## guardian.co.uk | TheObserver

# Koch brothers under attack by leftwing film-maker

Robert Greenwald is taking the fight to billionaires David and Charles Koch, who fund much of the US's rightwing politics

Paul Harris in New York The Observer, Sunday 15 May 2011



David, left and Charles Koch, employ 30 people in Washington, backed by millions of dollars, seeking to influence more than 100 pieces of federal legislation. Photograph: Getty Images

Even for the Lincoln Centre it was an unusual show, and an unscheduled one. Several hundred protesters turned up outside the arts complex on Manhattan's Upper West Side last week for the guerrilla screening of a short film. From a hotel on the other side of the street, a video was projected on to the centre's walls. The unwitting stars of the films were David and Charles Koch, the reclusive rightwing billionaire brothers whose secretive empire and network of influence and funding is emerging as a liberal rallying cause in America.

As bemused theatregoers watched the boisterous crowd, the videos depicted facts and figure showing Koch support for Tea Party groups, global warming sceptics and thinktanks seeking to strip away regulations on the environment, cut social security and oppose healthcare reform. On the David H Koch Theatre in the complex – renamed when one of the brothers donated \$100m (£62m) in 2008 – activists climbed a ladder to post a giant sticker above the sign bearing Koch's name. "I am the Tea Party's wallet," it read. When the police vans finally arrived, the activists had gone.

For Koch Industries, one of the largest private businesses in America, it was another attempt by liberal groups to drag it into the public eye over accusations that it is corrupting <u>US politics</u> in pursuit of its business interests. There have been lengthy magazine articles investigating its activities, growing protests and a legion of bloggers scouring the company's every move.

At the forefront of the movement is the unlikely figure of Hollywood director Robert Greenwald, 65, who brought the world the Olivia Newton-John dance movie *Xanadu*. Greenwald reinvented himself as a leftwing documentary maker, and has his focus on the Koch brothers. His Brave New Foundation group organised the Lincoln Centre film

show.

"David Koch spent \$100m to put his name on that theatre, but we want people to understand what it really should be named," he told the *Observer*.

Brave New Foundation, with a team of 15 including three full-time researchers, is running a web competition where suggestions for a new sign are plastered over a picture of the theatre. "Treasonous Plutocrats R Us" and "Evil Greed Incarnate" are some of the entries.

Greenwald said that the popularity of the contest is another way to keep public attention on the brothers. Indeed last week Jack O'Dwyer, a leading Manhattan PR professional, called on the Lincoln Centre to drop the Koch name. That was music to Greenwald's ears. "The Kochs have always been very smart. They did not need the spotlight. But the more people we can impact with our actions showing what the Kochs have been doing, the better off we will be."

Greenwald is determined to make the fight personal. His activists have found five homes of the brothers in the US and filmed themselves knocking on the doors, from the ski resort of Aspen, Colorado, to Palm Beach in Florida. The homes are profiled in "luxury porn" detail and juxtaposed with the hard times of working-class Americans. In one scene three financially struggling pensioners picnic on the beach outside a Koch mansion and wonder why anyone would need a house so big. In another, a researcher ambushes David Koch at the Economic Club of New York and asks: "How many houses do you really need?" The stone-faced Koch rapidly retreats behind a security guard without a word.

The personal tactics have brought Greenwald criticism, but he is unconcerned. He says that the political activities and donations of the brothers have affected the lives of millions of less wealthy Americans. "The least we can do is ring their doorbell. What they are doing is hurting people's lives. Ideology has consequences."

Anger is focused on the mix of conservatism and libertarianism, especially in economics. The sprawling Koch Industries has vast oil and energy interests. The brothers, each worth an estimated \$22bn, are joint seventh on *Forbes* magazine's 2011 list of the richest Americans.

Their money helped start Americans For Prosperity, a Tea Party-linked organisation that has campaigned vociferously against Barack Obama's healthcare reforms. It admitted helping to organise anti-union moves by the controversial Wisconsin governor Scott Walker, which led to some of the largest protests in recent American history.

The Kochs have also given millions to thinktanks and groups that fight environmental legislation, especially to oppose the scientific consensus on global warming and try to lift regulations on air pollution and potentially dangerous chemicals. They believe in drastically cutting the role of government and slashing benefits such as social security.

A recent report on the Politico website detailed how they planned to spend \$88m in the 2012 election supporting conservative causes and politicians.

The Kochs share the Tea Party view that Obama is a threat to the American way of life. Last week David Koch made a rare comment to a reporter from *New York* magazine, calling Obama "a hardcore socialist". "He's marvellous at pretending to be something other than that, but that is what I believe he truly is, a hardcore socialist. He's scary to me," he added.

There is nothing illegal about the Kochs' political activities. Greenwald concedes they have every right to fund whatever organisations they like.

Some groups have said however that their business practices are sometimes the opposite of their public campaigns. A non-partisan Washington watchdog group, the Centre for Public Integrity, reported last month that Koch Industries' ethanol business enjoys high incomes thanks to government subsidies, despite their disapproval of such policies. Equally, while they oppose a cap-and-trade system in the US to control carbon emissions, the trading arm of Koch Industries makes millions in Europe from such a system.

The report also detailed their lobbying interests. From \$857,000 in 2004, Koch Industries spent a staggering \$20m in 2008 and \$20.5m from 2009 to 2010

The company employs about 30 people in Washington seeking to influence more than 100 pieces of federal legislation. Greenpeace has expressed concern at the lobbying activities: "Organisations funded by Koch foundations have led the assault on climate science and scientists, green jobs, renewable energy and climate policy progress," it said in a report on the brothers in March.

Last week it was reported that a Koch foundation had funded two academic posts in the economics department of Florida State University – with the proviso that it would decide which candidates could be considered. Giving such power to a donor is an unusual move, especially at a public university. It also emerged that 60% of the university's suggestions were vetoed by the Kochs.

Not surprisingly, the brothers are fighting back. They rarely respond directly to their press critics. Emailed questions from the *Observer* to a Koch Industries representative received no response. But some reporters have been approached by PR people hired by the brothers to put forward their point of view.

The Kochs have also used more hardline tactics. One of the most revealing recent articles was a long exposé in the *New Yorker* by Jane Meyer. But when the report was nominated for a national award, a Koch executive wrote to the American Society of Magazine Editors criticising it for considering the article.

The brothers also sued pranksters who set up a fake Koch Industries website and sent out a bogus press release. Though a Utah judge dismissed the case, such lawsuits could easily be seen as a threat to others not to do the same. The Kochs also apparently bought online advertising against the Centre for Public Integrity report so that Google searches for it would also find statements rubbishing the claims.

Despite such efforts, the anti-Koch campaigners are unlikely to go away. Greenwald – whose previous targets have included Fox News, Walmart and former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani – says that he has at least seven more anti-Koch videos in the works.

Greenwald said the threat of a Koch backlash against his organisation was a concern but that he would not be intimidated: "The Kochs are the poster boys for a system that has become deeply unbalanced. We know that they are not happy with what we have done so far. They are going to be a lot less happy as we go on."

## **FAMILY FORTUNES**

A conglomerate specialising in chemicals, energy and technology, Koch Industries is America's second-largest private company, with more than 70,000 employees worldwide and annual revenues of more than \$100bn.

Originally called Rock Island Oil & Refining, the company was founded in 1940 by Fred Koch. Following his death in 1967 his son Charles became president, renaming it Koch Industries in his father's honour.

In 1983 Charles and his youngest brother David bought out their other two siblings, William and Frederick, for \$1.1bn to become the principal owners. Both have a 42% stake, which makes chief executive Charles (now 75) and vice-president David (71) the joint 18th-richest people in the world.

Charles is co-founder of libertarian thinktank the Cato Institute, while David founded the conservative non-profit group Americans for Prosperity and has spent \$45m bankrolling rightwing politicians. In November last year, Forbes magazine rated the pair the joint 54th most powerful people in the world.

# Ads by Google

Rantings of a Politico

Politics, Sports, and Writings From a Progressive Prospective

www.joepluswhy.com

A Message from Rand Paul:

Sign the Right to Work petition Obama fears!

www.righttoworkcommittee.org

Washington DC Coupons

1 ridiculously huge coupon a day. It's like doing DC at 90% off!

www.Groupon.com/Washington-DC

# Comments in chronological order (Total 129 comments)

# Post a comment

g Staff

Contributor



Needsmorecow

15 May 2011 12:30AM

How many times have we been through this? It's only socialism if it's for the poor. Giving rich billionaires bailouts, tax credits, subsidies, and plain hard cash is good for the economy, creating jobs and rewarding birthright and hard work. The Koch brothers shouldn't be punished for accidentally being born into a very rich family. But poor people should be punished for staying poor. That's what the whole of life is for--to become obscenely wealthy and then stop caring about other human beings.

Recommend? (522)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



**bonzhe** 

15 May 2011 12:34AM gosh they're horrid. Recommend? (148)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



**ExpatScotsman** 

15 May 2011 12:58AM

.....a Koch executive wrote to the American Society of Magazine Editors criticising it for

considering the article.

OMG - How much lower can they stoop?

Recommend? (86)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



RousseausGhost

15 May 2011 1:11AM

Koch brothers, Barclay twins, the Murdoch clan? - Beelzebub pails into insignificance against this tyrannical, fascist scum.

Recommend? (313)

Report abuse

Clip

Link



<u>Gegenbeispiel</u>

15 May 2011 1:22AM

>"How much lower can they stoop?"

Hell's the limit when it comes to money and power. Actually, it isn't - they'll go lower.

But oh boy, do I wish that "Obama is a hardcore socialist" were true!

Recommend? (223)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



Cruntis

15 May 2011 1:23AM

Unfortunately, they've managed to amass a following of people who pity the way the [mean, liberal media has been attacking them] and to buy into a belief that there is a plot organized by the Socialist Obama Administration to smear they're valiant efforts of creating a "free market"

Recommend? (54)

Report abuse



| Link



comradeotto

15 May 2011 1:49AM

If Obama's a "hardcore socialist" I must be Karl Marx!

Recommend? (186)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



9999

15 May 2011 1:51AM

money money money.

Recommend? (27)

Report abuse



| Link



mitchellkiwi

15 May 2011 2:14AM

Let's not forget that these are the sort of people the Conservative party like and admire. It was Thatcher who let that vampire Murdoch sink his teeth into media business in the UK. She was a friend of Pinochet. And they still want to sell off the NHS to people exactly like those Cocks.

Apparently, you're supposed to pronounce their name Koch, as Coe, as in hoe. Just as with the Republican Congress leader Boehner's nam is not to be pronounced Boner, but, strangely, Bayner. I guess it makes them all wankers, doesn't it?

Maybe some American reader can tell us why using the word socialism is worse than swearing, insulting Jesus and even mass murder.

Recommend? (241)

Report abuse



| Link



### <u>AVoiceFromAmerica</u>

15 May 2011 2:18AM

Is America a democracy or a plutocracy?

After reading this article, one can have little doubt. The average working stiff doesn't stand a chance against the billionaires

The article shows just how successfully the right wing has warped the fabric of American politics by convincing millions of under-paid, under-educated, under-privileged voters people who should be voting Democratic! - that a middling Democrat like Obama is a socialist.

Brainwashing works, if big money and big lies are involved.

Recommend? (282)

Report abuse

Clip

Link



Mclovin

15 May 2011 2:25AM

The Koch bros are despicable, Greenwald has his work cut out for him

Recommend? (89)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



Cagster

15 May 2011 2:27AM

Koch are just a drop in the ocean.

Oil and gas spent \$39.5 million on lobbying, with 633 lobbyists....that's more than one lobbyist for every member of congress

Pharmaceuticals spent \$63.6 million with 1,210 lobbyists...more than two lobbyists for

every member of congress

Health Insurance \$40 million with 1,987 lobbyists...more than three lobbyists for every member of congress

Finance \$25 million with 602 lobbyists

In addition, direct and indirect campaign contributions, which total many millions means that big business exercises extraordinary influence in Washington. The irony, of course, is that people like the Koch brothers agitate the public against government intervention so that they can encourage further deregulation. It's win-win for the Koch brothers. Government needs to kill the fatted calf by passing lobbying restrictions.

Recommend? (112)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



tomcpatrick

15 May 2011 2:43AM

"Obama is a Socialist"?No, he is not even close to being Any kind of leftwinger!Not after his failure to close Gitmo,his sanctioning of homegrown James Bond style-killers in several countries & his tepid Health-Reforms.

George Orwell would have ,also,"Greenwalded" Le Koch Bros for their mendacity & greed.In fact. tumbrels should roll ---metaphorically, of course.

Recommend? (51)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



**DavidEG** 

15 May 2011 2:52AM

Greenwald is 100 percent right. The couple is the most extreme, dangerous, right-wing "libertarian" WMD in American politics, life, history. But in the long run it is a self destructive force. Drunk on the Koch inspired "tea ideology", tea mob want nothing else but complete dissolution of the US government, the last thing (government sponsored) money oligarchy wants (http://www.truthout.org/battle-soul-gop/1305121241). A perfect storm is coming.

Recommend? (74)

Report abuse



| Link



canubelievethat

15 May 2011 3:02AM

Nato should pass a resolution for the protection of civilians against the Koch's.

Recommend? (45)

Report abuse

Clip

\_\_\_\_ | <u>Link</u>



irtayloriy

15 May 2011 3:12AM

I love how that people would criticize Greenwald for using "personal tactics". As if the

Koch brothers pumping millions of dollars into anti-social policies that are going to destroy people's lives aren't "personal" for all of the people they are harming. The Koch brother's personal lives are a disgusting display of opulence in the midst of starvation and unemployment, and they deserve a public shaming.

Recommend? (110)

Report abuse



| Link



horacemanoor

15 May 2011 3:12AM

democracy died long ago

it's disgusting that obama backs ethanol subsidies -- they drive up the price of corn, thus squeezing the poor

one suspects that obama & the koch brothers need one another -- just as bush needed liberals when he bailed out wall streeters instead of letting bankruptcy laws protect taxpayers

it's absurd to think liberals are any better than conservatives

Recommend? (38)

Report abuse

Clip



kerryflote

15 May 2011 3:35AM

Good grief! You only have to see them to know they are utterly repulsive examples of the twatocracy. My deity of choice, I can´t imagine two more unflattering portraits. You can actually see the greed and corruption oozing out of them like fat from a roast goose. They look like they were rejected for the part of the emperor in Star Wars because they are too scary.

I'm going to show my kids these photos and tell them if they don't eat their broccoli the Koch brothers are going to get them.

Recommend? (70)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



kerryflote

15 May 2011 3:50AM

Bugger! The kids have seen the photos. Must put The Guardian on line under the parental control setting.

Recommend? (23)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



kerryflote

15 May 2011 3:51AM

Damn you, Koch brothers. You are costing me a trip to Blackpool pleasure Beach.

Recommend? (17)

Report abuse



| Link



sotek600

15 May 2011 3:57AM

How's this for a suggested scene: Instead of the Koch mansions we show the everyday houses of the thousands of people they employ. Then we contrast them with the houses of average workers in the socialist paradises of Vietnam and Cuba.

Recommend? (14)

Report abuse



| Link



JohnCan45

15 May 2011 4:03AM

Interestingly the Koch bros. are also major donors to PBS, the American version of BBC. In particular they support Frontline, their flagship documentary program that is strongly liberal and often highly critical of corporate America. Good PR, or hedging their bets?

Recommend? (13)

Report abuse



Link



<u>kerryflote</u>

15 May 2011 4:29AM

JohnCan45

Interestingly the Koch bros. are also major donors to PBS, the American version of BBC. In particular they support Frontline, their flagship documentary program that is strongly liberal and often highly critical of corporate America. Good PR, or hedging their bets?

I find that difficult to believe. Source, please,

Recommend? (26)

Report abuse



| Link



rd232

15 May 2011 4:32AM

In particular they support Frontline, their flagship documentary program that is strongly liberal and often highly critical of corporate America. Good PR, or hedging their bets?

Or maybe just insurance - how likely is Frontline to go after a major sponsor? Recommend? (30)

Report abuse



| Link



## environmentalsanity

15 May 2011 4:42AM

While the Koch brothers obviously represent the scum bottom of capitalist selfishness, the real problem is how our economic system even allows people to get this rich and powerful. A fairer tax system would make sure that we achieve a much more equal society. Much research now shows how toxic inequality is for social justice, public health and environmental protection. Therefore, the superrich should be taxed until they bleed, and then some more. Therefore, I opt for 99.9% of their property being given to the state and then redistributed. Even with 99.9% they would still be filthy rich but at least we could finance to repair all the damage the Koch brothers and all their rightwing fanatics have done to society and the environment. Everything else is just cosmetics. We need to address inequality of wealth and power first and foremost.

Recommend? (113)

Report abuse

Clip

Link



<u>kerryflote</u>

15 May 2011 4:46AM environmentalsanity

the scum bottom of capitalist selfishnes

Thank you for that. Do you mind if I use it?

Recommend? (15)

Report abuse

Clip

| <u>Link</u>



rockinred

15 May 2011 6:05AM

### sotek600

Your pathetically idiotic comment is based on the entirely false premise that any criticism of the dangerous and filthy rich Koch brothers is tantamount to advocating a shift to the opposite extreme.

This is nuts. But then I guess you think Obama's a soshlist. Are you the product of an American 'education' by any chance?

Recommend? (60)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



JohnCan45

15 May 2011 6:07AM

I stand corrected, kerryflote. David H. Koch has contributed to PBS' science show NOVA. Here's the <u>link</u>. Not as political as Frontline though they've done very good stuff on climate change and have collaborated with Frontline on occasion. And it's still PBS. While I'm at it let me put another shout out for <u>Frontline</u>, the best documentary show in my small opinion. You can watch most of their episodes on their website.

Recommend? (10)

Report abuse



**Pullmanite** 

15 May 2011 6:25AM

I don't think it's fair to criticise the brothers for using lobbyists to try to influence government policy - that, after all, is the system in the US - and everyone, including environmental groups, unions etc. also lobby. That's the way that the US pluralist form of democracy works, like it or not.

Also, they should be free to spend their money where they like - including PBS's NOVA, \$1m to Tsunami relief etc.

What I don't like is the secrecy with which it's done. No-one seems to object to Bill Gates' spending - but he is much more transparent, and seemingly motivated to do good. These guys seem a bit more scary - but maybe the glare of publicity will do them good. I know I'm going to enjoy their discomfort!

Recommend? (8)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



Vapid

15 May 2011 7:28AM

Thank god we don't have these Koch types here in North Korea!

Recommend? (34)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



**HMKGrey2** 

15 May 2011 7:33AM

The US is an oligarchy by any other name and the clueless sheeple deserve what they get.

Recommend? (27)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



robpenn

15 May 2011 8:25AM

Yes these two are appaling.

However Murdoch will play both sides of the political spectrum,

depending on which he sees he has more to gain from.

Soros made a "killing" on speculation on the currency market,

also funding "think tanks" of his persuasion.

All birds of the same plumage....greedy power hungry vultures.

Gates and Buffet, are at least more transparent in their dealings, and as been noted, have a philanthropic bent to their affairs.

Recommend? (21)

Report abuse

Clip



shemarch

15 May 2011 8:59AM

So they want their name pronounced 'Coe'. If it was given its original teutonic pronunciation it would be like KOCK, with the last consonants given an explosive gutteral. That would sound as though you were trying to expel phlegm - come to think of it, how appropriate.

Recommend? (29)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



**bambamfranc** 

15 May 2011 9:10AM

People who inherit incredible wealth using it to pursue a libertarian 'make it on your own' agenda. it displays either a stunning lack of self awareness or a great sense of irony. Recommend? (60)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



atgrimeandreason

15 May 2011 9:13AM

Obamas a hardcore socialist? That old chestnut?

The good thing about living in a networked world is that people cannot but help to give their two cents. Until this time, as with pre-Charles beheading in UK, our rulers (now businessmen) had the advantage of mystique, of otherness, that could limit the publics perception to mere material wealth, believing therefore that they were indeed superior. Why else would they be so successful?

Now however, with Trump and Koch exposing themselves as complete and utter idiots, so ideologically blinded as to appear not just out-of-touch but living on an entirely different planet. People are now beginning to realise that these billionaires are only superior in one respect, making money, and that in all other areas of life they are just as, if not more likely to be as stupid as anyone else. So if they didn't get their fortune being intelligent, where did they get it? Oh yeah, Daddy and a complete disregard for basic human morality.

When the mystiques gone, so are the emperors clothes. Shit's goin dooooown.

Recommend? (25)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



<u>UnknownGunman</u>

15 May 2011 10:04AM

Kinda highlights the biggest flaw in the notion of a "democracy" - that is, the more money you have, the more you can influence. Not really 1 person 1 vote when you take this into consideration, is it?

Recommend? (37)

Report abuse

5/16/2011



<u>Hyperzeitgeist</u>

15 May 2011 10:06AM

kerryflote

15 May 2011 3:50AM

Bugger! The kids have seen the photos. Must put The Guardian on line under the parental control setting.

What are your kids doing up in the middle of the night surfing the web?

Recommend? (2)

Report abuse



| Link



**Spoonface** 

15 May 2011 10:39AM

Koch:

He's marvellous at pretending to be something other than that, but that is what I believe he truly is, a hardcore socialist

There's something epistemically curious going on with the American right. Whether it's the 'socialism' accusation, birtherism, or the conviction that Obama is a Muslim, there's a determination to believe anything about Obama other than what there's evidence for.

Recommend? (36)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



diibii

15 May 2011 10:52AM

Both sides of the coin are equally dirty, equally corrupt and equally pushy. They can all go rot for all I care.

Recommend? (6)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



saagua

15 May 2011 11:04AM

Good for him. Exposing the Kochs and their activities is very much in the public interest.

We need more of this. The US also needs a wealth tax on the super rich.

Recommend? (30)

Report abuse



| Link



15 May 2011 11:06AM

Mussolini said

Fascism should more appropriately be called Corporatism because it is a merger of state and corporate power.

He also said "fascism is a religious concept"

Sums up American government - by the rich, of the rich, and most certainly for the rich.

Recommend? (41)

Report abuse



| Link



ineverlie

15 May 2011 11:25AM

Trying to subvert and replace a legally elected government by using deceit is also known as treason.

Recommend? (17)

Report abuse



| Link



Hugo44

15 May 2011 11:36AM

If you want to live, you've got to make a living, but you've got to kill if you want to make a killing...

Recommend? (4)

Report abuse



Link



adundeemonkey

15 May 2011 11:45AM

I always piss my self with laughter when the right wingers in the states call Obama a socialist or communist.

I am always amazed how in the states the poor in the south have been convinced to vote in the interests of the uber wealthy!

We are a bit like that, but here it is a case that people have been convinced they are 'middle class' and somehow have the same vested interests as the super rich.

People in the middle classes have been convinced that they state is bad. But they need it as much as anyone. The reason the super rich don't like the state is because they do not need it! Or they think they do not need it, but are so short-sighted that they fail to see that without a functioning society their wealth means nothing.

Recommend? (35)

Report abuse



| Link



alfredooo

15 May 2011 11:47AM

This comment was removed by a moderator because it didn't abide by our <u>community</u> <u>standards</u>. Replies may also be deleted. For more detail see <u>our FAQs</u>.



kingnakamura

15 May 2011 11:51AM

The USA voted in 2 Bushes (x 2.)

They deserve everything they get...

Recommend? (13)

Report abuse

Clip

| Link



ColinMay

15 May 2011 12:01PM

Just exercising their democratic right to buy politicians.

Business, unions all do it. It's the American way.

Recommend? (5)

Report abuse

Clip





hairymary100

15 May 2011 12:10PM

This comment was removed by a moderator because it didn't abide by our <u>community</u> <u>standards</u>. Replies may also be deleted. For more detail see <u>our FAQs</u>.



**EFW48** 

15 May 2011 12:13PM

You can never denounce the plutocracy too much. THANK YOU for this story and to the film maker.

Recommend? (24)

Report abuse



| Link



digit

15 May 2011 12:58PM

@kerryflote

You only have to see them to know they are utterly repulsive examples of the twatocracy.

Actually, they kind of look like nice guys to me, especially the one on stage right. And they probably really believe Obama is a socialist and that everything they're doing is for the greater good. That's kind of what I find terrifying about them.

Recommend? (4)

Report abuse



| Link

In order to post a comment you need to be registered and signed in.

Sign in to comment

guardian.co.uk © Guardian News and Media Limited 2011