end-of-the-day wastes into edible feasts for each other, for free, made me happy.

There are ample ways to barter that we overlook daily. Part of moving away from capitalism and consumerism, as well as minimum wage slaving, is learning to barter instead of buy. Look around your world and see where you can barter for some of the things you normally spend money on today. Wouldn’t you prefer to make creative things at home to trade, instead of working a job with a boss for the time it takes to get the money to buy things? Is there a way you can trade your labor directly with the service provider or creator of the product, and bypass third-party markups and ripoffs? Once I volunteered to clean massage rooms after massages in exchange for regular massages. I just called the spa up and asked. They agreed to it right away. I used to trade sewing for childcare. And I traded cooking dinners for my midwives’ kids for a free homebirth. Get creative. Think of new ways to bypass the system that is making profits off of your every transaction.

Kirsten Anderberg



High-Speed Love Connection

It’s progress of a sort: the world’s first virtual sex toy will be on sale by the end of the year. The ‘pleasure device’ is called the iVibe, and was premiered at the recent Erotica Los Angeles trade show. Yes, it is two-way, with each person controlling the speed and rhythm of the other’s device. The plan is to integrate them into web porn sites. “Obviously, it’s the future,” commented porn director Adam Glasser. “They put men on the moon . . . I knew someone was going to figure out how to simulate sex . . . when they do, why would any of us need to leave the house?”

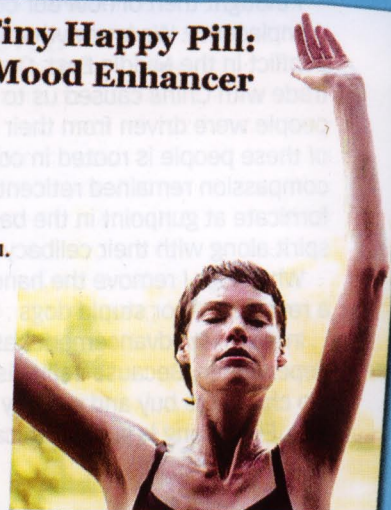
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‘Wild Blue Yokohama,’ urban beach complex, Japan

I was driving in my car and I was struck with an idea. Tobacco companies are now being forced to disclose how incredibly unhealthy their products are via clear and noticeable warning labels. Well how about a bright and visible dashboard light that reads "You are now polluting the environment" whenever the engine is running? And perhaps signs on gas pumps that say things like "This substance has been proven to cause global warming and wars."

Maybe a few more people would walk or bike that three-mile distance rather than burn gas to do it.

NICK ANDERSON
Carbondale, Illinois

I'm melting. I try to explain to my neighbors why they don't have a right

to own three suvs. To explain to my best friend why working at the Gap, even if it is the last place hiring, is not acceptable. I get angry, I get frustrated, and I melt. I don't speak, I repress and soothe my anger. I feel like these people are slowly driving a pen knife into my chest, and instead of lashing out and stopping them, I am expected to talk slowly, calmly and wait patiently until they decide to remove it. Alienation plagues my life and, oh look, a shiny object.

DAVID PRYCHITKA
Toronto, Ontario

Richard Kutler had not had a drink in 27 days. His wife was proud of him, his children were proud of him, his mother would have been very proud of him, but she was dead. Everyone who

knew him, who had known him when he was drinking, could attest to it: Rich was a changed man. He wasn't violent anymore. He no longer lost his temper and screamed and cussed at every one in sight. Whenever he was asked how he had performed this seemingly miraculous transformation, Rich would just smile and say that one day he decided to quit drinking. Just like that, cold turkey. And what a transformation! The old Rich was almost never home; the new Rich hardly leaves his house. The old Rich squandered hundreds of dollars a month on alcohol; the new Rich can't imagine spending that kind of money on poison. But the old Rich had never even heard of internet gambling.

KARL EL-KOURA
via email

TOO MUCH COFFEE IN THE MORNING RENDERS MY TEN minute drive to work a regular Siddharthian microcosm.

I can sit. I can sweat. I can appreciate the cacophonic mess of Houston's crosstown traffic for what it is. Today, I suppose, is as good as any other for a lesson in impermanence.

I look up to see a dog hurrying across the street be snatched up and squirted from the front tire of the car in front of me, sinewy and elegant, just before being sucked under the rear tire.

Somehow my car is parked and I am standing over the dog. Yesterday this dog was cute. Yesterday this dog made people happy and asked for nothing in return. Today this dog is a shit-covered, road-side spectacle.

Any semblance of sympathy from passing commuters was swiftly mitigated by my unintentional roadblock, although some managed to adopt the "poor stupid dog" attitude.

I thought then of how our compassion is effaced by our complacency. We know what we drive influences the dragging conflict in the Middle East. Our want of cheap labor and free trade with China caused us to turn our heads while the Tibetan people were driven from their land. While the Buddhist practice of these people is rooted in compassion for all beings, our compassion remained reticent while monks were forced to fornicate at gunpoint in the barbarous strategy to break their spirit along with their celibacy vow.

Whenever I remove the handle of the fuel pump it feels like a revolver. "Poor stupid dogs . . ."

Imperialist advancement has created worldwide interdependence. Because capitalism is running so rampant, what we choose to buy and not buy has a huge effect on global fate. Everything is subject to cause and effect, where the

ramifications are perceived as "good" or "bad." If the old man had walked his dog more, maybe it would not have run out into the street so impetuously. Maybe the dog was running across the street to bite a child on the throat. Maybe that child was going to grow up to be a mass murderer. We can only act in the moment and learn from the past.

The Gandhian philosophy of Ahimsa alleviated the oppression of thousands, and today the spirit of Ahimsa is prevalent in the "anti-corporation." People are going to spend money no matter how enlightened they claim to be, so put the money where human concern is forefront. It's quite simple: Do not support the coffee company on every corner that puts profit before people. Support the natural market that helps small organic farms prosper.

As the "anti-corporation" grows, big business will be forced to comply. Passive concern must give way to sacrifice and activism, and "anti-corporate culture jamming" is our best tool, as its nonviolent approach and sheer efficacy is sure to rally support from people of all beliefs. Slowly, our perception of success and wealth will change, and exploitation will be the only dying dog.

Scott Dunmyer is a former novice Buddhist monk, and is now a freelance writer in Houston, Texas.

A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

WE, THE PEOPLE of the future, like the twenty thousand generations who came before us, have the right to breathe air that smells sweet, to drink water that runs pure and free, to swim in waters that teem with life, and to grow our food in rich, living earth.

We have the right to inherit a world unsullied by toxic chemicals, nuclear waste, or genetic pollution. We have the right to walk in untamed nature and to feel the awe that comes when we suddenly lock eyes with a wild beast.

We beseech you, the people of today: do not leave your dirty messes for us to clean up; do not take technological risks, however small, that may backfire catastrophically in times to come. Just as we respectfully ask that you not burden us with your deferred debts and depleted pension plans, we also claim our right to a share of the planet's ecological wealth. Please don't use it all up.

We, in turn, promise to do the same. We grant these same rights and privileges to the generations who will live after us; we do so in the sacred hope that the human spirit will live forever.

A curse on any generation who ignores this plea.

BAREFOOT ECONOMICS MANIFESTO

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, make this accusation: that you, the teachers of neoclassical economics and the students that you graduate, have perpetuated a gigantic fraud upon the world.

You claim to work in a pure science of formula and law, but yours is a social science, with all the fragility and uncertainty that this entails. We accuse you of pretending to be what you are not.

You hide in your offices, protected by your jargon, while in the real world forests vanish, species perish, human lives are ruined and lost. We accuse you of gross negligence in the management of our planetary household.

You have known since its inception that your measure of economic progress, the Gross Domestic Product, is fundamentally flawed and incomplete, and yet you have allowed it to become a global standard, reported day by day in every form of media. We accuse you of recklessly supporting the illusion of progress at the expense of human and environmental health.

You have done great harm, but your time is coming to its close. The revolution of economics has begun, as hopeful and determined as any in our history. We will have our clash of paradigms, we will have our moment of truth, and out of each will come a new economics – open, holistic, human scale.

On campus after campus, we will chase you old goats out of power. Then, in the months and years that follow, we will begin the work of reprogramming the doomsday machine.

Sign the manifesto at
Barefooteconomics.Org

I dream of looking out onto an endless green field. A few hills and a tree or two twinkling in the distance. I am almost completely cut off from nature, and now I realize that it's driving me mad.

Looking out my apartment window I can see the blinding sunlight magnified through the heavy haze. The air is sick with pollution and the sun feels unnatural. So I stare at my computer. Images of beautiful blue skies with fluffy clouds, trees with their branches gently leaning in the wind and water rushing over rocks float past my eyes. I burn candles that smell like grass and currant. I spray my room with a fragrance that smells like the beach. I need to see, feel, touch and smell these things for real.

I need to find a way out of this. I need to find a way outside. But I'm told I'm diseased. I take three medications each day. One to help me focus, one to help me sleep, and one to stop the burning in my belly, and each day I feel I get further and further away from what matters. I worry I am not living an authentic life. I want to be out of this mess while I still have time, but fear tells me I won't be able to cope. I'll keep searching, but, for now, I need to refill my prescriptions.

CHUCK ARONSON
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Survey finds million of new US
dru-Catholic fund avoids porn, abort-
Palestinian PM resigns, Israel wounds
Hama-Rumsfeld hails a wonderfu-Seven
killed, 36 wounded in Kashmir blas-
Israel says Arafat threat-British police
arrest 10 on susp-Blair condemns Israe-

I hurl my shoe at the TV
and walk outside.

I sit in the sweet grass.

I feel the sun warm my skin.

I hear the chickadee chirp its name.

The wind blows through my hair.

The stress flows out of me into the
ground. The grass around me withers.

LIAM RATTRAY
Atlanta, Georgia

"Mr. C,
What does
i-n-t-e-r-v-e-n-e
mean?"

"To come between."

"Like
Cock blocking?"

"What?"

"You know,
To block a man
From a woman
Done by another man."
"Like when you at the club."

"Yes."

"That would be a good example."

I toil at the
Confluence of
Sin and Redemption.

I offer
Atonement and Salvation
In a wilderness of
Dismay.

I teach English.

In prison

"Mr. C, man,
This is some bullshit."

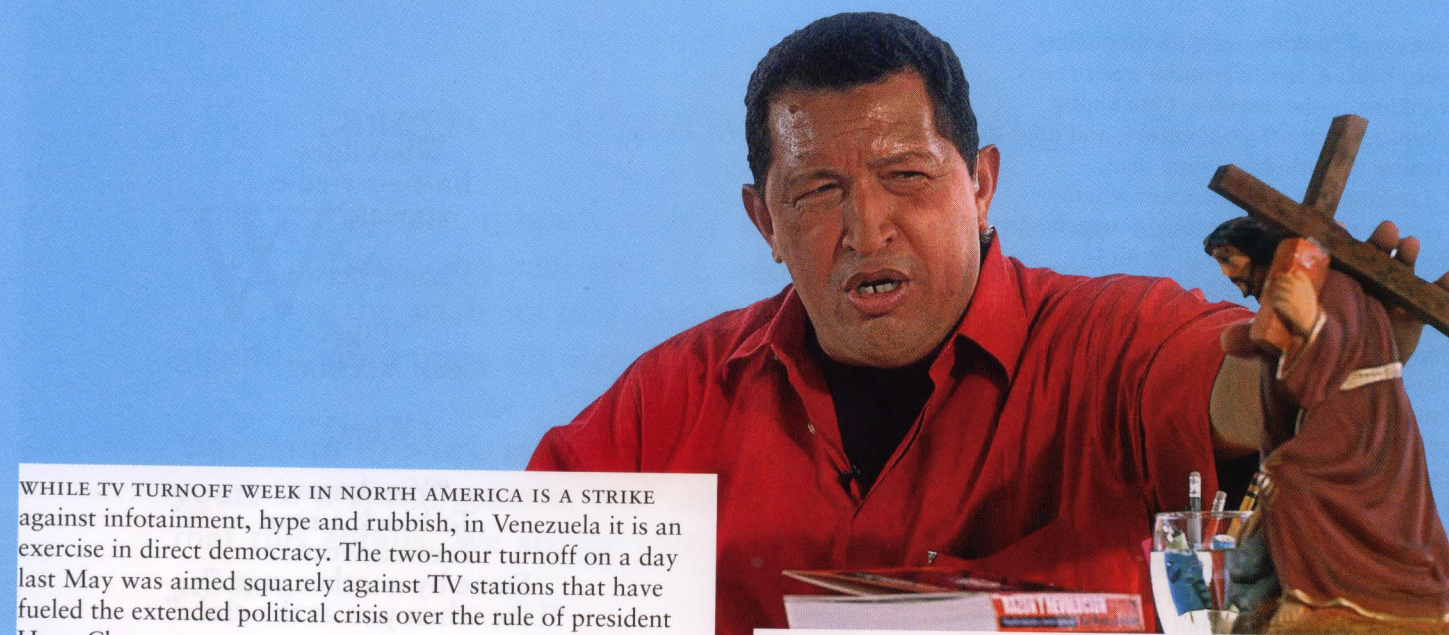
"What is?"

"This poetry,
It's crazy."

"What's the problem?"

"The problem is
Man,
Poetry is soft assed."

Scott Carey is an English teacher in a
medium-security prison in Wisconsin



WHILE TV TURNOFF WEEK IN NORTH AMERICA IS A STRIKE against infotainment, hype and rubbish, in Venezuela it is an exercise in direct democracy. The two-hour turnoff on a day last May was aimed squarely against TV stations that have fueled the extended political crisis over the rule of president Hugo Chavez.

Since his election in 1998, Chavez has bitterly fought the country's elites over power and money, and he may not survive a national recall referendum called for August 15. That he has lasted this long is a testament to his bloody-mindedness.

When a national strike was called on April 9-10, 2002 by opposition groups, the television stations created what one commentator termed a "virtual strike." They filmed empty streets, shuttered storefronts, and a deserted Metro at dawn and broadcast them throughout the day, creating an impression of overwhelming success. The next day, the stations broadcast images of government partisans "shooting" at an illegal opposition march, leaving 20 dead and scores injured.

The images lied: the "government" gunmen were not shooting at the marchers (who were over three blocks away), but rather, at opposition police officers now implicated in most of the deaths. These narratives served as justification for a coup led by business leaders.

On April 14, two days after the coup, hordes of Chavez supporters took to the streets demanding his return. Yet the stations aired nothing but cartoons and old movies that day. One station's explicit editorial policy was "zero Chavismo on screen," according to an employee who later quit in disgust. Venezuelans only found out about the emerging popular rebellion by watching international news or tapping into the improvised web of motorcyclists that coordinated and distributed information. The coup ended later that night after military intervention.

While Chavez is no angel, and he often directs his venom at individual

journalists, he was elected, and as such can only be removed democratically. The private television stations seem unconcerned with journalistic ethics, so much so that they have been repeatedly involved in activities bordering on open rebellion. This is why turning off the TV – even if only for two hours – is of such value to a country where information is crafted and broadcast on the airwaves like a bullet shot from a gun. If any country makes a case for the need for a new way to conceive of the media and its role in a democratic society, Venezuela is it. Those two hours – maybe next year a day, the year after that a week – could be the place to start.

Martin Austermuhle is a journalist from Washington D.C., who has lived in Venezuela.

I saw the messiah riding atop a platform fixed to the roof of a truck, moving slowly through a mass of people delirious in his presence, pushing, straining to touch a piece of his garments. Hugo Chavez, wearing his trademark beret and the Venezuelan flag like a cape, made his way up the middle of Avenida Bolivar to a giant stage.

The heavens exploded. The smell of gunpowder mixed with the smell of sweat. He was like Moses parting a sea of red flags. Snipers crouched atop nearby buildings, and soldiers wielding assault rifles patrolled the area while members of the state security agency kept an eye on the huge crowd.

When Chavez stood behind a podium, the crowd began to chant, "Uh-Ah Chavez, no se va." ("Chavez, don't go.")

He promised a victory in the upcoming recall referendum, "that will be written in letters impossible to erase on the history of Venezuela."

The event was termed a march but was more like a carnival, with stands selling beer, red and black Che shirts and grills cooking up half chickens, slabs of meat and sliced plantain. Live salsa music boomed from several stages near the main platform. A few days earlier Chavez supporters screaming fraud had burned trucks, attacked opposition media outlets and pummeled an opposition politician.

The vote has been framed as a choice between intolerance and violence or peace and hope. People forget Chavez included the recall option in the constitution. He will win the vote, but many doubt the opposition will stand for it. Sometimes it feels like the sun will not rise on the result.

Jorge Barrera is a journalist for The Daily Journal in Caracas.

Hugo Chavez touches a statuette of Jesus during his weekly TV show "Alo Presidente," April 2004.



IRAQIS FEAR A LOT. EACH DAY THEY face the threat of physical violence or death, of wrongful imprisonment and worsening economic living conditions. However, many Iraqis are afraid of much more. They are afraid of becoming the next Palestine. Iraqis talk about this. In general, the Arab world loves to harp about the issue of Palestine, but they find the refugees a bother. Many Iraqis are afraid of becoming the next bother. They are also afraid of becoming an endless smoldering affair, of becoming another example of the politically sticky Western involvement in the Middle East.

Iraqis have every right to be afraid of these things. Already the signs have begun to appear. Listening to Iraqis talk about suffering under the hands of coalition troops and policies is like listening to Palestinians talk about the Israeli occupation. They say the same things. At the hands of their occupiers, both experience the same ordeals.

The unemployment rate in Iraq is staggering. It has led to an exodus. In many Iraqi families, there is one person: the father, a son, a brother or a cousin who no longer lives in Iraq. He lives and works somewhere else in the Middle East or in the West. He sends his money back to his family in Iraq. This same thing has been happening in Palestine for over fifty years.

Subverted billboard advertising Great Britain's largest military airshow, Oxford, June 2004.

that the international military force would remain under its, rather than Iraqi, authority.

There are other parallels: detention techniques used by the military, checkpoints, villages encircled with barbed wire, invasive rules and regulations. But the Iraqi people are not the next Palestinians yet. Right now, what separates them from the Palestinian people is their spirit. The US occupation has not crushed the spirit of the Iraqi people as the Israeli occupation has crushed the Palestinians. Thinking like victims, many Palestinians believe they cannot help themselves, that others must help them. The Iraqi people have yet to reach that point, but it is a danger if no real change appears, if they fail to obtain real independence from their occupiers.

If they do not achieve that independence, the Iraqi people will eventually declare their own Intifada (shaking off). The results will not be pretty for them. The tension and fighting will continually grow and diminish like a tide. The news will become depressing and tedious at the same time. The world will look somewhere else. This is what most Iraqis are afraid of; they are afraid of turning into a cause people have forgotten.

Greg Rollins serves with Christian Peacemaker Teams in Iraq.

Deborah Campbell's piece on the current media representation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts was the first remotely adequate discussion of the situation I've seen in print. As the Israelis surround the Palestinians with ghetto-like walls, I'm left to think, 'Does no one see how the previously oppressed have become the oppressors?' I know many Israelis don't support the taking of lives, so why does it continue? Maybe Campbell is right to compare the situation to South Africa under apartheid.

ALLISON SNELGROVE
Kingston, Ontario

In February of this year, I arrived in the Upper Galilee village of al-Bea'neh, in Israel, just after a house demolition. In its wake, more than 20 were injured, five houses destroyed, an olive grove was uprooted, and dozens of kindergarten students were traumatized by the effects of tear gas. For a period, ambulances were refused entry to the area.

The policy of land dispossession administered by bulldozer has a long history. Home demolitions being carried out today in the Galilee, the Negev, East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza are exacting a heavy toll, largely outside the gaze of the international community. According to Amnesty International, more than 3,000 homes, vast areas of agricultural land, and hundreds of other properties have been destroyed by the Israeli army and security forces since October 2000. Home demolitions, in tandem with the state assassination policy, are violent examples of how the state works to delegitimize and bully the population.

All of this happens under the watchful eye of the United States, the EU and the UN, in contravention of international law and UN resolutions.

AM JOHAL
via email

In the absence of a clear vision and purpose, Israel is drifting towards an abyss that will gravely affect us all. Israel needs help in answering deep and critical questions. They are: what is the meaning of being a Jewish state in the twenty-first century? How can Israel shake off the

concepts of 'outpost civilization against oriental barbarism' and embark on a path of mutual coexistence?

Panic stricken by decades of conflict with its neighbors, Israel is hardly in a state to answer these questions and needs help. But not in the form of more tanks, planes or money. What Israel needs is a vision of a society of which we will all be proud.

OREN MEDICKS
Tel Aviv, Israel

Reading your correspondent's piece [*Adbusters* #54] placing all of the blame for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Israel, I had to wonder: did Deborah Campbell sleep through the 1990s? Did she miss the Oslo peace process, in which Israel's negotiators agreed to evacuation of most settlements and Palestinian statehood in more than 95 percent of Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem? Did she also fail to note the reason that peace process fell apart? At the moment of truth, PLO leader and PNA chairman Yasser Arafat left the negotiating table and started shooting. Not only did he fail the most basic test of peace on the ground, Arafat resurrected the demand for a Palestinian right of return to Israel, in effect rejecting the two-state solution in favor of one Palestinian state to replace Israel.

In the 1980s, Jewish peace activists rallied against the Likud government's opposition to a two-state solution. Today, most of us are far less vocal because we saw in 2000 that the Palestinians had failed the test of peace.

MATTHEW WEINSTEIN
Baltimore, Maryland

Deborah Campbell replies:
Mr. Weinstein must have missed the recent revelations from the Israeli intelligence establishment. As reported by the Israeli press – though ignored by the Western media – top intelligence officials have revealed that the widely-held conception that Arafat abandoned negotiations in favor of violence and refused to compromise during negotiations (rejecting Barak's so-called "generous offer") was not at all based on their intelligence reports (as the public was led to believe), but in fact

completely contradicted them. It was a brilliant PR move, nonetheless, and served to justify the harshest measures against the mainly civilian Palestinian population and Israel's ongoing refusal to return to negotiations, while allowing Sharon to maintain that "there is no partner." Too bad this has as much credibility as Iraq and its phantom WMD. Too bad, as well, that it discouraged well-meaning activists with what turns out to have been propaganda.

Thank you for pointing out [*Adbusters* #52, "Why won't anyone say they are Jewish?"] what most people know, except for people in the US: that a large portion of the neocons are Zionist or have ties to the extremist right wing Likud party. For example, the infamous report, "A Clean Break," prepared for Benjamin Netanyahu's government by Richard Perle and other prominent neocons, expressly advocates changing the government of Iraq to one that is compliant with Israel's plans for the Middle East.

PETER FROST
via email

The board and staff of Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) McMaster have concluded that *Adbusters* has no place within our reference library and are cancelling our subscription. That means no complimentary copies, no calendars, no freebies, no nothing. It would take a thesis to properly deconstruct your premise in writing the article and the warped ideology that informs it. Suffice to say that your implicit assumptions about the Jewishness of these "neocons" and its relationship to American foreign policy; the ahistorical and superficial analysis of American foreign policy vis-à-vis Israel; the racial profiling which formed the basis of your methodology; and the public identification of individuals by your perceptions of their religious affiliation (which would have been more appropriate in the Germany of the 1930s and '40s), made us realize that *Adbusters* has really lost its way.

HANNA SCHAYER, FOR THE BOARD
AND STAFF OF OPIRG MCMASTER
Hamilton, Ontario



Avi Shlaim is a fellow of St. Antony's College and a professor of international relations at the University of Oxford. He was born in Baghdad, and grew up in Israel, where he did national service from 1964-66, and holds both Israeli and British citizenship. Professor Shlaim is the author of numerous books, most notably *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, and is a regular contributor to *The Guardian*. He is

widely regarded as one of the world's leading authorities on the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Don Attapatu: Iran and Syria are also on the Bush administration neocons' list for intervention. Do you think the ongoing debacle in Iraq has effectively ruled out military action against these two nations?

Avi Shlaim: The neocons had an ambitious agenda for the Middle East. Regime change in Iraq was the first step in implementing a broader agenda; they wanted to turn Iraq into a model for the Arab world and the Middle East. The next targets were Syria and Iran, and, after the initial successes in Iraq, there were moves toward Damascus. American officials said Syria was helping Saddam by smuggling weapons into Iraq and helping Iraqis escape to Syria. No evidence supported the implications so the rhetoric died down. Now, America is embroiled in a quagmire in Iraq and is in no position to invade Syria.

Iran is more complicated. It poses a threat to Israel – particularly if it acquires nuclear weapons. So the neoconservatives, who care deeply about Israel's security, wanted to eliminate the threat. There was talk of wiping out Iran's nuclear installations, but this isn't heard anymore because of problems in Iraq. It recently emerged that Iran manipulated the neocons into Iraq to get rid of Saddam Hussein.

DA: You wrote about the 1996 paper by American Likud supporters Douglas Feith and Richard Perle, titled "A Clean Break," which seems to be the ideological underpinning of the Bush administration's policy in the Middle East: American military might would force regime change and usher in reform and democracy. If democracy and reform spread throughout the Middle East, it would not be helpful for either Israel or America, as it is the current repressive regimes that keep these nations in the American orbit. Were there genuine democracy, Egypt would certainly not be supporting America, as the Arab street is far more uncompromisingly anti-Zionist than the Arab ruling class.

AS: This is one of the great contradictions in the neocon outlook on the Middle East: the belief that democracy would lead to pro-Western and pro-Israeli governments. In fact, the reverse is true. The Arab ruling elites are much more pro-American in their attitude to Israel than the Arab street. The rulers are better informed and more pragmatic. Arabs and the wider Muslim world are bitterly hostile to Israel because of the oppression of the Palestinians. It is a misconception by the neoconservatives to think Arab democracies would be friendlier toward the West and Israel.

DA: A Canadian magazine created an uproar when it pointed out that most intellectual architects of the Iraq war were Jewish, with a history of pro-Israel activity. Daniel Pipes, a Zionist militant and one of the "outed" neocons, said the article was absurd "because of the implication that religion defines politics." Pipes himself has campaigned for years to have American Muslims put under government surveillance because of their religion, saying that within the United States "all Muslims, unfortunately, are suspect." Do you think it is right that Jewish – and Muslim, for that matter – policy makers and intellectuals should be held to account if there is a suspicion of dual loyalty, or do you think the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust should give Jewish groups and individuals a degree of absolution from such charges?

AS: I would divide the Iraq war proponents into two groups: one would be the Jewish neoconservatives to whom the security of Israel is paramount – their thinking was that by destroying the Baath regime they would cut off a major source of support for Palestinian militants and thereby create a peace between Israel and the Palestinians on Israel's terms. The other group, led by Cheney and Rumsfeld, I would label the American nationalists, who after 9/11 felt that a very strong response was called for. They wanted to use US military power to strike at America's opponents, to assert American supremacy and insure American domination globally, and in the Middle East in particular. So there are two agendas: the nationalists' and the Jewish neocons'. Both support Israel's occupation of the West Bank. One can argue that the occupation of the West Bank is in Israel's interest; but no logical argument has ever been made that the occupation serves any American interest. My conclusion is that the neocon agenda for the new Middle East incorporates a right wing Likud agenda, and the link with Israel deepens hostility to American actions in Iraq.

Extracted from an article in The Nation <www.thenation.com>
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The controversy following publication of *Adbusters'* list of influential neocons, complete with asterisks of those who are Jewish, was inevitable. Charges of anti-Semitism were foreseen, if not foretold, by publisher Kalle Lasn himself.

Mr. Lasn admits that the list of Jewish neocons is provocative, but given their "power and influence," deems it appropriate that they be put under a microscope. By all means the media should keep a watchful eye on

TAKE YOURSELF BACK TO THE WINTER OF 2003. BUSH WAS MAKING HIS case for war in Iraq, and journalists everywhere were chronicling the decisive role his neoconservative advisors had played in bringing him to that point. They often made passing reference to the fact that most neocons were Jewish – many with links to Israel's right wing Likud party – but left it at that. Still, a few observers pointed out that many in this group had in fact written a letter to President Bush urging him to remove Saddam Hussein to prevent further damage to "our Israeli friends." This piqued my interest. Could it be that the neocons wanted to go to war in part to protect Israel's well-being? So, to provoke a public debate I put a spotlight on the neocons and asked the question, "Why won't anyone say they are Jewish?"

This question has elicited stinging accusations of anti-Semitism, but I maintain that somewhere in that misty place where ethnicity, religion and politics mix, it is possible to gain insight into what motivates particular groups of people. Cuban Americans have their unique influence on Florida politics, right wing Christians ensure that abortion continues to be an election issue, and the US relationship with Israel is of keen interest to Jewish voters. None of this means that all members of those groups agree on all matters. But surely it's not revolutionary to suggest that their group-identification influences their politics.

My intention was to facilitate a debate about what the neocons' background meant for the US's relationship with Israel. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has taken an enormous toll on both sides, but the mainstream media in North America has, by and large, determined that Israelis are victims and Palestinians are terrorists. And so the American role in buttressing Israel's military might with \$3 billion in annual aid goes largely unchallenged. In this stifled environment, questions about the role Israel's security plays in shaping American foreign policy are off-limits.

But why can't we talk about it? Many will argue that Israel is a Western, democratic state that garners American support for that reason alone. Others will point out that military support for Israel makes strategic sense because it gives the US a staunch ally in the middle of unfriendly yet oil-rich territory. Others still will argue that the US relationship with Israel has been influenced by American Jews who want the biggest military power in the world to protect their spiritual homeland. Many of you have accurately pointed out that Christian Zionists bear much of the responsibility for America's pro-Israel bent. And certainly the massive arms industry that pads its profits every time an Apache helicopter kills Palestinian civilians has much to answer for.

This is the nature of debate. If you think I'm wrong, I can live with that. But don't try to kill discussion. *Adbusters* is a magazine that pushes boundaries in all manner of contexts and isn't afraid to say the unsayable. We consider political discourse beyond the rules of politically correct speech. The lives of too many people are at stake.

Kalle Lasn

politicians and those in the corridors of power. After all, in a democracy, where discourse is both free and civil, ideas ought to be challenged and issues debated. It is one thing, however, to examine the religious beliefs of an individual candidate or leader, but lumping together the members of an entire group by their religion, ethnicity or race as the single determinant of their policies and/or motives, is racism pure and simple. Especially, as in this case, when the insinuation perpetuates a negative stereotype and goes to the core of some of the most injurious forms of anti-Semitic libel.

The key question here is what is the intent of preparing this list? Is the Jewishness of these individuals relevant? The answer, clearly, is no. Identifying Jews as active in a movement or profession characterized pejoratively is a well-worn tactic that stirs mistrust and suspicion, if not outright hostility, against Jews.

We are heartened to hear that many devoted readers, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, have denounced this list. They may remain committed to stopping commercialization and globalization and continue to be anti-war, anti-Bush and, even anti-neocon, but they, and we, still know anti-Semitism when we see it.

NISSON GOLDMAN, CHAIR, CANADIAN
JEWISH CONGRESS, PACIFIC REGION
Vancouver, British Columbia

I am European by ethnicity, neither Arab nor Jewish, and I am appalled at the number of American Jews who are part of the US government's inner policy group who have also been involved in working for the Likud party in Israel. That's such an obvious conflict of interest. I am also appalled by Canadian national radio's Anna Maria Tremonte, and her misrepresentations of your thesis and her highly inflammatory propagandizing of this issue. Ms. Tremonte speaks of the rolling of stones in a graveyard by some vandals with great shock, while the destruction by missiles and tank shells of thousands of Palestinian homes is of no concern.

ANTONY STAMBOULIS
Vernon, British Columbia

My father is from the (un)Holy Land. He was born and raised in the Armenian quarter of Jerusalem. My grandparents, neither Muslim nor Jewish, told me stories of how they used to play with other Jewish and Muslim kids. Believe it or not, there was a time when there was tolerance and peace between Jews and Muslims. What changed this? Is it just the creation of Israel? Well that's one part, but Israel is just a name, and countries and boundaries are all social constructions. The morals which have seeped in from America have destroyed community and fellowship. Capital causes division, and the human development into modernization causes social solidarity to be lost. In short, capitalism and its rational individualism are the seeds of all global problems.

JORDAN TCHILINGIRIAN
London, United Kingdom

My parents were German and I was repelled by the fact that so many Germans didn't speak out against the Nazi atrocities against the Jews. And there are Jews who are also repelled by the silence of the Germans. Why is it now okay to be silent against similar atrocities committed in Israel and Palestine. Haven't we learned this lesson?

MARIE CAESAR
via email

I was going to write and say I love your magazine, but I fucking hate it. I hate it because, by the time I finish reading it, I'm ready to smash someone's face in. Once you have opened up to the reality of our world you can never go back; nothing is ever the same. We are all running off a cliff like a fucking herd of buffalo with big, happy-meal smiles on our faces. I'd like to think that it's not too late for us.

CHAD
Seattle, Washington

Last weekend, Jim and I got away from the city and went to a friend's cottage on the river. It was pleasant enough, but I couldn't help but notice Phil and Sallie seemed more stressed and Phil smokes cigarettes even after his heart attack. I still love sitting around the fire they

IS BIG PHARMA ABOUT TO BE MADE TO PAY FOR ITS SINS? ON JUNE 2, the state attorney general of New York, Eliot Spitzer, brought a civil case against GlaxoSmithKline (GSK), accusing the drug maker of consumer fraud in the marketing of their SSRI antidepressant Paxil (Seroxat in the UK). The suit claims that GSK, the largest drug maker in Britain, conducted a series of studies on the effectiveness of their drug in adolescents and children, yet when the results proved negative, they withheld the results from physicians, thereby encouraging them to continue in their "off-label" (discretionary) prescribing of the drug for under-18s. In a public statement, attorney general Spitzer noted that "by concealing critically important scientific studies on Paxil, GlaxoSmithKline impaired doctors' ability to make the appropriate prescribing decision for their patients and may have jeopardized their health and safety."

At the heart of the suit is a leaked GSK document from 1998, revealing the company's strategy to "manage the dissemination of the data in order to minimize any potential negative commercial impact." This was the same year, incidentally, that GSK lost its first product liability case involving Paxil and suicide. The \$6.4 million case, brought in federal court in Wyoming, involved 60-year-old Donald Schell. Soon after starting on Paxil, Schell killed his wife, his daughter, his granddaughter and then himself.

In 2003 a coroner in the UK petitioned the government to withdraw Paxil until its role in an adult suicide could be investigated; a retired British principal had killed himself shortly after going on the drug, prompting the coroner to state that "I am profoundly disturbed by the effect this drug had on [him]." GSK also lost control of a UK government advisory committee in 2003, created to assess the safety of Paxil after it was revealed that half its 'experts' had links to the company. Along with most other SSRI antidepressants, Paxil was ultimately banned in the UK from use in under-18s.

Early in 2004, news surfaced of the leaked report revealing GSK's intent to selectively publicize the data in their favor, quickly seized upon by Eliot Spitzer. But the New York civil case isn't the only bad news for GSK. According to the *Guardian*, it appears that regulators in Britain will announce later this year that Paxil and other SSRI antidepressants do indeed promote suicide and other violence among some adult users, setting the stage for the drug's total ban in the UK.

build near the water's edge after dark and talking even about the most inane things – just to have the feeling of something primal and real.

Back in the city I feel slightly rejuvenated so I'm back on the internet buying things, even after I promised Jim I'd stop. I'm anxious and feeling guilty. I just want to be around the campfire listening to the river.

TINA LAWING
Charlotte, North Carolina

Over the course of four years I took Prozac, Paxil, Wellbutrin, BuSpar,

Effexor, and Celexa. The Prozac had little effect on the depression, but gave me fits of rage. Scary. Quit that pretty quick. The Paxil allowed me to get some footing, like a log to hold onto while you're shooting down the rapids – just enough not to drown. It allowed me to reassemble my life to a degree and get a job, etc. It completely killed my sex drive and my ability to orgasm, though. (Now THAT sucks. Even if you're alone, life is not the same without it.)

The other meds didn't do much of anything. And my life still sucked and I still couldn't function like I used to. Still

unhappy, still withdrawn, still unable to have a relationship, still losing friends, still unable to focus or concentrate or string together thoughts, still unable to get things done.

So, was I better? Well, somewhat. I didn't want to die as badly. I was never suicidal, but for a while I wished desperately that a bus would hit me. Often I looked forward tiredly to the end of life, even if it came at 95. So, that's not much of a life. I had pretty much given up hope that the medicine would do anything.

Then last year I was on a business trip that got extended by a week unexpectedly, and ran out of meds 3,000 miles from my HMO with five days to go.

Paxil withdrawal symptoms are seriously messed up. I pretty much felt like I was going crazy and was upside down in my own head. I'd get electric pulses shooting through my brain that made everything flip out, like my brain was in a blender, and would make me jump and twitch like someone had just jumped out from behind a door and scared me.

Once I got home I figured I'd just keep going cold turkey. Man, was that ever a revelation. Having my sex drive back after that long was fantastic. I had wet dreams for weeks. Hey, free orgasms! But I also felt my emotions resurface. I hadn't felt anything in so long. That's when I realized what the medicines had been doing. The medicines didn't relieve depression for me, nor create happiness. What they did was numb me so I couldn't feel much of anything. Seeing friends did nothing for me, and I felt horrible and guilty for always being the stick-in-the-mud and the depressing moper. But that wasn't too much of a change, given that I was almost always sad pre-meds.

But things that should have made me really sad didn't either. My beloved grandfather died and I felt nothing at all. Going to the funeral felt like an inconvenient hassle. My grandfather! And I felt horrible and guilty for not feeling anything while I watched my mother and the rest of my family grieve and ache and weep. So, feeling these natural ups and downs return was a good thing. It was like I was

thawing out.

My fuse got a lot shorter once again, and anxiety now bubbles up very quickly, as well as anger and stress. I just have to work extra hard to maintain control. My sadness came back pretty intensely, too, and it was difficult to hold on for a while, still is. And I'm barely keeping my job now. I can't motivate myself or get work done or keep enough interest to even care if I get fired.

But I'll be damned if I'm going back to numbness. It's a pretty telling fact when someone will choose heart-crushing depression and a disintegrating life when there is an alternative available, but the numbness is worse. If the meds were supposed to stabilize me, well, they did. They stabilized my emotions into immobility and made me into an unfeeling zombie. That's not living. Over time it will kill your soul.

I don't know what I'm going to do now. My idea is to try to change my life to fit my mind instead of trying to change my mind to fit my life. I want to get better. I can't really remember what life felt like before depression, but I know it was like night and day. I don't know if I can ever get back there, but I have to get to some kind of workable equilibrium. I can't and won't go on living this way, but I'm never taking medication for it again.

ERIC
Atlanta, Georgia

8:30 p.m., Tuesday: In the middle of a winter semester. I guess now is the "winter of my discontent." I'm in the psych ward again. Drank hydrogen peroxide. Took a whole bunch of Gravol to prevent vomiting. Good work. Sam forced me to the hospital just the way I wanted. Dr. Ngai said I can quit this foolish behavior cold turkey, but I think I'm addicted. I don't know how else to live. I had nightmares last night, quite entertaining. Couldn't stop yelling and screaming. Woke up the whole ward. When the nurse came to find me, I hid in the closet. She called me "pathetic." I slashed my wrist to prove her wrong.

3:30 p.m., Wednesday: I had a long talk with Dr. Ngai. After he took me off those meds, I couldn't sleep for a week, my mind was racing 100 miles an hour.

I want out, it ain't none of your business. Everywhere I look, I see stupid people who refuse to believe that they are stupid. Everywhere I turn, I bump into people who think that they are better than other animals. Hey, you there, please listen: You are insignificant, there is no God, your life has no meaning (so stop searching for one), there is nothing to justify your existence, you are not a superior being, you are not special, there is no soul, you will rot and become maggot food when you die, there is no afterlife, your kindergarten teacher is masturbating on her bed, your family doctor is cheating on his wife, your country's president is picking his nose while taking a dump. They should make Sartre's *Being or Nothingness* a mandatory high school textbook.

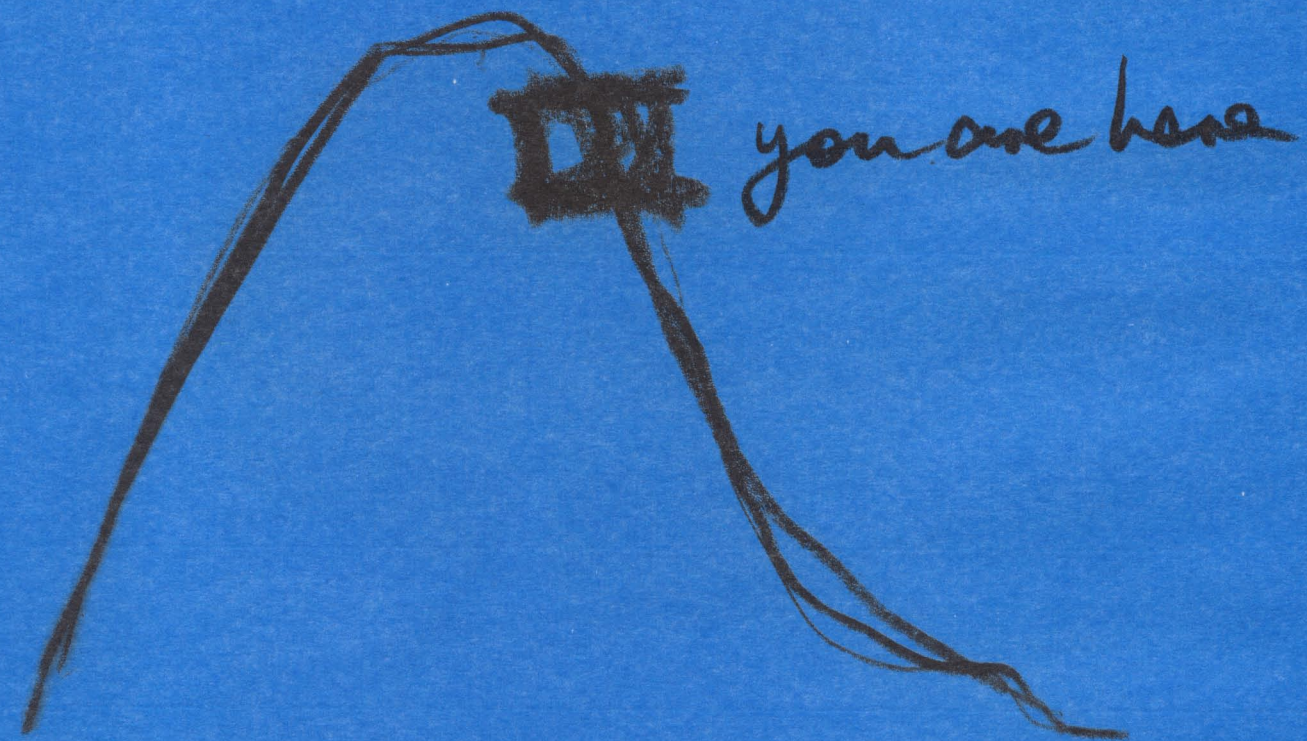
9:30 a.m., Saturday: Just got back from emergency. I played them good. Yesterday afternoon I needed some action, so I passed out on the floor. That racist, shit-face what's-his-name found me lying there and freaked out. My pupils are dilated because of the meds. I was pretending to be unconscious. They cut open my shirt and started pumping oxygen into my lungs. *Wow I'm high! Ha!* They called a code blue. I've never had a code blue before. Well, I guess it wasn't too nice of me to do that. But what the heck, I'm here to have fun . . . I think I had enough of my fun, I'm gonna sober up and demand a discharge against medical advice later. Gotta finish my homework and study for exams. Twenty-one is a good age to graduate, I guess. I need to prepare to live my life just in case I don't kill myself soon enough.

The above text is an excerpt from my diary when I was staying at a psychiatric ward, diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder and borderline personality disorder. If you feel a little disturbed after you read this, here's something to soothe your mind: I'm doing very well now, not suicidal at all.

JENNY PAT
Vancouver, British Columbia

LETTERS: editor@adbusters.org





There is a chill in the air. Our glorious planetary summer is over. The gift of nature has turned into the tragedy of the global commons. For thousands of years we have thought of history as linear progress. We took it for granted that each generation would be better off than the last. But now we've reached a turning point. Autumn is upon us.



CHARMAINE, age 8

Loves: Harry Potter. **Hates:** Angry people.

When I grow up I want to: Be rich and important.

If I was in charge of the world I would: End racism.

In 10 years there will be: More violence because things are going to be worse.

HUMANITY'S ALL-TIME GREATEST CHALLENGE

The crisis is this: within the Earth's biosphere, a single large ape species has come to dominate virtually all living systems. For the past two centuries, *Homo sapiens* has been reproducing at bacterial levels, almost as an infectious plague envelops its host.

There are now more than six billion of us, and our population has doubled since 1950. Human impacts on the planet are now so dramatic that we qualify for our own geological era: the anthropocene.

The result is scarcely believable when you think about it from the perspective of any non-human life form. The number of new people born every day – about 300,000 – almost equals the entire global population of other great apes, like chimpanzees, gorillas and orangutans. Our total body mass now exceeds by a hundred times the biomass of any large animal species that has ever existed on land. Even the dinosaurs, which dominated for 100 million years (ages, compared to our 0.4 million) were thinly spread compared to human beings.

It's hardly a surprise that such a drastic imbalance in the planetary biosphere is having disastrous effects. Humans now appropriate, through cultivation and deforestation, 40 percent of the planet's total organic matter produced through photosynthesis. The result is that other species have been forced more and more to the margins. Mass extinction has historically accompanied human expansion everywhere, from North America to Easter Island. But the phenomenon has now become globalized. The Earth's sixth mass extinction (the asteroid that wiped out the dinosaurs was the fifth) has raised the rate of species' disappearance by between 1,000 and 10,000 times natural levels.

And it's going to get worse. In addition to the extinctions caused by competition with humans for basics like land, food and water, our fellow life forms are going to have to cope with a radical alteration in the Earth's climate. For 200 years humanity's increasing reliance on carbon-based fossil fuels has poured extra greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, raising them to levels unprecedented in millions of years. The main greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide, is crucial for regulating planetary temperatures: this is the same gas that keeps Venus' surface at a searing 460°C.

Temperatures on Earth are rising: the 1990s were the hottest

decade in at least 2,000 years. Worst-case predictions by the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change suggest that business-as-usual economic growth could cause a 6°C rise in global temperatures by 2100. That would devastate the biosphere, just as did a similar 6°C rise at the end of the Permian period 251 million years ago. At that time 95 percent of the world's species were wiped out. The end-Permian mass extinction was driven by volcanic greenhouse gas emissions, external to the living biosphere. This will be the first time that an agent of mass extinction has emerged from within the biosphere itself.

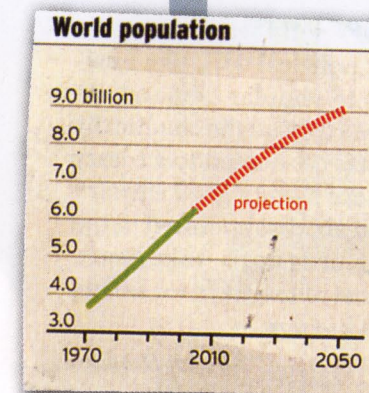
The result of these three trends – human population growth, mass extinction and global warming – will be a major test of the resilience of planetary life. The biologist E.O. Wilson has coined the term "the bottleneck" to describe it, and this bottleneck is humanity's all-time greatest challenge. Will we emerge at the end of this century with a depleted, devastated planet, inhabited by only a few super-adaptable remnant species? Or will humanity take sufficient remedial measures – such as preserving natural ecosystems and reining in global warming – to ensure that a reasonable proportion of the world's biodiversity makes it through the bottleneck?

The total extinction of *Homo sapiens* is unlikely, but humans are still dependent on natural 'ecosystem services' to a far greater extent than most of us realize. Natural systems strip sewage from our water and pollutants from our

air, provide fertile soil for our crops, produce food and lumber for our sustenance, and even regulate the weather. Much of this happens invisibly, either at the microbial level or across vast distances. The monetary value of these ecosystem services has been costed at \$33 trillion a year, about twice the world's GDP.

Yet when modern politicians talk about "the economy," and the need to protect it, they are talking only about the sum total of human consumptive activities. The ecological underpinnings of the human economy are forgotten, and its increasing devastation contributes to economic growth: still almost universally seen as a 'good thing.' Moreover, other species and future generations don't get a look in. We are going to have to make major changes in our mindsets if we are to make it through the "bottleneck" without removing much of the other life on this planet – and eventually ending up very lonely indeed.

Mark Lynas is a journalist specializing in climate change. He is based in Oxford, UK, and is author of High Tide: The truth about our climate crisis.





ZACH, age 9

Loves: Sleeping, Survivor, Playstation. **Hates:** Teachers, my sister.

When I grow up I want to: Be a gangsta rapper.

If I was in charge of the world: I'd clean up the air and the oceans.

In 10 years there will be: A big war and the world will be a crazy mess.

OUR SCORCHED EARTH

If you think of the land as Earth's skin, then it's currently suffering from a progressively worsening rash. The world is slowly turning to desert, with fully one-third of the planet at risk. The rate at which land is degrading has doubled over the last 30 years, with affected areas spreading and merging together like a slowly festering skin disease.

The UN marked the tenth anniversary of declaring a desertification crisis by declaring the crisis worse than ever. "It's a creeping catastrophe," said Michael Smitall, a spokesman. "Entire parts of the world might become uninhabitable."

Africa's Sahara was once a lush savannah, as were the vast arid plains of central Australia. There was no dramatic change that caused this. Instead, little by little, there was less land to sustain life and more lifeless, sandy soil. And one day, dunes and rock spread as far as the eye could see. Desertification, caused by a combination of human factors and climate change, is happening in countless areas today: China has a problem, as does Spain and parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

In Australia, the driest continent on Earth, the problem is less sand than salt. Farming methods imported from Europe, like irrigation, are pumping salt to the surface, devouring millions of hectares of valuable arable land. Some projections suggest Adelaide's water from the River Murray will be undrinkable due to salinity by 2050, because of rising water tables caused by excessive irrigation. Water in the Kerang irrigation area is already one-third saltier than the ocean.

And as the country enters the third year of one of the worst droughts on record, a new report points to a revolution in how the country will buy water. The price gets progressively more expensive, instead of one price per unit, like gasoline. Hosing your driveway would become illegal. And new homes will have to be 75 percent more water efficient by law than those currently being built.

"There's no respect for water because it is so cheap," says Ian Keirnan, deputy chair of a New South Wales state panel on water usage. "We are taking crystal-clear drinking water and pouring it onto roses and lawns, flushing it down toilets, feeding it to stock and using it in industry and that is just crazy." Australia may be able to show the rest of the world how to balance lifestyle and consumption patterns before we are forced to do it ourselves.

Mark White

DYING FOR A DRINK

After oil, water could be the next liquid we depend on that a war is fought over. As populations increase and industrialize, states are laying claim and counterclaim to ownership of resources they need to grow.

Water is as much an issue as land in Israel, whose unsustainable consumption is the region's highest. Since 1967 it has bridged the gap through extraction from the occupied territories and by clinging to the Golan Heights as much for its

fresh water as any military advantage. Under the 1995 Oslo Agreement, West Bank Palestinians receive just 18 percent of water taken from their land and survive on less than 60 cubic meters of water each per year – the international minimum is 150. Israelis take 246 cubic meters each.

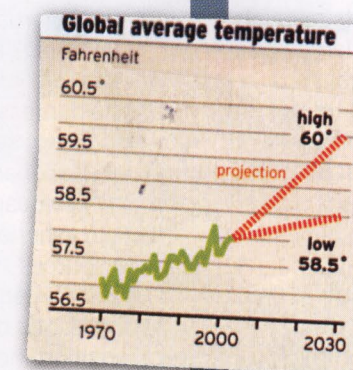
In January, Israel signed a series of "arms-for-water" agreements with Turkey whose Grand Anatolia Project of dams and reservoirs along the Tigris-Euphrates system has in turn angered Syria and Iraq. In March the 10 Nile nations held crisis talks overshadowed

by an Egyptian declaration that it would regard any attempt to alter a 1929 treaty safeguarding its share of water as a "declaration of war."

India could be another flashpoint. Disputes continue to simmer with Bangladesh and Pakistan over the Ganges and Indus systems and, internally, pitched battles have erupted between troops and Karnataka and Tamil Nadu citizens along the Cauvery River.

Global corporations are also complicit. In December Kerala's high court defied India's government by banning Coca-Cola's groundwater extraction for its Hindustan bottling plant following a two-year protest by residents who linked crop failures with Coke pumping out 300,000 liters a day.

Maria Wasilewski



INFINITE BOUNTY

How long does it take to empty our oceans of life? Given the best technology, an unshakable belief in perpetual growth and a taste for seafood, about a century.

For thousands of years the oceans were dark beasts, difficult to tame. The European Basques may have fished the Atlantic all the way west to Newfoundland in the sixteenth century, but even by the break of the twentieth century, the fishing industry was mostly coastal, local and small-scale. Stories of great schools of tuna, cod and salmon swimming in deep waters were still fantastic yarns plied in the pub. The sea remained largely untouched.

First steam, and then, gasoline engines replaced sails, meaning ships could travel further and tow larger nets to catch more fish. And catch more they did. Fishing became large-scale industry. Then with technology developed for WWII warships yields increased again. Sonar-equipped vessels could track great schools of fish hundreds of feet below the surface. And radar and Loran navigation, a predecessor to GPS that uses radio pulses to pinpoint location, meant the high seas could be fished efficiently through fog and storms. The war also boosted the petrochemical industry, which began producing nylon monofilament nets that were invisible to fish and stronger than the traditional hemp and linen.

Fleets expanded rapidly and governments began promoting seafood, previously looked down on as "poor man's protein." In the 1950s, the industry turned to the stern trawler. The ships were built for the whaling industry (which, ironically, was on the decline due to over-hunting) and could haul huge nets, travel long distances, and process fish onboard. Between 1950 and 1970, the total yearly world catch tripled.

By the 1980s, unregulated international fishing was seriously endangering fish stocks in the North Atlantic, and the US and Canada took notice. Both passed laws extending their exclusive jurisdiction from three to 200 nautical miles from shore (many other countries followed suit) and fish stocks began to rejuvenate. But rather than wait for a full recovery, most countries increased their domestic fleets and plundered seas under the exclusivity of their new laws.

Beyond the continental shelves, drift nets became the technology of choice. These "walls of death" – sometimes 50 feet deep and 40 miles long – entangled unprecedented numbers of tuna, salmon, and squid, and hauled in almost as much

in bycatch, unwanted species thrown back overboard dead or dying. In 1991, the United Nations banned the giant drift nets. Many countries then turned to long lining, a new technique using high-strength lines up to 50 miles long baited with as many as 3,000 hooks. It has proven to be equally destructive.

The world's industrial fishing fleet doubled between 1970 and 1990 to 1.2 million boats. By the early 1990s, the Grand Banks and Georges Bank, once two of the world's richest fishing grounds, were almost empty of fish. Europe's North Sea is on the brink of suffering a similar fate.

Today seafood, the "poor man's protein," is the main protein source for one billion people. Hundreds of species are on the "red" endangered list. Yet demand for them is higher than ever. What do we do? Plough on with more technology: fish farming.

Aquaculture "will help meet growing seafood demand, revitalize depressed coastal communities, and stem the growing tide of seafood imports," said William Hogarth, from the National Marine Fisheries Service, in Canada's *Globe and Mail* newspaper. Seafood, says Hogarth, who oversees American fisheries, has "become one of the world's healthiest protein sources . . . the American public should be happy to eat it." He didn't mention that this is largely due to the widespread industrialization of meat production, the land equivalent of the very "solution" he proposes we implement in the oceans.

The myth of the sea holding an infinite bounty is dead. So are our fisheries. Instead of seeking a balance with nature, we seek to increase our domination over it. Our solution to disappearing fish is to take the fences of the factory farm on land and stretch them into the ocean. After all, our relationship with the sea may be crumbling, but our love affair with technology is as strong as ever.

Kevin Arnold

OCEAN VOIDS

They are known as 'dead zones,' areas of the ocean devoid of marine life. Their number has doubled to 150 over the last decade, with some stretching for 27,000 square miles, about the size of Ireland. Long a problem in the Gulf of Mexico, dead zones are now being found in the Baltic Sea, Black Sea and Adriatic Sea, and off the coasts of South America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The UN is warning that they constitute as big a threat to fish stocks as overfishing, and that their spread could "escalate rapidly." The main cause is excess nitrogen run-off from farm fertilizer, sewage and industrial pollutants, that triggers blooms of microscopic algae known as phytoplankton. The dying algae consume all the oxygen in the water, leaving it unable to support life. "It hasn't been something well known by policy makers," says UN senior environmental affairs officer Marion Cheadle. "But it's been getting noticeably worse."

People enjoy the experience of buying more than having the product, because the moment of buying is one of enthusiastic fantasy and escape.



The environmental crisis is really a crisis of desire.

DEAD WORD

It's time to retire a word packed with emotion, but devoid of content: 'environmentalism.' Once a meaningful concept, today it is an empty label, a flag of convenience in a sea of politics.

Not convinced? Try this at home:

Pick a major environmental organization. Quick. Any one will do. Greenpeace. Earthwatch. Sierra Club. Good. Now, go to the internet and read the group's mission statement. Greenpeace aims to promote "solutions that are essential to a green and peaceful future." Earthwatch is out to "promote the understanding and action necessary for a sustainable environment." And The Sierra Club wants to "educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment."

Surf over to the Environmental Protection Agency, a wing of the federal government recently put under the control of Mike Leavitt, a conservative governor from Utah known primarily for building a major superhighway and helping the state become the second worst polluter in the union. Their mission: "To protect human health and the environment . . . working for a cleaner, healthier environment for the American people." Right.

Let's move on to industry. Think of the most destructive human activities. Mining, logging, oil drilling, chemical production – just a few of the most obvious, but good enough for our needs. Visit the websites of the largest firms, click the link to the company's environment and social responsibility

section (it's easy to find, usually on the opening page). Here's what you'll read: Shell is "continually looking for ways to . . . minimize our use of natural resources." International Forest Products is "committed to responsible stewardship of the environment." DuPont promises to "conduct our business with respect and care for the environment." And for the Dow Chemical Company, "protecting people and the environment is part of everything we do and every decision we make."

Sixty years ago, George Orwell wrote that political language is "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind." Environmentalism has become political language. It belongs to a has-been generation of greenies, spin doctors and marketers fighting the same stale battles that landed us in our current mess.

When 31-year-old sculptor Benton Brown was asked to describe his award-winning green building – an urban loft in Brooklyn featuring solar energy power, radiant heating, natural ventilation, a rain-water collection system and a green roof covered in soil and groundcover – he responded by saying, "I think of it more as 'high performance' than eco-friendly." A simple statement, but one that reflects the logic – the sexiness – of living sustainably. Without knowing it, he may well have predicted the future.

Kevin Arnold

SUN BLOCK

First global warming, now global dimming. Between the late '50s and early '90s, the amount of sunshine hitting Earth dropped an average of 10 percent, and as high as 37 percent in Hong Kong.

Satellite readings show the sun burns as brightly as ever. Air pollution is believed to be blocking sunlight in the Earth's atmosphere; soot reflects light. And increased amounts of water in the air from global warming form dark, thick clouds.

It's shaping up to be science's next great debate. For 20 years, the dark numbers have largely been ignored; nobody believed they could be true. Now, with evidence piling up, what does the scientific community do? "There's no reaction," said Dr. Atsumu Ohmura of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. He called the dim response, "very disappointing."

LET US EAT CAKE

Here are the thoughts of three leading economists on the agricultural implications of global climate change:

"Agriculture, the part of the economy that is sensitive to climate change, accounts for just three percent of national output. That means there is no way to get a very large effect on the US economy." – *Yale economist William Nordhaus*

"Even if net output of agriculture fell by 50 percent by the end of the next century, this is only a 1.5 per cent cut in GNP." – *Oxford economist Wilfred Beckerman*

"In the developed world, hardly any component of the national income is affected by climate. Agriculture is practically the only sector of the economy affected by climate, and it contributes only a small percentage – three percent in the United States – of national income. If agricultural productivity were drastically reduced by climate change, the cost of living would rise by one or two percent, and at a time when per capita income will likely have doubled." – *former Harvard economist and past president of the American Economic Association, Thomas Schelling*

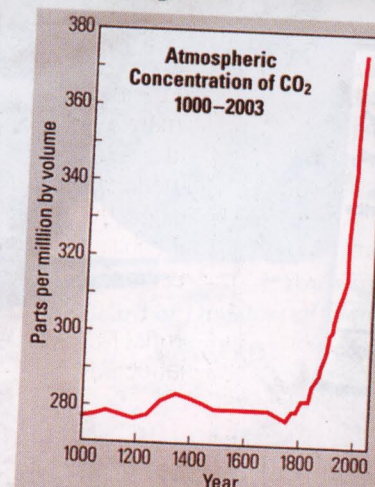
Terrific! Now we can eat the other 97 percent of GNP that will apparently remain unaffected by climate change.



Atmospheric CO₂ Reaches a Record High

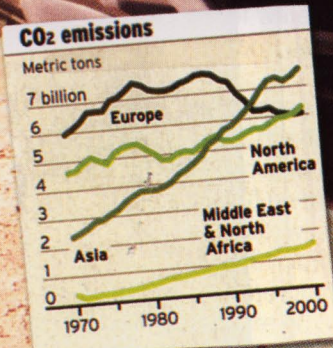
The concentration of carbon dioxide in the Earth's atmosphere last year reached its highest level in at least 420,000 years—and likely the highest in 20 million years. Measurements taken at the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Mauna Loa Observatory on Hawaii showed that CO₂ levels had risen to about 376 parts per million—an increase of 2.5 ppm from the previous high, in 2002. CO₂ is the principal global warming gas, and the 2003 finding shows an increase of 5 ppm since 2001—the largest two-year increase ever recorded.

—Ed Ayres



Climate Change Will Destroy Us

"I DON'T GET IT FROM"



PLANET, INC. SHAREHOLDERS REPORT

Dear Fellow Shareholders:

These are challenging times for Planet, Inc. Due to recent events, the world isn't what it used to be. But we're a company that learns from and embraces change.

With oil supplies peaking and powerful new economies ramping up their markets, resource depletion doesn't have to be the way of the future. However, getting around that impasse will require global mechanisms that combat waste while ensuring high returns on the assets that historically have made our company such an attractive buy.

As you know, Planet, Inc.'s capital assets fall into four broad categories: the built world (housing, infrastructure); the human world (knowledge, health); the natural world (resources, land and related services); and the social world (community, democracy). Thanks to a profit-and-loss statement that tracks the positive and negative impacts of all four asset classes, we're able to measure our overall level of well-being. Armed with that big-picture perspective, you, the majority shareholders, can hold the Board accountable. Our commitment to transparency also reveals itself in Planet, Inc.'s triple bottom line: financial, social and environmental.

In an era of falsely inflated GDP and profits and other corporate accounting scandals, this model reflects the core values of Planet, Inc., whose goal is to maximize human welfare and sustain it indefinitely. The long-term viability of the company depends on achieving this outcome.

To the fullest extent possible, we used remotely-sensed data to prepare the annual report you hold in your hands. This type of data has two significant advantages: it is globally observable and can be updated annually. For example, satellite images enable us to estimate economic activity by capturing light energy emitted by human settlements at night. We also deploy these images to calculate a value for ecosystem services on both land and sea, converted to equivalent economic value using revolutionary techniques we are publishing free on the internet. We trust that you will put these resources to good use and give us input that expands the way we all think about our capital assets.

Some of you may have misgivings about attaching a price tag to nature, or to the human connections that make life worthwhile. This is a legitimate concern, but the truth is that these things are already standing in the marketplace, being put up for auction by people whose only gauge of progress is hard currency. By looking beyond the traditional bottom line that other, less progressive companies use to measure profits and losses, Planet, Inc. is putting its shareholders first – and at Planet, Inc. we are all shareholders.

Going forward, Planet, Inc. will aggressively pursue a positive rate of return in all four of our capital-asset fields. However, we will not sacrifice long-term value for short-term financial gain: that would be irresponsible and ultimately unsustainable. Only a prudent response to the changes afoot in global markets can guarantee the good health of our company in the decades and centuries to come.

*Yours sincerely,
The Board of Directors of Planet, Inc.*

PLANET, INC. SUMMARY OF ASSETS



AIR

Global consumption of coal, oil and natural gas has increased almost fivefold since 1950, pushing carbon-dioxide levels in the atmosphere to a record high. Still, urban air quality in China and Europe improved during 2003, while US vehicle emissions fell by 10 percent. Even with best practices like the EU's new anti-CO₂ legislation, air pollution raises an environmental red flag that may negatively impact Planet, Inc.'s future profit margins.



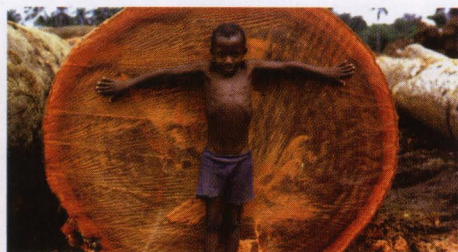
WATER

In 2003, two billion people in more than 40 countries suffered from water shortages. Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and North America saw their agricultural water tables degrade due to overpumping and contamination. However, river quality improved in Europe despite pollution and water overuse in some areas. The US Environmental Protection Agency made legal changes that put 20 million acres of wetlands at risk. While sales of bottled water may increase in the short term, the Board sees this as a temporary solution, at best.



SOIL

Worldwide, between 10 and 20 percent of cropland has been degraded by water and wind erosion, deforestation, overexploitation and other causes; the same goes for 70 percent of rangeland. In South Asia alone, soil degradation costs \$10 billion a year. Despite the growing popularity of organic farming, pollutants continue to find their way into the ground via acid rain, agricultural chemicals, landfills and heavy industry. Work generated for clean-up crews will be outweighed by loss of future arable capacity.



FOREST

Half the planet's original forests have been cut down, and one-third of what remains is damaged or fragmented. Worldwide demand for wood products is more than twice what it was in 1950. But Earth has grown six percent greener in the past quarter century, partly as a result of conservation programs and advances in farming. Eighty percent of that growth took place in tropical regions and the Far North. To stay competitive, Planet, Inc. must find the right mix of sustainable silviculture practices and value-added products.



OCEAN

Seventy-five percent of fisheries are either fully exploited or exhausted, 88 of the 126 marine-mammal species are at risk, and 90 percent of large ocean predators have vanished. Rising temperatures may kill off coral reefs in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia within 20 years. Pollution, habitat destruction, algae blooms and sediment flow also threaten the marine environment. Sea level continues to rise one to two millimeters annually. The Board regrets the imminent loss of many Pacific island nations, and is monitoring the situation in Bangladesh. These indicators call for an ongoing strategy that leverages current resources while remaining sensitive to weak links in the ocean value chain.



Large fall in sperm count worries researchers

James Meikle

Researchers reported this week a 29% drop in the average sperm concentration in more than 7,500 men attending the Aberdeen Fertility Centre between 1989 and 2002. Tests on nearly 16,000 samples taken in this period indicate that concentrations fell from nearly 87m sperm in a millilitre to just over 62m in the 14 years. The figures may not be typical of the whole male population, since the

mal" sperm count. Other factors, including sperm mobility and quality, are as important as quantity. A recent Brazilian study suggested that regular coffee intake might perk up male fertility by making sperm swim faster. Siladitya Bhattacharya, who led the Aberdeen study, said: "We cannot say the basis of these preliminary results ... There has been an increase in men seeking treatment for male infertility, but whether this is due to a significant





Bangladesh ecological Footprint: 0.5 hectares (smallest in the world)



US ecological Footprint: 9.57 hectares (Biggest in the world)

An ecological footprint is the amount of productive land area required to sustain one human being. Globally, there are about 1.9 hectares of productive area per person, but the average ecological footprint is already 2.3 hectares. So we would need 1.5 Earths to live sustainably. The largest footprint belongs to citizens of the US, at 9.57 hectares. Five Earths would be needed if everyone in the world consumed at that rate. People in Bangladesh, on the other hand, need just 0.5 hectares. And China is somewhere in the middle, at 1.36 hectares.

But what will it look like in a few decades, when China has a population of 1.5 billion? Supposing that Chinese levels of consumption then are equivalent to American levels now, the Earth doesn't stand a chance. If the US provides the benchmark for global consumption, 25 Earths will be needed to satiate everyone's wants.

THREE LAWS

Everything is connected to everything.
Everything's got to go somewhere.
There's no such thing as a free lunch.



Comfortably

Did you feel for those Iraqis who were tied down and had attack dogs baying and chewing at them? Did seeing the pictures and hearing the stories make you sick? Or were you like most of us – engaged by the drama, entertained by the scandal, yet comfortably numb about the whole thing?

Many have replaced empathy with an “I”-centered sentimentality. Feeling has been turned on its head: caring is now a means not for taking action, but for feeling better about oneself or getting attention. We ride the emotional dramas in the tabloids, wear colored ribbons, and express our love for God and country. Meanwhile, we take no action – at least none driven by empathy.

Empathy is how we respond to the plight of fellow human beings. It is the bedrock of our moral sensibility that allows us to feel for others, to put ourselves in their place. If you cannot feel, how can you act outside your own wants and desires? To many today, it seems easier to just deny feelings of empathy, to react to them “rationally” as a weakness in this hard and fast world.

But this has a cost. Losing feeling for others, or never developing the capacity to feel deeply at all, means closing off a fundamental part of being human. We feel less not just about the millions of innocent people killed by violence in the past decade, or the thousands of civilians killed in America’s wars for peace, but also about, say, our own partner, neighbors or parents. All feelings run along the same neural pathways. Shutting down some means shutting down many. In the process, we become less human.

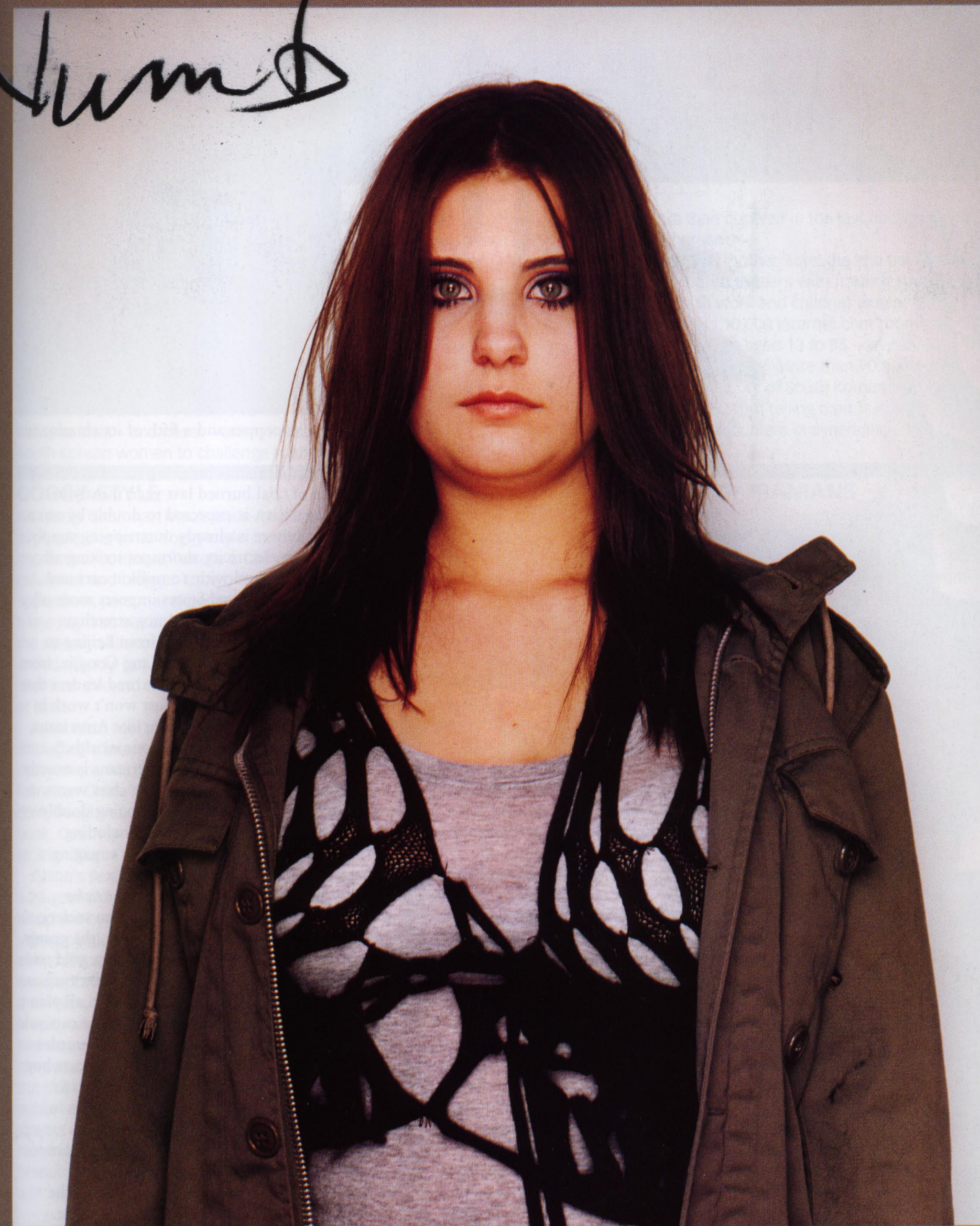
As this happens, we not only stop feeling the pain of others, we become more capable of inflicting it. This is the darkest side of empathy’s erosion. If feelings underlie an empathic response, numbness makes brutality viable. Thus, as you happily switch off from humanity, you become a threat to it. We were comfortably numb about the torture at Abu Ghraib, and so were the GI guards who carried it out. Americans didn’t say sorry because they didn’t feel sorry. Simple as that.

And if we can’t feel for others, who will feel for us? Perhaps this is part of the general worsening of mental well-being. As a recent World Health Organization study shows, there’s a near-perfect correlation between the rise of alienation in the modern world and the decline of people’s mental states, with mental dysfunction growing globally. As empathy falls, behaviors predicated on its lack have been pathologized, like narcissistic and antisocial personalities. But these are not symptoms of organic disease. Instead, it is the social system that is in need of radical treatment.

Consider the example of antidepressant drugs like Paxil and Zoloft. It is now understood that these SSRI antidepressants shut down peoples’ sexual emotions. What remains less appreciated is that they produce their mood-altering effect by essentially manufacturing apathy. Are these drugs popular, in part, precisely because they shut down our feelings? It is a frightening notion. Medicating our numbness is one thing, with a long and lonely history. But a culture medicating itself into comfortable numbness is something else. It is no longer the symptom but the cure.

Richard DeGrandpre

Numb





In March, 56 container ships sat anchored at the world's largest coal port in Australia waiting to load coal and deliver it to China. No one had ever seen anything like it.

What caused the historic backup was not just a delay, but something bigger. While some economists named it "China Syndrome," what was really behind the logjam was neoliberalism. Magnified to new levels, that is.

Get used to it. With China, everything is bigger, and that includes the consequences of its adoption of western economic values. The age of consumption is dawning over the largest country in the world. As China's economy grows faster than adjectives can describe it, insatiable demands are being placed on the world's resources. This is just the beginning.

Fully 20 percent of the world's steamships now hold cargo destined for China. Amid concerns about domestic supply, South Korea recently capped iron exports to the country, and then asked motorists to limit driving every tenth day, to conserve oil in fear of future shortages. In 2003, half the world's cement output, a third of its steel,

a quarter of its copper and a fifth of its aluminum went to China.

With power demands breaking records, the 1.5 billion tons of coal burned last year, mostly to generate electricity, is expected to double by 2020. Demand for power is already outstripping supply, with worsening electricity shortages striking all over the country. And with 10 million cars and growing, only the United States imports more oil.

As a result, thick clouds of smog stretch a thousand miles along the coast, from Beijing to Hong Kong. Environmentalist Liang Congjie, from China's Friends of Nature, has warned leaders that an American economic model just won't work in China. "If Chinese wanted to live like Americans, we would need the resources of four worlds."

But it seems that living like Americans is exactly what China's burgeoning consumer class wants to do. With 1.3 billion people experiencing double-digit growth in disposable income, including many of the rural poor, the society is engaging exuberantly in materialism.

A new generation of young *nouveau riche* comprises a small percentage of Chinese society, but, because of China's population size, the group has incredible spending power. Sniffing a gold mine reminiscent of Japan's love affair with extravagance, Armani, Zegna, Prada, Lexus and Ferrari all plan to invest heavily. And why not: a third of the cars sold in China are upscale brands like BMW, Mercedes and Rolls-Royce. Those who can't afford cars buy brand "status" with cell phones: there are 261 million units in the country, expected to rise to 400 million by 2005.

What does China living the American dream mean for the world? Potentially, four more Americas: four times the people, four times the consumption, four times faster into the future.

Tess Rheinhardt

Hong Kong man viewing a mega billboard, August 2003

DIGITAL TEMPTATION

Famous for its "digital democracy" and the highest internet usage on Earth, South Korea is succumbing to social contagions spread through the internet. One young user died after surfing for 86 hours straight. Fifteen percent of the country's people are full-out net addicts.

But the virus of infidelity – fashionable in the *Temptation Island*-esque mood of the United States, where divorce rates are running at 54 percent – is corrupting patriarchal South Korea most profoundly. A decade ago, divorce was almost unheard of because of traditional social taboos. Today, the ability to chat – and cheat – anonymously is tempting many South Korean women to challenge tradition. The country's

divorce rate has more than doubled in the last decade to just behind the US, at 47 percent.

Jawan Koo, a 37-year-old mother, says she and her friends chat because they're "bored to tears with nothing to do after sending their husbands to work and children to school."

Every day, South Korea's 10,000 internet chat rooms are filled with 17.5 million visitors aged 13 to 55 – 36 percent of the country's 48 million people. More than 90 percent of housewives – a title the majority of South Korean women share – use these rooms without telling their husbands. And 44 percent of these encounters in cyberspace lead to extramarital sex.

DOGGY STYLE

It's hardly Chairman Mao's Little Red Book. "A lot of people like to do doggy-style, but it is somewhat impractical outdoors," wrote a Chinese sex columnist and blogger known as Muzi Mei. She spoke from personal experience: the setting was a late-night street behind a bar, and her partner in the sexual dalliance a minor rock star. The incident ended quickly, but in literary form it became the shot heard round the world – or around China, at least.

From Muzi Mei's online diary the story rampaged through the internet, re-posted and linked to everywhere. Muzi Mei mania reached its peak last fall when China's most popular internet site, *Sina.com*, bought serialization rights to her forthcoming book. Overnight, the number of daily hits to the site jumped from 20 million to 30 million.

China's sexual revolution had found its banner carrier, its sexy shield maiden: a 25-year-old journalist whose pen name Muzi Mei loosely translates as "sticks of wood are beautiful." She represents a broad new sector of Chinese society: she's young, single and in love with her sexual freedom. According to Li Yinhe, a sociologist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 60 to 70 percent of Beijing residents now report having sex before marriage, up from about 16 percent at the end of the 1980s. Of course, this behavior runs contrary to the party line, which still favors probity and traditional family structures. In the middle of her moment of fame, Muzi Mei was castigated by the state newspapers. Her book was banned soon after, and she voluntarily gave up both her columnist job and her blog to avoid further trouble. But this didn't stop the clamoring hoards. Muzi Mei's book, *Ashes of Love*, has been published in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and pirated copies are reportedly available on the streets of Beijing and other cities. As the internet continues to provide ideas, reading material and meeting points for China's swingers, the government might as well be brandishing a sword at the tide. At this rate, predicts Dr. Li, Chinese sexual practices will "catch up" to Western mores in about 20 years.

Eliza Strickland



SEXY IRANIANS

Rebellion in Iran has arrived in sexy, sultry fashion.

While strict dress codes were imposed after the 1979 revolution, today, women are asserting their individuality and sexuality – and having fun at the same time. It sounds almost American.

Many girls from the 18 million strong post-revolutionary baby boom generation are customizing their black veiled cloaks: some have slits up to the armpits, others leg-ties to tighten lines around the hips and elastics under the chest to showcase breasts. Scarves are in demand, and make-up is all the rage.

As Iran's morality lightens, Western-style individualism creeps forward. Indeed, many even see this as a step toward Iranian self-realization and democratic representation. Male mullahs running Iran's theocracy have bowed to popular pressure by relaxing the rules: so what, many ask, could be next?

Iranian girls don't want to dress like Britney Spears. "We totally reject that," said 17-year-old Saghar Tayebi to *The New York Times*. "We don't want that freedom."

The women want the relaxation of codes that once led to them being lashed if hair escaped from a head scarf. And, almost as important, to introduce a sense of individuality to their lives.

At What Cost?

When the Glen Canyon Dam was built in 1963, Lake Powell replaced a stretch of the Colorado River that many considered just as stunning as the Grand Canyon that lay downstream. But these days, drought is forcing the water back towards pre-dam levels and nearly 60 percent of the lake has dried up. In an exercise dubbed "chasing water," the government has spent millions of dollars extending boat-launch ramps to keep up with the drop-off. And at the rate it is drying up, Lake Powell will be incapable of generating electricity by 2007. Weeds will take over the former lake bottom and agricultural chemicals that had settled to the depths of the lake will be re-exposed. What does the region's water manager think about the drought? "I suspect our civilization can weather this."



In the late 1990s, New York City officials had two options for upgrading their municipal water supply. They could spend \$6 billion up front and \$300 million annually to build and operate a new water filtration plant, or they could spend \$1.5 billion protecting and restoring the Catskill watershed that produces 90 percent of the city's water needs. They chose the latter option, proving not only that nature's worth is quantifiable, but also that it can be quite a bargain.

Unfortunately, this story is interesting because it's so exceptional. We don't generally cost nature. So in 1997, ecological economist Robert Costanza and twelve colleagues published a paper in *Nature* magazine that put a dollar figure on the services of ecological systems like coral reefs, forests, tidal marshes, and rivers. After all, these natural phenomena are essential to the Earth's life-support system and contribute both directly and indirectly to human welfare. Among other things, they regulate climate, treat waste, produce food and

provide recreation. When the report's authors added it all up, they found that the value of services provided by the biosphere amounts to \$33 trillion annually, almost twice the value of goods and services produced by people each year. But until the economic value of natural capital is properly credited, landowners have little financial incentive to protect the long-term natural assets they control. Instead, they rather predictably opt for short-term personal gain.

Critics of the report worried that the authors were commodifying nature, but the \$33 trillion figure was simply an attempt to frame environmental degradation in terms that business people could understand. Still, if such a report is what it takes to shake people's environmental consciousness, we're in big trouble. As Rutgers University biologist David Ehrenfeld points out, "I am afraid that I don't see much hope for a civilization so stupid that it demands a quantitative estimate of the value of its own umbilical cord."

"I'd rather have a cleaner environment, but I can't imagine me without my car."

▲ Steph Willen/Independent Film Producer

By 2030, the combined effect of depleted fuel supplies, climate change, population growth, water shortages, soil erosion, growing economic disparities and nuclear proliferation could tear our world apart.

Colin Mason, *The 2030 Spike*

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bp

Missile Defense Interceptors

IFT-7

FM-2

IFT-8

Despite Raytheon's claims, its Patriot missiles are famous for missing the mark. After the 1991 Gulf War, a congressional report revealed that the much trumpeted Patriots had in fact hit Iraqi Scud missiles no more than four times in 47 firings. Then, in the second Gulf War, Patriots took out two allied jet fighters. According to defense analyst John Pike "Obviously the biggest technological disappointment [of the war] is the Patriot."

FM-3

IFT-9

FM-4

FM-6

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Jane's Defense Weekly, March 31, 2004

POLITICO

What does a 'win' in Iraq look like? We need to start by looking backward. The justifications for the Iraq War –

weapons of mass destruction, Iraq's connection to terror networks, and Iraqi liberation – have become a global farce. The weapons don't exist. *The New York Times*, responding to the findings of the bipartisan Commission on Terrorist Attacks, declared that it was "plainly dishonest" of President George W. Bush to link Iraq with the war on terror. As for the spirit of freedom, a poll commissioned by the Coalition Provisional Authority in May found that just two percent of Iraqis believe that the American-led troops are liberators, while 92 percent consider them an occupying force. Put simply, the old story can't hold. The endgame has to shift.

To get to a 'win,' there will need to be some losers. In the White House, that means the neoconservatives. Yes, they brought George W. to power and used September 11 to launch the most ideologically blinkered foreign policy since the Reagan years. Now, though, the neocons are a liability, their names attached to the lies and misjudgments that launched a war, an insurgency, and an international embarrassment. Figures like Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice are falling into line behind the new insiders: so-called 'realists' like Richard Blackwill, the new head of the Iraq Stabilization Group (ISG); and Paul Bremer, the diplomat who on June 28 gave Iraqis symbolic power over a country so out of control that the handover had to be launched in secret to prevent the guerrillas from turning it into a bloodbath. The neocons promised democracy. The realists will deliver stability. The gap between the two will be handled by spin doctors trained in 'expectation management.'

One thing is certain: you can't spell liberation without O-I-L. Control of the Iraqi oil fields was a top priority during the US invasion, and they remain under the gun of the 138,000 troops lingering in 'sovereign' Iraq. The 'realists' understand that the dream of Iraq as a Middle Eastern version of America – a turbocapitalist democracy – was premature if not totally naive. In fact, the country is emerging as a defacto centralized socialist state, not far off the model created by Saddam Hussein. One in four Iraqis depend on the state for employment, and the vast majority look to their government for food: the state needs money, and it's going to come from oil. But if Iraqis

need their oil, the US needs it even more. Americans remain the most voracious consumers of energy on Earth, and every year new surprises emerge. Consider the 'outdoor room' trend, which has consumers buying record quantities of gas-fired grills, fireplaces, patio heaters, and outdoor lighting. Or look at the number of Americans who own two homes – it's set to double by 2010.

What's the biggest threat to a 'win' inside Iraq? Trouble outside of Iraq. Look at Saudi Arabia. The country's

warm relations with the US are a contradiction – 15 of the 19 terrorists that attacked America on September 11 came from Saudi Arabia – as does Osama bin Laden – and its Islamic autocracy openly supported the Taliban in Afghanistan. On the other hand, it's the world's top oil producer and contains one quarter of all proven remaining reserves. Saudi Arabia has been a smoldering problem since 2001, but now the smoke is turning to fire. Terrorists of various stripes are targeting American residential compounds and businesses, and the US State Department advises against travel to the country. While George W. Bush never dubbed Saudi Arabia part of an 'axis of evil,' it is undoubtedly a nexus of confusion, and commentators such as Fadel Gheit, an oil and gas analyst with the Oppenheimer & Co. investment house in New York, believe the country's implosion is only a matter of time.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd receives princes and sheiks, Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

Al Qaeda is working to bring down the monarchy, which it views as decadent and corrupt (the Saudi royal family receives, for its personal use, between 10 and 40 percent of all national oil revenues). At the same time, Saudi's Shia majority is tiring of Wahhabi minority rule, and is taking inspiration from Shia advances in Iraq. On top of these pressures, King Fahd is 82 years old, and his factionalized kin will battle for power as soon as he dies. Whatever happens, America is committed to maintaining a solid base for petro-capitalism in the nation that is also the traditional birthplace of Islam – enough so that George Bush Sr. is on the payroll of the Carlyle Group, a multi-billion dollar corporation that channels US investment into Saudi Arabia. Should the House of Saud falter in the coming months, the Arabian Peninsula could make the trouble in Iraq look like a sandbox battle between Prozac kids. The West will want to intervene – against terrorism and for the stability of world oil. But imagine the photo-op: international troops rolling into Mecca. Bin Laden must be praying for that front page.

Also on the blowback list is the Kurdistan question. The Kurds are not 'realists' – a non-Arab people living within hostile

Arab nations, they've survived for generations on the dream of self-determination. One consistent in that struggle has been American betrayal, most notoriously when the US looked the other way on March 16, 1988, when Iraq launched the 'Bloody Friday' chemical-weapon attack against northern Kurds. Faced with the possibility of another abandonment – the minority rights they were guaranteed in the 'new Iraq' are fading fast – the Kurds are looking for a more dependable ally. According to *New Yorker* reporter Seymour Hersh, Israel is carrying out covert operations to strengthen Kurdish armed forces in Iraq. While some Kurdish leaders have assured the world community that they will not declare an independent state (their traditional territory includes portions of Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey), all bets are off if the new Iraq treats the Kurds as second-class citizens. Israel will be there, happy to help build a second non-Arab state in the Middle East. Suddenly, region-wide war seems awfully 'realistic.'

But forget the doom and gloom. There is, in fact, an optimistic model for what Iraq might look like in a few short months. That model is Afghanistan. Who runs Afghanistan these days? Everyone and no one. An interim national government has replaced the Taliban tyranny, but warlords, among them the

Taliban, rule their own fiefdoms in the south and east. NATO leads an international peacekeeping force of 6,500 (there are plans to increase that number to 10,000), while the US maintains 17,000 troops as well. UN agencies are left to do everything else that costs money, including distributing food to 2.1 million Afghans in the first three months of 2004 and registering half of the country's 10 million eligible voters. Still, the 'new Afghanistan' keeps slipping into the future. Elections planned for June have been postponed until at least October, since international financial support has not yet been delivered (meanwhile, the Taliban has begun to target citizens who hold voter registration cards). On June 23, the UK's

Guardian newspaper reported that Afghans detained by US troops were routinely tortured, and five had died in custody. In other words, the country is a monument to the kind of geopolitical wreckage that American military adventurism can leave behind. But the country is also exactly what the White House wants it to be: out of the news and utterly invisible.



It's a road filled with uncertainty, then, but the vision of victory is slowly coming clear. In that vision, American troops are trickling home from Iraq, and the thousands that remain are no longer dying on an almost daily basis. The 'war on terror' continues, but mainly as a rhetorical tool for everything from the protection of oil interests abroad to the suppression of civil disobedience at home. Iraq is a basket-case, but it's stable enough – mostly – to move oil into the world market. More importantly, it is stable enough that Americans can begin to forget. They will start to roll back the clock to November 2002, when a *National Geographic* survey found that only 13 percent of Americans between the ages of 18 and 24 could find Iraq on a map (though 34 percent knew the setting of the latest *Survivor* TV series). In the crucial final months of the presidential election campaign, the focus swings back to the growing economy and the Democrats' soft stand on America's traditional values. Because what does it look like to 'win' in Iraq? It looks the same – exactly the same – as a win for George W. Bush on November 2, 2004.

James MacKinnon & Alisa Smith



It was news hour in southern Sudan, April 2002. A group of men gathered around a makeshift table to listen to a small, battery-powered radio. They wanted to know: What was happening in Israel? The BBC announcer said the Israel Defense Forces were pulling out of the Jenin refugee camp, ending Operation Defensive Shield. They had killed more than 50 Palestinians.

The men debated the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the same energy that people bring to that topic in every corner of the world – the Middle East is, after all, *in the news*. The men's conversation only seemed strange because they themselves were refugees from the Sudanese war front, some of 20,000 people living in a camp called Mabia; twice as many of them had died, compared to Jenin, during the 700 kilometer walk to get there. None of it made the headlines. When it comes to Africa, the world community quite simply has a different standard of humanity.

Doubters might look once more to Sudan. In February 2003, just as the

21-year-old civil war between Sudan's largely Muslim Arab north and black African south was steering toward a fragile peace, a new conflict erupted. This time, Muslim Africans in the western Darfur region rose up against the northern government. In turn, the government armed and encouraged Arab militias – now known as the Janjaweed – to unleash a campaign of terror against the Darfurians.

The result? An estimated 10,000 to 30,000 dead and at least one million new refugees. Since many of these displaced people were subsistence farmers, the danger of catastrophic famine and disease is extreme.

It was more than a year before the world's leading powers took any concrete action. As late as mid-June of this year, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said he was not convinced that what was happening in Darfur was "genocide" or even "ethnic cleansing." Instead, it was "the world's greatest humanitarian crisis" – as though a drought or an epidemic had struck instead of an organized, state-sponsored military campaign.

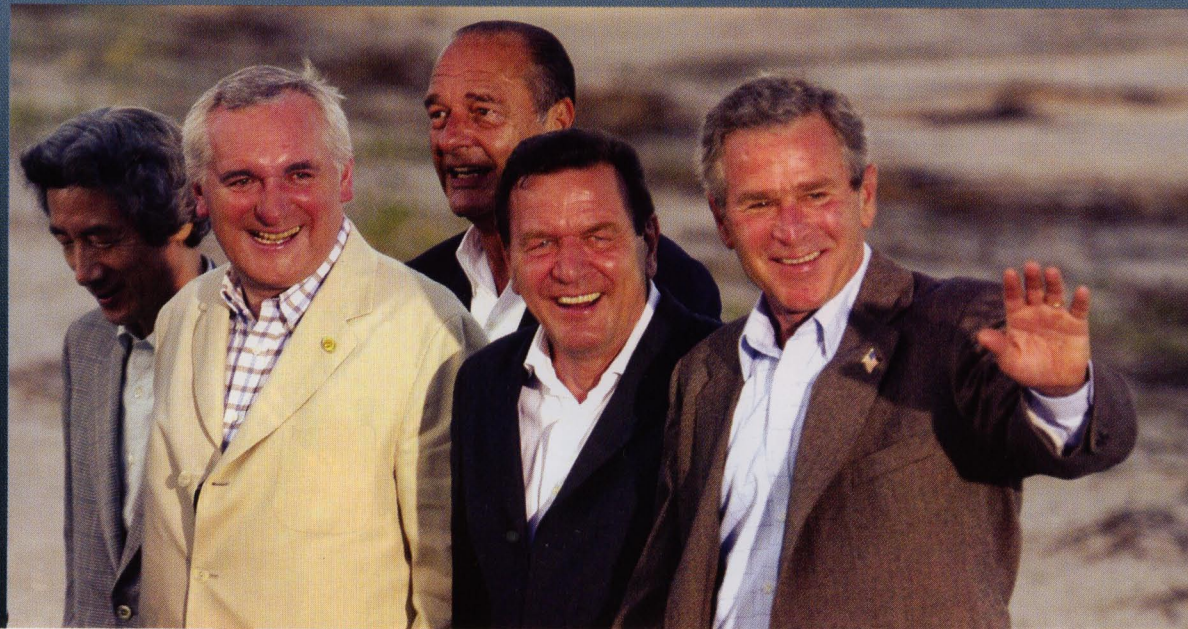
That month, Annan and US Secretary of State Colin Powell visited the Darfur region. Only then did America make its first call to action, which amounted to a bit of absurdist political theater. Eager to maintain Sudan as a rare Muslim ally in the war on terror (not to mention a nation with substantial oil reserves), the

Bush administration took the bizarre step of pressing for UN sanctions against the Janjaweed themselves, rather than their Sudanese government sponsors. Pressed on whether the situation in Darfur was genocide, Powell came up with a statement that Saddam Hussein might find useful in his defense against accusations of that crime: "Let's not put a label on things."

Annan, too, has avoided the G-word and is relying on the UN and other aid agencies to handle the consequences. One World Health Organization crisis planner said in June that a best-case scenario for humanitarian aid in Darfur is to limit the number of deaths from hunger and disease to 3,000 per month.

It is cold comfort that the Sudanese government, responding to the visit by Annan and Powell, has promised to stop the crimes against humanity playing out in Darfur. Still, their relief efforts – sending 6,000 troops to police and resettle the refugees that their own policies displaced – have revealed facts about the ethnic cleansing that other world leaders have opted to ignore. The refugees can't be resettled in their old villages, say Sudanese officials, because 30 percent of those villages have been totally destroyed.

Why is it so hard for world leaders to use the word "genocide"? Because



genocide demands action. The US could not declare Darfur a continuation of the Sudanese Arab campaign to eliminate black African cultures in their country without also taking forceful steps to stop it. Those steps would involve, at the least, sanctions against the Sudanese government and a humanitarian plan that could involve troop deployments the US cannot currently afford.

It's a useful lesson for other despots planning genocidal campaigns. Keep your campaigns low-profile and slow-burning. Don't launch any assault so dramatic as to capture the attention of CNN. Choose a moment when the western media has bigger and better stories to chase. And if possible, kill people who are off the radar of global culture.

Finally, cross your fingers and have faith in what Chile's ambassador to the UN, Heraldo Munoz, said in support of the proposed US resolution against the Janjaweed: "The Security Council needs to send a strong signal that we will not accept another Rwanda." What they will accept, though, is almost anything else.

Facing media censorship and persecution for protests, Zimbabwean democracy activists needed some fresh tactics. Why not a little culture jamming? Enter Zvakwana (the name means "enough is

enough" in the Shona language), a leaderless grassroots movement against a quarter century of rule by President Robert Mugabe. Activists deployed a pincer strategy, with the <zvakwana.org> website reaching those Zimbabweans with access to the internet, while street-level jams got the word out to a wider audience. So far, tactics include protest messages distributed through packets of matches and condoms, and a graffiti campaign – the movement's symbol is a black "Z" on a yellow background – that succeeded in re-routing a Mugabe motorcade. As Zvakwana emerged, its website featured a quote from longtime Africa correspondent Ryszard Kapuscinski: "Uncontrolled words – circulating freely, underground, rebelliously, uncensored – frighten tyrants." The words were prophetic. The Zimbabwean government has launched a counter-campaign to root out Zvakwana "members," and are searching homes for the tell tale yellow paint. Said police spokesman Wayne Bvudzijena, "We'd be interested in talking with them."

James MacKinnon

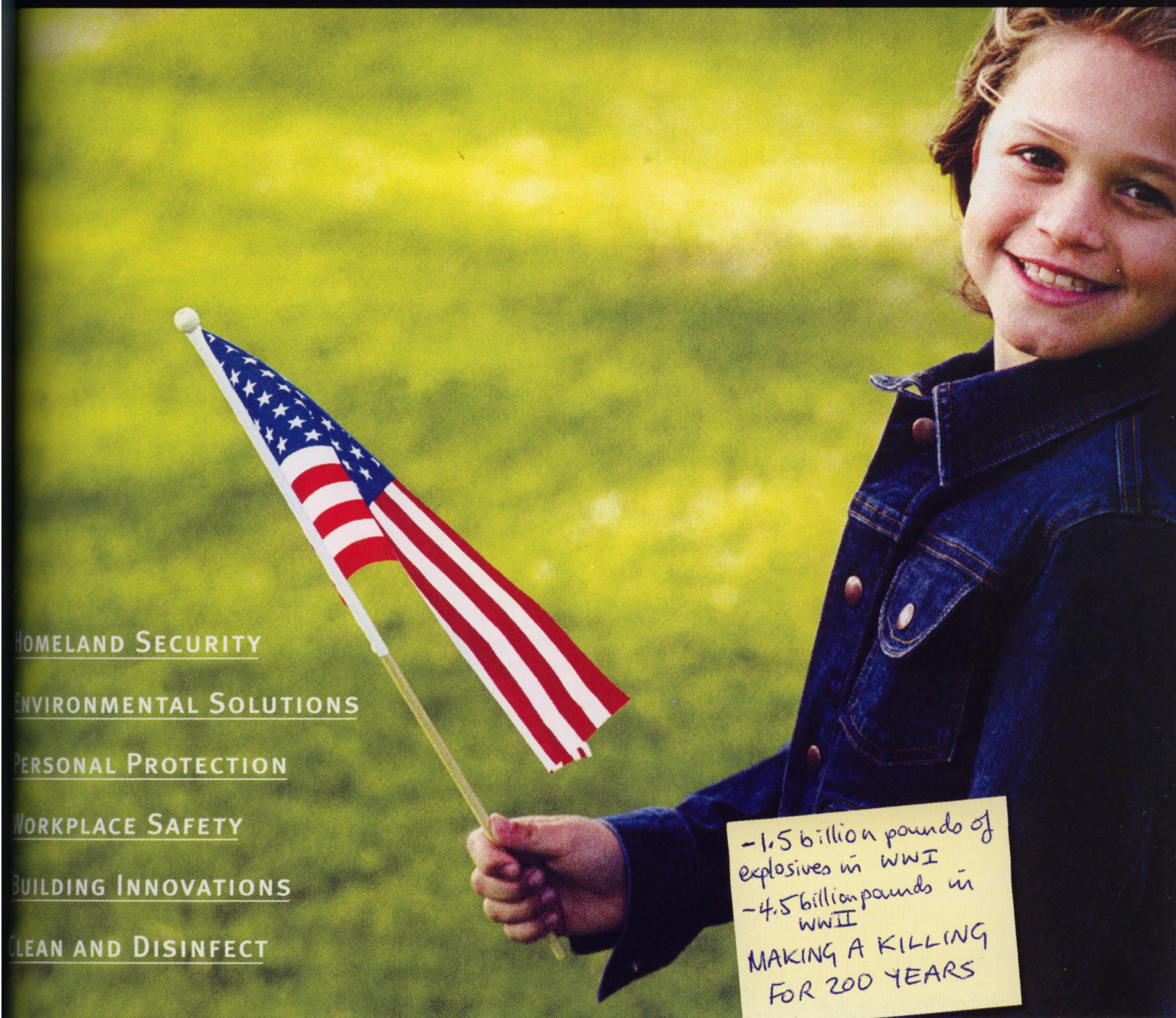
The G8 world leaders were talking big about debt relief for the world's poorest

countries as they headed into this year's summit in June. What they delivered, though, was yet another stinging lesson in global hypocrisy. Rather than move toward 100 percent relief, the G8 leaders, hiding at an island resort off Savannah, Georgia, agreed only to extend by two years the qualifying time for their Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. In this case, qualification for the program involves "a track record of reform" based on the same IMF and World Bank policies that many critics blame for deepening the debt of the world's poorest. Add the fact that many debtor nations are riven by war and chaos, and the initiative has so far provided only \$31 billion of a promised \$100 billion in debt reduction. Meanwhile, the leaders wasted valuable time debating a US proposal to cancel two-thirds of Iraq's \$120-billion debt within the next year – the latest bid to turn the American occupation into a success. This was too much even for the G8. As French President Jacques Chirac put it, "How would you explain to these [other] people that in three months we are going to do more for Iraq than we have done in 10 years for the 37 poorest and most indebted countries in the world?"

Alisa Smith

George Bush and friends at the G8 summit, Sea Island, Georgia, June 2004.

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The Atlantic Monthly, January/February 2004



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CHOOSE

I BUSINESS AS USUAL

A bunch of killjoy no-shows is what I'd call them. In case you haven't heard, free markets and technological innovation are our only guarantee of economic prosperity – and without money, we can't protect the environment. The do-gooders have been anticipating imminent disaster for decades. Remember how the population explosion was going to lead to widespread famine? And how the Earth was cooling down, not warming up? And the birth of the computer, feared as the killer of jobs and the rot of civilization? All the while, world markets, free trade, and the free flow of information have been bringing us one era of prosperity after another, prosperity that has raised all boats, not just a few. In the future, markets will become even more efficient and productive. Far from sealing our doom, this progress, buttressed by continued technological achievements, ensures the prosperity of future generations.

II FORTRESS WORLD

As the gap between the rich and poor grows, the restless masses will steal our land, our resources, our food. They'll demand equality, but who will be making the money? They'll argue globalization, declining population, and multiculturalism, but who built this nation? Look at what happened to white farmers in Zimbabwe. You must act now or your way of life will be lost. It's not your fault that the world is heating up or that ecosystems are failing. That's natural – things ebb and flow. And that's why you're going to have to look after your own from now on. We're going to have to take a stand on who lives here. Look at Australia, where they stopped refugees from landing on the mainland by imprisoning them in barbed-wire compounds on Pacific islands. They'll cry human rights. But what about the human rights of the family man who works 50 hours a week? You have a say in this. Nobody has the right to take your lifestyle away from you.

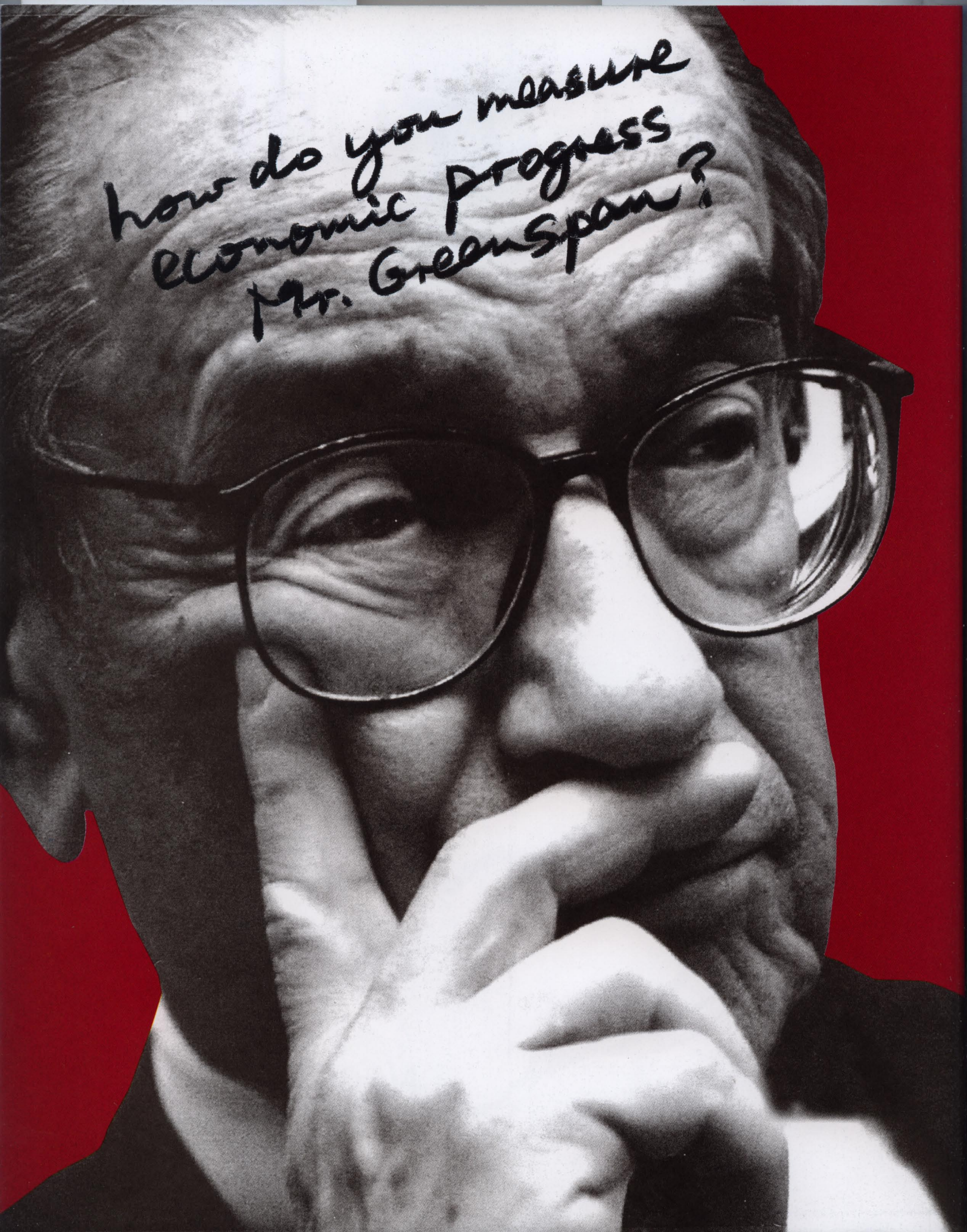
YOUR FUTURE

III TRANSFORMATION

When the worldwide ecosystem is exhausted by our out-of-control consumption, there will be nowhere to hide, no wall high enough to protect you. We are building a new system in which the market flourishes, but so does true democracy, in which the Earth and the animals with which we share it are honored as much as the pursuit of wealth. Science and technology will no longer be the machine of ecological destruction, but will be redirected toward achieving a new equilibrium, where we as individuals leave the planet as we found it. We need not just ecological balance, but also an economic, social, mental, and spiritual balance. Science has got us into this problem, and it is naive in the extreme to believe that it can solve it. What we need is a way of costing the Earth that makes us aware that everything is connected, and every action carries a price. If we fail to realize this central fact, we will reap the whirlwind.

ECOLOGICAL
ECONOMICS

NEOCLASSICAL
ECONOMICS



how do you measure
economic progress
Mr. Greenspan?

What is the true economic state of the union? We don't really know. One way of measuring America's economic pulse is the

GDP, but that has been acknowledged as flawed and incomplete since its inception. We can look around and see land opened up for oil exploration: the GDP rises, but what damage is being done? A man falls sick due to industrial pollution: the GDP rises. Coal is dug out of the ground: the GDP rises. Someone is diagnosed with cancer. The GDP rises.

The national accounts are a measure of America's total market income and output. They provide the raw data that help politicians, economists and business leaders measure and plan the impact of monetary policy and resource price spikes. They are quoted in the business pages and on TV, and reached for by politicians, when a measure is needed to judge economic progress.

But limiting the national accounts only to market transactions leads to major problems. Cutting down a tree is seen as a good, but the loss of the tree isn't counted as a bad. This approach also treats different kinds of assets differently: when a factory ages, it is counted as depreciation, but when an oil deposit is exhausted, no charge is recorded. Finally, environmental assets like stocks of underground water and public parks are not included in the accounts.

All this grotesquely exaggerates the role of the market in our economic well-being, making it virtually impossible to plan a sustainable economy – and places the focus totally on monetary growth at all costs. During the 1990s, countries around the world recognized this and started building environmental accounts.

Work began in America on integrated accounts at the Bureau of Economic Affairs (BEA) in 1992. It was halted two years later after political interference from Congress, when a House member with financial links to the coal industry stopped the work in its tracks. Ten years later the US, the world's biggest economy, still has no way of measuring the real economic state of the union. It may seem crazy to count ourselves better-off the more people fall sick, but at the moment economics is crazy. "I think the coal industry has succeeded," says an economist with knowledge of the fight over the accounts. "They have blocked this effort for the moment."

Officials at the BEA had hoped eventually to include clean air, clean water and climate in their updating of the national accounts. They fell at the first hurdle, when estimating the true

cost of mineral extraction. The figures caused a political stink when published in the April 1994 issue of the BEA's journal *Survey of Current Business*.

In stepped Alan B. Mollohan, a Democrat Representative from coal country in West Virginia. He had "unique leverage" on the situation, according to a former BEA staffer. "As chair of the Appropriations subcommittee he was in a position to get language into legislation." He used that power to ban any more work on environmental indicators, arguing that after measuring mineral depletion and air pollution, "somebody is going to say . . . that the coal industry isn't contributing anything to the country."

He was right to be worried. The average rate of return on mineral investments between 1958 and 1991 fell from 23.1 percent, under the old system, to between 3.5 and 5.2 percent, under the new. Put simply, the industry had a marginal effect once all the externalities were costed – and was worth a lot less than people imagined.

Congress ordered an independent review of how the results were arrived at. The message was clear: go away and check your sums. So they did, with a review body at the National Academy of Sciences of eminent economists chaired by Yale's Bill Nordhaus. The result, published by the National Research Council in 1999 as *Nature's Numbers*, was overwhelmingly positive. The report said integrated accounts are "an



important goal” that would “help governments, businesses, and individuals better plan their economic activities and investments.” And as to the concerns over how the figures were calculated? “The rationale for augmented accounts is solidly grounded in mainstream economic analysis.” It recommended that Congress authorize and fund BEA to restart its work, develop and maintain accounts for subsoil mineral assets. It concluded that environmental accounts were “an essential investment for the nation.”

Still nothing happened. The report never made it back to Congress and the ban stayed. Some insiders say that it was blocked following intensive pressure from the resources lobby. Others say that ordering a scientific review is a politic way of mothballing a project. “Even before *Nature’s Numbers* was published, it wasn’t going to get a very happy response in Congress,” says an economist. “The basic reasons that they cut the program in the first place were still there.”

They may all be right. *Adbusters* understands that the reason the report was never reviewed was because congressmen representing coal and gas districts “did not care” to see it. They weren’t interested in helping the development of environmental accounts, because they knew that those businesses they represent – and are in some cases lobbied by – wouldn’t come off well.

Current BEA director Steve Landefeld shrugged off the lack of action, noting “times change,” though he acknowledges that work on integrating national accounts “is in our interest.” The BEA certainly isn’t going to push for the work to restart. Nongovernmental sources say the bureau’s funding was cut by Congress in retaliation for its work on integrated accounts. The figures support their claim: between 1995 and 2000, the budget increased by only \$1.6 million, from \$42.2 million to \$43.8 million. Ironically, the BEA’s budget has begun to zoom recently, with \$65.5 million allocated for 2003, for new computers and extra staff, after complaints from business leaders that its data was “becoming outdated and suffering] from gaps in coverage.” Integrated accounts would be the best

way of closing those gaps, but could business cope with the results? And the fear still remains for the BEA: don’t do any work on them, though the ban was lifted last year, or your budget could be cut again.

There is no political will for change. And so the US’s economic state is still unclear. The only way work can go forward is “under the radar,” in the words of one source, such as other government departments giving BEA the funding for piecemeal research. Members of Congress aren’t going to push for change that could throw some of their constituents out of work: they depend too much on their votes. And yet integrating the environment into the national accounts is the fundamental step we have to take. We can’t know whether we are doing anything right until the national accounts reflect a wider truth: how does industry affect the world in which we live? It rests, ultimately, on acknowledging that everything is connected to everything else.

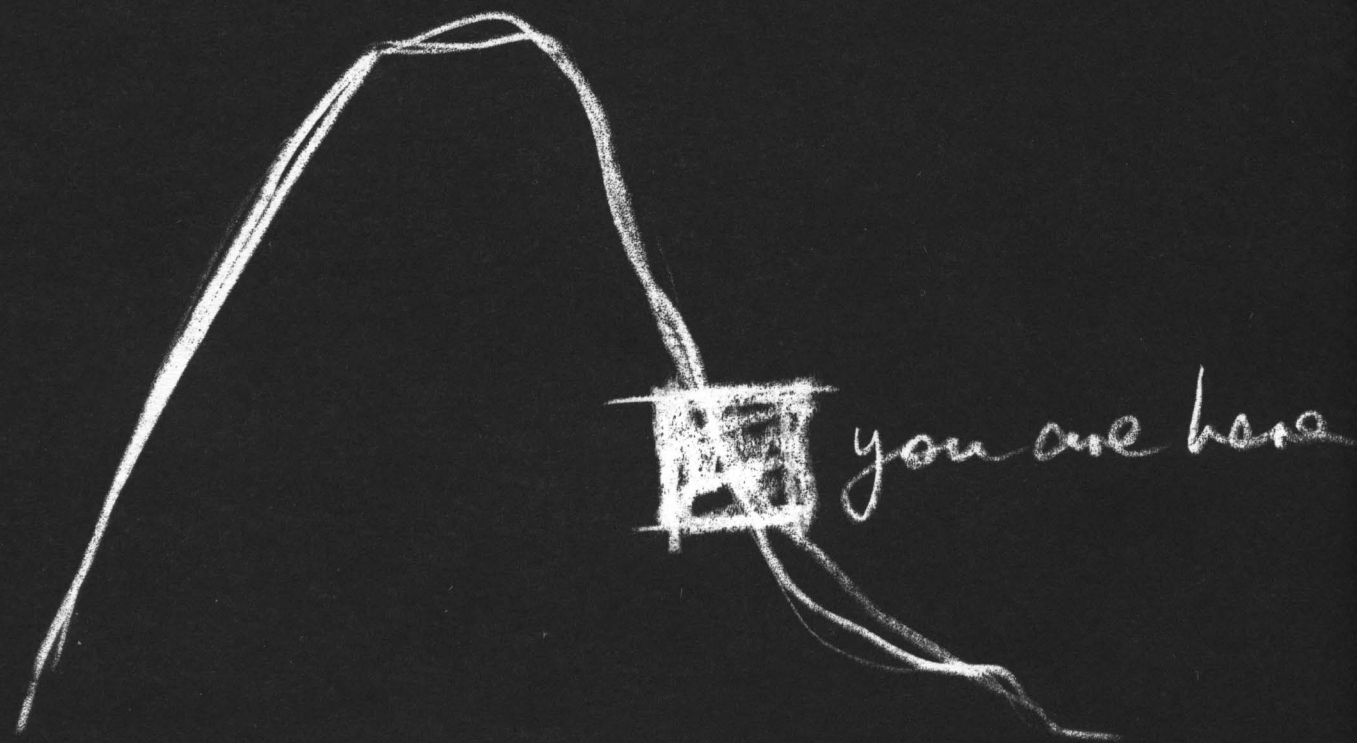
And yet most activists and environmentalists campaign on micro issues, like stopping drilling in Alaska. Overall, that is a sideshow. This is the seminal battle, the meta-battle: the fight for a national accounting system that tells the truth – or at the least, more of the truth than at present. Because it lacks sex appeal, this vital battle stays off the agenda. But if it was implemented, we might be able to show that it isn’t worth drilling in Alaska, because it would cost more than we gain.

If we don’t get this right, then we’ll never really be able to say that anything is wrong.

Mark White



Without good national accounts we will
never know if we're going up or down



Things are falling apart. Species are dying, the air stinks, water is scarce, the climate is lurching out of control. Winter is upon us.

I was walking with my cousin Christine through the rolling hills and woods of the Clare townland of Coolreagh, in the parish of Bodyke, in the old Barony of Upper Tulla. It was raining. I had three texts in my head. One was a song. It was Neil Young's "Be The Rain."

*be the river as it rolls along
toxic waste dumping from corporate farms
be the rain you remember falling
be the rain, be the rain
save the planet for another day
be the rain, be the rain*

Among the stone-lined boreens that connect the old farmhouses to one another and to the world beyond Coolreagh, there is the faint trace of a road that winds across the hills like the defining narrative of what the world had become. The road comes from Cappaghbaun, the White Plot, a lonely field on a mountainside overlooking Lough Derg. A chieftain was laid to rest there, in a burial chamber, around the time that people first fully gave themselves to raising crops and herding animals, working iron and mastering distance weaponry. It was about 7,000 years ago. The remnants of that road lead west, and 20 miles west is Ennis, then there's 23 twisting miles south to Limerick, and 15 miles west again is Shannon Airport, where US troop carriers were descending from the skies to refuel on their way to Iraq.

Between these two deaths, Christine and I stood on a small stone bridge that crosses the Annamullaghaun River, where another little road comes down through Ballyvaughan from the Slieve Bernagh mountains, and carries on up towards Powlagower, the Goat's Hole, and then Tabernagat, the Well of the Cats. Then it comes to the Sruthánalunacht, the Stream of New Milk, which once ran white with milk, but long ago it turned to water, they say, when a woman washed her feet in it. The second text in my head was from the Book of Hosea.

Therefore shall the land mourn, and everyone that dwelleth therein shall languish with the beasts of the field and with the fowls of heaven; yea, the fishes of the sea also shall be taken away.

There is an old story that at the end of the world, the final battle of the last war will be fought up there, above Powlagower. In his poem "The Valley of the Black Pig," William Butler Yeats puts the battlefield up in Leitrim, near Ballinamore, but there are people who live at Cloonusker who say that the prophecy of Colmcille should be read in a way that puts the Valley of the Black Pig above Powlagower, in the

townland of Gortaderra, and on that last day the Stream of New Milk will turn to blood.

The third text I was thinking about was a story in *The Guardian*. The headline was "The Way We'll Live in 2032."

The destruction of 70 per cent of the natural world in 30 years, mass extinction of species, and the collapse of human society in many countries is forecast in a bleak report by 1,100 scientists published yesterday.

We live at the dawn of an event that is coming to be called the Sixth Great Extinction. It has been 65 million years since anything quite like this has happened. A million of our fellow species are trailing wearily towards that final cliff edge. This time, it isn't because of a meteorite. It's because of humanity, but among the human species, too, you'd think some savage ethnic cleansing were underway. Every few days, we lose another language, with all its songs and sagas. Half of the world's 5,000 languages are expected to be gone by the middle of the twenty-first century.

We now take all for ourselves almost 40 percent of the Earth's primary productivity in the plants that we eat, the plants we feed to the animals that we eat, and the forests we raze for our crops and our homes. Every year, we lose 75 billion tonnes of topsoil and suck the life out of 150,000 square kilometers of cropland, and what remains is becoming lebensraum for beautifully symmetrical battalions of genetically modified corn. The twentieth century began with 7,000 commercial varieties of apples in cultivation. It ended with five varieties comprising almost all production. In the summer of 2003, at least 35,000 Europeans died during a heat wave. Every year 160,000 people die from the side effects of climate change, from droughts and floods and cyclones.

There is a dark and gathering sameness in the world, and the darkest part is the lie that there is nothing we can do. There's a lot we can do. We are Copernicus, and we are Galileo, and we have forced our way inside atoms, and put our machines on distant planets, and deciphered ancient texts inside the human genome. Hosea was wrong. The Israelites did not pass away from this world. All roads do not lead into the Valley of the Black Pig. There are many roads that wind through the hills, and that *Guardian* article was not about a prophecy. It was about what more than 1,000 scientists said was our fate.

Don't believe the lie. Just decide, and then do everything you can. That's all you need to do. It's all anyone can expect of you. The winter will pass. Be the rain.

Terry Glavin is a Canadian journalist, author, conservationist and Neil Young fan. He lives in the Gulf Islands of British Columbia.



Mammal and bird cold storage, location unknown

Nuclear Armageddon was all about technological hubris. Our faith in progress

had led to the creation of a technology, which, if used as intended, would destroy the Earth. Ironically, this vision of the apocalypse shared technology's rather simple vision of itself – the idea that it simply does what it's designed to do.

The greenhouse effect exposes different problems with the naive idea of technological progress. We don't simply control technology and it never simply does what it's designed to do. It does lots of other things too. Adopt a limited 'cause and effect' perspective on industrial technologies and there's no doubt that they've helped improve life for great swathes of the world's population over the last two hundred years. Broaden your perspective to a more holistic view and you can't ignore the effects of burning huge amounts of fossil fuel on the complex interconnected parts of the global ecosystem.

Our technological fears now cluster round unintended consequences and network effects. They're informed by an awareness of the complexity of large-scale systems. Antibiotics may help individuals shake that persistent strep throat. But their unthinking use has led to the rise of resistant super bugs. Technologies aren't used in a vacuum. They take their place in a complex system, which responds, adapts and pushes back.

According to French philosopher Paul Virilio, we need to accept that, aside from their planned benefits, all new technologies also produce new accidents. So cars and freeways create not just increased mobility but also multiple pile-ups. Accidents stand as a rebuke to the simplistic notions of technological progress, he argues, suggesting that we

ought to set up a 'museum of accidents' where we can learn from the history of unintended technological effects.

Along the same lines, American writer Edward Tenner argues in his book, *Why Things Bite Back*, that every technological advance inevitably brings a corresponding 'revenge effect' that mitigates the supposed gains. Teller cites superbugs, continuing traffic congestion despite bigger roads and the failure of computers to bring real gains in productivity. One of his key targets is the utopian promise that technological progress will eventually liberate us from work. Technology actually requires more human work to function properly, not less. It doesn't reduce the need for human vigilance. It increases it. As our machines get more complex, we need to pay more attention, be more careful about how we use them.

And when things like BSE happen, there's now more chance of them spreading. Thanks to global transport-communications networks, accidents can cause problems on a much larger scale. Network cascades meant that bad weather and breakdowns in a remote power station can lead to blackouts in New York. Similarly, global air travel means it's much harder to stop the spread of new diseases caused by unpredictable viral mutations. SARS may not have had the apocalyptic effect predicted by some – but the potential is still there.

Techno-optimists argue that we're now aware of the accidents and complex network effects new technology brings and that our new machines help us track and counter those problems. So scientists around the world used networks and computers to tackle the SARS virus, and dealt with it.

Maybe. But a few years ago, computer scientist-businessman (and co-founder

of Sun Microsystems) Bill Joy argued that nanotechnology was close to ushering in a world of self-replicating machines. These won't just do more than their inventors planned. They have the potential to be completely out of control – to set their own agenda, as it were, one that doesn't include us. Consequently future technological breakdowns might not involve wide-screen nuclear firestorms or floods and heat waves. Instead, try low level 'gray goo,' nanotech pioneer Eric Drexler's image of what might happen if an engineered bacteria outperformed natural bacteria then replicated around the world, gradually strangling the biosphere. Imagine a dull apocalypse – the GM nanotech equivalent of crabgrass.

Could this really happen? Hard to say. But these days we all know what self-replicating tech can do. A teen hacker gets upset with the world, releases a computer virus and a couple of days later, email networks everywhere are clogged up. At the moment, this kind of thing is just inconvenient. But once we start fiddling with the micro-mechanisms of nature and the code of life, problems will get more serious.

Perhaps the real problem with current technologies is that they're now so complex and interlinked, it's harder and harder to anticipate their unintended effects, 'accidents' and breakdowns. Weirdly enough, there was something comfortingly straightforward about nuclear apocalypse. You knew what would happen if someone actually went ahead and used the Bomb. But now, our 'neo-biological' technological systems and networks have become like the weather – fluid, unstable, getting worse, and out of our control.

Jim McClellan



Culled calves infected with foot-and-mouth disease being lifted into a container in Beesd, Netherlands, March 2001

There is an ecology of the mind. The innate plasticity of the human brain allows people to construct a human culture

around them. It lets each new generation assimilate into the existing culture, pushing it forward. For a newborn is not hardwired for one environment, but is born with the flexibility for many. Day by day, experience carves out a cellular representation of the child's surroundings, inculcating skills, norms, feelings and expectations.

But what if the mind is in fact too plastic? What if the gradual evolution of culture, now thousands of years old, has carried us across a threshold to the other side? In our nightmares, we used to fear runaway computers, synthetic humans and nanobots. But these sci-fi narratives overlooked a more immediate threat, a growing cultural complexity that would surpass and overwhelm human consciousness. This complexity has led us into a darker world that we no longer control.

The chaos and clutter filling people's lives is today matched by a near-complete plundering of the social and mental environment. A tipping point has been reached, with a fundamental shift in human motivation: people have stopped acting to create and instead, now struggle just to cope. The modern individual has become the great reactor, working furiously to serve and survive. Meanwhile, few have noticed how mind and society have become subordinate to something larger, something that serves neither human beings nor the Earth, but itself. We have failed to grasp the collapse of mental functioning that is going on deep down within, because we are too busy coping on the surface, filling our lives with meaning derived of a hyper-artificial reality.

Sociologist Émile Durkheim was among the first to describe how modern societies were evolving out of their simple, non-specialized "mechanistic" forms toward highly complex, specialized "organic" ones. He noted how people were behaving and thinking less like one another, no longer performing the same tasks with the same locally defined goals. With societies becoming more organic and thus assimilating, Durkheim believed people were losing their ties to one another.

Social bonds broke down, new bonds formed, but these bonds now favored institutional norms that put individual gain first. As we turned from one another to face the new gods of time, work and industry – building a global culture – control over the world was slipping away. The suicides that took Durkheim's attention represented just one of the options.

Now a century later, Durkheim's warnings unheeded, we face the greatest possible crisis: global mental breakdown. For decades, as the problems and structure of society have grown in complexity, people's mental functioning has continued to decline, accelerating the collapse of the physical realm we now face. Durkheim called the alienation he saw a century ago *anomie*. *Anomie* has since splintered into a diversity of psychic woes, a blinkered state so pervasive that it is normative in society: a shortened attention span; a flattened-out of affect; a varied but shallow connection to others; a dulled sexual response; a constant need for newness and change; a lonely insecurity; a near incapacity to see and feel beyond ourselves.

If suicide has not increased dramatically since Durkheim's time, it is because coping, stress and malaise have become unconsciously accepted as 'natural' ways of being in the world. As they grow still further in strength and numbers, they can no longer be denied. But their "organic" nature remains misdiagnosed. Those who can't cope well enough are said to suffer mental illness and disease – an interior problem. Their symptoms are "treated" but it is not a human treatment. The industrial logic of the system that made them sick would now make them well, perhaps even better than well.

We can no longer afford to deny that clarity of mind and soundness of thought are prerequisites for collective intelligent action. And so it is that we find ourselves wildly ill-equipped to confront the current crisis. We must overcome the full-scale consequences of a runaway global society, yet we cannot see clear of our own entanglements in it. We believed in the illusion, that the industrial served us by design. Yet when we most need it to respond, as we face total collapse, there is nothing. Nothing but the echoes of our own voices streaming out into the darkness.

Richard DeGrandpre



DANIELE BUETTI

1. In December 2001, when the "American Taliban" John Walker Lindh is turned

over to the FBI, his interrogators strip him naked, bind him with duct tape to a stretcher, and keep him in a metal shipping container for two days with a bullet festering in his leg before an FBI agent presents him with a form waiving his constitutional rights. Lindh's lawyer complains in court that Lindh was subjected to "highly coercive conditions," but Americans are too freaked out to notice, and the media is too cowed to make a fuss.

2. The Justice Department dismisses the question of morality. In the first paragraph of the first memo on whether al Qaeda and Taliban fighters are protected by the Geneva Conventions or the federal War Crimes Act of 1996, lawyers set the tone for the future discussion by saying clinically, "this memorandum expresses no view as to whether the President should decide, as a matter of policy, that the US Armed Forces should adhere to the standards of conduct in those treaties with respect to the treatment of prisoners." Only the limits of the law are discussed.

3. The Justice Department gets good at circumventing the law. In the same memo of January 9, 2002, lawyers first argue that Common Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions doesn't apply, which protects prisoners in international conflicts between two states. The Taliban is a "failed state," the lawyers declare. Common Article 3 presents more of a problem, as it protects prisoners in conflicts where only one adversary is an official state. To get around this one the lawyers have to sweep aside a 30-year trend in international law which views Article 3 as a catch-all for irregular conflicts and a guarantee of rights to all prisoners, whether they're fighting in an army or a terrorist group. The memo rebuts this "human-rights-based approach," and digs up an old interpretation that sees Article 3 as referring only to civil wars and insurrections. A memo from Justice in

August, 2002, declared: "[It] may be justified" to torture al Qaeda terrorists abroad "in order to prevent future attacks on the United States by the al Qaeda terrorist network."

4. The White House Counsel sets up immunity for the US armed forces. Alberto Gonzales reminds the President that declaring the conventions inapplicable would "provide a solid defense" if Americans are charged with violating the federal War Crimes Act. He mentions in particular the War Crimes Act inclusion of a clause from the Geneva Conventions prohibiting "outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment."

5. The State Department is ignored. Secretary of State Colin Powell tries to argue that it's not wise to "reverse over a century of US policy and practice in supporting the Geneva Conventions," but he's batted down.

6. The moral high ground is casually ceded. Consideration is given in several memos to the ramifications of not giving prisoners legal protection: "The United States could not invoke [the Geneva Convention] if enemy forces threatened to mistreat or mistreated US or coalition forces captured during operations . . ." But ultimately only the State Department thinks that's a problem, and we all know about them.

7. President Bush orders the armed forces not to abandon their humanity unless it's necessary. On February 7, 2002, President Bush issues a cannily worded directive meant to soothe America's troubled allies. He leaves plenty of wiggle room, saying, "the United States Armed Forces shall continue to treat detainees humanely and, to the extent appropriate and consistent with military necessity, in a manner consistent with the principles of Geneva."

8. The CIA and FBI raise the stakes. In April of 2002, one of Osama bin Laden's

top aides, Abu Zubaydah, is captured. Although his interrogation is considered a successful use of harsh interrogation techniques, the tactics raise concerns that the CIA and FBI may be breaking the federal law on torture. They ask for guidance.

9. The permitted level of torture is defined. Jay Bybee of the Justice Department determines just how much you can torture a prisoner before it's considered illegal. He begins by explaining that some acts may be "cruel, inhuman or degrading" but not constitute torture under the federal law. (Those acts do violate the Geneva Conventions and the War Crimes Act, but luckily those have already been dispensed with.) Although the torture statute prohibits the use of "severe pain," Bybee helpfully defines the term to include only "death, organ failure or serious impairment of body functions."

10. Donald Rumsfeld passes down the word. In several memos, the Defense Department outlines acceptable interrogation techniques. A December 2002 memo permits sensory deprivation, removal of clothing, dogs, and "non-injurious physical contact," but permission to use these techniques is rescinded in January.

11. The military police go hog-wild. In prisons both in Iraq and Afghanistan, atrocities are committed in the name of "softening up" prisoners for interrogation. Although the troops go beyond the limits sketched out by Rumsfeld, in no other way have they deviated from the path laid out by top Bush administration officials. Yet those same officials declare themselves shocked and disturbed that, having been driven towards the line and had the way over it pointed out, some "bad apples" have had the temerity to cross it. Outrage over the interrogation techniques forces a public U-turn over the harsher methods by the Bush administration, but yet again, no one apologizes.

Eliza Strickland



*'Tis now the very witching time of night,
When churchyards yawn and hell itself breathes out
Contagion to this world.
(Hamlet, III, 2)*

ACCURACY

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Defense Weekly, April 7, 2004

GENERAL DYNAMICS

a moment in our
planetary history when
the eco, psycho, techno
and politico all join
together in one cataclysm
melt down ...

MONDAY

- 9:30 a.m. (EST): The New York Stock Exchange opens. Traders nervously await reaction to the news that the world's reinsurance markets have taken a \$180 billion hit from climate change-linked claims, effectively wiping them out.
- 11:00 a.m.: After a frenzy of selling and a 1,050 point fall in the Dow Jones index, Rule 80b comes into force, triggering the automatic circuit-breakers and suspending trading for one hour.
- 2:00 p.m.: Despite appeals for calm, the sell-off continues as the implications of the insurance industry's collapse sink in. Trading is suspended for the day, after a further 2,050 point fall.
- 9:00 p.m.: The president appeals live on all networks for wiser heads to prevail, saying the nation's economic experts are working on a solution for the crisis.

TUESDAY

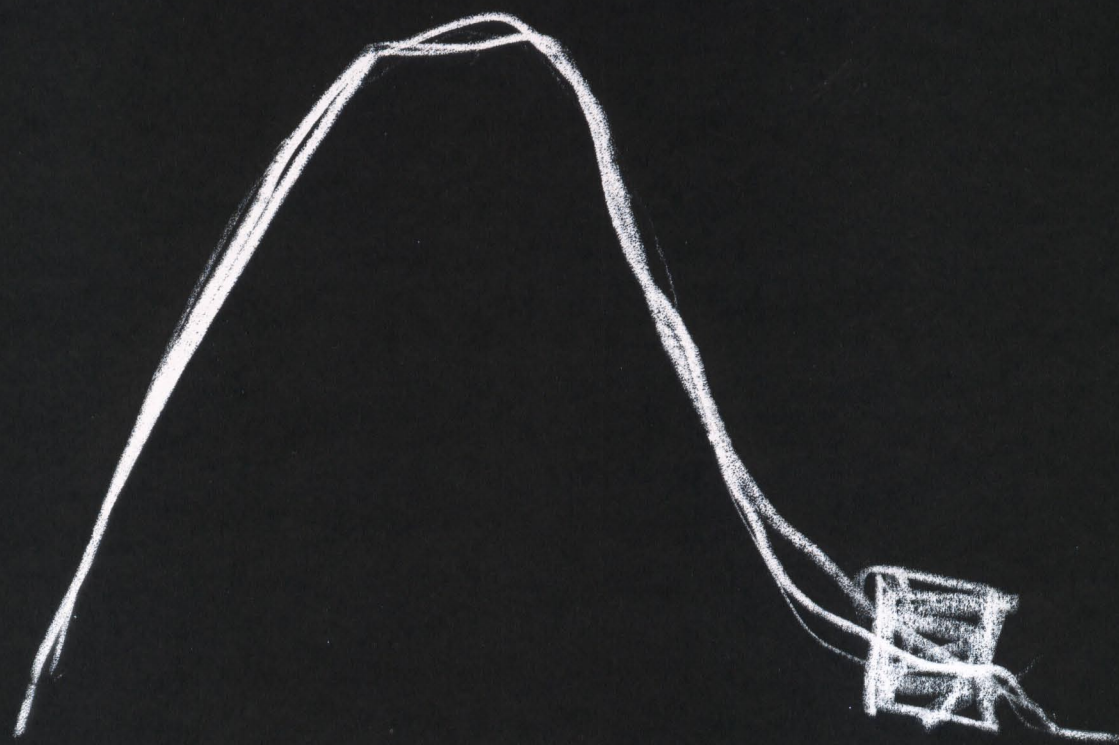
- 7:00 a.m.: Traders arrive at work to find that the stock market collapse has rippled around the world, with indices crashing in Tokyo, Johannesburg, London and elsewhere.
- 9:30 a.m.: The frantic selling continues immediately across all sectors.
- 11:15 a.m.: Trading is halted for an hour as Rule 80b again kicks in, after a 1,050 point drop. The Dow has now lost 40 percent of its value in little more than 24 hours.
- 12:50 p.m.: Trading is suspended indefinitely after a 2,050 point drop. Every stock is in free fall. News comes in of police shooting two angry customers outside a Bank of America branch in Denver. They were part of a mob demanding the withdrawal of their money, a scene being repeated all over the country.





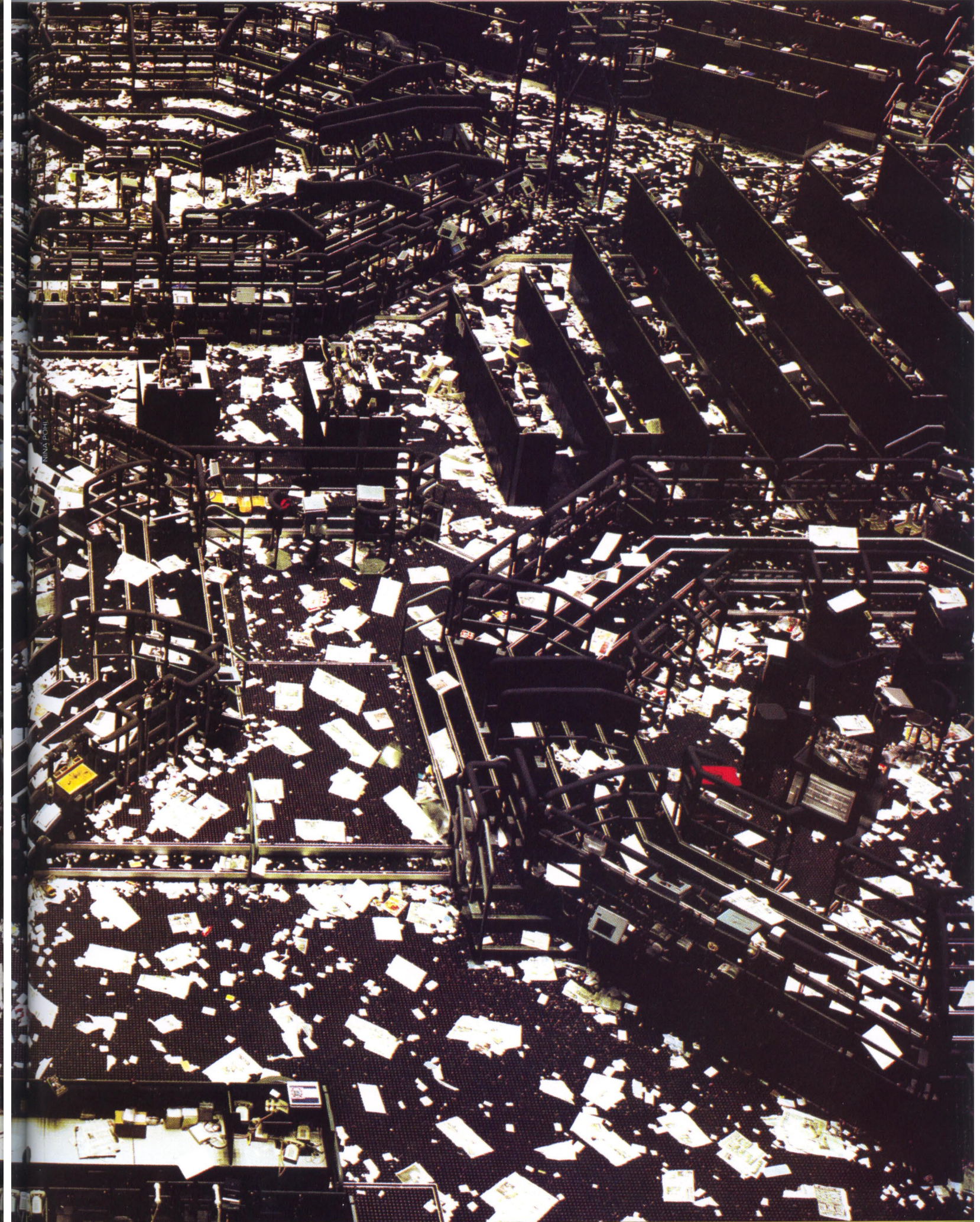
LEFT: GLEN BROWN RIGHT: WWW.USGS.GOV

The dance macabre . . . Hallelujah! The planet is in
for a few thousand years of just lying fallow.



LARS TUNELJOKK

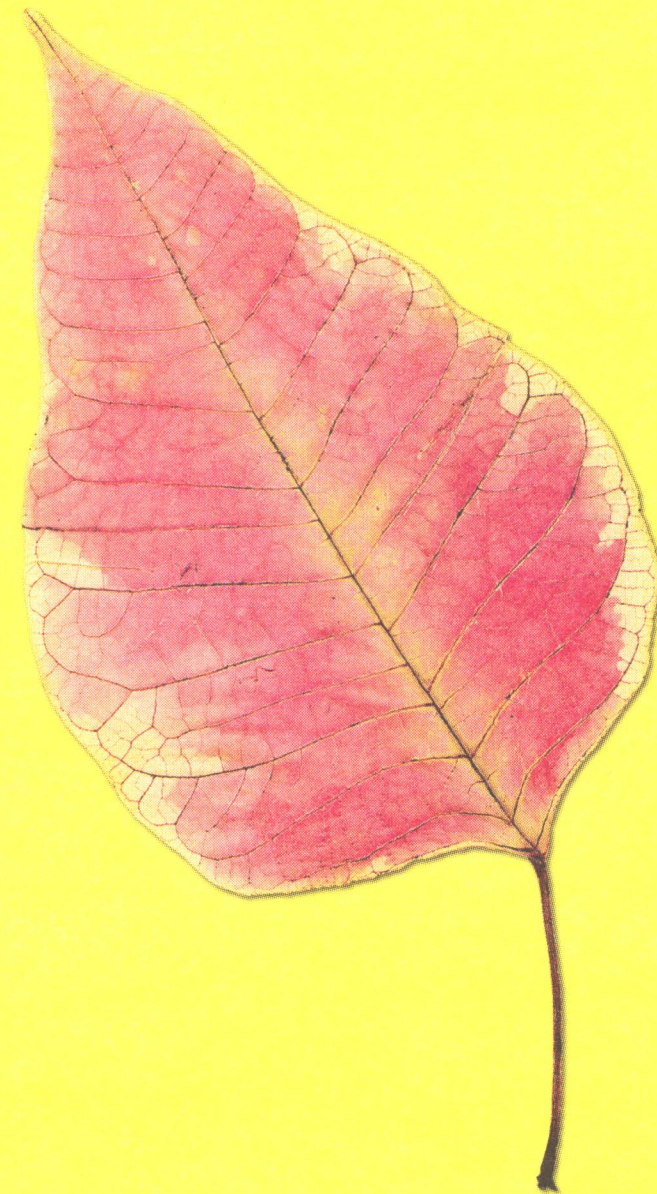
I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that
sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him.
– *Revelations 6:8*

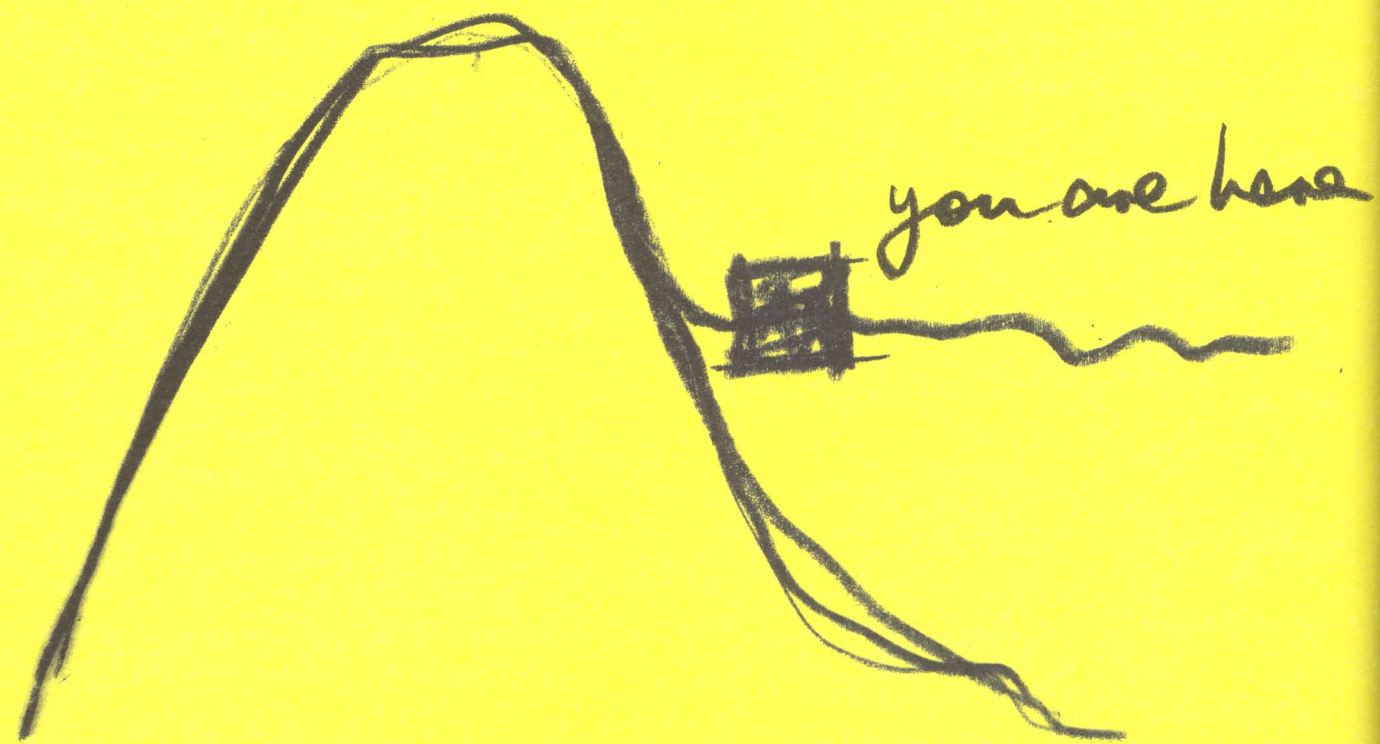




Time it takes to grow one inch of soil: 1,000 years.

JOACHIM TSCHERNER





The winter was cruel and seemed to last forever. But we survived. During the dark, we learned valuable lessons. We have slowed down, and now savor every moment. The spring air smells sweet for the first time in one thousand years. The water runs clear and pure and free of toxins. The Earth can once again sustain life. Green shoots race toward the sky.

Last evening, on the longest day of the year, I took a walk in a meadow near my home. At the edge of the meadow a path opened into the woods, and I followed it perhaps a hundred yards to the bank of a small stream where I rested on a rock and watched the brook flow. Then I walked back.

Nothing spectacular happened. No large animal jumped out to demonstrate its majesty. The flora, too, was beautiful but unremarkable: buttercups, Queen Anne's lace, daisies, lupines. The stream was not a torrent; more a gurgle. The sky didn't crackle with summer lightning; the sunset was only streaks of purple, some rosy glow on the underbellies of the clouds. A few mosquitoes made their presence known.

It was simply a lovely night.

And simply the sort of scene that we have evolved with for hundreds of thousands of years, that has made us who we are, that we can't be fully human, or at least fully sane, without. The sort of scene whose absence in our lives is now making us slowly crazy. For instance: if there is a pertinent modern question, it's "How much is enough?" The consumer societies we have created posit that the only possible answer is "more." And so in pursuit of more we have: turned ourselves into tubby folk, raised the temperature of the planet one degree with a further five degrees in prospect, countenanced the ever-deeper gulfs between rich and poor, and so on. And in the process made ourselves . . . happy?

But say you're in a meadow, surrounded by wildflowers. Do you find yourself thinking: "They could use

some more wildflowers over there"?

Do you glance up at the mountains on the horizon and think – "some more mountains would sure be nice"? Do you lie on the rock by the brook thinking "this brook needs more rocks"? Does the robin in that maple chide herself for not tripling the size of her nest? Not, I think. Nature schools us in sufficiency – its aesthetic and its economy demonstrate "enoughness" at every turn. Time moves circularly through the natural world – next spring there will be wildflowers again. Not more wildflowers; second

Nature, like close-knit human community, is designed to help you stay sane.

quarter output for 2005 will show no gain year-over-year. Growth only replaces, since the planet is already accomplishing all the photosynthesis that's possible. It offers the great lesson of being simultaneously abundant and finite.

Interdependent, too. The emergent science of ecology, among the greatest inventions of the twentieth century, is easily summed up: everything's connected. Field biologists using sensitive detectors have discovered that the needles of trees near Alaskan rivers owe their nitrogen to the carcasses of salmon that die along the banks, the same salmon that feed the bears whose pawing aerates the soil that . . .

We know now that this is true – the dullest school child, emerging from high school "earth science," would be able to tell you that eliminating all the mosquitoes hovering overhead tonight would be a mistake because someone must be eating them. (Trout, bats and birds in this case). But of course, interconnection is anathema to a consumer notion of the world, where

each of us is useful precisely to the degree that we consider ourselves the center of everything. We believe that pleasure comes from being big, outsized, immortal; now our zealots imagine genetically engineering us for greater greatness. But the testimony of the rest of creation is that there's something to be said for fitting in.

And because of that, the natural world offers us a way to think about dying, the chief craziness for the only species that can anticipate its own demise. If one is a small part of something large, if that something goes on forever, and if it is full of beauty and meaning, then dying seems

less shocking.

Which undermines about half the reason for being a dutiful consumer, for holding aging

forever at bay. Six months from now, on the shortest night of the year, this field will be under two feet of snow. Most of what I can see will be dead or dormant. And six months after that it will be here again as it is tonight.

Advertising, hyperconsumerism, ultra-individualism – these are designed to make you crazy. Nature, like close-knit human community, is designed to help you stay sane. Or, rather, nature (and community) helped design you to stay sane within its compass. You needn't be in the wilderness to feel its balm: a park, a container garden on the patio, a pet dog, a night sky, a rain storm will do. For free.

Bill McKibben is a scholar-in-residence at Middlebury College in Vermont, and author of the forthcoming Wandering Home.

** I want you to live more simply*

How then can we challenge this evil power.

GAIL ALBERT-HALABAN



Quick: slow down. Try to disengage from the world and do absolutely nothing, just for a second.

Difficult, isn't it? Our faith that faster equals better has buried our speedometer and made us relate to time like a lab rat relates to cocaine. Surrounded by a blitzkrieg of cell phones, microprocessor upon microprocessor, four hours of TV a day, always-on internet, eight-lane highways, 50-hour work weeks, drive-thru culture and "just-in-time" economies, it's little wonder we crave time more than anything else. We think we never have any.

There's a trick involved. While we have 24 hours a day, a cultural needle injects us with anxiety about time. The side-effect is evident whenever we fretfully wait for someone stalling in line at the grocery store, or as we simmer rage in a traffic jam, or when we buy yet another product promising convenience (read: more time).

So, what's in that needle? Is it consumerism, advertising, capitalism, technology? Perhaps "progress"? Try all of the above. We call it a lifestyle but it's really a go-fast cocktail, and you're likely buzzing on it right now. But beware: our fast ways also warm our planet, destroy ecosystems, and fuel mass attention deficits, anxiety, hyperactivity, stress and a desire for meaningless consumerist escapism.

Aldous Huxley wrote that speed was modernity's only gift. The trouble is, today, we've got too much of a good thing. Enter the Slow movement, a needed salve for a culture with road rash. One of Slow's messengers, Carl Honoré, argues in his new book *In Praise of Slow*, that the future will be a slower time. "Speed in of itself isn't evil or bad," he says. "What's bad is our addiction to speed, hurry and hecticness. Time is the greatest gift we have. The trouble is we think, 'how can we get the most value?' and the answer is, invariably, to go faster."

We rational number crunchers have forgotten the timeless, spiritual and universal sides of life which soothe our hearts and clear our minds. We have become, as Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit write in *Occidentalism*, "... efficient, like a calculator, but hopeless at doing what is humanly important."

Take that screaming vortex of speed and insanity in our world called capitalism. Today, we exist "to serve the economy, not the other way around," says Honoré. Life, as your grandpa would say, wasn't like this in the old days. But the 'just go faster!' circle of speed's logic has made capitalism accelerate, and the side effects are clear. We're headed toward human and planetary crash, so "time-poor" and "time-sick" that we neglect our friends, families and partners. "We barely know how to enjoy things any more because we are always looking ahead to the next thing," says Honoré.

Our Fast way of life is controlling, aggressive, stressed and impatiently obsessed with quantity over quality, he writes. Slow life is the opposite, "about making real and meaningful connections – with people, culture, work, food, everything."

Slow life is slowly spreading: in Japan, *Namakemono Club*

or the Sloth Club members emulate the slow life of a sloth "to find a way to live in harmony with the Earth." In the United States, the Long Now Foundation seeks to promote slower, better thinking to foster creativity "in the framework of the next 10,000 years." And Europe's Society for the Deceleration of Time sets 'speed traps' for fast walkers in cities.

But Italy is Slow's philosophical homestead. The country has produced both Slow Food and *Citta Slow*, or Slow cities. As well as pure pleasure from good food, "eco-gastronomy" is Slow Food's mantra: the belief that eating slowly prepared food sourced from local farmers puts less pressure on our world than industrial farming, high mileage produce and fast food restaurants. *Citta Slow* is the next step, an entire city living by pleasure before profit, slowness before speed. Honoré says there are more than 30 towns participating, and that the number is growing.

Thanks to our information-rich world hitting warp speed, Honoré believes today is the dawn of Slow's era. We simply can't go much faster. "I think we've either reached the breaking point, or we're very close to it. We're starting to see it in the breakdown of our health and our relationships.

We keep coming back to this feeling that somehow, something's missing."

Honoré says the word itself is becoming shorthand for a "better, more balanced way of living" around the world, regardless of language. There are people who swear by Slow sex, Slow thinking, Slow film, Slow exercise and Slow travel almost everywhere.

But if Slow is better, why then do we find it so hard to embrace a slower pace of life? Consider Milan Kundera's observations in his 1995 novella, *Slowness*. "Our period is obsessed with the desire to forget, and it is to fulfill that desire that it gives over to the demon of speed; it picks up the pace to show us that it no longer wishes to be remembered, that it is tired of itself, sick of itself..."

We are wearing an existential noose, unable or unwilling to break from the cult of speed, yet about to choke from its nastiness. Confronting speed means confronting our spiritual vacuousness. While Honoré argues we can step away from speed, perhaps his gaze is fixed on the long term. In the short term, contradictions within our lifestyle may need to be reconciled before we can re-pace our lives. Consider today: six-year-old kids with cell phones schedule after-school activities, play turbocharged video games for hour upon hour, stressed about which Ivy League school they'll go to. The whole generation is living beyond warp speed.

Soon they'll hit 20 and feel like they're 50 and see their planet struggling to keep up. Hopefully, they will completely reject speed and build balance into life. It will be a complete mindshift, but one Honoré is confident will happen. "I think that 40 or 50 years from now we'll look back and wonder why we ever thought it was so hard to slow down."

Timothy Queregresser



ERIC KELLER © RANKIN PHOTOGRAPHY

AIMEE, age 12

Loves: School, Gameboy. • **Hates:** Asparagus, boys.

When I grow up I want to: Travel around the world.

If I was in charge of the world I would: Make cars not need gas and stop pollution.

In 10 years there will be: Enough for everybody because we'll take less.

When I first saw that photo of a hooded man in Abu Ghraib's sickly light, arms

outstretched and fingertips wired, I wondered if I was seeing art – Goya meets Matthew Barney, Hannibal Lecter meets Christ on a crate. But the fact that it was orchestrated by American military men for maximum humiliation, rather than aesthetic effect, intensified its macabre allure. Could they have known that their prankish snapshot would fascinate us so, ending up on front pages worldwide, on folk-art murals in Iraq, on a Los Angeles highway overpass accompanied by the words “The War is Over,” a suggestion of its inherent rhetorical force? Advertising’s supercharged images had nothing on this.

So it’s no surprise that’s where it ended up. A series of subverted branding posters in New York included the torture victim’s silhouette among a crowd of grooving hipsters, with white wires running not to imaginary car batteries but to gleaming iPods. Blackened out for graphic boldness, the Iraqi man has become an emblem for a dishonorable war – a logo, of sorts, as iconic as Nike’s dunking Air Jordan or the Playboy bunny. And like its corporate counterparts, it comes with a tagline: “iRaq. 10,000 volts in your pocket, guilty or innocent.”

In a country where antiwar sentiment is pushed to the margins, it made me immediately jubilant: opposition to war has gone mainstream! Graphically powerful, intellectually interesting (if flawed: what does Apple have to do with Iraq?), the altered ads juxtapose an American version of freedom – young people expressing their individuality and nonconformity through a trendy consumer good – with another kind of “freedom” imposed half a world away.

If this imagery could penetrate our commercial comfort zones and tweak our noses, maybe it could germinate resistance to the war. And how ironic if an image eerily reminiscent of the Crucifixion proved George W. Bush’s undoing – a Christian zealot finished off by pictures of a man strung-up and suffering.

But such thoughts quickly turned to unease. To have this kind of cognitive distance to coolly contemplate the rhetorical mechanics of image appropriation must mean one thing: its gut-level impact has been replaced by a less immediate, intellectual one. Its power has been dimmed. While repetition might be to blame, so might the logo-ization itself. The silhouetting negates details of the victim. Like the inherent meaninglessness of the Nike swoosh, it exists only as a vessel to pour branded messages into. Abu Ghraib’s wired man stopped being a human being when he became an abstraction into which all our antiwar gripes can be loaded. Maybe we can live with that. Like the old war photographer’s dilemma, perhaps activists have to determine whether saving a life or sparing a person greater humiliation outweighs the image’s potential to stop further suffering. That seems to be the logic of Freewayblogger, the creator of the Los Angeles highway banners, who says, “He’s already been through his torture – doing my share to remind people of that doesn’t bother me at all.”

But there’s a broader tactical question: even with messages conceived on moral high ground, are we best serving our cause – or humanity – by trafficking in images of cruelty or violence? Can we compete in a media environment populated by Janet Jackson’s nipple, Dick Cheney’s “Go fuck yourself,”

and web photos of a contractor’s hacked-off head? And by trying, are we complicit in ratcheting up our collective tolerance to suffering? When news broke of the first beheading of an American in Iraq, I was overcome by queasiness. In the absence of an image, I imagined the sheer terror of Nicholas Berg’s last hours. But, weeks later, when I worked up the nerve to view photos of Paul Johnson, his severed head propped between the shoulder blades of his orange jumpsuit, I was calmly numb. The image was less bloody and more clinical than, say, Mel Gibson’s flayed Jesus, dressed up with special effects to leave no doubt about the depth of the man’s suffering.

Watching *Fahrenheit 9/11*, I winced at footage of a GI’s bomb-shattered arm, his tendons snaking out in a Terminator-like tangle, but the image didn’t linger long. What did, profoundly, was the story of Lila Lipscomb, a Michigan mom who lost a son in Iraq. Contorted by grief, physically incapacitated by loss, she testified that war’s impact goes heartbreakingly beyond the mere impact of bullets on flesh. Her story doesn’t need to be abstracted or amplified by smart design. When we logo-ize suffering, we forget what it represents: the dark heart of grief and loss that could easily be ours.

Paul Schmelzer

SLOW DOWN
FAST MONEY
WITH THE
TOBIN TAX*

*a proposed tax of between 0.05 to 1.0 percent on all cross-border currency trading.

Patagonia is about as close as you can get to a "good" corporation. The outdoor-clothing manufacturer switched to 100 percent organic cotton almost a decade ago and was the first to make fleece from recycled plastic pop bottles, back in 1993. Joining Patagonia at the podium is 3M: the high-tech giant cut toxic wastes by 38 percent in two years, and plans a 30 percent reduction to its US greenhouse-gas emissions by 2007. For some optimists, these well-publicized acts of courage raise the sci-fi scenario of the zero-environmental-impact company.

According to recent statements by the United Nations, corporate social responsibility (CSR) is grabbing the private sector by its once-cold heart. Okay, only about 1,400 of the world's estimated 60,000 multinationals have signed on to the UN Global Compact, which calls for strictly voluntary compliance with its environmental, labor and human-rights standards. But that is a heroic start, isn't it? Perhaps Nike, Bayer and other signatories are following the lead of Microsoft chairman Bill Gates, who has poured a staggering \$24 billion into his philanthropic foundation.

Not that you need to pull an Andrew Carnegie. Organizations with a less earnest bent than Microsoft and Patagonia are getting noticed, too. In fact, it's never been easier to attain corporate-hero status. The website <www.GreenBiz.com> lists more than 170 local and national awards for corporate environmental leadership. Meanwhile, whenever Philip Morris or DuPont or McDonald's does a good deed, the marketing department wastes no time blasting out a press release.

And for every finger-wagging Sierra Club, there's GoodCorporation. For a fee, this UK firm – run by ex-KPMG bigwigs – gives its seal of approval to companies meeting high standards of responsible behavior. "We're not taking social responsibility as meaning just the impact organizations have on their communities," says marketing and operations manager Nick Bell. Drawn up with help from trade unions, NGOs and Britain's Institute of Business Ethics, the GoodCorporation charter covers all "stakeholders" in a company, including employees, customers, suppliers, shareholders and activist groups.

"You'll find that there are not a huge number of organizations getting involved with these things if you consider the number of corporations globally," Bell admits. He explains that GoodCorporation subjects each client to an exhaustive series of interviews. "We would be unlucky to go through the [verification] process and miss a really big issue," he says. "On

good
Company

the corporate side, we do try and expose weaknesses that could lead to bad behavior."

The trend over the last 15 years has been for companies to try and put a green gloss on what they do. Pretending to care for the environment salves the conscience of the public, and makes for heart-warming PR. Take the example of BP, one of the biggest greenwashers, now rebranded as "Beyond Petroleum."

Even the likes of Wal-Mart qualifies for knighthood. Through its Good.Works. program, the mega-retailer donates tens of millions of dollars annually to nonprofit and community groups across America. And that's just Aisle 1 of

Wal-Mart's big-box generosity. It also raises funds for the Children's Miracle Network, and since 2000, has given more than \$6 million to environmental causes. From eco-friendly stores to women's-health events to Grandparent's Day – and overlooking a few less noble practices

– Wal-Mart spells good corporate citizen. No wonder *Fortune* magazine named it the most admired company in the US for the past two years running.

In mythology, the hero always faces a life-threatening test. San Francisco-based CorpWatch and others advocate shareholder activism as one way of holding corporations accountable, and the US Green party has championed public reviews of corporate charters. But should there be a death penalty for truly bad companies? "That's a hard question," says Pratap Chatterjee of CorpWatch, sounding taken aback: "The answer is not shutting down the corporation but making it pay." He notes that unless they're severely punished, white-collar criminals will simply don a new disguise.

"You have to look at these companies as a whole," he says. "In the case of a company like Chevron, you have to look at what is its global impact, what is its long-term impact, as opposed to is it planting a few trees here and there." Or planting a few children's hospices among the French fries, for that matter.

Nick Rockel

WAL*MART

MEET the NEOCAPS

With the Asian economies roaring into high gear, and neocon economists touting China's double-digit growth as the next great leap forward, it looks as if we're stuck with capitalism for the foreseeable future. But is there a way that business can do the thing it loves best – make tons of money – and still put people before profits?

John Mackey, CEO of Austin, Texas-based Whole Foods Market, suggests the answer could be yes. With nearly 160 stores across

North America and Europe and annual sales of more than \$3 billion in 2003, the natural- and organic-food retailer is

about to crack the Fortune 500. In the notoriously competitive supermarket biz, it's achieved this success without enriching shareholders at the expense of employees, customers and the community at large.

A self-described "neocapitalist," Mackey recently told the *New York Times Magazine* that there is no conflict between the pursuit of enormous wealth and his company's commitment to social and environmental responsibility. "One of the things that's held back natural foods for a long time is that most of the other people in this business never really embraced capitalism the way I did," he said.

Mackey is a businessperson in the mould of Body Shop founder Anita Roddick, and of Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield, back before their eponymous ice-cream company got swallowed by Anglo-Dutch food-and-cosmetics behemoth Unilever in 2000. Another kindred spirit is Jeffrey Hollender,

the president of Vermont-based Seventh Generation, which sells its non-toxic household products throughout the US and Canada.

In his recent book *What Matters Most* (Basic Books), Hollender describes the 1987 meeting of 70-odd American entrepreneurs that led to the creation of the Social Venture Network, an

influential nonprofit whose mission is to promote a just and sustainable economy. He quotes Ben Cohen's rationale for attending the meeting:

"Though we didn't have the money, it just felt like this was an opportunity to do something for society we simply couldn't afford to pass up."

At the height of the greed-is-good 1980s, socially responsible investing (SRI) was just beginning to tweak the mainstream consciousness. Not that the practice was anything new: according to Hollender, the Quakers had been doing it since the 1600s, by refusing to invest in companies that profited from war, slavery and other activities they considered unethical. But once SRI caught on through iconoclasts like the Calvert Investment Fund, launched in 1982, its effect on the business world was unprecedented.

Last year in the US, socially responsible investments accounted for \$2.16 trillion worth of assets – one out of every nine dollars – in professionally managed portfolios, according to the Social Investment Forum of Washington, D.C. The organization identifies three main SRI strategies: screening, shareholder advocacy and community investing. Between 1995 and 2003, SRI assets grew by 240 percent, versus an average 174 percent for the American

investment industry.

"It may only be a small portion of the funds invested, but it's had a very large impact on getting corporations to look at how they operate," says David Levi, president and CEO of GrowthWorks, a Vancouver-based venture-capital and fund-management firm founded in 1992 on SRI principles. Levi recalls that 20 years ago, big business had no sense of social responsibility to anything except the law. Today, SRI is something it can't afford to ignore. "If you have poor investment practices, it will affect your stock, because certain markets will be closed to you," he explains.

Like many of its neocapitalist peers, GrowthWorks chooses investments by applying a series of screens. It will turn down a company if it notices any behaviors that contribute to "world-ending" problems like global warming and unsustainable deforestation. Although a business with an issue such as local pollution may pass the screening, GrowthWorks will then help it to change its ways.

"It's my belief that money is never passive. You have to recognize that wherever you put your savings, it is going to have an impact on the world," argues Levi, who says he's been branded a market socialist. "The reality is that we don't live in a purely capitalist world, and we don't live in a purely socialist world either." The neocapitalists wouldn't have it any other way.

Nick Rockel



Who owns the sky.

The commons is the source of all natural resources and nature's many replenishing services – of basic sustenance for most of human existence. It's our ultimate waste sink, recycling water, oxygen, carbon, and everything else we excrete, exhale and throw away. Its wealth includes our air and water, habitats and ecosystems, languages and cultures, science and technologies, political and monetary systems, streets and airwaves, the internet and more still. This shared bounty is a gift, and we have a moral obligation to pass it on to the next generation in at least the same condition as we received it.

To say we inherit a trove of common wealth is to state the obvious good news. The bad news is that our inheritance is being grossly mismanaged. For over 200 years the market has been devouring the commons in two ways. First, it takes valuable stuff from the

commons and privatizes it. This is called 'enclosure.' Second, it dumps bad stuff into the commons and says, "It's not our problem." This is called 'externalizing.'

Economists agree businesses should 'internalize' the full cost of their activities. The problem is, there's no one to set the prices and collect them.

We have to build a new sector of the economy that can protect nature by giving it property rights and legal institutions on par with those we apply to private property. We must share the fruits of the commons equitably. Just as the market is populated by profit-maximizing corporations, this new sector would be populated by asset-preserving trusts.

The trust isn't a new invention; it's actually older than the corporation. A trustee holds and manages property for another person or many people, such as a grandparent wanting to put money aside for a grandchild's education. Trusts must preserve their assets for all their beneficiaries.

Trusts would charge polluters for using the commons as a waste dump. While protecting the commons would be their main job, they would also distribute income from their assets to beneficiaries. Receipt of this income would be a non-transferable birthright, with one share per person.

Luckily, a model of such a trust already exists – the Alaska Permanent Fund. When oil drilling began in the 1970s, Republican Governor Jay Hammond proposed that 25 percent of the state's royalties be placed in a mutual fund to be invested on behalf of Alaska's citizens. Voters approved in a referendum.

Since then the fund has grown to \$28 billion, and Alaskans have received nearly \$22,000 each in dividends.

This model can be adapted to other gifts of nature. For example, we could create a Sky Trust to stabilize the climate for future generations. The trust would restrict emissions of heat-trapping gases, mostly carbon dioxide, and sell a gradually declining number of emission permits to polluters. The income would be returned to residents in yearly dividends.

Such a Sky Trust would internalize polluters' currently

external costs. At the same time, it would encourage Americans to conserve. If you drive a car, you'll use more sky – and hence pay more into the trust – than if you ride a bus. Since everyone's

dividend is the same, you'll come out ahead if you conserve and lose money if you don't. In other words, money would flow from over-users of the commons to conservers – precisely the way it ought to flow.

Years ago, right wing think tanks laid out a bold agenda. They called for lowering taxes on private wealth, privatizing much of government and deregulating industry. Amazingly, this agenda has largely been achieved.

It's time for progressives to mount an equally bold offensive. We need to celebrate the commons as well as the market. We have to express legally and institutionally what indigenous people expressed ritually. This can be done if we put our minds to it. If managed right, the commons can be protected in perpetuity – and be a source of sustenance for everyone.

Peter Barnes is a fellow at the Tomales Bay Institute and author of *Who Owns The Sky?*

If you drive a car, you'll use more sky – and hence pay more into the trust – than if you ride a bus.

Buy Nothing. And if you cannot buy Nothing, then



buy Local

buy Regional



and if you cannot
buy Local

and if you cannot
buy REGIONAL



buy National

buy International



and if you
cannot buy
National

and only if for some crazy
Reason you cannot do any
of the above then go
ahead and

buy a
Corporate
brand.



Fair Traders

Buy a coffee; change the world. Could it really be that simple?

It may feel like huge corporations have all the power, but consumers wield the weapon of change just by opening their wallets. Wal-Mart may be colonizing small-town America at an alarming rate, the WTO may be rewriting the rules of global trade, but a groundswell of ethical buying is underway that could undermine the whole charade.

Making ethical choices is one thing, having the means to carry them out is another. This is where the fair trade movement hopes to make a difference. The idea is simple: bypass middlemen, pay producers and farmers a fair wage for their products, and label it so consumers can make their own choices. And it's not new. In Europe, the concept has been around for 40 years. But never before has the idea been so close to going mainstream.

One of the key factors in boosting fair trade into the mainstream – both in Europe and North America – has been the development of a universal label. Fair Trade Labelling Organizations International (FLO) is a European-based NGO that works with a network of inspectors and national affiliates around the world to ensure that any product labeled Fairtrade (they also own the trademark) is a product that consumers can feel confident buying.

Since TransFair, the North American affiliate of FLO, brought the label to the US in 1999, sales of fair trade coffee have grown from two million pounds to an expected 27 to 30 million lbs.

this year. In 2003, sales were \$208 billion, which is only a fraction of the \$8.4 billion US gourmet coffee market, but demand is steadily rising. According to a TransFair survey, people want more Fairtrade products, they just can't always find them. But that too is changing.

Starbucks now offers at least one Fairtrade coffee, Dunkin' Donuts announced in the spring that its new espresso line would be 100 percent Fairtrade, and this fall Proctor and Gamble – the world's largest coffee producer – is offering a Fairtrade version of their popular Millstone coffee both online and in retail stores.

But Fairtrade isn't only for coffee drinkers anymore. In January, TransFair launched a labeling campaign to certify tropical fruit – including bananas, mangoes, pineapples, and grapes – that is expanding rapidly into specialty grocers across North America.

"I like to think of North American consumers as a sleeping giant," says Haven Bourque of TransFair. If she's right, then the giant is stirring. But the question remains: In the current "cheaper is better" retail environment, are consumers really willing to pay more to feel good about what they buy?

Supporters of fair trade believe they are.

"Look at where organics are compared to five years ago," says Bourque, pointing to the fact that organic food sales have grown steadily by 20 percent a year since the late 1990s. "People are thinking more about where their food comes from," she says. "It starts with health. I guess I better cook something at home, I better buy my vegetables in season, I better buy local, organic. And hey, what about the person who grew this?"

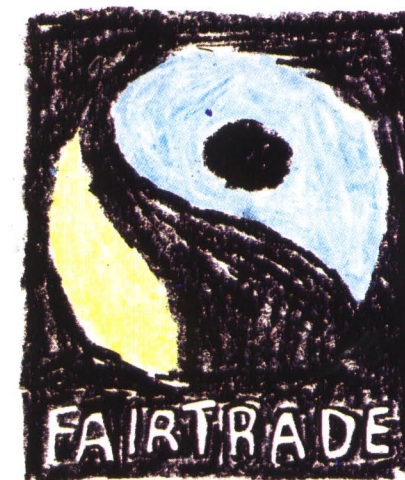
Churches have also begun to make the connection between morality and buying power. In October 2003, the Lutheran church launched a campaign

called Pour Justice to the Brim, which challenges their members to brew 90 tons of fair trade coffee in the coming year. And Catholic Relief Services recently launched an initiative encouraging the 65 million Catholics in the US to buy fair trade coffee.

Fair trade supporters hope that, together, these developments will

have a ripple effect. People will buy Fairtrade, tell their friends and family, ask for it at coffee shops and grocers, and so on. Simply taking care of our morning buzz could eventually help us tackle the unfairness of so much of what we buy.

Kevin Arnold



DO GOODERS

Not all profit is financial, and not all profit is bad. An increasing number of entrepreneurs are dedicating themselves to social profit: using business techniques to help others flourish. In his book *How to Change the World*, David Bornstein profiles several innovative people who let their zeal for results loose on large-scale problems in countries as far-flung as Zimbabwe, Hungary and America. They're the leading edge of an international phenomenon that the New York-based writer calls the "citizen sector."

Over the past quarter-century, the number of citizens groups – also known as NGOs – has grown dramatically: to more than a million in India; at 70,000 a year in France during the 1990s; and from 250,000 to 400,000 during that decade in Brazil. As the dot.com boom fades into history, the era of the dot.org is upon us.

"I don't think that social entrepreneurship is about the business world getting involved in social change," Bornstein says in response to suggestions that this is all a plot to sell more DVD players. In fact, social entrepreneurs – many of whom forgo lucrative careers – often have no business case for the tasks they undertake.

But at the same time, they're doers, not idealists or theoreticians. In 1983 the late James Grant, then executive director of UNICEF, put the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into action by launching a campaign to stop children in the developing world from dying of preventable illnesses. Before the century was out, Grant and his colleagues had saved an estimated 25 million lives.

Nursing pioneer Florence Nightingale and educator Maria Montessori were social entrepreneurs in all but name. Bornstein traces the popularization of the term back to American Bill Drayton, who in 1980 founded Ashoka, a group that today funds health-care, human-rights, environmental and

other projects run by some 1,400 representatives in 48 countries. Before Drayton, Bangladeshi economist Muhammad Yunus introduced social entrepreneurship to the poor of his homeland by inventing the concept of microcredit. Begun in 1976 as an academic study, Yunus's Grameen Bank now extends mini-loans to more than 3,000,000 customers in nearly 45,000 villages throughout Bangladesh.

"There are many convergent historical forces," Bornstein replies when asked why the citizen sector has expanded so rapidly in the past 25 years. The women's- and human-rights movements have enfranchised billions. Also,



the world is a much wealthier place, and some of that money makes its way to nonprofits. There's a sense of urgency about the environment. People are better-educated – the number of university graduates worldwide has doubled since the early 1980s – and global media is exposing them to new ideas. Citizens are turning themselves into engineers of progress. "The notion that government will come up with solutions to problems has also been sort of flattened," Bornstein says.

Although he thinks governments can play a role in bringing about social change, Bornstein argues that innovation is more likely to come from elsewhere. He uses the example of Alcoholics Anonymous, founded in the Prohibition-era US by two men who saw that banning booze wasn't the way to cure addicts. "No government could have invented Alcoholics Anonymous; it was too creative," he claims.

According to Bornstein, entrepreneurs can "bottle" an idea, whether it's a new diet or – in the case of Erzsébet

Szekeres – a program for Hungary's disabled adults. Through her Alliance Industrial Union, Szekeres opened 16 resource centers where the physically and mentally disadvantaged can find housing, pick up job skills and search for work. Szekeres, who has a disabled son, saw an opportunity to take responsibility for a whole class of people being ignored by their government and society.

Jeroo Billimoria – like Szekeres, an Ashoka Fellow – applied the same logic when she launched Childline India in 1996. This toll-free hotline operates in more than 50 Indian cities, giving millions of destitute children 24-hour access to groups offering medical assistance, counseling, shelter and other social services. From a privileged background, Mumbai native Billimoria now lives in Amsterdam, where she heads Child Helpline International. She says her work won't be complete until every kid on the planet can find relief

by picking up the phone.

America is also fertile ground for social entrepreneurs. Yale and Harvard grad J.B. Schramm founded College Summit a decade ago in Washington, D.C., to help smart, underprivileged students get into university. Again, Schramm spotted a widespread social problem that no government agency was tackling: the fact that low-income US teenagers enroll in college at less than half the rate of their wealthy counterparts. College Summit holds its student workshops in several states, and puts universities and employers in touch with bright young people who otherwise might fail to realize their potential.

Bornstein agrees that his book's subjects fulfill the promise of a just and equitable society that was held out to citizens in the years after World War II. "Almost universally, the social entrepreneurs that I've met are doing things that make these impulses come true," he says. When it comes to turning a social profit, they can't seem to help themselves.

Nick Rockel

The ONE PERCENTERS

The consensus model of economics doesn't work for the overwhelming majority of us. The stunning consistency of its results confirms it was meant not to work. Once that realization dawns, long overdue reforms will come quickly. Until then, learn to separate beguiling economic theory from real world facts by applying an acronym from systems theory: POSIWID – "the purpose of a system is what it does." Taking America as a starting point, how has the consensus treated its wealthiest one percent? What has it done?

In 1982, when *Forbes* first published its annual list of the 400 richest Americans, you needed a personal net worth of \$91 million to be included. By 2000, the figure was \$725 million.

That same year, the tiny group of Americans who occupy the top income bracket – the one percenters – claimed as much income as the 110 million lowest-paid Americans combined. They pocketed more than one dollar in every five of national income, their largest share since 1929, the beginning of the Great Depression.

Much has been made of the 'bull market' investors enjoyed from 1983 to 1998, but a look at who really benefited is revealing; over half of nationwide capital gains flowed to the one percenters.

So, using POSIWID, we can see what the consensus model does. A system that concentrates wealth is certain to fuel a fiscal meltdown, especially in nations with large retiree populations. It will also undermine markets. Markets respond to people with money. Concentrate income and you destroy markets. Concentrate both wealth and income and you destroy free market democracies. That is what the consensus model does, right now, all over the world.

So what exactly are its effects globally? Well, currently the world's one percenters have an income equaling that of the

poorest 57 percent. In the four years up to 1999, the world's 200 wealthiest people doubled their net worth, to \$1,000 billion. Just 15 families own 61.7 percent of Indonesia's stock market value; wealth is almost as concentrated in the Philippines and Thailand.

The gap between rich and poor is rapidly becoming a chasm. In 1960, the income gap between the fifth of the world living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest countries was 30:1. By 1998, it had ballooned to 74:1.

People don't hate our values, they hate our hypocrisy. They hate the glaring mismatch between the values we espouse and the policies we support. Judged by what the consensus does – everywhere it operates – its purpose is unmistakably neither workable markets nor robust democracies. A system that consistently creates unworkable patterns of wealth and income is not a paradigm, it's an ideology designed for domination.

Concentrate both wealth and income and you destroy free market democracies

POSIWID forces us to confront a painful reality: the consensus relies on authority and theory to justify the unjustifiable. If its purpose is to persuade people not to trust their policymakers, it's been a stunning success.

Yet cynicism and disengagement are certain to make matters worse. So what can we do until the model is reformed?

Do what comes naturally. Where the consensus crashes, communities naturally turn to local ownership and local currencies. The financial tools for broad-based ownership have long been available. Insist on them. More than 5,000 'complementary currencies' are now in use worldwide, up from 100 in 1990. Adapt them. The US alone had more than 5,000 community currencies during the 1930s. By matching local capacities to local needs, they reduce the need for the consensus (national) currency. Often this enhanced exchange capacity converts underemployed time and talent into lower fiscal costs for local services such as health care, elder care, child care and environmental cleanup.

With the demand for sensible alternatives on the rise, many organizations are busily compiling information. An internet search for 'complementary currencies', 'time dollars' and 'local exchange trading systems' reveals an abundance of resources, restoring hope that local adaptation can help counter the perilous dominance of today's long-dysfunctional consensus.

Former counsel to the US Senate Committee on Finance, Jeff Gates is author of The Ownership Solution (1998) and Democracy at Risk (2000).

why don't you
implement a system of
full-cost accounting
Mr. Greenspan?

A one percent rise in unemployment
leads to

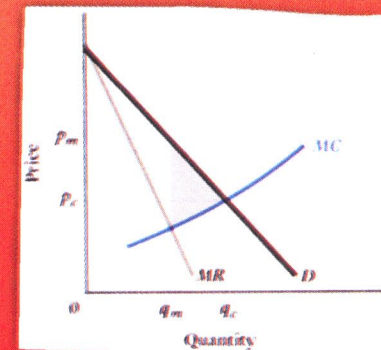
495 deaths from cirrhosis of the liver
648 homicides
920 suicides
3,349 admissions to state prisons
4,227 admissions to mental hospitals
20,240 fatal heart attacks or strokes*

* figures from a 1976 study prepared for the Joint
Economic Committee, US Congress

True Cost

Alan Greenspan oversees America's national ledger, but he doesn't seem to mind that the numbers don't add up.

While the environmental, social and health costs of the current economic model mount, Greenspan carries on with business as usual. But even prominent members of the business elite are questioning the wisdom of the status quo. In *Walking the Talk*, DuPont CEO Charles Holliday, Shell chairman Philip Watts and billionaire environmentalist Stephan Schmidheiny argue that, "The price of goods ought to reflect all of the costs – financial, environmental, and social – involved in making them, using them, disposing of them or recycling them . . . That way the market reflects environmental and social as well as financial realities."



This high-profile endorsement demonstrates that "true cost pricing" is well on its way to gaining mainstream acceptance. All economists know that the sticker price of most goods and services does not account for external costs. Food that travels hundreds of miles contributes to global warming; military protection of shipping lanes imposes an enormous financial burden on taxpayers on the other side of the planet; noisy airports decrease real estate values; land permanently spoiled by pollution does not hold its full potential value. The current economic system does not internalize these costs, so we are all left to deal with the fallout. But a true-cost marketplace would be based on the brilliantly simple principle of "user pays": the consumer of a product responsible for environmental and social "bads" should pay for them. What's so revolutionary about that?

If we had full-cost accounting, so the externalities of every product were factored in, the world would be a different place. Organic food would cost half what non-organic food costs. It would be a lot easier to make the right business decisions.

Today we have to do these things in a climate that's not supportive. But I'm hopeful we can get to a tipping point with business, so we no longer see being responsible as a nice thing to do, and it becomes clear that business absolutely, positively must be great at this. We're closer than many people realize.

Jeffrey Hollender, CEO of Seventh Generation

MEASURING ENVIRONMENTAL degradation is one thing. The science is good and the math doable. But can a new system of radical accounting deal with damage caused by the media?

The combined force of the \$1 trillion marketing industry, the corporate press and the entertainment industry has become a giant psychological experiment testing our mental limits. Every day, 3,000 commercial messages are driven into our heads, playing on our most basic human insecurities: the need to fit in, the need for sex, the need for success. Consider: the average American child views 40,000 television ads every year. In 1997, money spent on child-directed marketing topped \$12 billion. By the age of 18, the average person will have witnessed 200,000 acts of violence on television, including 40,000 murders. All this is taxing and manipulative.

Noted media critic Robert McChesney contends that the media "clearly generates many things that we do not want. Economists call these externalities, [and] what we are doing to children with hypercommercialization is a huge externality that will almost certainly bring massive social costs."

At this point, it's difficult to be sure what these costs are. But so many of the psychological problems we face can be anecdotally linked to the commercial onslaught: stress, depression, anxiety, anorexia, ADHD, schizophrenia. Cases of mental health disorders are skyrocketing, particularly in media-saturated nations. The World Health Organization predicts that mental illness will become the second most common form of disease and disability worldwide by 2020.

And people are beginning to feel the connection: *The Economist* notes

that "consumer resistance to the growing intrusiveness of marketing and advertising" is at an all-time high, citing a recent study that revealed 65 percent of Americans feel "constantly bombarded" by ad messages.

So, could we ever hope to measure and account for the mental damage caused by the marketing giants, news barons and entertainment industries? Skeptics argue that it would be impossible to make direct connections, never mind working out raw numbers for a balance sheet. Perhaps. But proponents suggest that scientists (and certainly economists) have yet to take up the cause and that it's high time they do. Either way, it's an important question that needs to be answered: what is the true cost of our commercialized mass media?

Tim Walker

The True Cost of Food

New Zealand is 7,500 miles from the Okanagan valley of British Columbia, Canada. So why are BC grocery stores flush with New Zealand apples when perfectly good ones are grown in the Okanagan? In 2002, BC apple exports totalled 77 million pounds, while apple imports from New Zealand and elsewhere ran to 111 million pounds. British Columbians need more apples than they produce, but wouldn't it make sense to eat the apples their neighbors grow before bringing them in from the other side of the Pacific? What's more, many of the Okanagan farmers who could have made up the difference have been driven out of the industry by cheap imports. With the flood of foreign apples, those who didn't qualify for government assistance to upgrade their orchards or shift into different crops have had to tear up trees and sell their land.

Free-market enthusiasts argue that consumers deserve the lowest price, and if New Zealanders can provide better value, good for them. But what is the true cost of shipping an apple from one hemisphere to another? What are the true costs of production, processing, packaging, and transportation with the standard food delivery system as compared to a local one? A 2001 Iowa State University study showed that through the conventional food delivery system, the average apple in that state travels 1,726 miles to get to the consumer. Compared to Iowa-based regional and local systems, the conventional system used far more fuel, and released five to 17 times more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

In the US as a whole, food accounts for over 20 percent of all commodity transport, resulting in 120 million tonnes of CO₂ emissions every year. Every day, planes, long-haul trucks, and container ships criss-cross the globe to ensure that Western palates are properly satisfied. With the current system, green beans grown in Africa can be picked in the evening, loaded on the overnight flight to Heathrow airport, and on shelves of London greengrocers by 11:00 the next morning. But even the British government recognizes that this is problematic and wants to ensure "that aviation meets the external environmental costs for which it is responsible." A good start would be taxing aviation fuel, which currently pays a zero rate, that leaves airline travel incredibly cheap compared to its true cost. So the UK Department of Transport commissioned a study of air travel that pegged the environmental costs every time a Boeing 757 takes off at £5,140. How long until that cost is internalized? How cheap would the New Zealand apple be then? And how many apple orchards in the Okanagan could be saved?

TRUE COST BURGERS

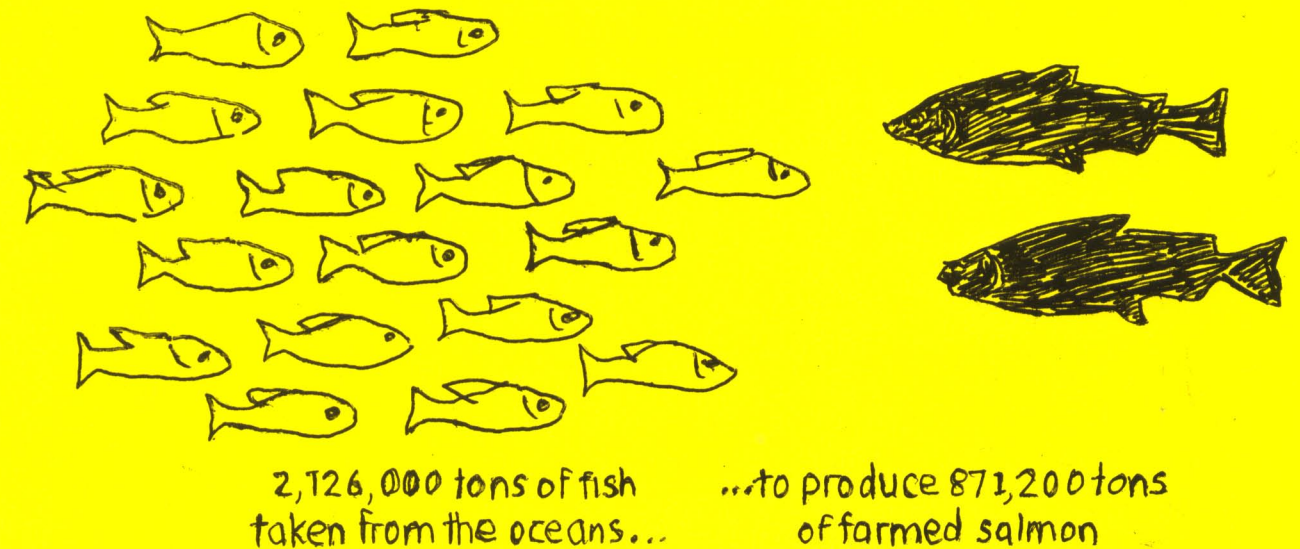
American insurance companies and employer health plan administrators know that obesity costs money. The bill for the average stomach shrinking surgery is \$25,000 and every year there are 10 to 12 percent more people eligible for the procedure. Meanwhile, the US Department of Health has determined it takes \$120 million to treat obesity annually. Add that to the cost of treating the thousands of Americans each year who catch E. coli poisoning from hamburgers, thanks to industry shortcuts that result in meat covered with fecal matter and pathogens. Manure doesn't have to be on meat to cause problems. It also releases smog-forming emissions and contaminates water. In 2000, seven people died in the town of Walkerton, Canada, when farmland runoff polluted the town's water-supply with E. coli. The subsequent crisis cost at least \$64.5 million CAD overall and individual households had to spend about \$4,000 CAD on average. Two years later, agribusiness giant Cargill dumped hog waste into Missouri's Loutre River, contaminating a five mile stretch and killing 53,000 fish. In the UK, a 2003 report from Essex University calculated that British taxpayers spend up to £2.3 billion every year repairing the damage that industrial farming does to the environment and human health. So what would a Big Mac cost if its true production costs were included?

MAD COW

Canada's Agriculture Minister was emphatic: "I want to stress from the beginning this is one cow." But all it took was one positive test for mad cow disease in May 2003 to send Canada's beef industry into a tailspin. Export markets were closed off immediately, and by the end of the year, industry analysts calculated the economic cost of the positive test at \$3.3 billion CAD. Then, just before Christmas, the industry suffered another jolt thanks to a single case of mad cow in the US. By February 2004, Agriculture Department officials in that country told Congress that the epidemic had cost \$6 billion. Europeans watching all this must have scoffed at the North American figures. Their mad cow crisis has cost more than \$100 billion.

Governments on both sides of the Atlantic have dutifully compensated the farmers and meat packers affected by the outbreak. And they've done the same after outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease and avian flu. So even if meat has never touched your lips, you pay.

NET LOSS OF PROTEIN



OXYMORONIC

TONS IMPORTED

Roasted Coffee [41,209]

Green Beans [26,967]

Potatoes [365,350]

Beef & Veal [953,142]

Refined Sugar [170,820]

TONS EXPORTED

Roasted Coffee [42,277]

Green Beans [32,544]

Potatoes [324,479]

Beef & Veal [899,834]

Refined Sugar [83,083]

Top graph source: David Suzuki Foundation
Bottom graph source: International Society for Ecology and Culture <www.isec.org.uk>
based on 2002 figures from Food and Agriculture Organization



Our lifestyle is entirely dependent on oil. It gets us from A to B, heats our homes, and is also the basis of a range of products like medicines, paints, plastics, fertilizers, and pesticides. But what are the hidden costs of oil? Every major oil spill results in fishery closures, lost tourism, property damage and clean-up costs. Oil has a military price tag too. The National Defense Council Foundation estimates that the Pentagon spends \$49.1 billion a year preserving access to Persian Gulf oil, an amount equal to adding \$1.17 to the cost of a gallon of gasoline. And that was before the US invaded Iraq. Whatever the White House's public reasons for the invasion, it's hard not to suspect that it was motivated in part by the desire to stabilize US access to Middle Eastern crude reserves. At the very least, American taxpayers have defrayed the costs of protecting the Iraq Ministry of Oil and fixing blown up pipelines.

Other costs stem from the role oil combustion plays in global climate change. For starters, global warming increases the risk of forest fires and floods, encourages the spread of tropical diseases northward and causes water shortages.

Private insurers hit hard by global warming costs prepared a report in 2001 demonstrating that more frequent tropical cyclones, loss of land as a result of rising sea levels, and damage to fishing stocks, agriculture and water supplies amounted to a yearly bill of \$304.2 billion. In cities, air pollution has real economic implications beyond just ruining the view. From the Taj Mahal, to Westminster Abbey, to the US Capitol, monuments around the world are being eaten away by smog, acid rain, and ozone pollution. While these structures have immeasurable historical value, it costs real money to refurbish and maintain them. Officials in Rome spent \$200 million fixing ancient monuments damaged by acid rain. Contaminated air also costs farmers. Each year in the US, air pollution reduces the value of crop yields by between \$1.6 and \$4.3 billion.

US soldiers protecting the Iraq Ministry of Oil, April 2003



Perhaps most alarming, however, is the human cost of polluted skies. The World Health Organization (WHO) reports that three million people die every year from air pollution, three times the number killed by traffic accidents. Beyond the emotional toll of these deaths, there are real economic costs. According to *Science* magazine, exposures to air pollution in industrial as well as developing countries, "affect death rates, hospitalizations and medical visits, complications of asthma and bronchitis, days of work lost, restricted-activity days, and a variety of measures of lung damage." A WHO study of France, Switzerland and Austria found that their health costs due to air pollution amounted to approximately 1.7 percent of GDP, dramatically more than the cost of treating injuries from traffic accidents. In Canada, the province of Ontario estimates that air pollution costs its 12 million residents at least \$1 billion annually in hospital admissions, emergency room visits, and worker absenteeism. And the World Bank reports that in China – home to some of the most polluted air in the world – the

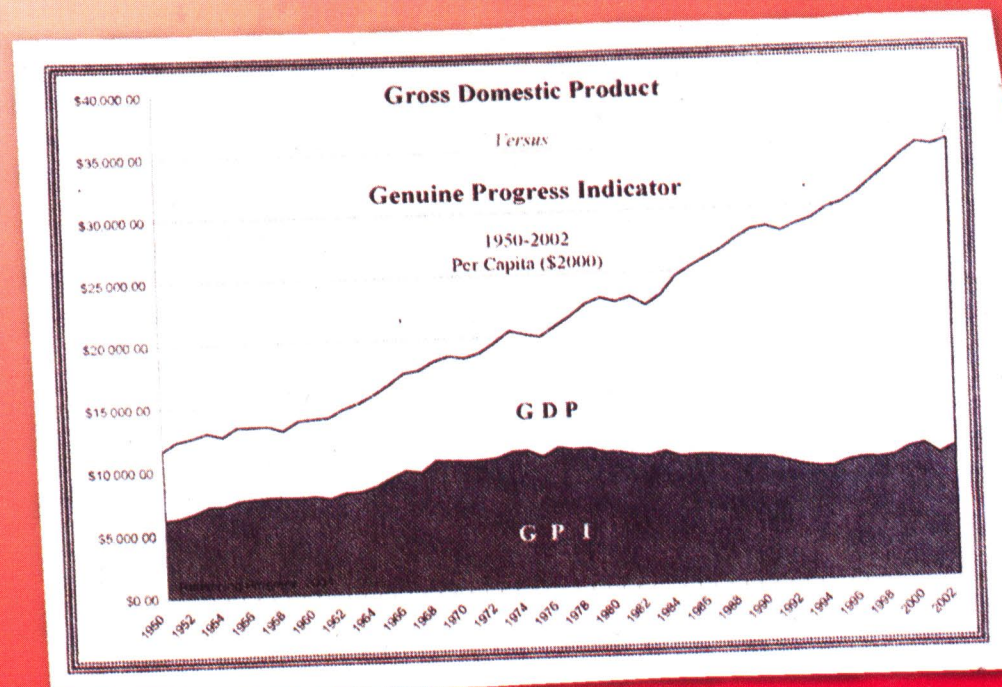
An Ohio family displaying all their oil-based household goods, June 2004.

deaths and illnesses of urban residents due to air pollution cost an estimated 5 percent of GDP.

While motorists are not responsible for all air pollution, car use is a major culprit. So what would the true cost of driving be if all of its externalities were factored in? If, in addition to air pollution, the price tag of gas and cars included road construction and maintenance; property taxes lost from land cleared for freeways; free parking paid for by taxes; noise and vibration damage to structures; protection of petroleum supply lines; sprawl and loss of transportation options; auto accidents; and congestion? A number of researchers have tried to answer this question, and John Holtzclaw of the Sierra Club profiled eight studies that, when averaged, estimated the true price of gas at \$6.05 a gallon. As for vehicles, transportation analyst Todd Litman has calculated that the external costs of driving would add \$42,363 to the sticker price of a shiny new car, based on a 12.5 year lifespan.

Nicholas Klassen

TRUE PROGRESS



Newscasts consistently indicate that life is good because GDP is going up. But for a real measure of progress, newscasters and policy-makers should look to the Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI). In 1995, Oakland think tank Redefining Progress unveiled the GPI to provide a more balanced measure of the economy. It gives value to leisure time, unpaid housework and volunteerism. It subtracts value for crime and family breakdown, resource depletion, traffic accidents, and other negatives. Ultimately, the GPI recognizes the importance families, communities and nature play in economic well-being. Under the current national accounts system, these factors are ignored. Thus, while the GDP has been rising steadily since the 1950s, the GPI levelled off in the 1970s, and has even experienced prolonged dips. This begs the question, are we going forwards or backwards?

The True Cost Revolution

not corporate largesse
not venture capitalists
not fair trading
not social entrepreneurs
not green taxes

But full-cost accounting
upgrading the capitalist system

To create a true cost global marketplace in which every transaction penalizes the "bad" products and rewards the "good"

this is a project for the next generation: to calculate and to internalize all the costs of our way of doing business...

True cost is such a revolutionary idea because in a true cost marketplace, the price of every product tells the ecological truth. Every purchase, every market transaction rewards the "good" and penalizes the "bad." For example, the price of a pack of cigarettes would include all the health costs associated with smoking. The cost of an avocado would include the real cost of flying it over thousands of miles to your supermarket. The cost of nuclear energy (if indeed we can afford it) would include the estimated cost of storing the radioactive waste in the Earth's crust for up to tens of millions of years. The price tag on an automobile would include the pollution it causes over its lifetime, the building and maintaining of roads, the medical costs of accidents and the noise and aesthetic degradation caused

by urban sprawl, the traffic policing and military protection of oil fields and supply lines, plus the real but hard-to-estimate cost to future generations of oil and ozone depletion and climate change.

Full cost pricing is a way to redesign our global economy's basic incentives in a relatively uncharged political atmosphere. Conservatives like it because it is a logical extension of their free market philosophy. Progressives like it because it involves a radical

restructuring of the dysfunctional status quo. Governments like it because it gives them a vital new function to fulfill: that of calculating the true costs of products and managing our bio-economic affairs for the long term. And environmentalists like it because it may be the only way to achieve sustainability in our lifetimes.

What is holding us back?

< TRUECOSTECONOMICS.ORG >

The Revolutionaries

Amidst all the hoopla of ad campaigns, business news and growth projections, a close examination of our consumer culture reveals a very ugly truth: it thrives on the death of nature, and charges the cost to future generations.

But it doesn't have to be this way. We still have time to redesign our economic model. All it takes is a critical mass of visionaries to step forward.

We all live in Adam Smith's shadow. His influential economic prescriptions have seeped into every corner of the

modern global economy and contemporary economists love his promotion of laissez-faire capitalism and free trade.

As a result, the kind of neoclassical economics paradigm taught in economics departments around the world owes a lot to Smith's writings. Ironically, Smith himself would likely denounce the economic paradigm attributed to him. Among other things, his 1776 magnum opus, *The Wealth of Nations*, blasted market concentration and extolled small-scale, locally owned enterprise. And Smith might also denounce economists themselves for their narrow focus on money flows, price theory, and economic growth. Smith devoted plenty of ink to these and other fundamental economic analyses, but he also wrote about ethics, literature and philosophy. Unfortunately, his intellectual offspring haven't managed to maintain that breadth of study. In fact, many contemporary economists have the idea that economics is a physical rather than a social science that has nothing to learn from other disciplines. Their glorification of scientific rationalism got a boost during World War II when the American government relied heavily on the statistical analyses and mathematical models of economists in their battle plans. These days, they cling to the notion that their models are not tainted by the subjectivity that confuses other social sciences. In that vein, George Stigler – a leader of the Chicago School – once scornfully remarked that “without mathematics, we'd be reduced to the caviling of sociologists and the like.” The 1969 introduction of the Nobel prize in economics – which Stigler won in 1982 – seems to have fueled these delusions of grandeur.

Critics of neoclassical economics chuckle at the the idea that its precepts can withstand the rigor of the scientific process. They argue that Homo economicus – the theoretical self-interested ‘everyman’ that economists base their analyses on – is a misrepresentation of human nature. The model does not account for structural factors and altruism, and assumes rather ambitiously that peoples' choices are guided by perfect rationality.

The reliability of this and other neoclassical economic models would be irrelevant to the wider world if the prescriptions of Stigler and his ilk were confined to the halls of academia. But the Chicago School with which he was famously aligned had an enormous influence on governments' economic policies. Affiliates of the school like Milton Friedman shaped Ronald Reagan's and Margaret Thatcher's economic agendas and helped set the tone for the era of fervent free-enterprise boosterism, market liberalization and privatization that swept the globe during the 1980s and 1990s. Their thinking has also helped shape the International Monetary Fund and World

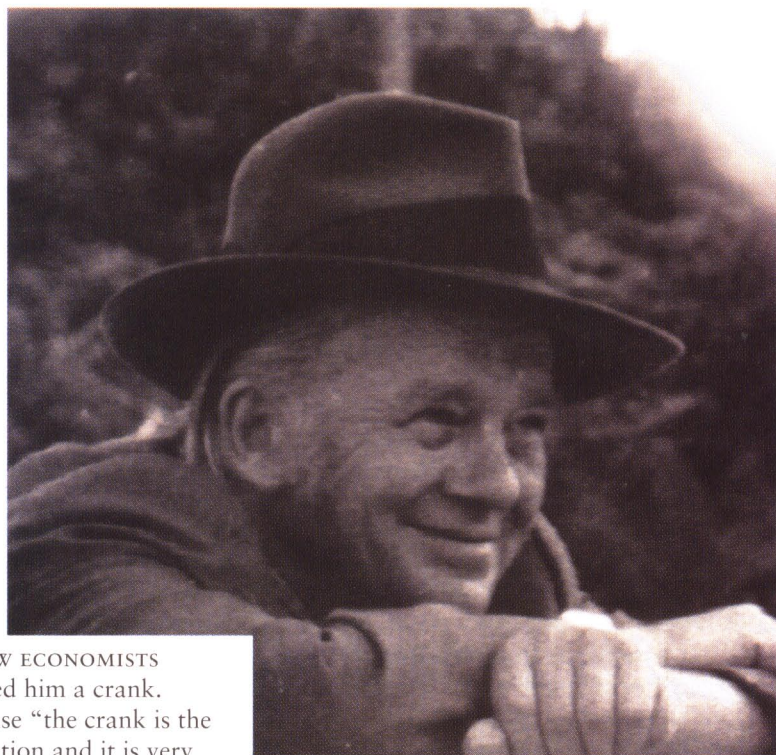
Bank directives that have only managed to widen the gap between the rich and poor.

The physical environment has also suffered under the neoclassical economic orthodoxy that passes as religion in most economics departments. Somewhere along the way, economists decided that land derived most of its value from the labor and capital invested in reshaping it. As a result, land is treated like any other form of capital and is therefore expendable and easily substitutable. When land and resources were plentiful, the environmental implications of this view were not immediately evident. But as human population and economic activity grew, a conflict with nature was inevitable. Micro-models of the economy assume that an immediate force results in an immediate reaction. The real world, however, is non-linear, multi-dimensional, exceedingly complex and full of lags and thresholds. As a result, environmental degradation is often unaccounted for. And with the economy so much bigger than it was in Smith's day, the failure to measure the impact of economic activity on the environment is devastating. Meanwhile, economists don't see anything wrong with their disregard for nature. Their attitude is perhaps best articulated by Robert Solow, a much lauded Nobel laureate who had the arrogance to assert “if it is very easy to substitute other factors for natural resources, then there is in principle no ‘problem.’” The world can, in effect, get along without natural resources, so exhaustion is just an event, not a catastrophe.”

Solow's outlook epitomizes old-school neoclassical thinking, but the ivory tower he and his cohort sit in is ripe for demolition. A new paradigm is waiting in the wings, one that values nature flows and money flows equally. One that addresses the social and environmental costs of the current model. One that calls for limits to growth and more comprehensive ways of measuring progress. At the current rate, it may take decades for this new paradigm to bump the neoclassical economic one off its pedestal. But if the Dow Jones index collapses or unchecked climate change starts wreaking greater economic chaos, it might come much sooner. However it comes about, the economic mavericks profiled in the following pages have been diligently working to build an alternative economic paradigm. As you follow their lead, you'll find that they provide sturdy shoulders to stand on.

Nicholas Klassen

E.F. Schumacher



E.F. SCHUMACHER LIKED IT WHEN FELLOW ECONOMISTS dismissed his unorthodox ideas and called him a crank. He took the barb as a compliment because “the crank is the part of the machine which creates revolution and it is very small. I am a small revolutionary!” Besides, Schumacher’s economic credentials were too impressive to ignore. Born in Germany, he studied in England as a Rhodes scholar and later taught economics at Columbia University and Oxford. He was a protégé of John Maynard Keynes and influenced the eminent economist’s proposal for a post-war currency system that became the International Monetary Fund. After World War II, he helped the British government’s work on the reconstruction of Germany. From there, he moved to *The Times* newspaper – the heart of the British Establishment – where he penned editorials criticizing the Labour government’s ambitious nationalization plans. That didn’t stop him from taking a position with the British National Coal Board, however, where he served as its chief economist for the next 20 years.

Early in Schumacher’s tenure at the Coal Board, the British government sent him to Burma to teach its citizens how to achieve progress based on the Western economic model. But he quickly determined the Burmese were better served drawing from their own tradition. He coined the term “Buddhist economics” to describe the opposite of the Western economic model, one that didn’t allow for unlimited growth and consumption and emphasized renewable resources. For those who questioned what Buddhism had to do with economics, Schumacher replied, “Economics without Buddhism, i.e., without spiritual, human and ecological values, is like sex without love.”

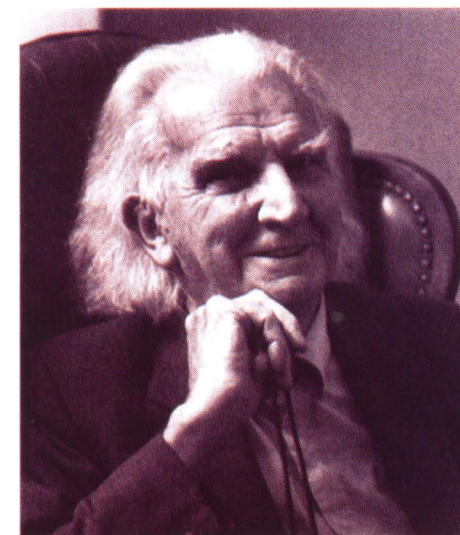
Schumacher returned to the Coal Board, but working at one of Europe’s largest commercial organizations of its day contributed to his conviction that large-scale technologies were dehumanizing and that “man is small, and, therefore, small is beautiful.” That thought inspired the title of his 1973 indictment of the neoclassical economic model *Small is Beautiful*. In it, Schumacher introduced the concept of “natural capital” and outlined an alternative economy based on human-scale, decentralized, and appropriate technologies that has inspired generations of environmentalists. And Schumacher lived by his prescriptions. He baked his family’s weekly bread supply with locally procured organic wheat that he ground himself in a hand-operated flourmill.

Schumacher died in 1977 but his disciples still advance his economic vision through Schumacher societies in Britain and the US, a college bearing his name, and the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG), the organization he founded that promotes poverty reduction in the developing world through sustainable technology. Today, ITDG continues to show that not only is small beautiful, it’s prosperous.

THE E.F. SCHUMACHER SOCIETY

Kenneth Boulding

KENNETH BOULDING GAVE THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS A healthy dose of self-criticism. “Anyone who believes exponential growth can go on forever in a finite world,” he argued “is either a madman or an economist.” And while his fellow economists may not have appreciated the dig, they couldn’t dismiss Boulding’s opinion. He paid his dues by serving as president of the American Economics Association and authoring *Economic Analysis*, the authoritative textbook of Neoclassical-Keynesian economic synthesis. And he knew his credentials gave him room to dissent, noting that “*Economic Analysis* established my respectability so that I have been able to be disreputable ever since.” He was a poet, philosopher and peace activist who argued that desirable economic outcomes should be determined with ethical, religious and ecological concerns in mind. For a time he was a card-carrying Republican, but Ronald Reagan’s radicalism forced him to tear up his membership in 1982. Boulding was put off by Reagan’s supply-side economics and out-of-control military spending. He advised less saber-rattling and more dialogue with the



Soviet Union, and even mocked Reagan’s communist paranoia. Beyond his peace work, Boulding was an environmentalist who argued that economists needed to show greater reverence

for nature. In 1958 he asked “Are we to regard the world of nature simply as a storehouse to be robbed for the immediate benefit of man? . . . Does man have any responsibility for the preservation of a decent balance in nature, for the preservation of rare species, or even for the indefinite continuance of his race?” He dubbed the current economic model a ‘cowboy economy’ that sees nature as inexhaustible and rewards “reckless exploitative, romantic, and violent behavior.” The alternative was a ‘spaceman economy’ in which the Earth is like a self-contained spaceship with limited resources and a disincentive to consume. Basically, he wanted truth in economics. The conclusion of his poem,

“A Ballad of Ecological Awareness,” puts it this way:
*So cost-benefit analysis is nearly always sure,
 To justify the building of a solid concrete fact,
 While the Ecologic Truth is left behind in the Abstract.*

Howard Odum

CHAOS THEORY. THE LAWS OF THERMODYNAMICS. FEW economists understand how these principles could possibly impact their work, even though they trumpet their profession’s supposed scientific rigor. For Howard Odum, however, these principles were central to economics and life in general: “The classical struggle between order and disorder, between angels and devils is still with us.”

Odum was in the vanguard of the ecological economics revolution. From the 1950s until his death in 2002, he wrote about the biological limits to economic activity, the role fossil fuels play in international relations and net energy analysis. He applied the laws of thermodynamics to demonstrate that energy use has to be measured not only in terms of usage, but also waste. For example, a lot of energy is needed to generate nuclear power. And by Odum’s measures, more energy is consumed in the creation of nuclear power than is produced. So why do it? He framed energy as “currency” to demonstrate the differences between the ecological impact of natural versus

manufactured processes. Additionally, Odum is credited with developing the field of “ecological engineering,” the management and restoration of ecosystems that accounts for both the demands of human activity and the natural environment.

Late in life, Odum and his wife Elizabeth spent much of their time warning that an economic collapse is imminent if we don’t change tack. Their 2001 book, *A Prosperous Way Down*, argued that humans need to wean themselves from fossil fuels in light of rapidly shrinking reserves. Among other things, they suggested redistributing the world’s wealth more equitably, curbing population growth, streamlining energy use, promoting lower intensity agriculture, and modifying capitalism to make it less focused on growth. Doing so gradually would allow a “soft path down” that would make the world

more prosperous after a global economic descent. As usual, Odum was ahead of his time.

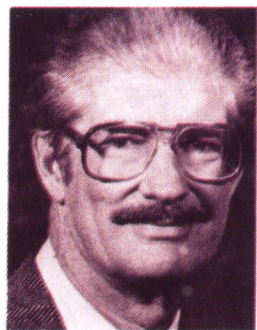


Herman Daly

HERMAN DALY HAS BEEN OSTRACIZED FROM THE FRATERNITY of economists because he doesn't worship at the altar of unlimited growth. He believes that one of the main problems with his estranged colleagues is that "they think that the only way to solve environmental problems is to get richer and don't consider for a minute that growth may cost more than it's worth." Daly began questioning neoclassical orthodoxy while studying under Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, famous for asserting that growth is limited by the economy's biological foundations. Daly's conversion was completed after he read the works of environmentalist Rachel Carson and spent time teaching economics in northeastern Brazil. There, he observed the extent to which runaway population growth swallows up natural resources and realized that economic growth, like human growth, comes at the expense of the environment.

Daly returned to the US and borrowed from the ideas of John Stuart Mill to develop the concept of a steady-state economy – where human population and consumption are tied directly to the ecosystem's capacity to support inhabitants without detrimental effects.

Steady-State Economics is one of the most influential environmental books of the twentieth century, but Daly's arguments were too revolutionary for mainstream economists. So, in 1988, he co-founded the International Society for Ecological Economics to provide a forum for other radicals blending economics and ecology. That same year, the World



Bank hired Daly as part of an effort to green its image. While working on schemes to eliminate poverty in the South, Daly wondered why the Bank professed to favor sustainable development models for Third World countries, but not for the First World. After six years as a member of the Bank's "loyal opposition of environmentalists," he left his post in

frustration to return to academia. In his parting address, he left his colleagues with a formula for sustainability: stop counting the consumption of natural capital as income; tax labor and income less, and resource extraction more; maximize the productivity of natural capital in the short run and invest in increasing its supply in the long run; and most contentiously, abandon the ideology of global economic integration through free trade, free capital mobility, and export-led growth. He also prescribed "new eyeglasses and a hearing aid" to make the Bank more responsive to outside input. Still, Daly is quick to qualify

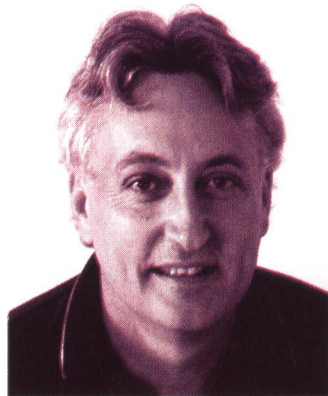
his critique of his former employer. He maintains that the Bank is staffed with good people who are merely abiding by the narrow economic 'theology' forced on them in university.

According to Daly, part of this theology includes a devotion to scientific materialism that helps explain economists' disregard for the environment. If, after all, the Earth was formed by accident, then "the natural world is just a pile of instrumental accidental stuff to be used up in the arbitrary projects of one purposeless species."

Robert Costanza

ROBERT COSTANZA FIGURES THAT IF THE EARTH WERE A company, its balance sheet would look so lousy that "we would definitely fire the CEO." And Costanza would be among the most active shareholders. He is a co-founder and past president of the International Society for Ecological Economics, which currently boasts over 3,000 members in more than 60 countries. He heads the University of Vermont's Gund Institute for Ecological Economics and has turned heads with his provocative assessments of the value of nature. In 1997, he estimated the value of the services performed by the environment at \$33 trillion. He has also argued that investments in ecosystem preservation can yield returns of 100 to 1. Currently, he's developing an Earth Inc. Shareholders Report that uses a "triple bottom line" analysis of environmental, social, and financial costs and benefits.

Mainstream economists don't tend to buy into his findings, but Costanza remains confident because he doesn't expect their mindsets to shift overnight. "Scientific paradigms," he notes, "change one funeral at a time." His confidence stems from the



fact that even though economists tend to focus primarily on outdated measurements of goods and services, most recognize that their field of study is supposed to be about overall human welfare. And on questions of the environment, Costanza contends that if economists were better versed in the natural sciences, they would appreciate the value of the biosphere. He thinks academics in general need to take a more interdisciplinary approach lest they become "idiot savants." His own scholastic journey began with degrees in architecture and urban planning prior to his completion of a PhD in ecology with a minor in economics.

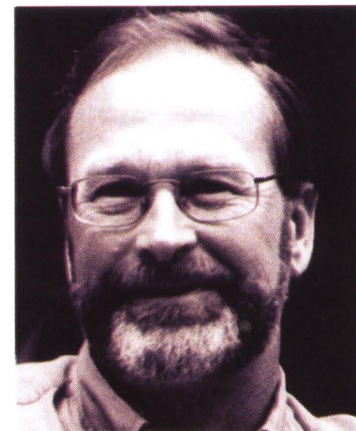
So how does Costanza feel about the prospects for a paradigm shift among economists? He uses the metaphor of a water-filled bucket to show how he sees the recalibration unfolding. "First the bucket has to be full," he says. "Then somebody has to bump it. Then it will look like, all of the sudden over night, things changed, and observers will attribute this whole big change to the trigger, when in fact, it was the full bucket." For his part, Costanza is ensuring that the water rises steadily.

Bill Rees

BILL REES REMEMBERS THE DAY HE HAD HIS FIRST ECOLOGICAL epiphany. He was nine or ten years old, sitting down for lunch on his grandmother's country porch after toiling in her fields

all day. Looking down on his plate of young new carrots, little potatoes and fresh lettuce, he "realized that there wasn't a single thing on the plate that I hadn't had a hand in growing. That thought hit me like a rush of cold water being poured down my back. I was riveted."

From that point on, Rees made it his life's goal to figure out how to reconnect people with the land that sustains them. In university he sought out courses in human ecology, but found none. He was astounded that academic ecologists didn't treat people as components of ecosystems and focused almost entirely on non-humans. So he had to chart his own course and made a niche for himself at the planning school of the University of British Columbia. That's where he began to examine carrying capacities of ecosystems, i.e. how much land is needed to sustain a defined human population. He came up with the 'ecological footprint' analysis, a tool that examines consumption patterns and then calculates the total area of ecosystem needed to assimilate a population's waste and produce its goods and services. The acclaimed footprint model shows that if everyone consumed at the rate Americans do,



we would need five Earths. Disconcerting stuff, considering how eager the rest of the planet is to achieve American levels of consumption.

Mainstream economists dismiss the footprint model for flying in the face of their "no limits to growth" philosophy. Rees recalls an incident when one told him, "Look, economists have long ago resolved this issue. Carrying capacity has no meaning, whatsoever, because, after all, we can trade. And, if there is anything in short supply then we just sell off what we have in surplus in exchange for what we need. And if trade doesn't work, then there is technology." Rees scoffs at economists who are too committed to the neoclassical paradigm to consider that falling water tables, collapsing fish stocks, depleted forests, changing climates and soil erosion are evidence that the economy will consume the planet if growth continues at its current rate. But he recognizes that economists have difficulty abandoning an ideology that's been drilled into them for their entire academic careers. Yet just like the young boy who was inspired by looking at a plate of food, the adult Rees is confident that enlightened reason and mutual compassion will triumph over scripted determinism. And the Earth will be better off for it.

Marilyn Waring

MARILYN WARING WISHES HER ELECTION TO NEW ZEALAND'S parliament at 22 – making her the country's youngest MP ever – wasn't such a remarkable feat. After all, "It's supposed to be a house of representatives, so it shouldn't have been so quaint." There was no questioning Waring's competence, however, once she rose to chair the Public Expenditures Committee after a mere two years as MP. Thanks to a steady diet of public accounts ledgers, she became increasingly critical of mainstream economic analyses. Specifically, she wanted to know why national accounting ignored the value of the environment, subsistence production, and unpaid women's work. In her mind, the rules for national accounts were co-opted "by a pathological value system, a system that said that making and storing nuclear bombs is good for the national economy."



So Waring left parliament after three terms and an instrumental role in making New Zealand a nuclear free zone, picked up a PhD in political economy, and wrote *If Women Counted* to highlight how women's productive and reproductive work is missing from the GDP. These days she lives on a farm north of Auckland where she raises goats in between giving speaking tours and lecturing at universities. She still thinks the GDP is a ridiculous measure of the economy, but is also leery of "environmental accounting" that commodifies nature by assigning it monetary value. She says, "I don't want to see the things I love appearing in national income accounts, called valuable, along with nuclear bombs, nuclear power stations, toxic waste, female sexual slavery, trade in drugs and everything else."

Paul Hawken

A SPIDER CAN SPIN SILK AS STRONG AS KEVLAR, WITHOUT USING HIGH TEMPERATURES or sulphuric acid. Trees use sunlight and water to make cellulose, a sugar with greater bending strength than steel. In his acclaimed book *Natural Capitalism*, Paul Hawken (with co-authors Amory and Hunter Lovins) proposes an industrial system where natural resources are treated as capital, and “smart designers apprentice themselves to nature” to learn the secrets of efficient production. Manufacturers are sellers, not of goods, but of services supported by long lasting, leased equipment which the manufacturer is ultimately responsible for disposing of. Hawken, an entrepreneur who writes about the interconnectedness of business and nature, sees German chemist Michael Braungart’s Intelligent Product System as the embodiment of his theory. In Braungart’s system, all products must be easily converted back to nature. And, whether toxic or recyclable, they are the responsibility of the manufacturer for life.

Amory Lovins

TO AMORY LOVINS, AN ENERGY EFFICIENT VEHICLE ISN’T JUST ONE THAT USES CLEANER fuel in a traditional combustion engine. It’s a machine in which every part is efficient, from lightweight carbon fiber materials shaped to reduce drag, to a clean burning hydrogen fuel cell engine. Lovins, the physicist who inspired the alternative energy movement with his 1977 book, *Soft Energy Paths*, came up with the blueprints for such a vehicle in 1994. Instead of patenting them, he put his designs in the public domain, triggering a race among car manufacturers to be the first to adopt the new technology. By 2000, the industry had committed more than \$10 billion to developing it, and today parts of his designs are in hybrid cars from GM, Honda and Toyota. Meanwhile, Lovins and his Rocky Mountain Institute have joined the race, and hope to finish the first drivable prototype by the end of this year.

Lester Brown

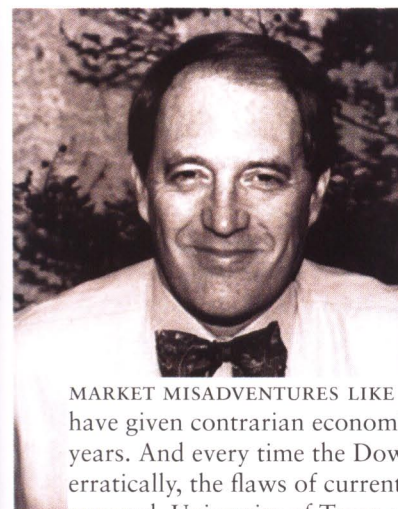
WHEN LESTER BROWN CHALLENGED CHINA’S RIGHT TO ADVANCE ITS ECONOMY BY emulating Western patterns of consumption, his critics jumped. His 1994 book, *Who Will Feed China?* predicted that if Chinese rates of consumption increase to US levels, neither China nor the rest of the world will be able to support its food needs. At the time, critics called his views hypocritical. Today, China is on the verge of upending the global market by becoming the world’s largest grain importer. But Brown is used to ruffling feathers. Since 1974, the Worldwatch Institute he founded has taken on the worst offenders of the planet: non-renewable energy, pollution, overpopulation and mainstream economics. In 2001 he founded the Earth Policy Institute to provide a vision of an ecologically sustainable economy and a “roadmap” of how to get there. In the institute’s first publication, *Eco-Economy*, Brown describes an economy that’s compatible with the Earth’s ecosystem, where population is stabilized and renewable energy sources like wind replace fossil fuels.

Clifford Cobb

IN 1995, CLIFFORD COBB AND TWO COLLEAGUES FROM THE CALIFORNIA THINK TANK Redefining Progress wrote an eloquent critique of the Gross Domestic Product. The article, which appeared as a cover story for the *Atlantic Monthly*, explained how this outmoded measure of economic growth is itself crippling progress. It went on to introduce Cobb’s Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI), a new way of measuring the health of the economy that includes previously ignored costs like pollution and benefits like volunteer work. Since the GPI was first introduced, Redefining Progress has published regular audits of the US economy, and similar audits have been adopted in other countries. The GPI evolved out of Cobb’s work on an earlier indicator, the Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare, which first appeared in *For the Common Good* (1989) by Herman Daly and Clifford’s father John Cobb, and was later revised in the Cobbs’ 1994 book, *Green National Product*.

Casey Cowan

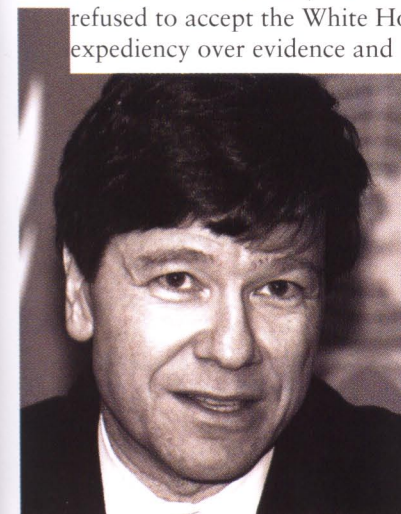
James Galbraith



MARKET MISADVENTURES LIKE THE DOTCOM CRASH OF 2000 have given contrarian economic theorists a real boost in recent years. And every time the Dow Jones index bounces around erratically, the flaws of current economic orthodoxy are further exposed. University of Texas economist James Galbraith jokes that asking him for a critique of neoclassical economics is “like asking a mosquito in a nudist colony where to begin.” He feels his discipline is in a “state of disarray” and welcomes the shift away from devotion to a narrow theoretical framework. And while it still isn’t easy to advance your career or be published in mainstream journals if you reject economic orthodoxy, the mavericks are on the rise.

In 2001, for example, George Akerlof, Michael Spence and Joseph Stiglitz shared the Nobel prize for work that disputed the “perfect information” assumption of standard economic thinking. Akerlof’s observation that economic agents are just average people with emotions and limited foresight may seem painfully obvious to the layperson, but its acceptance by his colleagues was a sea change in economics doctrine.

For his part, Stiglitz’s unorthodox ideas extend far beyond the “asymmetric information” theories that won him the Nobel. He has been considered a nonconformist since his days as a 26-year-old full professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he was granted the job only after promising to sleep in an apartment instead of his office, and wear shoes at work. In 1993, he began serving on Bill Clinton’s Council of Economic Advisers, but had a falling out because he refused to accept the White House culture of valuing political expediency over evidence and reason. He left after four years



Jeffrey Sachs

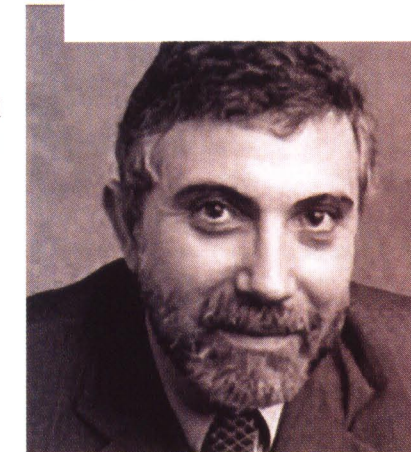
Joseph Stiglitz



and moved on to the World Bank, where his tenure was no less contentious. He resigned after only two years, citing misguided policies and the refusal of his colleagues to value his ideas. He was particularly upset with the Washington Consensus, the extreme austerity measures imposed on the developing world from the early 1980s onward by the Bank and the US Treasury Department.

For all his virtues, however, it is important to note that Stiglitz still believes in the basics of the neoclassical economic philosophy. He and other high profile economic dissenters like MIT’s Paul Krugman and Columbia’s Jeffrey Sachs are lauded for their critiques of right wing economic objectives, but they all operate under the same basic assumptions that encumber mainstream economic thinking. And they may in fact be more dangerous than orthodox thinkers because of the potential for their criticisms to give the false sense that economics is a vibrant discipline with multiple dissenting voices. The reality, however, is that these mainstream mavericks aren’t interested in fundamentally rejigging the economy. And so the doomsday machine marches on undisturbed.

Ben Landis



Paul Krugman

Rising Stars

David Batker

Tom Green

SIX YEARS AGO, DAVID BATKER WAS ARRESTED FOR TALKING to reporters on behalf of Greenpeace in a protest against factory trawlers in Seattle. Since then, the former World Bank economist has rarely strayed from public view as a vocal critic of the WTO and IMF, a community educator on pollution, deforestation and fisheries and as co-author of an influential study on the perils of shrimp aquaculture. In 2003, Batker's peers awarded him the first ever Herman Daly Award for his work in ecological economics.

Josh Farley

JOSH FARLEY IS A RENAISSANCE ECONOMIST. WITH DEGREES in economics, international affairs and biology, the University of Vermont professor embodies the transdisciplinary nature of the new economics paradigm. Recently he co-authored the first comprehensive textbook on ecological economics with Herman Daly. Not content to just teach in the classroom, Farley has travelled to Australia, Brazil and the Philippines to work hands-on with community groups and governments in community-driven projects. In his opinion, "ecological economics is too important to focus primarily on academic studies that circulate among a group of . . . peers before slowly diffusing out to the broader public."

Mark Anielski

MARK ANIELSKI STARTED OUT AS A FOREST ECONOMIST AND HAS become a leading light in the field of natural capital accounting. His work with the Pembina Institute and Redefining Progress has been essential to the development of the Genuine Progress Indicator. In 2001 he released a GPI scorecard for Alberta, Canada, making that province one of the few jurisdictions with an accurate measure of progress. He has used the GPI to help governments and businesses develop sustainability programs that account for all forms of capital. As far as he's concerned, "If Coca-Cola operated its accounts the way we operate our System of National Accounts, they'd be bankrupt."

Peter May

PETER MAY'S WORK BRINGING AGROFORESTRY TO BRAZIL has taken on a new dimension as the consequences of global warming become more urgent. Besides combating rainforest degradation, his work combining native plant reforestation with small-scale agriculture has created newly competitive real estate markets and local industries around seed trade and forest management. But lately it's the role these born again forests play in reducing carbon emissions that has the attention of policymakers looking for ways to implement Kyoto. As carbon credits gain credibility, look for May's agroforests to be cropping up everywhere.

THE GREAT BEAR RAINFOREST IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, Canada, accounts for a quarter of the world's remaining unprotected coastal temperate rainforest. Three years ago, conservation groups, logging companies and aboriginal groups reached a landmark agreement to develop an ecosystem-based approach to using the land. At the time, local ecological economist Tom Green co-authored an influential report on the ecological impact of economic subsidies for the logging industry. Three years later, with promises of protection slipping under political pressure, Green's economic analyses are at the forefront of the struggle to protect what's left of our natural resources.

Peter Tyedmers

PETER TYEDMERS USES THE ACCOUNTING TOOLS OF ecological economics to measure the amount of energy commercial fisheries consume against the nutritional energy we're getting in return. Large scale, industrial fisheries now account for the majority of fish caught globally. According to Tyedmers, the fossil fuel energy used in most of these fisheries exceeds the nutritional energy reaped by the catch by at least ten times. In related work, Tyedmers is using natural accounting methods to measure the amount of greenhouse gases emitted by commercial fisheries.

Mathis Wackernagel

AS A DOCTORAL STUDENT UNDER BILL REES, MATHIS Wackernagel helped develop Rees's idea of the ecological footprint into a tool that measures the natural resources we use compared to what nature can provide. The resulting book, *Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on Earth* introduced the concept to the world. Now, with his Global Footprint Network (www.ecofoot.net), Wackernagel is taking his tools for sustainability to governments and urban planners, recently working with the city of London's business council to find ways to reduce that city's footprint.

Richard Howarth

ARE PEOPLE CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT TO change the way they consume? Who really cares about future generations? Richard Howarth is a scientist who compares our habits of consumption with our perceptions of well-being to see how willing we are to sacrifice our lifestyles for future generations. In one study, he models various carbon tax levels and the reduction in global warming each would result in. Combining economics, human psychology and ethics, his work is shaping the way policies like Kyoto will be implemented.

Casey Cowan





DANIEL DAI ZENARO / AFP



Something big is about to happen. We are waiting for a catalyst, a flashpoint. Soon it will hit us like a summer storm.

Economics is involved with an understanding of the behavior of models – and many of these models have no relation to any state of nature that has ever existed on this planet, or any that is likely to exist between now and doomsday. The word that comes to my mind when confronted by these fantasies is fraud.

– F.E. Banks

Two groups of reviewers received papers that were identical except for the final conclusions. In one set, the conclusions were consistent with the dominant paradigm, and in the other set, they were exactly the opposite of the dominant paradigm, but everything else was the same. In the version that was consistent with the dominant paradigm, the reviewers said: “Great paper. Go with it. No problem.” But with the other version they said “Terrible paper. The methods are flawed. It’s no good.” So much for the scientific review process.

– Robert Costanza

Economists claim that their models are value-neutral. So they’re critical of alternative economic welfare measurements like the Genuine Progress Indicator. When they see that a dollar of extra income for the poor represents more welfare than a dollar that goes to the rich, they say “Ah! Value judgment.”

Of course it’s a value judgment. It’s a value judgment to say it’s the same, or to say anything. But somehow mainstream economists get nervous about the difference between their value judgment and our value judgment. They’re trying to be scientific, which to them means they’re trying to be value-free. We introduce explicit value judgments, whereas they hide theirs under a fake veneer of neutrality.

– Herman Daly



KENDALL GEERS

Every culture has its myths, and right now, our economic myth is so powerful that it prevents us from facing the truth. As Derrick Jensen says: “For us to maintain our way of living, we must tell lies to each other and especially to ourselves. The lies

are necessary because, without them, many deplorable acts would become impossibilities.” In other words, the truth would stop us from doing stupid things. Economic growth is one of those stupid things, because if we really thought about its impact, we would have to change our entire worldview. Imagine you’re an economist who has been trained for 40 years to believe in unlimited economic growth, and that all our problems will be solved by market-driven technological solutions. Naturally you will prefer evidence to support that argument, and turn aside evidence that is not to your taste. So the lie endures.

– Bill Rees

A country could exhaust its mineral resources, cut down its forests, erode its soils, pollute its aquifers, and hunt its wildlife and fisheries to extinction, but measured income would not be affected as these assets disappear.

– World Resources Institute



Before economics can progress, it must abandon its suicidal formalism.

– Robert Heilbroner

Paris, France

The university-aged children of France's ruling class ought to have been contentedly biding their time. They were, after all, destined to move into the high-powered positions reserved for graduates of the elite École Normale Supérieure (ENS). "The ENS is for the very good students, and the very good students aren't afraid to ask questions," says Sorbonne economist Bernard Geurrien.

He was addressing a conference on the disconnect between mainstream neoclassical economics instruction and reality. Economics has an ideological function, he told them, to put forth the idea that the markets will resolve everything. In fact, he added, economic theory absolutely doesn't show that.

A group of economics students, their worst fears confirmed, approached Guerrien eager to "do something." A week later, 15 of them gathered in a classroom to hash out a plan of attack. Someone called the reigning neoclassical dogma "autistic!" The analogy would stick: like sufferers of autism, the field of economics was intelligent but obsessive, narrowly focussed, and cut off from the outside world.

By June, their outrage had coalesced into a petition signed by hundreds of students demanding reform within economics teaching, which they said had become enthralled with complex mathematical models that only operate in conditions that don't exist. "We wish to escape from imaginary worlds!" they declared. Networking through the internet and reaching the media through powerful family connections, they made their case.

"Call to teachers: wake up before it's too late!" they demanded. "We no longer want to have this autistic science imposed on us." They decried an excessive reliance on mathematics "as an end in itself," and called for a plurality of approaches.

With that, 'autisme-économie,' the post-autistic economics (PAE) movement, was born.

Their revolutionary arguments created an earthquake in the French media, beginning with a report in *Le Monde* that sent

a chill through the academic establishment. Several prominent economists voiced support and a professors' petition followed. The French government, no doubt recalling the revolutionary moment of May 1968, when students led a 10-day general strike that rocked the republic to its foundations, promptly set up a special commission to investigate. It was headed by leading economist Jean-Paul Fitoussi, who also traveled to Madrid to address Spain's nascent "post-autistic" student movement. Fitoussi's findings: the rebels had a cause. Most important to the PAE, Fitoussi agreed to propose new courses oriented to "the big problems" being ignored by mainstream economics: unemployment, the economy and the environment.

A backlash was inevitable. Several economists (notably the American Robert Solow from MIT), launched a return volley. What followed was an attempt to discredit the PAE by implying that the students were anti-intellectuals opposed to the "scientificity" of neoclassical economics. The accusations didn't stick: the dissenters were top students who had done the math and found it didn't add up.

Gilles Raveaud, a key PAE student leader, along with Emmanuelle Benicourt and Iona Marinescu, sees today's faith in neoclassical economics as "an intellectual game" that, like Marxism and the Bible, purports to explain everything, rather than admitting there are many issues it hasn't figured out. "We've lost religion," says Raveaud, "so we've got something else to give meaning to our lives."

Benicourt described his hope for PAE as follows: "We hope it will trigger concrete transformations of the way economics is taught . . . We believe that understanding real-world economic phenomena is enormously important to the future well-being of humankind, but that the current narrow, antiquated and naive approaches to economics and economics teaching make this understanding impossible. We therefore hold it to be extremely important, both ethically and economically, that reforms like the ones we have proposed are, in the years to come, carried through, not just in France, but throughout the world."

Cambridge, United Kingdom

Raveaud and Marinescu, key French PAE student leaders, visited the Cambridge Workshop on Realism and Economics in the UK. "It must have been the right time," says Phil Faulkner, a PhD student at Cambridge University. That June

he and 26 other disgruntled PhD students issued their own reform manifesto, called "Opening Up Economics," that soon attracted 750 signatures. Economics students at Oxford University, who had been at the same workshop, followed with their own "post-autistic" manifesto and website. Similar groups linked to heterodox (as opposed to orthodox) economics began emerging elsewhere in Europe and South America.

The Cambridge rebellion "was prompted by frustration,"

neoclassical
economics

says Faulkner, but they hadn't expected such a positive reception from fellow students. "If anyone were to be happy about the way economics had gone, we'd expect it to be PhD students, because if they were unhappy with it, they simply wouldn't be here. In fact, that wasn't the case."

As expected, Cambridge ignored them. Their efforts, Faulkner explains, were meant to show support for the French students and to use their privileged position at the esteemed economics department to demonstrate to the rest of the world their discontent. Some of the signatories worried that speaking out could have dire consequences, and the original letter was unsigned. "I think it's more future possibilities, getting jobs, etc., that [made them think] it might not be smart to be associated with this stuff," says Faulkner. He says he already knew that his research interests meant he would have to work outside of the mainstream: "There was nothing to lose really."

Edward Fullbrook, a research fellow at the University of the West of England, had already launched the first post-autistic economics newsletter in September 2000. Inspired by the French student revolt and outraged by stories emerging from American campuses that courses on the history of economic thought were being eradicated (which he viewed as an effort

to facilitate complete indoctrination of students), Fullbrook battled hate mail and virus attacks to get the newsletter off the ground. Soon, prominent economists such as James Galbraith stepped up to offer encouragement and hard copy. The subscriber list ballooned from several dozen to 7,500 around the world.

Fullbrook edited *The Crisis in Economics*, a book based on PAE contributions, now being translated into Chinese. Textbook publishers, always hunting for the next big thing, have been inquiring about PAE textbooks. It makes sense, says Fullbrook, since enrollments in standard economics classes have been dropping, cutting into textbook revenues. In other words, students just aren't buying it. Ironically, says Fullbrook, "Market forces are working against neoclassical economics."

One of his contributors is Australian economist Steve Keen, who led a student rebellion in 1973 that led to the formation of the political economy department at Sydney University. "Neoclassical economics has become a religion," says Keen. "Because it has a mathematical veneer, and I emphasize the word veneer, they actually believe it's true. Once you believe something is true, you're locked into its way of thinking unless there's something that can break in from the outside and destroy that confidence."

But the neoclassical model still reigns supreme at Cambridge. Phil Faulkner now teaches at a university college, but is limited to mainstream economics, the only game in town. "If you're into math, it's a fun thing to do," he says. "It's little problems, little puzzles, so it's an enjoyable occupation. But I don't think it's insightful. I don't think it tells these kids about the things it claims to describe, markets or individuals."

has been dominated by one man: Martin Feldstein. It was a *New York Times* article on Feldstein titled "Scholarly Mentor To Bush's Team," that lit the fire under the Harvard activist. Calling the Bush economic team a "Feldstein alumni club," the article declared that he had "built an empire of influence that is probably unmatched in his field." Not only that, but thousands of Harvard students "who have taken his, and only his, economics class during their Harvard years have gone on to become policy-makers and corporate executives," the article noted. "I really like it; I've been doing it for 18 years,"

Feldstein told the *Times*. "I think it changes the way they see the world."

That's exactly Katsh's problem. As a freshman, he'd taken Ec 10, Feldstein's course. "I don't think I'm alone in thinking that Ec 10 presents itself as politically neutral, presents itself as a science, but really espouses a conservative political agenda and the ideas of this professor, who is a former Reagan advisor, and who is unabashedly Republican," he says. "I don't think I'm alone in wanting a class that presents a balanced viewpoint and is not trying to cover up its conservative political bias with economic jargon."

In his first year at Harvard, Katsh joined a student campaign to bring a living wage to Harvard support staff. Fellow students were sympathetic, but many said they couldn't support the campaign because, as they'd learned in Ec 10, raising wages would increase unemployment and hurt those it was designed to help. During a three-week sit-in at the Harvard president's office, students succeeded in raising workers' wages, though not to "living wage" standards.

After the living wage 'victory', Harvard activists from Students for a Humane and Responsible Economics (SHARE) decided to stage an intervention. This time, they went after the source, leafletting Ec 10 classes with alternative readings. For a lecture on corporations, they handed out articles on corporate fraud. For a free trade lecture, they dispensed critiques of the WTO and IMF. Later, they issued a manifesto reminiscent of the French post-autistic revolt, and petitioned for an alternative class. Armed with 800 signatures, they appealed for a critical alternative to Ec 10. Turned down flat, they succeeded in introducing the course outside the economics department.

Their actions follow on the Kansas City Proposal, an open letter to economics departments "in agreement with and in support of the Post-Autistic Economics Movement and the Cambridge Proposal" that was signed by economics students and academics from 22 countries.

Harvard President Lawrence Summers illustrates the kind of thinking that emerges from neoclassical economics. Summers is the same former chief economist of the World Bank who sparked international outrage after his infamous memo advocating pollution trading was leaked in the early 1990s. "Just between you and me, shouldn't the World Bank be encouraging MORE migration of the dirty industries to the LDCs [Less Developed Countries]?" the memo inquired. "I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that . . . I've always thought that under-populated countries in Africa are vastly UNDER-polluted . . ."

Brazil's then-Secretary of the Environment, Jose Lutzenburger, replied: "Your reasoning is perfectly logical but totally insane . . . Your thoughts [provide] a concrete example of the unbelievable alienation, reductionist thinking, social ruthlessness and the arrogant ignorance of many conventional 'economists' concerning the nature of the world we live in."

Summers later claimed the memo was intended ironically, while reports suggested it was written by an aide. In any case, Summers devoted his 2003/2004 prayer address at Harvard to a "moral" defense of sweatshop labor, calling it the "best alternative" for workers in low-wage countries.

"You can't ignore the academic foundations for what's going on in politics," says Jessie Marglin, a Harvard sophomore with SHARE. SHARE didn't want a liberal class with its own hegemony of ideas. It wanted "a critical class in which you have all the perspectives rather than just that of the right." Without an academic basis for criticism, other approaches "aren't legitimized by the institution," she says. "It becomes their word versus Professor Feldstein, who is very powerful."

Harvard economics professor Stephen Marglin, Jessie's father, teaches the new course. A faculty member since 1967, Marglin was the tail end of a generation formed by the Great Depression and World War II. "This generation," he says, "believed that in some cases markets could be the solution, but that markets could also be the problem."

His new course still uses the Ec 10 textbook, but includes a critical evaluation of the underlying assumptions. Marglin wants to provide balance, rather than bias.

"I'm trying to provide ammunition for people to question what it is about this economic [system] that makes them want to go out in the streets to protest it," he says. "I'm responding in part to what's going on and I think the post-autistic economics group is responding to that. Economics doesn't lead politics, it follows politics. Until there is a broadening of the political spectrum beyond a protest in Seattle or a protest in Washington, there will not be a broader economics. People like me can plant a few seeds but those seeds won't germinate until the conditions are a lot more suitable."

The revolution is spreading. A slogan emblazoned on a wall on a Madrid campus, where the PAE movement has been making inroads, makes its case: "*¡La economía es de gente, no de curvas!*" – "Economics is about people, not curves!"

Deborah Campbell

¡La economía es de gente, no de curvas!
Economics is about people, not curves!

Harvard, United States

Sitting in an overcrowded café near Harvard Square, talking over the din of full-volume Fleetwood Mac and espresso

fueled chatter, Gabe Katsh describes his disillusionment with economics teaching at Harvard University. The red-haired 21-year-old makes it clear that not all of Harvard's elite student body, who pay close to \$40,000 a year, are the "rationally" self-interested beings that Harvard's most influential economics course pegs them as.

"I was disgusted with the way ideas were being presented in this class and I saw it as hypocritical – given that Harvard values critical thinking and the free marketplace of ideas – that they were then having this course which was extremely doctrinaire," says Katsh. "It only presented one side of the story when there are obviously others to be presented."

For two decades, Harvard's introductory economics class~

Wmm Kick It Over!

This is how scientific progress is supposed to happen: a theory, a paradigm, that has worked quite well for many

years suddenly becomes problematic. Contradictions emerge; the theory no longer seems to predict reality. The scientific community senses the moment and rises to the occasion. A flurry of experiments is conducted, information shared, papers written and conferences held. Out of this intellectual turmoil, a hot new theory emerges. It is subjected to rigorous scrutiny and tested in myriad ways. Then, if it passes muster, it is finally accepted as the new norm, the new theoretical framework, the new "truth." The scientists who came up with the breakthrough are nominated for the Nobel prize. The community settles back down, but now with a greater understanding of how things really are.

This is a myth, what the scientific community would like you to believe.

Thomas Kuhn, in his classic 1962 book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, describes how paradigm shifts really happen. They are almost always protracted, ugly, messy affairs. They unfold like vindictive putsches. The old guard protects its turf jealously. The dissenters are ignored, stonewalled, refused publication and tenure, and ostracized in every way.

Kuhn's most profound insight is that

in the real world, contrary to the way scientific progress is supposed to happen, an old paradigm cannot be replaced by new evidence, or facts, or "the truth." *It can only be replaced by another paradigm.* In other words, a scientific community will not change just because its forecasts are wrong, its policies no longer work, or its theories are proved unscientific. It will change only when a new generation of scientists grabs the old-school practitioners by the scruffs of their necks and throws them out of power.

So now we know how to overthrow the neoclassical paradigm: we disrupt lectures, unfurl banners and nail manifestos to our professors' doors. We ridicule them in campus newspapers and on campus radio. We organize economics teach-ins and, in front of campus-wide audiences, hold their feet to the fire. We demand to know how they factor forests, fish, climate change and ecosystem collapse into their macroeconomic models. We create

a collective moment of truth when it becomes obvious that they are logic freaks who cannot answer even the most fundamental questions: How do you measure progress, Mr. Professor? How do you know if the economy is going up or down?

At critical moments throughout recent history, university students have catalyzed massive protests and called their professors and leaders on their lies. It happened on campuses around the world in the 1960s, and more recently in South Korea, China and Indonesia. Now we have reached another one of those critical moments.

Generations of neoclassical economists have done great harm – they have perpetrated a gigantic fraud upon the world. But their moment will soon be over. A revolution is brewing. Over the next few years, on campus after campus, a new breed of economists – open, holistic, human-scale – will chase the old goats out of power and begin the work of reprogramming the doomsday machine.

Kalle Lasn



Hal Hewett scares the shit out of oil corporations. He's liberated himself from the petroleum grid, and he's still driving down the highway. "Oil is redundant," he says, like a man with energy's crystal ball. "I hope to see the energy sector returned to the hands of the people."

Hewett, his brother and two friends set out in an old bus to prove the point when they left Victoria, British Columbia for St. John's, Newfoundland in 2001. The cross country, 3,200-mile roadtrip was centered around living and traveling simply, off the "waste of the state."

Dumpsters provided the daily rations, while the fuel was found behind restaurants. "I ran a bus on 100 percent grease across the country on a budget of peanuts," brags Hewett. He modified a 1964 diesel commuter bus to burn vegetable-oil grease instead of petroleum diesel fuel. It isn't that hard, he says: all that's needed is a good filter (to remove French fry bits), a pre-heater, a diesel powered vehicle, and a steady supply of grease traps.

Like most waste, vegetable-oil grease is plentiful. Hydrogenated oils from fast-food chains don't work for diesels, but independent restaurants have lots of usable veggie grease hiding in their traps. The grease also burns cleaner than petroleum diesel fuel, says Hewett. And since grease traps aren't part of the oil grid, there's no corporate control; grease is free.

While oil and gas are corporatized, and have enormous costs economically, politically and ecologically, their alternatives are democratic, free, and far cleaner. And the technology is old hat.

Jammers kicked off the July 4 Unbrand America campaign with a full page ad in *The New York Times*. Fox's Bill O'Reilly picked up the story and read it to a wide audience. From now until November, jammers will be flying the Corporate America flag across the nation.



When Rudolph Diesel invented the diesel engine in 1898, he had a social cause: decentralized energy. His first engine was designed to run on peanut or vegetable oil, which could be grown and made by almost anybody. Even Henry Ford, king of industrialism, pushed for democratic energy. His original 1908 Model T, the car that spurned America's love affair with cars, ran on "home-grown" ethanol. Then came the petroleum industry in the 1920s, and the rest of the dirty story is history.

Hewett's road trip and the subsequent documentary directed by Theodore Fish, called *HugeBusNow*, was their way of proving that disengaging from the petroleum grid is not only possible, but desirable. "There's a lot of waste in our society. By utilizing existing technologies to use it, we can improve our standard of living."

Intrepid inventors doing these small-scale things are just the first signs of a world waking up to its addiction to oil. They're finding the next way. "It's just a matter of time before this goes mainstream," says Hewett. "It's not about what's right, it's about what's left." And all the while, executives at ExxonMobil greedily hope that he's wrong.

Tess Rheinhardt



Top left: San Francisco, California · Middle and bottom: Ashland, Oregon

CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS OUR BUSINESS

We are a global network of artists, writers, environmentalists, teachers and entrepreneurs, downshifters, shit-disturbers, rabble-rousers, incorrigibles and malcontents. We are anarchists, guerrilla tacticians, neo-Luddites, pranksters, poets, philosophers and punks. Our aim is to topple existing power structures and change the way we live in the twenty-first century. We will change the way information flows, the way institutions wield power, the way the food, fashion, car, and culture industries set their agendas. Above all, we will change the way we interact with the mass media and we will reclaim the way in which meaning is produced in our society.

LA REVOLUCIÓN CULTURAL ES NUESTRO NEGOCIO

Somos una red global de artistas, escritores, ambientalistas, profesores y empresarios, simplistas, desmadrosos, agitadores, incorregibles e inconformistas. Somos anarquistas, tácticos de guerrilla, neo-ludistas, bromistas, poetas, filósofos y punks. Nuestra meta es derrocar las estructuras de poder existentes y cambiar la forma en que vivimos en el Siglo XXI. Cambiaremos la forma en que fluye la información, la forma en que las instituciones ejercen poder, y la forma en que las industrias de la comida, la moda, el automóvil y la cultura establecen su orden del día. Sobre todo, cambiaremos la forma en que interactuamos con los medios masivos de comunicación, y recobramos la manera en que se genera el propósito de nuestra sociedad.

NOTRE AFFAIRE, C'EST LA RÉVOLUTION CULTURELLE

Nous sommes un réseau libre d'artistes, d'écrivains, d'écologistes, d'enseignants et d'entrepreneurs, de partisans d'une vie moins matérialiste, de semeurs de merde du secondaire, d'incorrigibles et d'insatisfaits. Nous sommes des anarchistes, des stratèges de guérilla, des nouveaux Luddites, des farceurs, des poètes, des philosophes et des punks. Nous visons à faire basculer les structures de pouvoir existantes et de changer comment nous vivons dans le 21ème siècle. On va changé le trajet de l'information, l'exercice du pouvoir dans les institutions, la manière dont les industries programment l'alimentation, la mode, l'automobile et la culture. Et pardessus tout, on va changé notre relation avec les médias ainsi que la façon dont la signification se crée dans notre société.

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We wanted to know more about what makes our network tick. So we asked 70,000 jammers on our listserv what music, films, books, magazines and other bits of culture they're consuming.

The hope was that gems would emerge from a plethora of "yeah, big surprise" responses. Not following? Take music. We could have bet in advance on these results: Ani DiFranco, Radiohead and Rage Against the Machine, all in the top five. Sure, Michael Franti and The Weakerthans were in there, but still, not much unexpected here.

Don't worry, this isn't an exercise in smugness. There were plenty of gems. George Orwell's *1984* and *Animal Farm* topped an impressive list of books. Other popular books were *Fast Food Nation*, *The Corporation*, *God of Small Things* by Arundhati Roy and various titles from Kurt Vonnegut and Alan Ginsberg. As expected, *No Logo* was also popular, but people seem to be craving Orwell's dystopian fiction for our dystopian times.

Thankfully, no one voted for Clinton's book.

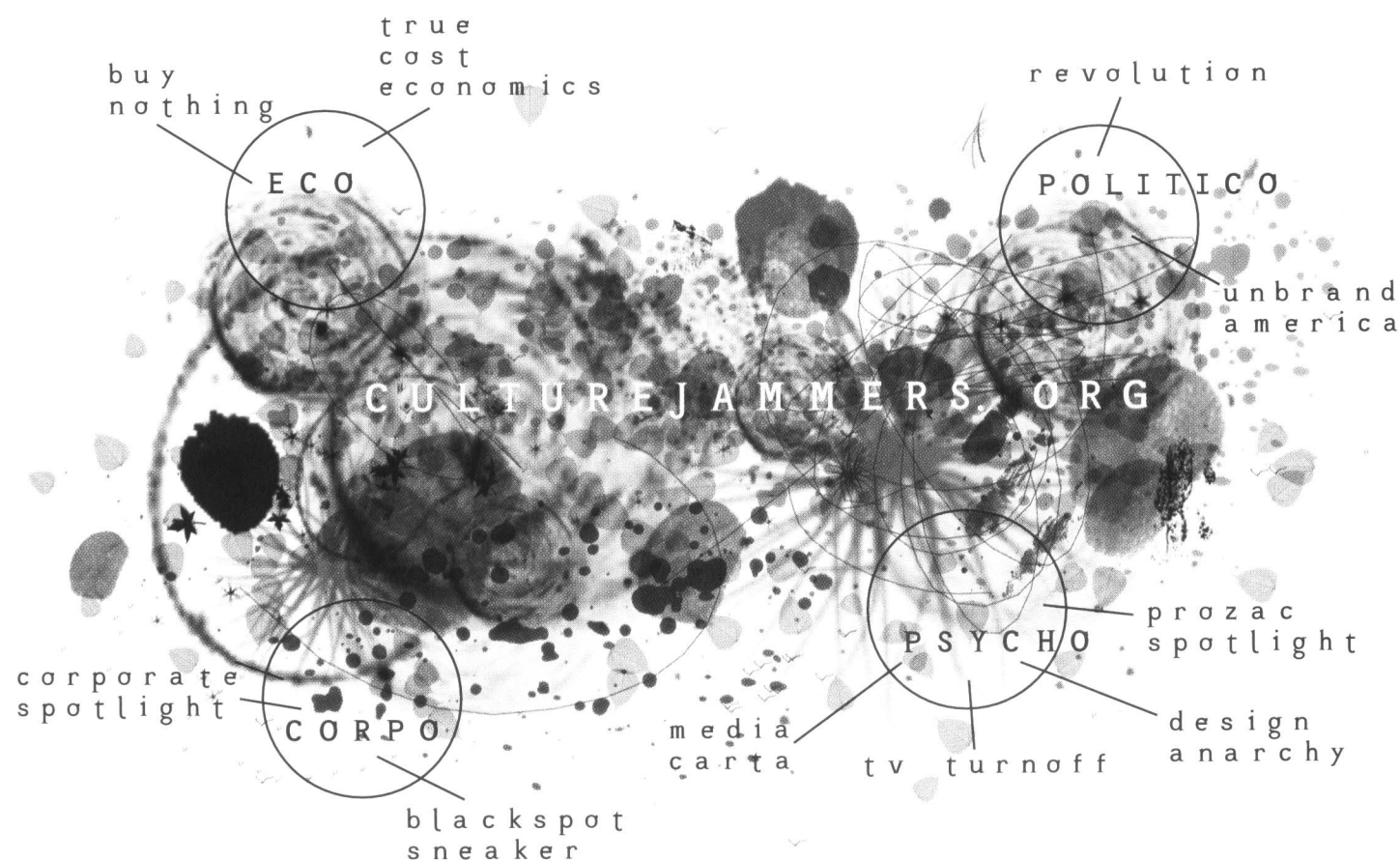
Film results illustrated the pre-election buzz in America and the revival of the documentary. *The Corporation* was the most popular. *Supersize Me* was third and Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* and *Bowling for Columbine* were number six and seven, respectively. The second-placed *Fight Club* and fifth-placed *City of God* are personal favorites with a few *Adbusters* staffers.

Also displaying the pre-election, anti-Bush glow were activist events. New York is the hot destination for this summer's protests against the Republican National Convention.

Magazines, oh, how we love them, and so do you. *Adbusters* came out clearly on top (thank you), followed by *Mother Jones*, *ZMag*, *Bitch*, *Harper's*, *Utne Reader*, *The Economist* and *The Nation*. Not a bad list. Websites? Indymedia.org was the most popular, followed by Adbusters.org, Gnn.com, Infoshop.org, Moveon.org, Commondreams.org and perennial favorite, theOnion.com.

Pop culture is like a piñata. While most of us take swipes at it as the cause of evil, there are some tasty bits inside. Thanks for pointing them out. We plan to consult with our listserv again, so stay tuned.

Adbusters volunteers & staff



Shame reeks of authority and repression, while *Shameless* gushes rebellion and spirit. No wonder we love it so.

Nicole Cohen and Melinda Mattos are the joint editors and

publishers behind *Shameless*, the new magazine for girls "who want more than the hair and makeup tips." The two lay it bare in the premier issue's opening editorial. Their mission? To give teen media "a serious kick in the ass."

Absolutely shameless! Judging by what's inside, they intend to deliver sultry intelligence rather than the standard teeny-bopper media pastiche of reality. No less than brainy Canadian pop icon Sook-Yin Lee has contributed writing, and there's also an article by Cohen deconstructing women and globalization, titled "Slaves to the System."

A definite must read though it is, *Shameless* is so damn good that young boys with brains will be left sulking. Can they have some space in your subculture magazine, *Shameless*?

<www.shamelessmag.com>



The case against pathological profit-seeking entities, that first arrived as a documentary, is now spelled out in print. The book was written by Joel Bakan, a law professor at the University of British Columbia, as research for the hit documentary. *The Corporation* forensically examines the rise of an institution that, Bakan says, was designed to behave like a greedy psychopath.

Interviews with free-market champion Milton Friedman and activist hero Noam Chomsky, along with a wealth of research, mean it can't be dismissed as the usual lefty ranting. The sections on the Bhopal and Exxon Valdez disasters will get your blood boiling, but Bakan ends on a cautiously optimistic note. Change is possible, he says. We add this: only if books like *The Corporation* keep being written.

Perhaps you can hear it from where you're sitting now: that low, distant rumble, growing clearer and closer as you focus on it. Perhaps you can see the storm clouds on the horizon. Out there, change is coming.

This is not empty rhetoric. All over the world, there is a revolution brewing. It's not a revolution in the sense that the twentieth century has taught us to understand the word: not a massing of red flags this time, not a determination to seize the state, not a gathering of Peoples' Parties with blueprints for a new Utopia. This is something that is harder to explain at first sight, but no less significant.

It's clear why it is happening: the world is more unequal than at any time in history. A planet in which 20 percent of us are rolling in 86 percent of the wealth, while the very systems of life itself come under increasing strain from mass over-consumption, is not a civilization built to last. The uprising against it began years ago, and it's gathering in speed.

What used to be called, inaccurately, the 'anti-globalization' movement has become a worldwide web of people and groupings dedicated to reclaiming the power that the cult of the market has stolen from them.

They see how the stealing of that power has affected their communities, and as they do so, they see what their causes, their battles and their problems have in common with those elsewhere in the world. They have become a movement – the first genuine global movement of its kind – and they are still growing. Two hundred thousand of them gathered at the World Social Forum in Mumbai, India, this year, and they represent the tip of a political iceberg that is tens of millions strong.

Who are they? They are Mexican Zapatistas, still battling after a decade to reclaim their community rights from the corporate stitch-up of NAFTA. They are the South African poor in the townships fighting water privatization. They are landless people all over Latin America, struggling to redefine their position in a corporate farming world. They are local activists in the US, using the law to drive corporations out of their small towns. They are farmers in India, resisting corporate patents and the market-driven food industry. They are tribal people in New Guinea, resisting the corporate enclosure of their land for mining and oil drilling. They are young Europeans trying to rethink resistance to capitalism in the shadow of communism's spectacular failure.

What is new, and gives cause for hope, is the widespread awareness that old answers will no longer do. Few people involved in this new wave of resistance are very interested in seizing the state. They see where that has taken us in the past, and they also see that globalization has undercut the ability of governments to run their own national economies. In almost every country on Earth, political parties of left, right or center now pledge themselves to the gods of the market. What this new wave of revolutionaries wants is the chance to create its own spaces, free of the rule of the market. If the state can't

deliver that, other ways must be found.

In other words, this is a power struggle. We can talk about NAFTA, about the WTO, about corporations – but at the heart of it all is an age-old human battle over resources, power and the public mind. Money is currently winning that battle. Societies everywhere are becoming markets first and communities second. We become consumers above all, and only then are we given permission to be human.

This movement seeks to make us people first, to drive the market back into its cage. It can be seen, perhaps, as a battle for the public over the private mind. Who wins it – movement or market – will determine our future. It could be our last, best chance to avoid the McWorld that so many of us can see around the corner.

The movement exists on every continent, but it has no global manifesto because it seeks, in the words of Subcomandante Marcos, "a world with many worlds in it." Both communism and neoliberalism gave us universal blueprints for prosperity and both failed us. This time, we can't afford to be fooled by 'Big Ideas' that are built around theory and not reality. We can't afford it because, as the global economy spreads into every nook and cranny of a previously unmarketed world, resistance spreads too.

Perhaps you think that this resistance, and the determination to build a new world based on new values which flows in its wake, is something that just happens to other people, somewhere else in the world. Think again. Wherever you live, it's coming your way, and it's coming fast. There has never been anything quite like this before, and as long as the global economy continues to move in its current direction, spreading poverty, inequality, exclusion and environmental destruction in its wake, this rebellion can only grow. Keep your eyes on the horizon, and get ready.

Paul Kingsnorth is the author of One No, Many Yeses: a journey to the heart of the global resistance movement (Free Press).

TOP: KURT VINON BOTTOM: FLORE AEL SURUN



The externalities are not hard to identify, they are not hard to quantify and they are not abstract. They are painted on the signs of protestors right outside the gate of every large corporation in the world. Protect the environment, care for the injured and unemployed, care for the retired. Care for our pensions and health. Care for the social commons.

Todd Boyle

There is a renaissance in American protest and George W. Bush is its muse. In the lead-up to the November election, with his

approval rating sinking faster than a rock in a Texas pond, popular opposition to Bush's war in Iraq and his policies is headed for heights not seen since the days of anti-Vietnam War protests.

Soon, we'll see how real that opposition is. Bush, the Republicans, and their many detractors are set to clash late August, when more than half a million march in New York. The Republican National Convention (RNC) will be huddled inside Madison Square Garden, from August 30 to September 2. Opposition will be everywhere else. And aside from the central United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ) march on August 29, these disjointed elements will find common ground on the streets of America's biggest city.

Much like the vibrant days of Abbie Hoffman's stock exchange money drop in 1967, protest in America is finding its creative stride again. With tongues firmly in their cheeks, The Billionaires for Bush <www.billionairesforbush.com> will be in New York, "popping champagne corks in the faces of the great unwashed middle-class masses that have assembled to protest our great president," says Andrew Boyd – aka 'Phil T. Rich' – an activist with the theatrical protest group.

Activist-artist Wendy Tremayne is holding an anti-RNC lead-up event on August 17 called the 'Vomitorium.' Actors will recreate a Roman feast, but the puking Romans will be replaced with Americans – who Tremayne says are mirroring the ways of Rome. "Their gluttony was our consumerism.

There was a disparity of wealth, a growth in materialism and a real reduction in intellectual pursuit." Sound familiar?

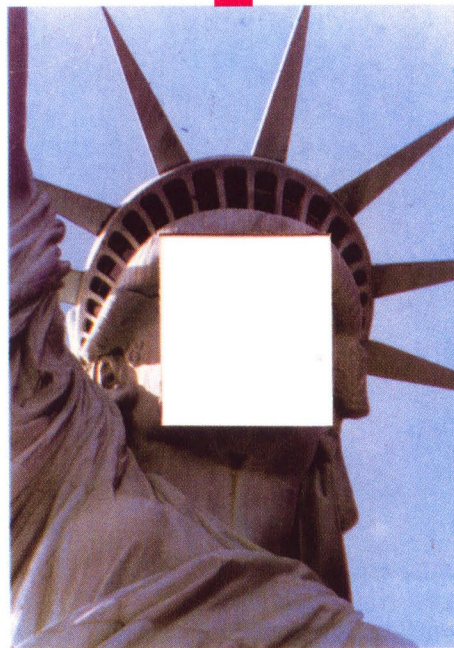
The Time's Up! bike collective <www.times-up.org> will hold several critical masses and bike bloc's before and during the

RNC protests. The group is also acting as an organizer for bike-related actions. The Greene Dragon's <www.greenedragon.org>, led by Jonny America, will celebrate the American 'Revel-ution 2004' by riding bicycles decorated as horses down Lexington Avenue, screaming in the style of Paul Revere, "the Republicans are coming!" Ring Out <www.ringout.org> will distribute bells to people on the streets. If enough people ring them they will "Ring out the Republicans." And famous designer Milton Glaser has called for New Yorkers to light up the sky with flashlights, candles, and plastic wands, to use light as a peaceful message of resistance to Bush, from dusk until dawn on August 30. <www.lightupthesky.org>

Activists and non-activists alike are furious at the Republicans' choice of New York. "For them to come here is a slap, it's spitting on us," says Jason Flores-Williams, a columnist with *High*

Times magazine in New York, which is publishing an activists' guide to the RNC in its next issue.

Consider these facts: four out of five New Yorkers are Democrats; a Republican convention has never been held there, and a massive concrete barrier is being constructed to protect Bush and his cronies. Add to this the popular sentiment that Bush is coming to New York to wrap himself in 9/11's patriotic



KENDALL GEERS

ART CONTRIBUTORS 55



Hartmut Naegele
Prada
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Craig Wylie
Glass of Water with Spoon
Courtesy of Jonathon
Cooper Gallery



Michael Scott Berman
Birds in Sky
msbphotography.com



Doug Hall
"Mammal and Bird Cold Storage" 1997
Courtesy Rena Bransten
Gallery



Danielle Levitt
from *Vice Magazine*
edgereps.com



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Courtesy the artist



Brian Ulrich
Chicago, IL 2003
notifbutwhen.com



Tom Hopkins
Echo, 1998 (detail)



Kendell Geers
After Liberty postcard
kendell-geers.net



Lars Tumbjork
Courtesy the artist



Nina Pohl
<17>, 1999
Courtesy Engholm
Wngelhorn Galerie



Flore-Aël Surun
G8 meeting at Evian in June 2003
Courtesy the artist



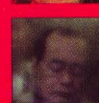
Gail Albert-Halaban
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AB 54 Correction:
Malcolm Tweedy



Joachim Tschirmer
-Director
Film: *"The Aral Sea Where the Water ends, the world ends"*
Um Welt Film
Produktion
umweltfilm.de
aralsea.org

backdrop before the election, and the cold welcome isn't surprising. "There's a real groundswell of popular resistance against this convention," says Boyd. "Everyone is seeing this as an affront and are going to turn out in force to protest."

Republican mayor Michael Bloomberg's office is rather

conveniently making life as hard as possible for a protest: the main UFPJ march has been

waiting in vain for more than a year for its protest permit. Without it, the march cannot gather at Central Park's Great Lawn, the only site big enough to house all the protestors. "No question, it is a battle to have a protest," says UFPJ spokesman William K. Dobbs. "If the ability to get within sight and sound of the president is threatened, it erodes protest rights for everybody. But nobody should be discouraged. This is a resistance movement within the world's only superpower."

Billionaire Boyd says he hopes protests in the city will be

"What I'm hoping for is something along the lines of Paris in '68 or Chicago in '68 – where this city is effectively shut down."

THE SECURITY BUDGET IS \$76 MILLION, and 10,000 police officers will be facing the protestors. The stage is set for anarchy, which is just what some activists will be resorting to during the Republican convention – only they'll be trading their black masks for tech-savvy protest tools.

"There's been an incredible technological buildup on the side of the police, and on the other side people are still holding cardboard placards and making puppets," says artist and engineer Natalie Jeremijenko. No longer: this new wave of activism will use decentralized and distributed communications to level the playing field with law enforcement. "No self-defined anarchist has ever sparked a revolution," writes Siva Vaidhyanathan in *The Anarchist in the Library*, "but the ideologically uninitiated who have trafficked in their habits in anarchism – chiefly unmediated communication – have toppled dozens of tyrants."

• **FLASH RADIOJACKING:** Jeremijenko and the Bureau of Inverse Technology (BIT) will use a special transmitter to break into radio frequencies reserved for corporate stations, giving bursts of information so brief that the FCC can't lock onto their transmission location. During the World Economic Forum demonstrations, BIT called attention to the Bush administration's bogus claims about the safety of the air after 9/11.

"ferce but peaceful," but Flores-Williams feels that New York and America is ready for a shakeup. "What I'm hoping for are something along the lines of Paris in '68 or Chicago in '68 – where this city is effectively shut down," he says.

While he supports the traditional UFPJ approach to protest, he feels the march will act as a watershed for a

more widespread "organic chaos" in Manhattan. Tensions will be high, especially if the UFPJ protest isn't made legal. And he feels the time is right. "This will be a moment where the [Republicans] have to say 'wait a second,'" he says. "There was a million people on the streets of New York. They shut down the world's most important city. What does that mean?"

Timothy Querengesser

Each time New York's airborne pollution surpassed the "safe" level, a warning bleep interrupted broadcasts of the local NPR affiliate. <www.bureauit.org>

• **BIKES AGAINST BUSH:** Joshua Kinberg will hit the streets on an "internet-enabled tactical media 'weapon' for non-violent creative resistance." Outfitted with a laptop, webcam, GPS device, and cellphone, his tech-laden bike will receive text messages sent by visitors to <www.BikesAgainstBush.com>. At the push of a button, he'll select messages to print on the pavement using a robotic chalk-spraying device; each anti-Bush screed will be time stamped and GPS-mapped on the website. The bike's maneuverability effectively makes all of New York a free speech zone.

• **BACKPACK BROADCAST:** Media collective Neurotransmitter will be toting 'com_muni_ports' throughout the convention. These low-power, backpack-mounted radio transmitters will provide localized, on-the-fly media broadcasts, bearing witness live to events you won't hear about on local Clear Channel stations. <http://molodiez.org/ocs/maillinglist/archive/263.html>

• **WIFI ON WHEELS:** Yury Gitman will be pedaling his MagicBike during the convention. Offering free internet connectivity wherever it goes, it'll wire the UK-based collective OpenSorcery so members can play a military simulator online and on the streets of New York

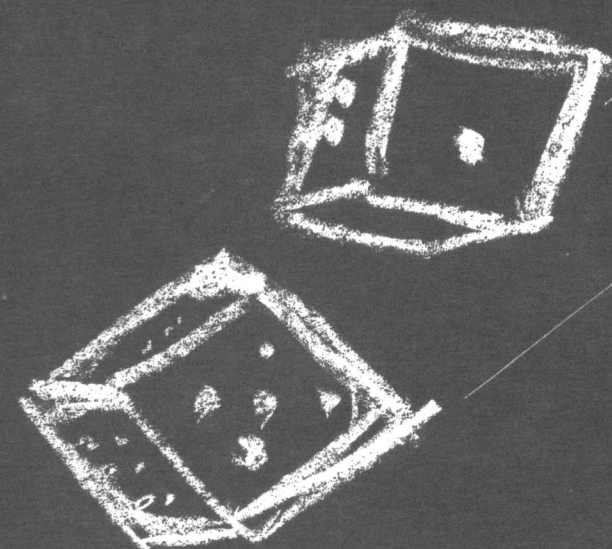
using high-power projectors. Operations in Urban Terrain (OUT), a first-person-shooter game, aims to critique the militarization of civilian life following 9/11 – a condition the group describes as "a government . . . at war with its own citizens, with soldiers in the midst of the fabric of ordinary life" – by literally broadcasting the game's violence on city walls. <www.opensorcery.net/OUT/>

• **INFLATED CROWD COUNTS:** When the demonstration ends, police will inevitably lowball crowd sizes, while activists will present overly optimistic numbers. The Bureau of Inverse Technology will calculate verifiable figures, thanks to a wireless video camera tethered to a helium balloon high above the action. A rollerblader will maneuver the balloon throughout the entire crowd while the high-resolution camera beams visual data to laptops on the ground. The result: a composite image that'll be analyzed by software similar to the kind used for counting microscopic cells in labs. "If Bush can dismiss this as a 'focus group' with the wave of his hand, how do you answer that? You have to have a higher standard of evidence, you have to have more compelling images," says Jeremijenko. "And we end up with a family aero-portrait – a self-documentation of our action on the streets."

Paul Schmelzer



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