

socialist

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future

BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING

NEW LABOUR IS stepping up plans to tap people's e-mails and mobile phone calls. It is also bringing in national insurance numbers at birth and wants ID cards for all.

New-born babies are to get an NI number with their birth certificate. The Child Poverty Action Group director Martin Barnes warned: "This smacks of a barcode at birth." It was short step from this to a national ID system, he added.

The Blair government is also using the excuse of the passport fiasco – caused by privatisation of computer systems – to call for identity cards for travellers instead.

Plans for intercepting e-mail, the Internet, pagers, mobile phones and all new telecommunications services were outlined by Home Secretary Jack Straw.

If the new law is passed as proposed, all "communications service providers" (CSPs) will be required at their own expense to build in government interception facilities to their networks.

The proposed new law follows



118 protesters swarm up Threadneedle Street to the Bank of England, historic headquarters of capital.

the plans secretly agreed by European police officials recently (see *Socialist Future*, June 1999).

Legal obligations to be imposed on CSPs will include all Internet Service Providers (ISPs) operating in the UK, whether large or small. ☺

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DON'T LET OCALAN HANG

WE CONDEMN the death sentence passed on Kurdish liberation leader Abdullah Ocalan by the Turkish dictatorship.

The regime has for decades brutally suppressed the rights of the Kurdish people to self-determination. More than 3,000 Kurdish villages have been razed by the Turkish army and four political parties banned.

Turks who support Kurdish rights are jailed for many years. Any journalist who merely mentions the Kurds faces threats and imprisonment. Government death and torture squads operate against opponents of the regime.

Perhaps as many as a million Kurds have fled their homes. Yet despite suffering a fate far worse than that of the Kosovar Albanians, we do not hear a word of protest by London or Washington. The reason: Turkey is a Nato ally and a valuable trading partner. That is why it is all right to kidnap and drug Ocalan in a foreign country and fly him back.

Ocalan is not a terrorist, as the press claim, but the leader of a national liberation movement, the PKK.

The responsibility for any violence in the civil war rests entirely with the

Turkish government for denying the Kurds their rights. In Britain, the trade union leaders stay silent, so feeble have they become.

The Movement for a Socialist Future calls on the labour movement to protest against the death sentence and to organise a boycott of Turkey until the Kurds win their rights. ■



Kurds in Germany protest against the verdict

Big Brother is watching

continued from page 1

➔ It will also cover "interception of business telecommunication services, ranging from basic networks of a few lines found within a small office to large networks linking offices, in both the public and private sectors".

Developing or introducing new networks or systems which cannot be monitored will breach the new interception law, according to the Home Office. The government expects the British telecommunications industry to pay all the installation costs for tapping facilities.

The law will apply to all types of communications services, including internet telephony, television conferencing, and satellite based personal com-

munications systems.

Tapping centres will also have to be sent information about conference calls, redirected calls, calls that are not answered, and even the times when phones are switched on. Data from mobile phone networks will be used to track a target's movements.

Madeleine Colvin of Justice, the international human rights organisation and British section of the International Commission of Jurists, warned:

"There are major gaps in what these proposals suggest for controlling surveillance methods. For example, how is anyone to know their human rights have been abused if they are never going to be told their e-mail has been intercepted by the government?"

Before the plans were revealed, the Home Office admitted that during 1998, government ministers signed a record 2,031 telephone tapping warrants for domestic purposes, as well as an unknown number for foreign surveillance.

Each one has to be signed personally by the Home Secretary or Scottish First Minister, who has to read the papers and satisfy himself that a sufficient case has been made. This means that about 40 warrants have to be signed each week.

Caspar Bowden, from the Foundation for Information Policy Research, pointed out that given statistical fluctuations, there would be some days on which Straw would have to sign 10, 15 or even 20 warrants. ■

'OLD LABOUR' IS LEFT BEHIND

By The Editor

SUDDENLY A FEW alarm bells are ringing among New Labour MPs, especially since the party's disastrous showing at the European elections when the Tories emerged as the biggest winners.

MPs who thought they were sitting pretty for indefinite terms in office are panicking and calling on Labour to reject alliances with the Liberal Democrats. They are holding a conference which is aimed at "Keeping the party Labour".

Meanwhile, John Monks, the right-wing secretary of the Trades Union Congress, says Tony Blair should give up wooing the "middle ground" and concentrate on "core" traditional supporters instead.

Unfortunately, both the MPs and Monks are completely missing the point, not to mention trying to shut the stable door after the horse has bolted.

Asking it to stay a "democratic socialist party", as some Labour MPs are doing, ignores the fact that the party has changed in a fundamental way.

The Blairites who command every area of New Labour believe in something quite different – making life easy for the multi-nationals who dominate the global market capitalist economy.

This is spelt out in the agreement signed between New Labour and the Social Democratic Party of Germany recently, which says: "The essential function of markets must be complemented and improved by political action, not hampered by it. We support a market economy, not a market society."

The document rejects post-war

governments in which "the means of achieving social justice became identified with ever higher levels of public spending regardless of what they achieved or the impact of the taxes required to fund it on competitiveness".

Blair and Chancellor Schroeder say: "The ability of national governments to fine-tune the economy in order to secure growth and jobs has been exaggerated. The importance of individual and business enterprise to the creation of wealth has been undervalued. The weaknesses of markets have been overstated and their strengths

underestimated." They add: "In a world of ever more rapid globalisation and scientific changes we need to create the conditions in which existing businesses can prosper and adapt, and new businesses can be set up and grow."

The Third Way is not Thatcherism by another name but goes beyond it. It sees the role of the state as creating a "a robust and competitive market framework" for global capitalism. The main elements, say Schroeder and Blair, are "liberalisation" of world trade; productivity growth; flexible markets; a minimum of rules and regulation; flexible labour markets.

What this means, says the agreement, is that "the labour market needs a low-wage sector in order to make low skill jobs available".

The Anglo-German document is something that the multi-nationals themselves could have drafted. Blair and Schroeder are essentially their managing agents in government. ■

Third Way's dead end...

NEW LABOUR'S emergence as a party of global capitalism is difficult to accept if you believe in "common sense", where nothing ever changes in a fundamental way. But there is a point where things do actually turn into their opposites, in life and in politics. New Labour is just such a phenomenon. Even if it were possible to eject Blair and company from the party, there can be no return to old Labour, precisely because of the globalisation process. Because companies and financial markets operate in a transnational way, governments' control over the domestic economy is limited.

Apologists for the Third Way like Anthony Giddens, the director of the London School of Economics, say that there is no future for socialism, that it was

tried and found wanting. There is no alternative to working with globalised capitalism, they claim.

Yet countless millions are turning away from the Third Way all over Europe. They are effectively rejecting the rule of global corporations. To respond to this by asking Blair to stand by socialist values is pure nonsense and misleads people about what has happened.

It is to the disenchanting masses that we must turn, demonstrating how new conditions for socialist change have emerged, which we can take advantage of. We can show how the productive capacity and technology developed by capitalism is the basis for a new, democratic, non-bureaucratic society, based on co-operation not profit. ■

Yugoslavia crisis

MYTH OF THE 'JUST WAR'

By Paul Feldman

BEHIND THE hypocrisy about a "humanitarian war" waged on behalf of the Kosova Albanians lie the real motives behind the Nato bombing of Yugoslavia. President Clinton blurted them out in a televised address in April: "If we're going to have a strong economic relationship that includes our ability to sell around the world, Europe has got to be a key. . . That's what this Kosovo thing is all about," he said.

What this shows clearly is that the prime function of Washington, London and Berlin was and remains the creation of conditions where multinational corporations can do business and flourish. The instability in the Balkans, which constantly threatens to lead to a wider European war, undermines this project. Occupation of the area is the "solution" for the corporations and their military and political representatives.

Persecution of the Kosova Albanians was never the issue for the governments of the Nato countries.

That went on for more than a decade under the

Milosevic nationalist dictatorship in Belgrade, while Nato was doing business with his government. Ethnic cleansing took place against Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims with Nato's approval. Now Kosova Serbs are forced to flee while Nato turns a blind eye.

Self-determination for Kosova was never on the agenda either. The region is now a UN protectorate. Kosova Liberation Army fighters have been

disarmed because Nato is clearly in charge and intends to construct a capitalist economy under the control of the West.

As is now documented, the bombing led to a worse position for the Kosovars. Some 850,000 fled after the air raids, driven out by Milosevic's para-militaries and many were murdered. Towns were laid waste as Nato's real victims became the citizens of Kosova.

In Yugoslavia, 20,000 bombs and cruise missiles

were targeted at factories, bridges, TV stations, power stations and even hospitals. As many as 3,000 civilians were killed in this "just war" fought from 15,000 feet by Nato pilots. Terrible environmental damage was caused. Some victory!

All this destruction is, of course, potentially big business. Who will rebuild the smashed infrastructure? Why major US and European corporations, of course!

Meanwhile, there is indifference towards the refugees. Even the United Nations representatives have criticised Nato governments for not supplying the cash to feed and house 740,000 refugees in Kosova, Albania and Macedonia. The UN High Commission for Refugees has only received \$140m of the \$400m it needs for its work this year. ■

Reject the Nato occupation

WHAT THE WAR AGAINST Yugoslavia also revealed was the reactionary nature of nationalism and the inability of many so-called socialists to distinguish between fact and fiction. Milosevic's corrupt and reactionary dictatorship, far from defending the achievements of Yugoslavia, allowed Nato to appear as champion of the oppressed and occupy part of the country.

Yet the bombing could not have taken place without the craven support of the liberal press in Britain, and the backing of most Labour MPs. They too swallowed the lie that it was a "just war". And what is more politically disgusting than Clare Short, the former "left" turned war-monger, who likened the opponents of the bombing to the appeasers of the Nazis? Others on the so-called left, put

their hands over their eyes and refused to recognise the genuine plight of the Kosovars.

A mass movement is now developing against Milosevic. Disgruntled and humiliated soldiers have set up road blocks demanding their wages on their return to Yugoslavia. Big demonstrations are taking place in the major cities calling for Milosevic to go.

The downfall of his hated regime would be a signal for the Serb working class to establish its own power and to reassure the Kosova Albanians that nationalism will never again threaten their rights and independence. It would lay the basis for a joint struggle with the Kosovars to rid the area of foreign troops, allowing the people themselves to determine their own future. ■

Across the globe thousands of people marched to the slogans “down with capitalism, down with globalisation, reject the debts, down with the IMF, bread not nuclear bombs”



**J18
SPECIAL
REPORT**

As day dawned in Britain, cycling protestors brought traffic in the City of London to a halt - the first of many protests involving thousands of people.

At Liverpool Street station, the crowds began to gather, the drummers pounded out the beat, slowly at first, then building up to a deafening cacophony. As the noise of drums, shouts and whistles reached a climax, the crowd split suddenly into groups identified by different coloured masks, and poured on to the streets of the City. J18 was a dramatic and colourful carnival. MSF photographer Dean Holt captured the scenes ☺



Beyond the global protests

JUNE 18 saw the first world-wide protest against global capitalism, organised in cyberspace. It showed that growing numbers of people on every continent reject the rule of the multinationals and want an alternative system.

The thousands on the streets of the City of London spoke for the millions who opted out of the so-called democratic process in recent elections to the European parliament, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh assembly.

As our roundup shows, in countries in the developing world, trade unions were involved in or led J18 protests. But in Britain, they were totally absent, as were the old left organisations like the Socialist Workers Party.

They cannot understand or identify with the rejection of politics that was characterised by the demonstration. But the hostility to the capitalist politics that gave us globalisation, environmental destruction and war is

By Kate McCabe

not wrong, nor can it be dismissed as simply anarchism.

It is a moment of transition to something new and that is why the Movement for a Socialist Future participated in the day.

The challenge ahead is to show that socialism does not have to be authoritarian, bureaucratic or dogmatic and is a viable alternative to the profit system.

The City of London, and other financial centres and the multinationals, were profoundly shaken by the demonstration of global hatred for capitalism. Violence broke out on J18 in London essentially because the police ended the carnival atmosphere with baton charges and wild driving which injured demonstrators.

J18 was also significant because it was largely organised through the Internet, which neither the major corporations nor states control, despite



their attempts to intercept messages. Their whole system depends on the telecommunications revolution they have created.

Whilst we all need to be conscious of security requirements, it would take an army of surveillance experts a year to comb through all the messages flying through cyberspace on a single day!

Many of the leaders of J18 reject all politics and advocate anarchy as the way to break down the power of the multi-nationals.

But the fact remains that you can't overthrow capitalism with these methods. They are an extreme form of protest which still leave the social system of capitalism

intact after it is all over.

To end capitalism, we have to build up an organisation that shows in the way it operates what the future can be. It needs to be open and democratic in its decision-making, with individuals free to express themselves but acting in a conscious and disciplined way to achieve agreed goals.

It must aim far beyond capitalism in its ideas, creatively developing the concept of a future based on co-operation not profit, and striving every day to achieve it, in its own country and all over the world. The Movement for a Socialist Future is working to develop such a party and by joining us now you can help to shape its policies and direction.■

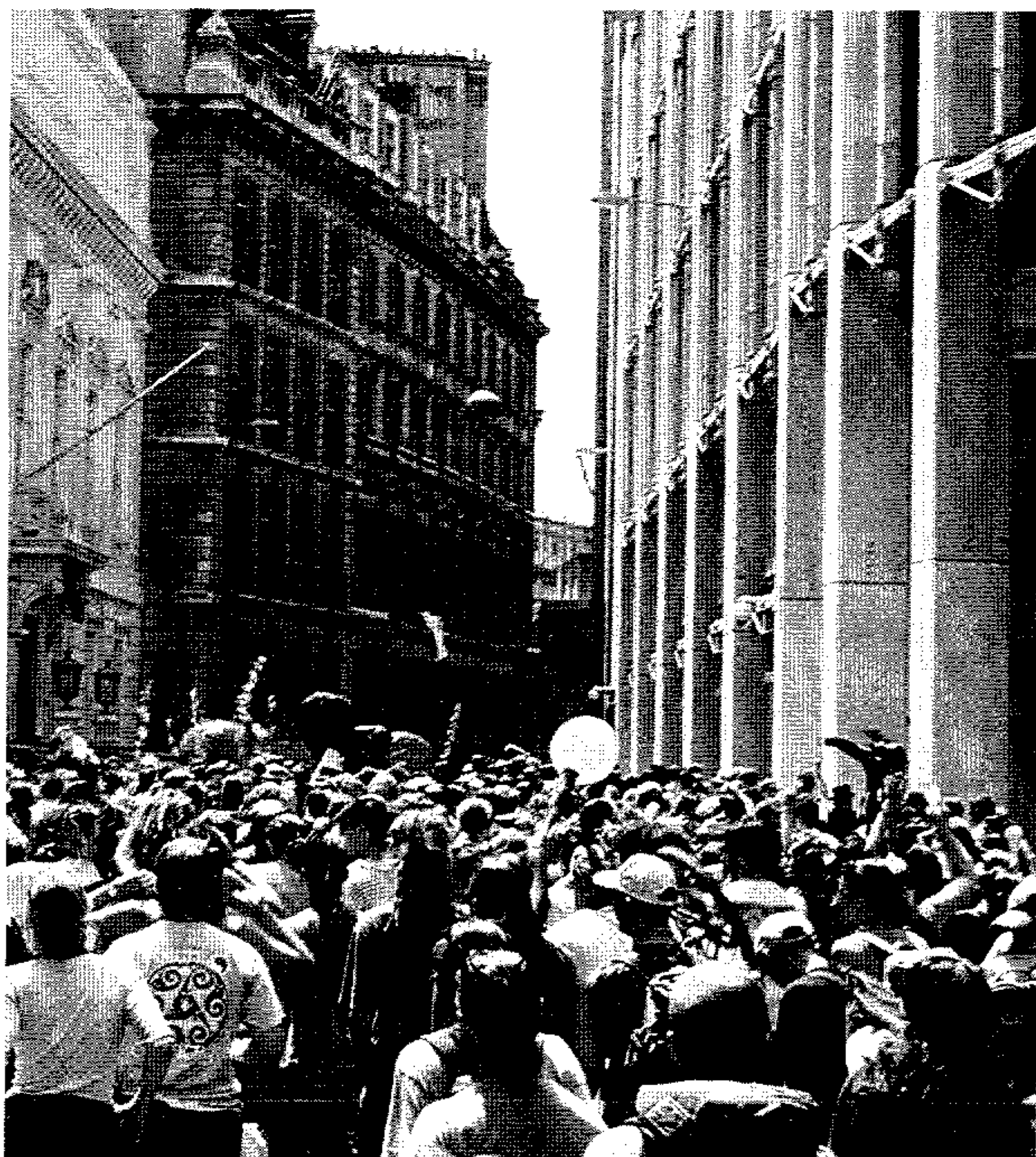


*How it began..
Free expression
was the order of the
day – mud women,
a naked protest,
giant green heads,
stiltwalkers, jugglers
and lone musicians
brought a riot of
colour to the grey
city. Many City
workers joined in
the protest during
their lunch breaks,
relishing the chance
to voice opposition
to their ruthless
employers.*



J18 SPECIAL REPORT

PHOTO REPORT BY DEAN HOLT



J18 SPECIAL REPORT

Global roundup



How it ended...
Police in riot gear and on horseback charged protestors, some intent on confrontation, others driving their vans recklessly at the crowds, injuring several people.

Argentina...
Debt cancellation movement Dialogo 2000, marched through the financial centre of **Buenos Aires**. In front of the Central Bank/IMF building, speakers argued for non-payment of debt by the peoples of the South.

Australia...
In **Melbourne**, the Biotic Baking Brigade hit Opposition Leader Kim Beazley with a vegan cream pie, as he made a speech on trade liberalisation at the Shell headquarters, at a meeting organised by uranium mining boss Hugh Morgan.

Uruguay...
In **Montevideo** the June 18 Network set up a trade fair in the city's financial centre focusing on cheap labour, the absence of free education, and the effect of global TV in wiping out other cultures. A PVC jockey rode a non-returnable Plasticsaurus. Trade unionists also took part, including workers locked out of the Cristalerias del Uruguay glass factory, fishermen, and workers from the "El Cine" supermarket, who have been in occupation for the last two months.



U.S.A...
In **Eugene, Oregon**, after a day of peaceful protest and carnival, a few hundred people were tear-gassed by police. In **New York** 500 clowns, fire-eaters, and mad-dancers skipped down Wall Street, weaving in and out of the capital of capital. The police confiscated a new sound system straight away, and the stiltwalkers were arrested before they could block the streets - and so were their stilts.

Nigeria...
Over 10,000 people welcomed back Dr Owens Wiwa, the brother of the hanged Ogoni leader Ken Saro-Wiwa, who chose to return to the Niger Delta on June 18. Carrying a coffin marked "Shell in Hell", they marched to the

company's headquarters in Port Harcourt. Saro-Wiwa named Agip, Mobil, Chevron and Elf as other Western multinationals who have destroyed the Ogoni's basic livelihood.

Pakistan...
Trade union leaders may face the death penalty as a result of the J18 protest when the All Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions marched against nuclear weapons. The APFTU leadership went underground four days before the demo, and police raided union headquarters on June 17. Finding no clue of their whereabouts, they trashed the office. As the march made its way through the city, chanting "we want bread, not bombs", the leaders emerged wearing masks



and veils, and went to the head of the procession. Over 400 police commandos attacked using tear gas and arrested many protesters, including the union leaders.

Activists bailed next day reported that the leaders had been beaten. They are now in jail and may be charged with "damaging the territorial integrity of the country", which carries the death penalty. The union has opened a fund to pay for lawyers. For more information, e.mail union@grt.space.net.pk. or write to: All Pakistan Federation of United Trade Unions, Union House, Rangpura, Sargodha Road, Gujrat, Pakistan. ■

See www.j18.org for more updates and links to other sites.

Making a vote mean something

WHEN WE VOTE, we are choosing the people we want to represent us. Once we have voted, we never ask any more from them, until we are given the opportunity to vote again. Government is a one-way system which makes little reference to the people it governs.

MPs are not generally active on behalf of their constituency because there is very little involvement of Westminster in local politics. Local issues are discussed locally and national issues are discussed in Parliament.

The people have very little input in either of these discussions, even though the decisions made affect their lives. How can an MP represent the opinions of their constituents if they have not been consulted?

People are indifferent to politics because of the unaccountability of those in power, and a remote group now rules the country, argues Martin Wright

Manifestos should be the equivalent of a job application form. As the people consider each of the party's applications, a vote is cast to select the one deemed most appropriate.

If the people who are given this

responsibility fail to perform their jobs satisfactorily, they should be removed from office. The people who vote them in should have the same power to vote them out.

Governments tell us what is going to happen, rather than carrying out actions requested by the people. We are powerless as Bills are passed through Parliament without public consultation.

We are now in a position where rather than the monarch making decisions, a remote group now rules the country. Government and state bodies should be accountable for any aspect of the purpose for which they were created.

To change the government into one which serves us we need to change our perception of what we are voting for. By assuming the stance of consumers to the government's position of supplier we are in a stronger position to effect change than we realise.

Are you getting what you voted for? Will you get what you vote for next time? It should be your government. You can change it. ■



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Brush power

by Corinna Lotz

THE SHORT-LIST for this year's Turner Prize, one of Britain's most prestigious art awards, features four artists who work in film and video. The captains of the art industry don't seem interested in "traditional" techniques such as oil painting or etching.

But it can be argued that many artists working in these media are more forward-looking than the trend-setters and are producing things of far greater merit.

Quite a few of London's small independent galleries refuse to go along with the dogmas and the Tate's "corporate" art selectors. Some of the most exciting new work is not at the Tate Gallery or Cork Street, but in modest new spaces at Putney Bridge, Clapham Common and Knightsbridge.

Su Ling Wang, who is presently studying in London, is one of a number of highly-talented Taiwanese women artists. Paintings and china sculptures by a group of her contemporaries were recently shown at the Proud Gallery just off the Strand. She fuses subtlety of colour and delicate calligraphy with witty images of tiny flying birds.

Her first one-woman show was at the Clapham Art Gallery, an exciting new venture run by Aniko Paal and Xavier Ellis. Their postage-stamp space continues to surprise by the high quality of their artists.

Wang has made a powerful range of work over the last months. *Untitled 1999*, for example, uses a pure turquoise base. The background is highly spatial, with a curve of diaphanous white

sweeping through it. We penetrate depth, but are brought back abruptly by splashes of orange, delicately dripped down the canvas.

Jane Watt, of *JAG Contemporary Art*, has brought together an intriguing mix of artists under the theme *Philosophy of Inner Space*. **Ray Malone**, **Nicol Rodriguez** and **Roy Ray** specialise in complex textures and a thoughtful evocation of pictorial space.

Rodriguez, who was born in the south of France but now lives in the Hague, completed a degree in philosophy before turning to art. Her "art language", she says, "gives new forms to ideas, concepts and symbols, and represents a powerful projection of unconsciousness – a futuristic prospect of the universe."

In an abrupt career

Artists such as **Su Ling Wang**, **Marie Graesen**, **Nicol Rodriguez** and **Ray Malone** reject the glib trends of the contemporary art market. They make beautifully composed and crafted, many-layered structures on canvas or paper, with a stunning visual impact.

The artist's personality emerges through the paint, which is explored, stretched, and taken through its paces with abstract but evocative shapes and a fearless application of colour. They taken the American and European abstract movement of the 1950s to new levels of complexity and expressive power.



move she left France in 1978. "My choice of abstract art," she says, "came like a revelation, an explosion that blew up all of a sudden in the routine of everyday life, opening a window to new worlds of communication via different time-spaces.

I will never forget that day."

Rodriguez' Mediterranean background emerges through intense terracottas, oranges and sulphur yellows. She has pioneered a new technique of print-making combined with *chine*



Opposite page: Su Ling Wang *Untitled*, oil and mixed media on canvas (1999). Below: Marie Graesen in her studio, and right *Mother and Child* oil on canvas (1994) Left: Nicol Rodriguez *Titan* etching with chine collée (1997)



collée. By applying several impressions and using glued paper, she creates the illusion of depth. All this floats through deep areas of black, white and pink. Her ethereal spaces and open rectangles are reminiscent of Rothko.

The word "print" gives a notion of flatness, but Rodriguez' etchings combine painting and etching with a freedom of colour and drawing that is totally unique.

Marie Graesen seeks to express a particular vision of nature, drawn from her native Sweden. Her paintings have been on view at Montpellier Sandelson in a two-person show curated by James Colman Fine Art.

"Human beings are part of nature," she says. "We are made of water, arising from the soil, moving through air and space. The flow of natural life runs through history, but it is threatened now."

During the 1970s and 1980s, the artist focused

on the threat to human life from nuclear power and its waste. She made a locally commissioned mural on the end of a terrace of houses in Gothenburg, where she began her training as an artist. All that remains now is a photograph, since the terraced houses were demolished, but other big murals she made can still be seen on public sites in the town.

Graesen has moved on to a more abstract and lyrical use of oil, but still integrating many of her early themes and preoccupations. The human figure is present, but it is integrated into the surrounding space, and must be located and her symbolism deciphered.

By the Edge, for example, is a large work from 1997-1998. Two large pink bodies confront us from a bright turquoise background.

The bodies are hazy, with white, skeletal brushstrokes peering through. Graesen's strident use of turquoise,

combined with "unnatural" pink, yellow and lime green, evoke a surprisingly sharp sense of mortality and decay, reminiscent of the Belgian painter Ensor.

She is deeply rooted, though not in a derivative way, in Scandinavian myth and painterly tradition.

Munch's themes and Strindberg's extraordinary abstract style from around 1900 come to mind in *Mother and Child* (1994). Here two figures confront each other, but we have to locate them in the interwoven drips and striations of moss greens, oranges, flesh pinks and deep blues. A flow of water rhymes with the coursing paintstrokes.

Water, the sea, waves, the journey into the unknown – all these are present in major works such as *The First Boat Journey* (1996) and *Where Rainbows Grow* (1998).

In *The First Boat Journey* the forms are not

immediately apparent. The movement of the sea, the deep green of Sweden's dark waters gradually emerge, along with the shapes of a mother and father with a child. Her range of colour, sometimes earthy, some-times iridescent in deeply ploughed layering and symbolic form make Graesen an outstanding practitioner in oil. The emotional immersion in high colour and the flow of paint is tempered by the use of myth and metaphor.

Like Nicol Rodriguez, she does not shirk from presenting the big questions of life. ■

Galleries and Curators

Clapham Art Gallery
0171 720 0955. E-mail:
106516.2274@compuserve.com
James Colman at Montpellier
Sandelson 0171 584 7488.
E-mail: kde52@dial.pipex.com
Jane Watt JAG Contemporary
Ltd. 0171 697 8935

news analysis

Greenpeace says:

'Ban GM and go organic'

Greenpeace and the Soil Association have called for a phase-out of industrial agriculture and a shift to organic farming.

A new report *The True Cost of Food*, also calls for a ban on genetic engineering in food and farming, and a phase-out of pesticides and other synthetic chemicals.

The report examines the real cost of industrialised farming in terms of human health, animal welfare, and the environment and insists this vision of agriculture – of which genetic engineering is the latest trend – is fundamentally flawed.

We pay for the consequences of industrialised farming practices three times over – as consumers of increasingly contaminated food and water, as taxpayers, and as potential victims of food-related illnesses such as E.coli and CJD.

The report also stresses the

enormous cost to the environment as intensive agriculture results in massive destruction of natural habitats and consequent loss of wildlife.

The report claims that New Labour agricultural policy embraces "irresponsible short-term priorities" and fails to respond to public needs.

The sustainable agricultural policy measures it proposes include:

- a ban on genetic engineering in food and farming
- a phase-out of artificial chemical inputs
- targets for organic conversion – 30% by 2010, in line with European trends – and a long-term shift of all agriculture to organic methods.

Executive director of Greenpeace UK, Peter Melchett, says there is a "stark and fundamental choice" facing the government: "Do we

want industrial farming and GM food or do we want the genuinely sustainable future that modern organic farming represents? Synthetic chemicals, pesticides, antibiotics and the GM seeds of agrochemical companies are unwanted and unnecessary."

Less than one per cent of land in the UK is farmed organically and demand is outstripping supply.

Meanwhile, the Danish agricultural Minister has said he expects 50% of Denmark to be farmed organically by 2010. Already, 20% of dairy production is organic.

Organic farmer, Nigel Wookey, said: "Despite massive public funding, UK agricultural policy is failing to maintain farm incomes. There are also huge question marks over its effects on the environment, health and rural employment.

"If a tiny proportion of the funds spent on conventional agriculture had been spent on developing organic techniques, organic food would be much cheaper and more widely available." ■

The True Cost of Food report is available via www.truefood.org.

● The lobbying firm which acts for GM food giant Monsanto, pays up to £10,000 a year to the MP in charge of a key Commons food committee. Tory MP Peter Luff receives the cash for advising Bell Pottinger. He is chairman of the House of Commons agriculture select committee, which polices government policy on food farming practises. One member of the committee asked: "How can he be seen to be neutral in an investigation into GM food when he is paid by a company which services Monsanto?"

Do you want a future based on co-operation, not profit?

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