

The Economics of Killing

Book Discussion Event hosted by Oxford Hub, Oxford

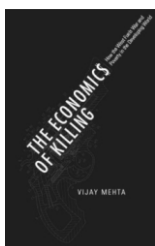
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Introduction

Good evening and welcome to the book discussion. Thanks to Will Duncan and the team of the Oxford Hub for hosting the book discussion today. It's a privilege and an honour to address youth and students. Your courageous actions are a driving force for all the changes taking place in our world.

The reasons for writing the book *The Economics Of Killing* is the urgent necessity to try to stop our world becoming dangerously militarised. The global military spending in 2011 stands at \$1.74 trillion, the all time high figure. The 1% of the senior-politicians, military, weapon manufacturers, arm dealers, corporations and media support militarism knowing well that using force against force does not work. The cold war has been over for more than two decades, yet the world continues on an insane path to increase its military spending year after year as if we are living in a time of unending conflict. More problematic is the fact that by over-arming ourselves in the West and Asia, we end up repeating the horrors and the bloodshed of 20th century in which 250 wars were fought and 160 million lives were lost.

How can a society be called civilised if it has an international arms/killing industry which leads to wars, violence, barbarism, to counterproductive military budgets destroying social, economic, political and cultural fabric and values? One is baffled by the fact that here we are in the 21st Century and we still killing each other. We need to explore nonviolent ways for building peace and restoring human dignity, ethics and civilisation, reflected in a new initiative 4D for World Peace inspired by the book – 4D standing for Disarmament, Demilitarisation, Development and Democracy.

To build peace we need to challenge structural violence of elitism, racism, sexism and nationalism. We should also eliminate gun, knife and machete crimes which are happening on a regular basis in our society. 780 million guns are in circulation world wide and 5 to 6 million are manufactured on a yearly basis. For example, for a population of 300 million, US have 300 million guns. Mass Shootings in US occur every 4 to 6 weeks, the recent one being at Newtown, Connecticut where 20 schoolchildren were killed. Our main task is, in US and elsewhere to not only work for adopting policies to outlaw or control guns, but also for ending culture of violence. If the gun culture is to be reviewed, surely US drone assassination policy should likewise come under scrutiny as it will not only be the cause of future wars but also a continuing danger to peace.

In 2011, the US is still number one in military spending with \$711 billion but China and Russia are catching up fast. USA has only 4% of world's population, friendly neighbours such as Canada and Mexico, yet spends more than the rest of the world on its military.

The US obsession with wars and military spending has created a monster – the military-industrial complex – which acts against the interests of people everywhere, including US citizens themselves. My book, *The Economics of Killing* shows how this monster is not only the cause of extreme poverty in the developing world, but contributed to 911 and the market crash of 2008. How the world can move away from the war economy to a sustainable peace economy based on soft power and co-operation, so we can tackle the biggest threats facing humanity: extreme poverty climate change and warmongering.

Military Industrial Complex and the Damage Done by it

The Military Industrial Complex (MIC) comprises the manufacturers of military technologies, dual use systems (from computer and software to fuel cells, lasers, robotic arms and optical equipment) and industries deemed to be strategically important. It also includes the arms trade, illegal and legal.

MIC includes 25 million soldiers worldwide America's defence department is the world's biggest employer with 3.2 million people on its payroll. China, a big military spender employs 2.3 million in its armed forces. The MIC includes intelligence gathering centres and 1000 military bases spread around the world in 183 countries. Weapon manufacturers of small arms (8 million in circulation), cluster bombs, missiles, landmines, military tanks, ships, fighter jets, nuclear weapons (aprox. 22000 in stock), chemical and biological weapons and newly

introduced drones (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles) much more are part of the complex Military Apparatus. The technological developments in the armaments field are becoming more and more sophisticated and murderous.

Some examples of damage done by Military Industrial Complex(MIC) are:

- a) Rise in militarism and conflicts leading to millions of deaths and untold suffering
- b) Oppression of developing countries & forced transfer of resources from poor to rich
- c) Islamist terrorism and War on Terror based on fear
- d) 2008 financial collapse and current economic crisis
- e) Marginalisation of United Nations and Weakening of World Institutions
- f) Start of a new cold war in Europe and Asia with frightening prospects
- g) Negative effects of MIC on environment, global and human security including refugees, migrants etc.
- h) Control of information, secrecy, Manipulation of media, biased reporting and false propaganda
- i) Use of Science, latest technology and research to develop satanic weapons
- j) MIC Giving powers to military alliances like NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) to police the world and fight its wars

a) Rise in militarism, and conflicts leading to millions of deaths and untold suffering

The culture of militarism and reverence for military is prevalent in all societies throughout history from the Greek state of Sparta, to the Roman Empire to British Empire to the Soviet Union. Hollywood glamorises military. Judiciary and political leaders find it dangerous to oppose militarism. Media rarely questions when it comes to warfare, and only takes a narrow view of wars as justified or unjustified, legal or illegal, popular or unpopular. Practical alternatives to war are ignored.

Obsession with wars and military spending since WW2 from Vietnam, Korean wars, Cold War and the present Iraq and Afghanistan war has killed millions of people, brought untold violence and suffering to civilians and taken the world in the direction of anarchy and disorder. It has created a war economy in which biggest industries heavily subsidised by the US tax payer have become arms manufacturers alongside civilian output, e.g. Boeing, General Electric, Honeywell, Lockheed Martin and UK's BAE (British Aerospace).

Across the world, MIC has handed power to that 1% of humanity whose material desires can never be sated, who act as economists say they should, who murder, torture and steal in exchange for billions in a Swiss bank account, for a fourth yacht or a tenth palace. However, the rest of the humanity, 99% pay for the war in bigger taxes, inflation and depreciation of their savings.

b) Oppression of developing countries and forced transfer of resources from poor to rich

- Global militarism in cahoots with Western Governments is destroying the raw – material – rich but impoverished countries of the underdeveloped world.

- The corrupt practices of extraction of resources like diamond, copper, coltan, oil etc. on unequal basis from poor countries leaves them impoverished without any wealth to kick start the reconstruction and development of their countries.
 - Militarism is the key driver of economics of underdevelopment. Puppet governments in poorest countries are given arms to oppress and control its people in return for unfettered access to natural resources such as oil, gas and minerals, which keeps developing countries in never-ending poverty.
 - This extreme poverty is the cause of two billion people subsisting on less than \$2 a day. Every 3.6 seconds, a person dies of starvation. Every 30 seconds, a child dies of malaria. Every minute a women dies in childbirth, a genocide of neglect and abandonment. One is reminded of the quotation of Former US President Dwight Eisenhower who said and I quote, *“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in a final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed”*
- c) Violence, Islamist terrorism and War on Terror

Power, elite, rulers use violence to control, dominate and legitimise violence by creating fear in the masses like the war on terror, which gives the military a reason for military spending. Islamist terrorism is provoked by the West’s wars, a reason which is rarely discussed. Al Qaeda is the manifestation of the anger and humiliation of people living under puppet regimes. Irony is MIC trained Al Qaeda operatives, Iraqi insurgents and Mujahidin’s in unconventional warfare (guerrilla warfare) at Fort Bragg, the US Army John F Kennedy Warfare Centre, North Carolina, USA.

d) 2008 financial collapse and current economic crisis

- The huge financial cost of militarism is the key factor in the crisis of capitalism. Much bigger risk for peace and prosperity is the failure to restructure US economy and to reduce massively the economic weight of MIC.
- USA have financed wars by inflation, raising the debt limit and deficits spending severely draining the much needed resources which could have been deployed for social services and dealing with unemployment.
- Over \$2 trillion is spent on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan which US couldn’t afford and which plunged US and West into massive debt. Britain itself is experiencing the human and economic cost of Afghanistan war today.
- It was China that provided US with its seemingly endless quantities of cheap credit which left huge amount of liquidity in western markets resulting in low interest rates and unwise lending of loans by bankers leading to a market crash.
- Some problems facing Africa are created by the financial crisis in Europe and US. According to Overseas Development Report June 2012, the world’s poorest countries will receive a \$230 billion hit from Europe’s sovereign debt. Military Spending by Africa in 2011 was \$34.3 billion which is being used to carry out wars and violence (especially against women and children) resulting in massive loss of human lives and livelihoods. If this unwise spending can be deployed for completion of Millennium Development Goals, Africa can be a much safer place.
- The knock on effects from poor governance, weak growth and prolonged austerity in the Euro zone has affected trade, aid, investment and remittances. The outgoing President of the World Bank Robert Zoellick has warned that developing countries need to prepare for a renewed wave of global financial turbulence stemming from Europe, and said they should put their finances in order to face the threat.

e) Marginalisation of United Nations and Weakening of World Institutions

More and more decisions are being taken outside UN by powerful countries. MIC Time and again created hysteria for countries, especially the US and its allies to go to war without proper UN mandate or authorisation.

Like the US invasion of Iraq, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia which side lined the UN as a result. Similarly, World Bank and International Monetary Fund are controlled by powerful vested interest – a situation that compromises our security and undermines democracy.

f) Start of a new Cold War in Europe and Asia

China's military build-up or to use an old slogan (Peaceful Rise) is a threat to neighbours (South Korea, Burma, Vietnam, Japan and even Australia who are spending more on arming themselves).

According to the report released by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) March, 2012, India now is the world's largest importer of arms (10%) along with 4 next largest countries all in Asia – South Korea (6% of total arms transfers), Pakistan (5%), China (5%) and Singapore (4%). It is the beginning of a new cold war in Asia which could result in horrific consequences.

g) Negative effects on environment, global and human security including refugees, migrants etc.

The environmental risks of nuclear contamination leaks are already well known like Chernobyl, 3 mile Island and recent Fukushima disaster.

What is not well known is the pollution created by US military which is the world's single largest user of petroleum. Each year it consumes more energy than Nigeria, one of the world's major oil producers. This profligate use of fuel is extremely harmful to the environment.

Another effect of militarism is that more than 36.4 million persons in more than 120 countries are refugees, migrants, Internally Displaces Persons (IDPs)

h) Control of information, secrecy, Manipulation of media, biased reporting and false propaganda

Hijacking and influencing of media continues to play an important role in falsifying the facts and untruthful reporting of the facts. It is evident from the war on Iraq, when media in cahoots with leaders and governments of US and UK, propagated false stories about a humanitarian war and non-existent weapons of mass destruction. War reporting is supportive of war with little criticism of government and military.

When it comes to warfare the media confines its debate to whether the war is justified or unjustified, legal or illegal, popular or unpopular. Columnists oppose or support one or other conflict/invasion, without challenging the necessity of the war in general and many trillions spent every year on military hardware and personnel. The debate is narrowed and focused on weapons of mass destruction, the human rights record of a regime 'scheduled for change', and the legal conditions necessary for invasion. The practical alternatives to war are ignored.

Writing about the financial meltdown, people responsible for the economic crisis on the Wall Street and other countries are not being fully exposed, investigated or punished leaving citizens to ponder at the role of media.

i) Use of Science, latest technology and research to develop satanic weapons

In the name of global security, science and new technology is being used to develop and produce insane weapons and fight the asymmetric wars of the future. In universities, the scarce resources, are being manipulated to develop and produce new high tech deadly weapons for warfare. Worldwide, between 1.2 and 1.5 million people work as scientists and engineers in military research and development. Industry and public research budgets add up to 100-120 billion dollars per year. Of this, some 25 billion dollars are spent on research in universities. Regarding UK universities, the most recent assessment was published in August 2012, using freedom of information requests, this study found that 17 of the UK's most prestigious universities including Imperial college London, Cambridge and Oxford received a total of £83 million over the 3 years up to until 2011 for military research.

These include viruses and bacteria, flying drones, vaccines, food, sound and electromagnetic technology, anything with a camera, x-rays and radiation, forays into space, psychological advances, mosquitoes, vehicles of any sort including unmanned drones of every size, time travel and remote viewing, microchips and computers, robots, and even the environment and weather. We face a future of extreme unpredictability and chaos if this research is allowed to continue.

- j) MIC Giving powers to military alliance NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) to police the world and fight its wars

NATO is a tool following the agenda of US and its allies of global military dominance. And it is not bringing peace and security, but dangerous instability in the world. The suffering and the dangers NATO has brought with its intervention in wars, is evident in different countries including Afghanistan, Libya and others. Its dangers are even greater as NATO continues to assert its need for nuclear weapons for defence and still holds a policy of first use of nuclear weapons ignoring the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which states that nuclear weapon states should disarm in good faith. NATO is building its missile defence programs in European bases, aimed at Russia. Outside Europe, NATO is expanding its influence from the Mediterranean to the Pacific with enormous cost. NATO is the military wing of a political and economic free market globalisation agenda which by force is harming the economies of the developing world.

What are the Alternatives?

The alternatives are military reduction, cutback on global arms trade, reforms of the monetary system to a wisdom based economy and addressing root causes of violence, wars, terrorism and creating incentives for peace economy.

US and Western countries need urgently to restructure their economies away from its dependence on military sector. How can it be done?

Shift workers from war industry into 'green collar' jobs – renewable, waste management, pollution control, carbon capture.

Share green technology innovation by exporting it to developing countries so they escape smoke-stack stage of development.

Reform the arms, financial and drug industries, who work on giving bribes to win contracts, leading to economic instability. Close down corruption loopholes and fraud which has cost the UK economy \$73 billion in 2011 – the \$43 billion BAE Al-Yamama arms deal to Saudi Arabia

Creating a wisdom based enlightened economy where people should be the first priority, looking after 99% and not just the 1% elite.

Rich countries should stop stealing and extorting materials from developing countries under the guise of free trade and globalisation. Developing countries should adopt Chinese model which lifted 600 million people out of poverty, despite corruption which they have done by following a policy of protecting growth of state champions.

Reform UN to play better leadership role in new global economy, international peace and security.

These are some of the ways we can change the system

A New Campaign Idea for Peacekeeping – 4D for World Peace

To highlight, promote and adopt the soft power approach for the well being of humanity, in 2012 I started a campaign, 4D for World Peace inspired by my book the Economics of Killing. It is a campaign for civil society

groups to work not only to change government policies, but also economic incentives and cultural understandings.

The 4D's are DEMILITARISATION, DISARMAMENT, DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT.

This campaign aims to create global frameworks for taking actions on interconnecting global issues of disarming and demilitarising the world and the savings thus accrued to be deployed for development and democracy. World Peace is not a utopian dream. It can be realised by overcoming forces of destruction, violence, & war mongering. A film Change the World and a booklet 4D for World Peace is produced for promoting the campaign.

The mission of the campaign is to take the Quantum Leap Faster, Higher, and Further to spread the message of 4D which is resolution of conflicts in a peaceful way. The campaign has many supporters the world over.

"I support Uniting for Peace for a safer world and endorse 4D for World Peace. 4D, Count me in...!"

Deepak Chopra, Best Selling Author

"Peace is not only the absence of war, it means calm and it means conditions where human beings can maintain their human integrity"

Dr. Shirin Ebadi Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran, says about 4D for World Peace campaign

How the World Benefits?

It will benefit by bringing fundamental shift in our ethics and values to eradicate wars, violence and establish peace to reduce debt and financial crisis in which US and most of European countries are engulfed. According to Global Peace Index 2011, if the countries cut back their violence at the rate of 25% for example, it could save global economy \$2.25 trillion. Eradicating violence altogether, can create a stimulus of \$9 trillion, enough to tackle financial, climate change crisis and wipe out extreme poverty including covering cost of achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

As I have said in my book, military spending is anti development. The developing world does not need hand-outs from industrialised nations. All it needs is a level playing field and leaders who place their country's interest over personal wealth. A Chinese proverb states "Give a man a fish and you feed him for one meal, teach him to fish and he is set for life." This philosophy should be applied to International Trade, i.e. to achieve China like levels of human development and economic prosperity.

There are examples of people and countries working in creative ways to end violence. In 1948, Costa Rica abolished its army and since has been able to invest resources in public interest – education, healthcare, development or quite simply it invested in its people. No one has attacked Costa Rica because they have no army. The campaign against landmines which resulted in the Mine Ban Treaty – signed by 159 countries – began with the collection of data by hospital staff treating the victims of landmines.

Nonviolent peaceful means have achieved miracles. Some examples are Indian Independence Movement, the Civil Rights Movement in the US, Good Friday Agreement, Northern Ireland Peace Process, the recent Orange revolution in Ukraine, Velvet revolution in Czech Republic, Rose revolution in Georgia in Europe, and the reunification of Germany are a few examples where non violent revolutions have taken place instead of bloodshed.

We firmly need to demolish the belief in popular entertainment and culture which takes for granted that violence and war are inevitable and part of human survival.

Any demilitarisation plan should begin with US by slashing its cold war level of military spending being the biggest player in arms race.

As a start, US could easily cut 15% from the defence budget, saving US\$1 trillion, by laying off the 92,000 new defence personnel hired over the previous 10 years and reducing the US presence in Asia and Europe, scaling back or terminating wasteful projects such as the F-35 fighter (\$1.51 trillion over its lifecycle \$680 million apiece) and the Virginia class submarine (\$2.4 billion per unit), and shrinking the bureaucracy at the Pentagon that consumes 40% of its budget.

Withdrawing from Iraq and Afghanistan; refraining from propping up 'venal' governments in chaotic states and imposing a spending freeze on the Pentagon until it renders itself auditable and amenable to financial oversight. Although some of these factors are unique to the US, these could be adopted by other industrial nations with large military establishments.

In the UK we can save huge amount of money by scaling down on Trident nuclear submarine replacement, which will cost UK economy over \$130 billion over its lifecycle.

What can civil society do?

Here is a list of action points and practical steps – things that we can all do to oppose violence, wars, militarisms and promote a more peaceful world:

- Before anything – study the problem.
- Write to your MP, key decision makers and government ministers.
- Write letters to world leaders and the editor of newspapers.
- Educate the public and hold meetings and run workshops.
- Call a radio talk or participate in a TV show.
- Contact your local peace, development, human rights, environmental, interfaith group to discuss the issue.
- Make paper cranes to send to decision makers (they have become a symbol of peace).
- Join the nonviolent initiatives with peace groups like Uniting for Peace, CND or UNA.
- Attend a "Dialogue with decision-makers" workshop.
- All activism must be accompanied by a journey through inner peace which can lead to world peace.
- And change in the world begins with each person. "Who should start" to bring to the world? The "individual person"... not religious leaders, not the United Nations, but each of us,"" Dalai Lama said. "Then, from one person to 10 persons, 100 persons, 1,000 persons. So I think any sort of movement among humanity ... must start from the individual."
- Speak truth to power. Our elected officials are the ones who are making the daily decisions to fund wars. Build a relationship with your local and national elected officials by writing letters, making phone calls, and setting up in-state lobby visits.

It is not only the big efforts for peace, such as international treaties and world conferences but also the peace we strive in our daily activities which are important. I believe by being better citizens we can become better people and help to make a better world.

Our hope for abolition of war and demilitarisation lies with us – Citizen Power. We can mobilise strong grassroots movements, to change public opinion with the help of internet and social media. Change comes through from bottom up, grassroots social movements. It is easier to make connections between people, teams and ideas to make a difference and change the world. When enough people are convinced that war is not necessary then elected leaders will be forced to change policies from war mongering to peaceful resolution of conflicts.

As I have said in my book *The Economics of Killing*, diffusion of knowledge devolves power from the elite to the masses, the grip of the MIC will finally end: not with a bang but in a peaceful murmur of prosperity.

My book demonstrates that in 4D for World Peace, there is an alternative model to the deadly cycle of military and economic disaster. It is the vital necessity for disarmament on a world scale and a strict regulation of arms trading to create a peace dividend within an international legal framework. It will pave the way by which the military industrial model could be replaced by adopting equitable policies for disarmament, demilitarisation and working for sustainable development thus ending the cycle of violence and poverty.

We are living in amazing times when it is becoming easier to build new pathways. It is very similar to pioneers and innovators of the 19th Century. We can harness the advantage of technology, internet and social media to go global with our message in a short span of time.

Way Forward and Conclusion

For lasting peace, a country needs to go on a path of development, protection human rights, and poverty reduction for all of its population to grow and live in harmony. For upholding peace one should take into consideration how trade in arms, drugs, trafficking of women, robotic warfare (drones) can be eliminated.

The future of peace lies in finding the root causes of conflicts and building an ethical bases for society in which equal opportunities are available for all citizens, especially the bottom billion entrenched in poverty for whom peace is a dream.

For achieving a peaceful world, there is a desperate need to change global spending priorities. The global community spends more than \$1.74 trillion per year on military and weapon programmes against \$129 billion (OECD 2010 report) on global development, less than \$10 billion on UN Peacekeeping operations, and less than \$4 billion (African Development Report 2008/2009) on peace building and conflict resolution activities. This mismatch of funding need to be challenged and changed for building sustainable peace .

"Remember, peace is our birth right, a Human Right and we should claim it"

The message is simple: Peace is an investment in our humanity's progress for a better future. The way to peace is to overcome evil with good, falsehood with truth and hatred with love. The bottom line is we should have increasing desire to be of service to others with greater love and compassion.

Grassroots activists and change-makers, let me share a dream with you. Let us create a public outcry and demand for abolition of war and military spending for eradicating violence and building a peaceful world. When 25 million soldiers worldwide are replaced with 25 million peace-workers, the world will be a different place. It will be a bliss to be living on the cusp of a new dawn when mankind would have taken a full turn transforming our world towards a better future, ensuring the continuation and progress of our sacred civilisation and humanity leading to global peace.

Let me conclude by saying, one day when people seeking peace, like wonderful people in this room, will be in majority, barriers to peace will be lowered and future will be safe and secure. After Arab Spring, Europe's Indignados and Occupy protest movement, the youth and citizens of today have what it takes to change the world as world is ready to be moved. Now is **your** time and **your** moment. Let's do it.

Thanks for listening.

The materials and excerpts have been taken from Vijay Mehta's new book "The Economics of Killing: How the West Fuels Wars and Poverty in the Developing World" which is published by Pluto Press (UK) / Palgrave Macmillan (USA) / Amazon (Worldwide). For reviews and endorsements of the book, please visit: www.theeconomicsofkilling.org This speech can be downloaded from www.unitingforpeace.com

Please watch 4D for World Peace film:

“Change the World” – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V9GEK4FFrXk>

And The Economics of Killing Book Launch at Hilton London Euston:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LISJZEECvrE>

Bio

Vijay Mehta is a renowned author, international speaker and global activist for peace, development and human rights. He is the chair of Uniting for Peace (www.unitingforpeace.org) and Founding Trustee of Fortune Forum Charity (www.fortuneforum.org).

Working since 1979, Uniting for Peace is a non-profit organisation devoted to creating and promoting a global culture of peace, nonviolence and poverty reduction. The flagship campaign of Uniting for Peace is called 4D for World Peace. It is campaign to create global frameworks for taking actions on interconnecting global issues of disarming and demilitarising the world and the savings thus achieved to be deployed for development and democracy.

Fortune Forum was founded by his daughter Renu Mehta. Fortune Forum held summits (2005 and 2006) where Former US President Clinton, Former US Vice President Al Gore and Actor Michael Douglas were keynote speakers. The summits raised over a million pounds for charity and attracted a worldwide audience of 1.3 billion people (one fifth of humanity) including print and media coverage.

Vijay Mehta's books include The Economics of Killing (2012), The Fortune Forum Code: For a Sustainable Future (2006), Arms No More (2005) and The United Nations and its Future in the 21st Century (2005).

He has appeared in various TV programmes including BBC World, Press TV, Ajjak-24 hour Indian news channel, and Think Peace documentary, Canada, among others. The Sunday Times, Independent, Observer and Guardian newspapers, among other journals have written about him. His life is devoted to the service of peace, humanity and our planet.

Vijay Mehta is the recipient of the Global Indian Karmaveer (Action hero) Puraskaar (Award) by iCONGO (International Confederation of NGO's). He is now a noble-laureate 2012 – 2013 of the iCONGO team of advisors and mentors (www.icongo.in). It is an award for outstanding luminaries working for peace and social justice.

Vijay Mehta's new book **“The Economics of Killing: How the West Fuels Wars and Poverty in the Developing World”** is published by Pluto Press (UK) / Palgrave Macmillan (USA) / Amazon (Worldwide). For reviews and endorsements of the book, please visit: www.theeconomicsofkilling.org

“Vijay....a long standing activist for peace, development, human rights and environment”

The Sunday Times Magazine, London 1st February, 2009

“Vijay Mehta lends intellectual credibility to the project and wrote ‘The Fortune Forum Code for a Sustainable Future’, a sort of manifesto that will underpin the group's future activities.”

The Independent, London 26 September 2006