

HUMAN SOCIETY AND THE BIOSPHERE

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Introduction¹

Mass extinctions due to humans activities

According to a recent United Nations report², more than a million species of plants and animals are currently threatened with extinction because of human activities. Rates of extinction today are as much as 1,000 times greater than the normal background rate.

As the greenhouse gas emissions of human society push the earth towards catastrophic climate change, rates of extinction in the biosphere will certainly become higher.

Are humans threatened with extinction?

What about our own species? Are we too threatened with extinction? There are certainly several threatened catastrophes that might greatly reduce the global population of humans. In a thermonuclear war, followed by nuclear winter, a large part of the world's population might perish.

We must also consider the danger of an extremely large-scale famine, involving billions rather than millions of people. Such a famine might occur by the middle of our present century, as the result of population growth, combined with climate change and the end of the fossil fuel era. As glaciers melt in the Himalayas, depriving India and China of summer water supplies; as sea levels rise, drowning the fertile rice fields of Vietnam and Bangladesh; as drought threatens the productivity of grain-producing regions of North America; and as the end of the fossil fuel era impacts modern high-yield agriculture, there is a threat of wide-spread famine. There is a danger that the 1.5 billion people who are undernourished today will not survive an even more food-scarce future.

Finally, if human society fails to curb its emissions of greenhouse gases, much of the earth will become so hot as to be uninhabitable, not only for humans, but also for the plants and animals of the biosphere. This does not necessarily mean that our species will become extinct, since there will still be regions of the earth where it will be possible to survive. However, it does

¹This book draws heavily on chapters that I have previously published in various books, but a considerable amount of new material has also been added.

²<https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2019/05/nature-decline-unprecedented-report/>

mean that the future population of humans will be very much reduced unless catastrophic climate change is avoided.

Links between militarism and climate change

In our efforts to avoid catastrophic climate change, we should be aware of the links between global warming and militarism. Military activities use enormous amounts of fossil fuels.

There is a close relationship between petroleum and war. James A. Paul, Executive Director of the Global Policy Forum, has described this relationship very clearly in the following words:

“Modern warfare particularly depends on oil, because virtually all weapons systems rely on oil-based fuel - tanks, trucks, armored vehicles, self-propelled artillery pieces, airplanes, and naval ships. For this reason, the governments and general staffs of powerful nations seek to ensure a steady supply of oil during wartime, to fuel oil-hungry military forces in far-flung operational theaters.”

“Just as governments like the US and UK need oil companies to secure fuel for their global war-making capacity, so the oil companies need their governments to secure control over global oilfields and transportation routes. It is no accident, then, that the world’s largest oil companies are located in the world’s most powerful countries.”

“Almost all of the world’s oil-producing countries have suffered abusive, corrupt and undemocratic governments and an absence of durable development. Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq, Iran, Angola, Colombia, Venezuela, Kuwait, Mexico, Algeria - these and many other oil producers have a sad record, which includes dictatorships installed from abroad, bloody coups engineered by foreign intelligence services, militarization of government and intolerant right-wing nationalism.”

There is also another link between militarism and climate change: Today, both in the United States and elsewhere in the world, the Green New Deal is being considered as a means of making the urgently needed transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy.

The Green New Deal concept is inspired by the New Deal by which Franklin D. Roosevelt ended the Great Depression of the 1930’s. Like FDR’s original New Deal, it involves massive government spending to simultaneously create jobs and much-needed infrastructure. In the case of the Green New Deal, this would be renewable energy infrastructure.

But is there money enough for the Green New Deal? In order to free the necessary funds, we need to divert the vast river of money that is currently wasted - or worse than wasted - on militarism, and use it to save human society and the biosphere from catastrophic climate change. How much money is involved? According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the world currently spends 1.8 trillion dollars each year on armaments. The indirect costs of militarism are far greater.

The human footprint is too large

The total ecological footprint of humanity is a concept used to measure the relationship between the resources that humans demand from their environment, compared with the ability of nature to provide those resources. In recent years humans have been asking the earth to provide them with much more than the earth can regenerate. Our collective footprint on the face of nature has become too large. Because of the danger of environmental collapse as well as the danger of widespread famine, we must stabilize global population and end excessive consumption of goods.

Socialism and ecology in Scandinavia

Excessive contrast between the rich and the poor has become an acute problem, both within nations and between nations. It is demonstrably true that in more equal societies, economies function better and people are happier.

In this context, it is interesting to look at the Scandinavian countries, where the contrast between rich and poor has been very much reduced.

Denmark, for example, has a market economy, but a high and steeply progressive rate of taxation has essentially eliminated poverty within the country, while also making it difficult for anyone to become extremely wealthy.

Denmark has very high taxes, but in return for these, its citizens receive many social services, such as free health care. If they qualify for university education, the tuition is free, and students are given an allowance for their living expenses. Mothers or alternatively fathers, can take paid leave of up to 52 weeks after the birth of a child. After that, a *vuggestue* (cresch) is always available, so that mothers can return to their jobs. When the child become too old for the cresch, day care centers are always available. For children of school age, after-school clubs are available where children can practice arts

and crafts or other activities under supervision until their parents come home from work.

Denmark has an outstanding program of renewable energy research and development. Danish wind energy design is famous throughout the world, and Danish wind turbines are exported to many countries. The Danish Technical University also has an extremely strong research program addressing the problem of intermittency. One of DTU's programs focuses on the development and use of fuel cells for energy storage.

In corporate-controlled countries like the United States, the word "socialism" is an anathema; but nations everywhere in the world might benefit from the Scandinavian model of socialism.

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Chapter 1

THE 2020 U.S. ELECTION

1.1 A critical U.S. election

Here is the text of an editorial that I wrote for Transcend Media Service Weekly Digest. It was published on October 26, 2020, just before the election.

Why the 2020 election is so important

Here is a quotation from Bernie Sanders:

“Donald Trump is a pathological liar. According to documented reports he has told more than 20,000 lies and distortions since he has been president. This is, obviously, deeply disturbing behavior for anyone who is president of the United States.

“But what is even more disturbing is that Trump is now using his lies and misinformation to sow confusion and chaos in the election process and undermine American democracy. In other words, he does not intend to accept the results of the election if he loses and leave office voluntarily. This is not just a constitutional crisis. This is a threat to everything this country stands for.

“In order to be effective in combating Trump’s attempt to sabotage the November election, it is important that you, and everyone you know, recognize the warning signs as to what he and his Republican allies are doing. ..

“Over the course of the past few weeks, Trump has consistently sought to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the coming election. At a time when he is behind in almost every national poll and in most battleground state polls, Trump recently stated, ‘The only way they can take this election away from us is if this is a rigged election.’

“Think about what that means. What he is saying is that if he wins the election, that’s great. But if he loses, it’s rigged. And if it’s rigged, then he is not leaving office. Heads I win. Tails you lose...

“Trump is not only trying to create chaos and delegitimize the election process. He and the Republican Party are now spending tens of millions of dollars in the courts to make it harder for people to vote. They are attempting to defund and destroy the U.S. Postal Service so that people will not be able to cast mail-in ballots. And their allies in state legislatures like Pennsylvania’s are refusing to pass legislation to ensure all legitimate votes are counted in a timely manner.”

Donald Trump’s neo-fascism

According to the divorce filings of Trump’s first wife, he kept a copy of translations of Hitler’s speeches beside his bedside and studied them thoroughly. His 2016 campaign was openly racist, and since taking office he has been a racist in word and deed. Trump’s use of unidentified troops in unmarked vehicles to tear-gas, beat and terrorize peaceful protesters is reminiscent of Hitler’s Brown Shirts. We can recall that Hitler came to power legally, but retained power through illegal methods. There is a worrying similarity between what is happening in the USA today and what happened in Germany in the 1930’s.

Threats of war

Donald Trump has frequently threatened foreign countries with war, even nuclear war. For example, regarding the conflict with North Korea, Trump said “Rocket man is on a suicide mission for himself and his regime. If [the US] is forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea”. Trump has also threatened Iran with war. Such threats are a crime under both the Nuremberg Principles and the United Nations Charter.

Trump lied about COVID-19

According to a September 10, 2020, article on the World Socialist Website,

“On Wednesday, senior Washington Post reporter and establishment insider Bob Woodward released recordings of telephone calls with US President Donald Trump, making clear that the White House, despite its public efforts to downplay the threat of COVID-19, was fully aware in January of the massive danger posed by the deadly new disease.

“The tapes establish that the Trump administration lied to the public about the threat while it deliberately implemented a policy that has led to the deaths of nearly 200,000 people.

“During the critical period of January through March, when timely actions, similar to those taken in China, would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives in the United States and internationally, the White House made a cold-blooded decision to lie to the public, in an unprecedented crime.

“On February 7, Trump told Woodward he had just had a conversation with Chinese President Xi Jinping, who had provided the American president with a clear and blunt assessment of the dangers posed by the pandemic. ‘This is deadly stuff,’ Trump said. ‘It’s also more deadly than... even your strenuous flus... this is five percent [case fatality rate] versus one percent and less than one percent.’

“These words were in flagrant contradiction to the statements Trump made in public over the following weeks and months, in which he equated the pandemic with the seasonal flu, promised it would ‘disappear,’ and claimed that cases were ‘going down.’...

“Despite the extreme health danger posed by the spread of the pandemic, the ruling class was virtually exclusively concentrated on the economic impact of a pandemic, that is, how the disease would impact the stock market and the personal wealth of the richest one to five percent of society. The capitalist oligarchy feared, first of all, that unambiguous public acknowledgement of the danger would lead to a financial panic, causing the markets ‘to teeter and perhaps fall precipitously’.”

Republicans realize that they will lose if the 2020 election is fair

Donald Trump’s disastrous handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, combined with the pandemic’s terrible economic effects, have made Republicans unpopular; and this is reflected in recent polls. It seems extremely likely that if large numbers of voters participate in the November election, the Democrats will win. Realizing this, the Republicans are doing everything they can to make the election unfair, and to reduce voter participation, especially in districts with large numbers of Democrats. Part of this Republican strategy is to sabotage voting by mail, and to force voters to choose between risking their lives in the pandemic and abandoning their civic duty.

Climate ought to be a central election issue

According to the 2018 IPCC Report, the world has only a very short time left in which to stop the extraction and use of fossil fuels. If we collectively fail to do this within a decade or so, feedback loops may be initiated which will make human efforts to avoid catastrophic climate change useless. Much of the world could become uninhabitable, and a very large-scale mass extinction could be initiated. Although the worst effects of global warming lie in the long-term future, children alive today are at risk. We give our children loving care, but it makes no sense to do so unless we also do everything in our power to ensure that they, and all future generations, will inherit a world in which they can survive.

Although the worst threats from catastrophic climate change lie in the long-term future, we are starting to see the effects of climate change today.

California is burning! As of August 28, 2020, 7175 fires have burned 1,660,332 acres, according to the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection. According to an article published in the Los Angeles Times on September 7, 2020, “Woodland Hills made national headlines with a 121-degree reading that marked the hottest temperature ever recorded at an official National Weather Service station in Los Angeles County.”

The Arctic is burning! A northeastern Siberian town, north of the Arctic Circle, is likely to have set a record for the highest temperature documented in the Arctic Circle, with a reading of 100.4 degrees (38 Celsius) recorded in June, 2020. The dangerous greenhouse gas methane is bubbling up from melting permafrost in the Arctic and from the shallow seas north of Siberia. Furthermore, wildfires in the Arctic are emitting an unprecedented amount of CO₂. Around 600 active fires have been observed in the region in late July, 2020, compared with 400 in 2019 and about 100 on average between 2003-2018.

The 2020 hurricane season has started early, notably with Laura, and it is predicted to be unusually severe. Greenland’s ice sheet is melting. Ice shelves are collapsing in the Antarctic. But despite these obvious signs of danger, the climate emergency is hardly mentioned in the 2020 political campaigns, or in U.S. mass media. It ought to be a central issue.

The U.S. election in November is critical, not just because of Donald Trump’s neo-fascism, but primarily because if the climate-change-denying and fossil-fuel-supporting Republican Party retains power, all hope of saving the world from life-destroying global warming may be lost. Those of us who have the ability to influence the election, or to vote, must work with dedication for a Democratic victory.

The disaster of 2016 must not be repeated!

Let us recall what happened in the disastrous election of 2016. Against expectations, Donald Trump who, in the words of Michael Moore, is a “wretched, ignorant, dangerous part-time clown and full-time sociopath”, was elected in 2016. What happened? Disillusioned by the way in which the immensely popular Senator Bernie Sanders was sabotaged by the media and by the Democratic National Committee, and despising Hillary Clinton for her involvement in US wars and Wall Street banks, many progressive voters stayed away from the polls. In their absence, Trump won narrowly. He lost the popular vote, but won the electoral vote. Today, the White House is a morass of dissension, erratic decisions and lies. In 2016, 66 million people voted for Clinton, and 63 million for Trump. But the number of disillusioned voters who stayed away from the polls was far larger than either of these figures: 100 million! This must not happen again! Although the corporate-controlled Democratic Na-

tional Committee has again sabotaged the progressive wing of the party and given us two charming but non-progressive candidates, Biden and Harris, progressives and idealistic young voters must not fail to vote against Trump. The stakes are too high for a repeat of the 2016 disaster. Failure to get rid of Trump and the Republican Party would mean the end of democracy in the United States. It would mean a burning, uninhabitable future world, the end of much of human civilization, and the end of much of the biosphere.

1.2 75 ways in which Trump has undermined our environment

Here is a list, published in The Guardian:

1. Made it easier to lease public land for oil and gas drilling.
2. Enabled the expansion of offshore drilling.
3. Proposed making 85% of the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska available for oil and gas drilling.
4. Amended rule that reduced toxic air pollutants from petroleum refineries.
5. Rejected the science calling for tougher air pollution rules.
6. Rolled back rules prohibiting the hunting of bears and other predators in Alaskan national preserves.
7. Removed protections for the endangered Atlantic bluefin tuna.
8. Lifted restrictions on mining in Bristol Bay, Alaska.
9. Changed the way the Endangered Species Act is applied, making it harder to protect animals and plants.
10. Withdrawn from international climate cooperation.
11. Reversed a rule that prevented taking sand from protected areas to replenish other beaches.
12. Weakened a rule that directs states to improve visibility at national parks by controlling pollution.
13. Proposed opening most US coastal waters up to oil and gas drilling.
14. Weakened the Clean Water Act, giving the federal government more power to overrule state objections to projects.
15. Narrowed pollution safeguards for lakes, rivers, tributaries and wetlands.
16. Proposed speeding up the environmental review process for companies seeking oil and gas drilling permits in national forests.
17. Opened up drilling on 9m acres of public land in the west, which are the habitat for greater sage grouse.
18. Abandoned efforts to reduce emissions from large sewage treatment plants.
19. Delayed implementation of a rule intended to limit pesticide exposure to agricultural workers.

20. Proposed amended emissions standards for brick kilns and clay products manufacturing based on concerns from industry.
21. Proposed revisions to carbon dioxide emissions standards for new or retrofitted power plants.
22. Weakened toxic pollution and water rules for coal plants
23. Rolled back rules designed to prevent accidents at chemical facilities.
24. Reduced the territories of two national monuments and opened the removed lands up to mining and drilling.
25. Revoked an executive order protecting oceans, coastal areas and the Great Lakes.
26. Loosened controls on emissions of hazardous air pollutants from facilities like power plants and petroleum refineries.
27. Announced, and then walked back, a repeal of a cap on gliders - older, dirtier engines installed into new truck bodies.
28. Proposed a repeal of emissions standards for gliders.
29. Delayed issuing and enforcing new ozone pollution standards.
30. Weakened climate standards for new vehicles.
31. Withdrew a proposed rule to protect groundwater near uranium mining sites.
32. Lifted a moratorium on new coal leasing on public lands.
33. Loosened enforcement of an air quality rule for states that pollute across state lines.
34. Approved the building of the Keystone XL pipeline.
35. Proposed rescinding a rule that required companies using federal land to prove they will have the financial means to decommission a project.
36. Proposed weakened regulations on the type of equipment required for exploratory drilling operations in the Arctic.
37. Approved the building of the Dakota Access Pipeline.
38. Weakened monetary penalties for automakers who fail to meet fuel efficiency standards.
39. Proposed opening the protected Tongass national forest in Alaska to logging and road construction.
40. Authorized oil and gas leasing on the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge's coastal plain.
41. Proposed changes to rules governing the high emissions from power plant startups, shutdowns and malfunctions.
42. Changed the process for setting energy conservation standards for consumer products.
43. Withdrew a proposed rule to protect whales, turtles and dolphins in the Pacific.
44. Reduced oversight of the air pollution that can result when a company builds a new facility, like a plastics plant, or modifies an existing one.

45. Rescinded policies requiring companies to offset environmental harms to public lands.
46. Reversed climate rules for the electricity sector.
47. Suspended use of an Obama-era calculation of the social cost of carbon, which seeks to tally the money spent and lives lost as a result of climate change.
48. Repealed a rule to prevent coal mining companies from dumping waste in streams.
49. Ordered federal agencies to review rules impeding energy production, resulting in numerous environmental rollbacks.
50. Repealed a rule updating Bureau of Land Management processes to better account for and resolve ecological pressures on public lands.
51. Delayed rules to cut methane emissions from landfills.
52. Reversed rules for methane pollution from oil and gas operations
53. Proposed subsidizing coal-fired and nuclear generation in markets where other sources were more economic.
54. Proposed cutting funding to clean up the Chesapeake Bay to meet EPA water quality standards.
55. Proposed relaxing rules on how much states can send pollution downstream to neighboring states.
56. Opened the Northeast Canyons and Seamounts Marine national monument to commercial fishing.
57. Rescinded requirements limiting super-polluting refrigerants .
58. Weakened protections on hunting, capturing or killing migratory birds.
59. Rolled back fracking regulations that protect drinking water on federal and tribal lands.
60. Weakened regulations on pesticide use in National Wildlife Refuges.
61. Halted a rule that tightened air pollution standards for offshore drilling operations.
62. Approved seismic air gun surveys for offshore oil and gas exploration, a technique that can harm marine wildlife, in new areas of the ocean not yet available for leasing.
63. Weakened offshore drilling regulations designed to prevent system failures that would result in oil or gas being released into the water.
64. Weakened environmental reviews for major projects and exempted projects from review.
65. Proposed easing rules that regulate where companies can mine for hardrock minerals.
66. Exempted farmers and ranchers from requirements to report emissions from animal waste.
67. Attempted to rescind a rule meant to ensure the public gets a fair return from minerals recovered on public lands.

68. Discontinued a National Parks Service policy discouraging the sale of plastic water bottles in parks.
69. Proposed weakening pesticide regulations meant to protect agricultural workers.
70. Proposed to weakened grazing restrictions on public lands.
71. Declined to ban a toxic pesticide.
72. Invited the public to provide input on which rules and regulations DOI should target for rollback.
73. Abandoned an effort to shift financial responsibility for hardrock mining cleanup from taxpayers to industry.
74. Transferred the authority over cross-border infrastructure permits from the state department to the president, thereby shielding such decisions from environmental and judicial review.
75. Eliminated a rule to prevent waste by requiring oil and gas operations on federal lands to limit venting and flaring of methane.

Another article in The Guardian reported the comments of the highly respected climate scientist Michael Mann. who said “If we are going to avert ever more catastrophic climate change impacts, we need to limit warming below a degree and a half Celsius, a little less than three degrees Fahrenheit. Another four years of what we’ve seen under Trump, which is to outsource environmental and energy policy to the polluters and dismantle protections put in place by the previous administration - would make that essentially impossible.”

1.3 Donald Trump’s climate change denial

In a recent article, climate expert Dr. Andrew Glickson wrote: “The train has left the station and global heating is advancing toward +2 and then toward +4 degrees Celsius, as projected by the IPCC and in the words of Joachim Hans Schellnhuber, Germany’s chief climate scientist, signifies the breakdown of civilization. Largely ignored or watered down by much of the mainstream media , betrayed by most political parties, including those who used to regard climate change as “the greatest moral issue of our time”, the population continues to be distracted by bread and circuses. Nowadays even some of the Greens appear to consider plastic bags and the tampon tax as greater vote winners than the demise of the biosphere.”

Why did Professor Noam Chomsky call the US Republican Party “The most dangerous organization in the history of the world”? In the primary that preceded the 2016 presidential election, every single Republican candidate with a chance of being nominated was a climate change denier. All received amazingly generous checks from giant fossil fuel organizations. When elected, Donald Trump not only pulled the United States out of the Paris Agreement; he also sabotaged the Environmental Protection Agency to such an extent that the carefully collected facts on climate change that the agency had accumulated

had to be secretly saved by scientists to prevent their destruction by the Trump administration. Furthermore, Donald Trump not only subsidizes giant coal corporations. He also has sabotages renewable energy initiatives in the United States.

Here are some quotations from an article by Coral Davenport and Mark Landler, May 27, 2019¹:

President Trump has rolled back environmental regulations, pulled the United States out of the Paris climate accord, brushed aside dire predictions about the effects of climate change, and turned the term “global warming” into a punch line rather than a prognosis.

Now, after two years spent unraveling the policies of his predecessors, Mr. Trump and his political appointees are launching a new assault.

In the next few months, the White House will complete the rollback of the most significant federal effort to curb greenhouse-gas emissions, initiated during the Obama administration. It will expand its efforts to impose Mr. Trump's hard-line views on other nations, building on his retreat from the Paris accord and his recent refusal to sign a communique to protect the rapidly melting Arctic region unless it was stripped of any references to climate change.

And, in what could be Mr. Trump's most consequential action yet, his administration will seek to undermine the very science on which climate change policy rests.

Mr. Trump is less an ideologue than an armchair naysayer about climate change, according to people who know him. He came into office viewing agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency as bastions of what he calls the “deep state,” and his contempt for their past work on the issue is an animating factor in trying to force them to abandon key aspects of the methodology they use to try to understand the causes and consequences of a dangerously warming planet.

As a result, parts of the federal government will no longer fulfill what scientists say is one of the most urgent jobs of climate science studies: reporting on the future effects of a rapidly warming planet and presenting a picture of what the earth could look like by the end of the century if the global economy continues to emit heat-trapping carbon dioxide pollution from burning fossil fuels...

The administration's prime target has been the National Climate Assessment, produced by an inter-agency task force roughly every four years since 2000. Government scientists used computer-generated models in their most recent report to project that if fossil fuel emissions continue unchecked, the earth's atmosphere could warm by as much as eight degrees Fahrenheit by the end of the century. That would lead to drastically higher sea levels, more devastating storms and droughts, crop failures, food losses and severe health consequences.

¹<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/27/us/politics/trump-climate-science.html>



Figure 1.1: There is so much wrong with Donald Trump that one hardly knows where to start. He is a bully, braggart, narcissist, racist, misogynist, habitual liar, and tax evader, in addition to being demonstrably ignorant. He has contempt for both domestic and international law, as well as for the US Constitution. In the words of Michael Moore, he is a “part-time clown and full-time sociopath”. However, it is Trump’s climate change denial, withdrawal from the Paris agreement, and sponsorship of fossil fuels that pose the greatest threats to the future of humans society and the biosphere. The general support of the Republican Party for the fossil fuel industry is the reason why Prof. Noam Chomsky has called the party “the most dangerous organization in history”.

1.4 Jair Bolsonaro, the Trump of the Tropics

The newly elected President of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, has praised Pinochet, expressed support for torturers and called for political opponents to be shot, earning him the label of “the most misogynistic, hateful elected official in the democratic world”. Bolsonaro speaks nostalgically about the country’s 1964-1985 military dictatorship and has promised to fill his government with current and former military leaders. Here, in his own words, are some of his ideas:

On refugees: “The scum of the earth is showing up in Brazil, as if we didn’t have enough problems of our own to sort out.” (September 2015)

On gay people: “I would be incapable of loving a homosexual son. I’m not going to be a hypocrite: I’d rather my son died in an accident than showed up with some bloke with a moustache.” (June 2011)

On democracy and dictatorship: “You’ll never change anything in this country through voting. Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Unfortunately, things will only change when a civil war kicks off and we do the work the [military] regime didn’t. Killing some 30,000... Killing them! If a couple of innocents die, that’s OK.” (May 1999)

On human rights: “I’m in favor of torture.” (May 1999)

On women: “I said I wouldn’t rape you because you don’t deserve it.” (December 2014, to politician Maria do Rosário, repeating a comment first made to her in 2003).

Indigenous rights activists fear Bolsonaro’s avowed plan to wring riches from the Amazon - whether from expanding agriculture into indigenous lands, building roads and other infrastructure projects, or allowing mining on public lands - will unleash a tide of violence and environmental devastation.

“All indigenous communities are afraid right now,” says Felipe Milanez, professor of humanities at the Universidade Federal de Bahia. “There is a risk of brutal, violent attack.” Milanez fears that indigenous efforts to patrol and protect their own lands from outsiders, such as the Forest Guardians recently covered in National Geographic magazine, will be banned and persecuted.

“His economic project is to destroy the Amazon, to transform the Amazon into commodities for export,” Milanez says.

Human rights activists are concerned that a surge in violent land conflicts will accompany an increase in environmentally destructive development in the Amazon. “There is no doubt that devastation will spread in the region,” says Diogo Cabral, an attorney with the Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos. “At the same time, he aims to extinguish policies that protect human rights defenders in Brazil. Under Bolsonaro, human life will have no value.”



Figure 1.2: Jair Bolsonaro visiting Donald Trump in Washington. Like Trump, he is an utterly despicable person, but (again like Trump) his worst crime is against the future of human civilization and the biosphere. Under Bolsonaro, the vitally important Amazon rainforests are being destroyed, a terrible blow to our efforts to avoid catastrophic ciliate change.



Figure 1.3: The indigenous peoples of the Amazon are the guardians of the lungs of Planet Earth. Within hours of taking office on 1 January, 2019, the Trump of the Tropics, aka the new President of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, launched an all-out assault against the Amazon rainforest and its indigenous communities, potentially paving the way for large scale deforestation by agricultural, mining and oil companies.

The indigenous peoples' website Mongabay ² states that "The potentially resulting wholesale deforestation could be a disaster to indigenous peoples, biodiversity, and even the regional and global climate."

It adds: "Bolsonaro's proposed Amazon policies, if carried out, could ultimately help dash the world's hopes of achieving the global climate goals agreed to in Paris, a failure that could lead to climate chaos."

Leading Brazilian researchers, from the National Institute of Space Research (INPE), have calculated that Bolsonaro's policies could triple deforestation in the Amazon from present levels of 6,900 square kilometers (2,664 square miles) annually, to 25,600 square kilometers (9,884 square miles) per year by 2020.

1.5 The Evangelicals believe that there is no need to act

Here is an excerpt from an article by Bernard Daley Zaleha and Andrew Szasz entitled *Why conservative Christians don't believe in climate change*³:

American Christians have become increasingly polarized on issues of climate change and environmental regulation. In recent years, mainline Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church have made explicit declarations of support for global climate action. Prominent Southern Baptists and other evangelical Protestants, on the other hand, have issued statements that are strikingly similar to the talking points of secular climate skeptics, and have attempted to stamp out "green" efforts within their own ranks. An analysis of resolutions and campaigns by evangelicals over the past 40 years shows that anti-environmentalism within conservative Christianity stems from fears that "stewardship" of God's creation is drifting toward neo-pagan nature worship, and from apocalyptic beliefs about "end times" that make it pointless to worry about global warming. As the climate crisis deepens, the moral authority of Christian leaders and organizations may play a decisive role in swaying public policy toward (or away from) action to mitigate global warming.

The highly dangerous beliefs of the Evangelicals are in strong contrast to the courageous and enlightened leadership of Pope Francis, who urges us to act resolutely to prevent catastrophic climate change.

²<https://news.mongabay.com/2019/01/bolsonaro-hands-over-indigenous-land-demarcation-to-agriculture-ministry/?fbclid=IwAR3UG-jneDheuddVEWVcCrcWKk4bnnsdE1uIBMLlnLtS6zGqMmGSPxtgEzM>

³Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 2015, Vol. 71(5) 19-30

1.6 Donald trump was elected on a platform of racism

Here is a list taken from an article by German Lopaz, entitled *Donald Trump's long history of racism, from the 1970s to 2019*⁴.

- Trump launched his campaign in 2015 by calling Mexican immigrants “rapists” who are “bringing crime” and “bringing drugs” to the US. His campaign was largely built on building a wall to keep these immigrants out of the US.
- As a candidate in 2015, Trump called for a ban on all Muslims coming into the US. His administration eventually implemented a significantly watered-down version of the policy.
- When asked at a 2016 Republican debate whether all 1.6 billion Muslims hate the US, Trump said, “I mean a lot of them. I mean a lot of them.”
- He argued in 2016 that Judge Gonzalo Curiel - who was overseeing the Trump University lawsuit - should recuse himself from the case because of his Mexican heritage and membership in a Latino lawyers association. House Speaker Paul Ryan, who endorsed Trump, later called such comments “the textbook definition of a racist comment.”
- Trump has been repeatedly slow to condemn white supremacists who endorse him, and he regularly retweeted messages from white supremacists and neo-Nazis during his presidential campaign.
- He tweeted and later deleted an image that showed Hillary Clinton in front of a pile of money and by a Jewish Star of David that said, “Most Corrupt Candidate Ever!” The tweet had some very obvious anti-Semitic imagery, but Trump insisted that the star was a sheriff’s badge, and said his campaign shouldn’t have deleted it.
- Trump has repeatedly referred to Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) as “Pocahontas,” using her controversial - and later walked-back - claims to Native American heritage as a punchline.
- At the 2016 Republican convention, Trump officially seized the mantle of the “law and order” candidate - an obvious dog whistle playing to white fears of black crime, even though crime in the US is historically low. His speeches, comments, and executive actions after he took office have continued this line of messaging.
- In a pitch to black voters in 2016, Trump said, “You’re living in poverty, your schools are no good, you have no jobs, 58 percent of your youth is unemployed. What the hell do you have to lose?”

⁴<https://www.vox.com/2016/7/25/12270880/donald-trump-racist-racism-history>

- Trump stereotyped a black reporter at a press conference in February 2017. When April Ryan asked him if he plans to meet and work with the Congressional Black Caucus, he repeatedly asked her to set up the meeting - even as she insisted that she's "just a reporter."
- In the week after white supremacist protests in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017, Trump repeatedly said that "many sides" and "both sides" were to blame for the violence and chaos that ensued - suggesting that the white supremacist protesters were morally equivalent to counterprotesters that stood against racism. He also said that there were "some very fine people" among the white supremacists. All of this seemed like a dog whistle to white supremacists - and many of them took it as one, with white nationalist Richard Spencer praising Trump for "defending the truth."
- Throughout 2017, Trump repeatedly attacked NFL players who, by kneeling or otherwise silently protesting during the national anthem, demonstrated against systemic racism in America.
- Trump reportedly said in 2017 that people who came to the US from Haiti "all have AIDS," and he lamented that people who came to the US from Nigeria would never "go back to their huts" once they saw America. The White House denied that Trump ever made these comments.
- Speaking about immigration in a bipartisan meeting in January 2018, Trump reportedly asked, in reference to Haiti and African countries, "Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?" He then reportedly suggested that the US should take more people from countries like Norway. The implication: Immigrants from predominantly white countries are good, while immigrants from predominantly black countries are bad.

The disastrous 2016 US election

In the United States, campaigns for the presidential election of 2016 might have been an occasion for a realistic discussion of the enormously important challenges which we now face, not only in the America, but also throughout the world.

Most thoughtful people agree that the two most important issues facing humanity today are the threat of catastrophic and uncontrollable climate change, and the threat of nuclear war. Each of these threatened disasters has the potential to destroy human civilization and much of the biosphere. But on the whole these vitally important issues were not discussed in an honest way in the mainstream media. Instead the campaign spectacle presented to us by the media was washed down into the murky depths of stupidity by rivers of money from the fossil fuel giants and the military industrial complex.

The Republican presidential candidates were almost single-voiced in denying the reality of climate change, and they were almost unanimously behind foreign policy options that would push the world to the brink of nuclear war.

Unless rapid action is taken, the world may soon pass a tipping point after which human efforts to avoid catastrophic climate change will be useless because feedback loops will have taken over. However, our present situation is by no means hopeless, because of the extremely rapid rate of growth of renewable energy. What can governments do to help? They can stop subsidizing the fossil fuel industry! Without massive fossil fuel subsidies, renewables would be the cheaper option, and economic forces alone would drive the urgently-needed transition to 100% renewable energy.

A report by RNE21, a global renewable energy policy network, states that “Global subsidies for fossil fuels remain high despite reform efforts. Estimates range from USD 550 billion (International Energy Agency) to USD 5.6 trillion per year (International Monetary Fund), depending on how ‘subsidy’ is defined and calculated.”

“Growth in renewable energy (and energy efficiency improvements) is tempered by subsidies to fossil fuels and nuclear power, particularly in developing countries. Subsidies keep conventional energy prices artificially low, which makes it more difficult for renewable energy to compete...”

“Creating a level playing field can lead to a more efficient allocation of financial resources, helping to strengthen to advance the development of energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies. Removing fossil fuel and energy subsidies globally would reflect more accurately the true cost of energy generation.”⁵

There is, so to speak, an elephant in the room; but no one wants to talk about it. Everyone (with a very few exceptions) pretends not to see it. They pretend that it is not there. What is this metaphorical elephant? It is the Pentagon’s colossal budget, which is far too sacred a thing to be mentioned in an election campaign.

The size of this budget is almost beyond comprehension: 610 billion dollars per year. This does not include nuclear weapons research, maintenance, cleanup and production, which are paid for by the Department of Energy. Nor does it include payments in pensions to military retirees and widows, nor interest on debt for past wars, nor the State Department’s financing foreign arms sales and military-related development assistance, nor special emergency grants for current wars. Nor are the expenses of the Department of Homeland Security included in the Pentagon’s budget, nor those of the CIA, nor the huge budget of NSA and other dark branches of the US government. One can only guess at the total figure if everything should be included, but it is probably well over a trillion dollars per year.

The hidden presence in the room is a trillion-dollar elephant. Perhaps we should include subsidies to fossil fuel giants. Then we would have a multi-trillion-dollar elephant. But it is too sacred to be mentioned. Cut Medicare! Cut pensions! Cut Social Security! Abolish food stamps! Sacrifice support for education! We are running out of money! (Meanwhile the elephant stands there, too holy to be seen.)

Against expectations, Donald Trump who, in the words of Michael Moore, is a “wretched, ignorant, dangerous part-time clown and full-time sociopath”, was elected in 2016. What happened? Disillusioned by the way in which the immensely popular Senator Bernie

⁵<http://www.ren21.net/status-of-renewables/global-status-report/>



Figure 1.4: Is this the person to whom we ought to entrust the future of our planet? When elected, Donald Trump not only pulled the United States out of the Paris Agreement; he also sabotaged the Environmental Protection Agency to such an extent that the carefully collected facts on climate change that the agency had accumulated had to be secretly saved by scientists to prevent their destruction by the Trump administration. Furthermore, Donald Trump's administration not only subsidizes giant coal corporations. It also has sabotages renewable energy initiatives in the United States.



Figure 1.5: When Senator Bernie Sanders began his 2016 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, few people believed that he could succeed. But as his campaign gained momentum, enormous crowds were attracted to his reformist speeches, and small individual donors supported his expenses. Although the crowds at Sanders' speeches were at least four times the size of those attending the rallies of other candidates, they were not reported in the mass media. Sanders' campaign was also sabotaged by the corporate-controlled Democratic National Committee. His huge popularity remains undimmed today, despite his loss in the 2016 primary. He advocates a social system for the United States similar to these which have made the Scandinavian countries leaders in both human development and human happiness indices.



Figure 1.6: Dr. Jill Stein was the Green Party's presidential candidate in 2016. She was the only candidate who was willing to talk about the "elephant in the room" - the obscenely enormous military budget that consumed almost a trillion dollars that could otherwise have been used for social goals, health, education and infrastructure.



Figure 1.7: Disillusioned progressive voters who stayed at home were responsible for Trump's victory. Democrats must be very careful not to make the same mistake in the 2020 election. They must nominate a truly progressive candidate for President. A ticket with Elizabeth Warren for President and Bernie Sanders for Vice-President would certainly beat Trump. A ticket with Joe Biden for President would probably lose. Biden is dangerously similar to Hillary Clinton. He is tainted by corporate money and has blood from the Iraq War on his hands. With Biden as the Democrat's candidate, progressive voters would stay home in disgust in 2020, just as they did in 2016.

Sanders was sabotaged by the media and by the Democratic National Committee, and despising Hillary Clinton for her involvement in US wars and Wall Street banks, many progressive voters stayed away from the polls. In their absence, Trump won narrowly. He lost the popular vote, but won the electoral vote. Today, the White House is a morass of dissension, erratic decisions and lies.

1.7 Children in cages

Inhumane treatment at the border

Here are some excerpts from the written testimony of Clara Long Deputy Washington Director (Acting) Senior Researcher, US Program Human Rights Watch. The testimony was submitted to the U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Reform for a hearing on July 19, 2019.

Our in-depth interviews with children revealed that the US Border Patrol

is holding many children, including some who are much too young to take care of themselves, in jail - like border facilities for weeks at a time without contact with family members, or regular access to showers, clean clothes, toothbrushes, or proper beds. Many were sick. Many, including children as young as 2 or 3, were separated from adult caretakers without any provisions for their care besides that provided by unrelated older children also being held in detention. These conditions are consistent with those Human Rights Watch documented in our February 2018 report, "In the Freezer." In contrast with the conditions as of February 2018, the harms of CBP detention for children are now compounding over weeks instead of days.

On my first day at Clint, I spoke with an 11-year-old boy who was caring for his 3-year-old brother. Both were fending for themselves in cinder-block cells with dozens of other children for three weeks. When I met them, the little one was quiet with matted hair, a hacking cough, muddy pants and eyes that fluttered closed with fatigue. As we spoke, he fell asleep on two office chairs drawn together. "I am the one who takes care of him here," the older brother told us. "There was a teenage girl with curly hair who was helping me take care of him for a while. I don't know her name. But she's gone now. Now, no one helps me to take care of him."

A 14-year-old told our team she was taking care of a 4-year-old girl who had been placed in her cell with no relatives. "I take her to the bathroom, give her my extra food if she is hungry, and tell people to leave her alone if they are bothering her", she said. "She has been sick the whole time I have been taking care of her, and is coughing and has mucous. She doesn't talk hardly at all, just 'yes' and 'no'. She wears diapers and I change them for her."...

We also spoke with children who had been held for some period of time in quarantine cells. A 14-year-old girl told us, "I was in the first cell for seven days, sleeping with no mattress. It is hard to sleep when you don't have a mattress. I then came down with the flu. I then went into the flu cell for seven days. When you are in the flu cell, you also sleep on the floor, but you have a mattress. There were 21 other kids in that space with the flu. I had a fever in there and I was shaking. Some of the other kids were vomiting. They all had fevers. No one was taking care of the kids with the flu.... We were not allowed to leave the flu cell, ever. It was very boring. I did nothing to entertain myself, nor was anything offered. It was sad, very sad. I felt locked up and closed in."

An 11-year-old boy held in CBP custody for 12 days, despite having parents in New Jersey, said, "About three days ago I got a fever. They moved me alone to a flu cell. There is no one to take care of you there. They just give you pills twice a day. I also am having an allergic reaction all over my skin. My skin is itchy and red and my nose is stuffed up. Two times they gave me a pill for it but not anymore"

A 7-year-old girl I attempted to interview entered the room silently but burst into tears when we asked whom she traveled with to the US. "My aunt,"



she said, with a keening cry. She was so upset we decided not to attempt to interview her, a situation that happened several times during our visit. A bracelet on her wrist had the words “US parent” and a phone number written in permanent marker. We called the number on the spot and found out that no one had informed her desperate parents where she was being held. Some of the most emotional moments of our visit came witnessing children speak for the first time with their parents on an attorney’s phone.

Based on our interviews, US officials at the border seem to be making no discernible effort to release children to caregivers while children are in Customs and Border Protection custody - though many have parents in the US - rather than holding them for weeks in overcrowded cells, incommunicado from their desperate loved ones.

The definition of genocide

Here is the UN’s definition of genocide under the statutes of the International Criminal Court:

“In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- a Killing members of the group;
- b Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;







(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

Does not the treatment of children at the US southern border fulfill this definition?

1.8 Trump copies Hitler’s rhetoric

Book review: *When at Times the Mob Is Swayed*

Below are some quotations from an article by Steven Rosenfeld, published by *Common Dreams* on Friday, August 9, 2019. Rosenfeld’s article is a review of a book by Bert Neuborne entitled *When at Times the Mob Is Swayed: A Citizen’s Guide to Defending Our Republic*.

Neuborne doesn’t make this comparison [between Trump and Hitler] lightly. His 55-year career began by challenging the constitutionality of the Vietnam War in the 1960s. He became the ACLU’s national legal director in the 1980s under Ronald Reagan. He was founding legal director of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University Law School in the 1990s. He has been part of more than 200 Supreme Court cases and Holocaust reparation litigation.

“Why does an ignorant, narcissistic buffoon like Trump trigger such anxiety? Why do so many Americans feel it existentially (not just politically) important to resist our forty-fifth president?” he writes. “Partly it’s just aesthetics. Trump is such a coarse and appalling man that it’s hard to stomach his presence in Abraham Lincoln’s house. But that’s not enough to explain the intensity of my dread. LBJ was coarse. Gerald Ford and George W. Bush were

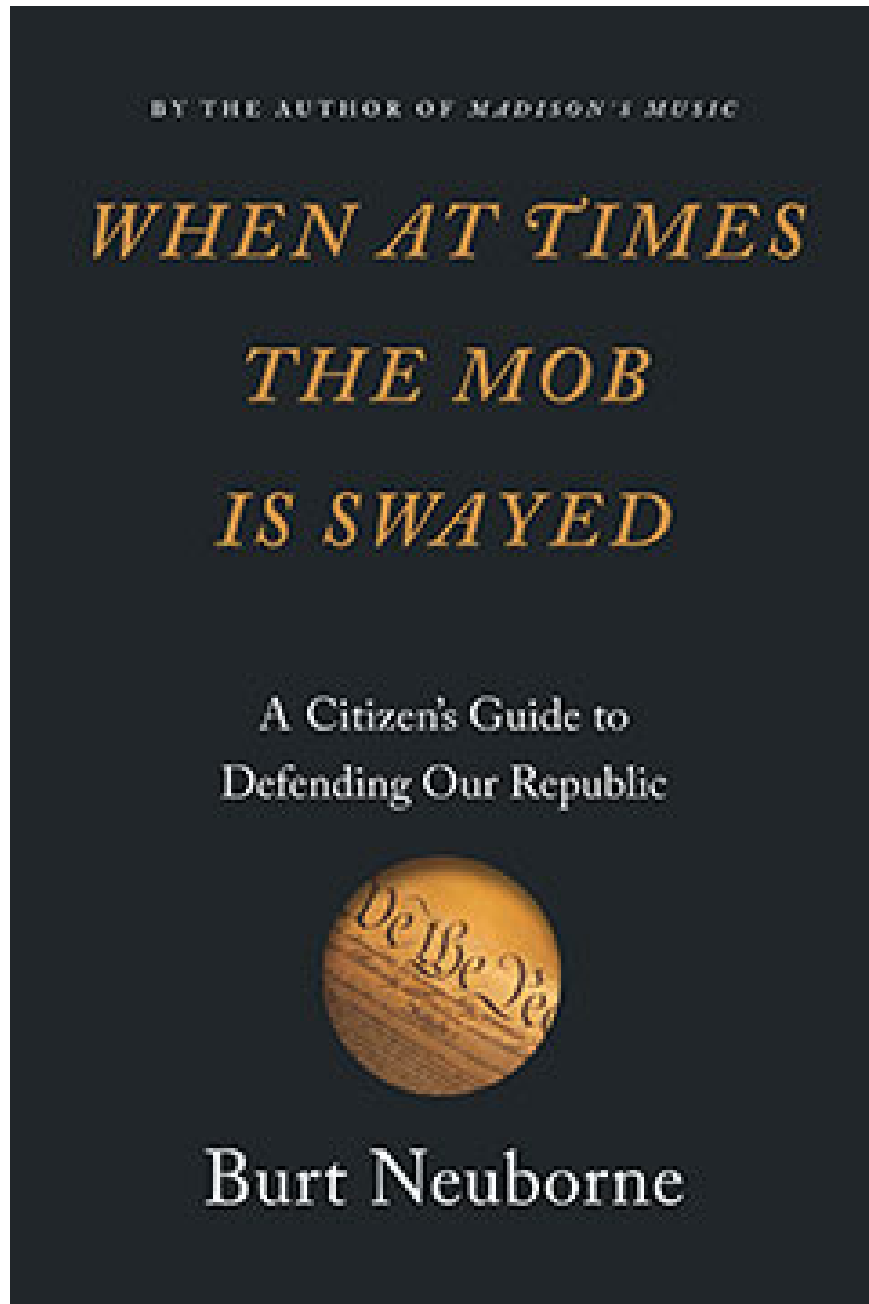


Figure 1.8: Burt Neuborne's brilliant book on the current crisis of American democracy is a warning that we must take very seriously.



dumb as rocks. Richard Nixon was an anti-Semite. Bill Clinton's mistreatment of women dishonored his office. Ronald Reagan was a dangerous ideologue. I opposed each of them when they appeared to exceed their constitutional powers. But I never felt a sense of existential dread. I never sensed that the very existence of a tolerant democracy was in play."

A younger Trump, according to his first wife's divorce filings, kept and studied a book translating and annotating Adolf Hitler's pre-World War II speeches in a locked bedside cabinet, Neuborne noted. The English edition of *My New Order*, published in 1941, also had analyses of the speeches' impact on his era's press and politics. "Ugly and appalling as they are, those speeches are masterpieces of demagogic manipulation," Neuborne says.

"Watching Trump work his crowds, though, I see a dangerously manipulative narcissist unleashing the demagogic spells that he learned from studying Hitler's speeches - spells that he cannot control and that are capable of eroding the fabric of American democracy," Neuborne says. "You see, we've seen what these rhetorical techniques can do. Much of Trump's rhetoric - as a candidate and in office - mirrors the strategies, even the language, used by Adolf Hitler in the early 1930s to erode German democracy."

Many Americans may seize or condemn Neuborne's analysis, which has more than 20 major points of comparison. The author repeatedly says his goal is not "equating" the men - as "it trivializes Hitler's obscene crimes to compare them to Trump's often pathetic foibles."

Indeed, the book has a larger frame: whether federal checks and balances - Congress, the Supreme Court, the Electoral College - can contain the havoc that Trump thrives on and the Republican Party at large has embraced. But the Trump-Hitler compilation is a stunning warning, because, as many Holocaust survivors have said, few Germans or Europeans expected what unfolded in the years after Hitler amassed power.

Here's how Neuborne introduces this section. Many recent presidents have been awful, "But then there was Donald Trump, the only president in recent American history to openly despise the twin ideals - individual dignity and fundamental equality - upon which the contemporary United States is built. When you confront the reality of a president like Trump, the state of both sets of brakes - internal [constitutional] and external [public resistance] - become hugely important because Donald Trump's political train runs on the most potent and dangerous fuel of all: a steady diet of fear, greed, loathing, lies, and envy. It's a toxic mixture that has destroyed democracies before, and can do so again.

"Give Trump credit," he continues. "He did his homework well and became the twenty-first-century master of divisive rhetoric. We're used to thinking of Hitler's Third Reich as the incomparably evil tyranny that it undoubtedly was. But Hitler didn't take power by force. He used a set of rhetorical tropes codified in Trump's bedside reading that persuaded enough Germans to welcome Hitler

as a populist leader. The Nazis did not overthrow the Weimar Republic. It fell into their hands as the fruit of Hitler's satanic ability to mesmerize enough Germans to trade their birthright for a pottage of scapegoating, short-term economic gain, xenophobia, and racism. It could happen here."

Twenty points of similarity

Neuborne lists the following points of similarity between early Hitler and Trump:

1. Neither was elected by a majority. Trump lost the popular vote by 2.9 million votes, receiving votes by 25.3 percent of all eligible American voters. "That's just a little less than the percentage of the German electorate that turned to the Nazi Party in 1932-33," Neuborne writes. "Unlike the low turnouts in the United States, turnout in Weimar Germany averaged just over 80 percent of eligible voters." He continues, "Once installed as a minority chancellor in January 1933, Hitler set about demonizing his political opponents, and no one - not the vaunted, intellectually brilliant German judiciary; not the respected, well-trained German police; not the revered, aristocratic German military; not the widely admired, efficient German government bureaucracy; not the wealthy, immensely powerful leaders of German industry; and not the powerful center-right political leaders of the Reichstag - mounted a serious effort to stop him."
2. Both found direct communication channels to their base. By 1936's Olympics, Nazi narratives dominated German cultural and political life. "How on earth did Hitler pull it off? What satanic magic did Trump find in Hitler's speeches?" Neuborne asks. He addresses Hitler's extreme rhetoric soon enough, but notes that Hitler found a direct communication pathway - the Nazi Party gave out radios with only one channel, tuned to Hitler's voice, bypassing Germany's news media. Trump has an online equivalent.

"Donald Trump's tweets, often delivered between midnight and dawn, are the twenty-first century's technological embodiment of Hitler's free plastic radios," Neuborne says. "Trump's Twitter account, like Hitler's radios, enables a charismatic leader to establish and maintain a personal, unfiltered line of communication with an adoring political base of about 30-40 percent of the population, many (but not all) of whom are only too willing, even anxious, to swallow Trump's witches' brew of falsehoods, half-truths, personal invective, threats, xenophobia, national security scares, religious bigotry, white racism, exploitation of economic insecurity, and a never ending-search for scapegoats."
3. Both blame others and divide on racial lines. As Neuborne notes, "Hitler used his single-frequency radios to wax hysterical to his adoring base

about his pathological racial and religious fantasies glorifying Aryans and demonizing Jews, blaming Jews (among other racial and religious scapegoats) for German society's ills." That is comparable to "Trump's tweets and public statements, whether dealing with black-led demonstrations against police violence, white-led racist mob violence, threats posed by undocumented aliens, immigration policy generally, protests by black and white professional athletes, college admission policies, hate speech, even response to hurricane damage in Puerto Rico," he says. Again and again, Trump uses "racially tinged messages calculated to divide whites from people of color."

4. Both relentlessly demonize opponents. "Hitler's radio harangues demonized his domestic political opponents, calling them parasites, criminals, cockroaches, and various categories of leftist scum," Neuborne notes. "Trump's tweets and speeches similarly demonize his political opponents. Trump talks about the country being 'infested' with dangerous aliens of color. He fantasizes about jailing Hillary Clinton, calls Mexicans rapists, refers to 'shithole countries,' degrades anyone who disagrees with him, and dreams of uprooting thousands of allegedly disloyal bureaucrats in the State Department, the Environmental Protection Agency, the FBI, and the CIA, who he calls 'the deep state' and who, he claims, are sabotaging American greatness."
5. They unceasingly attack objective truth. "Both Trump and Hitler maintained a relentless assault on the very idea of objective truth," he continues. "Each began the assault by seeking to delegitimize the mainstream press. Hitler quickly coined the epithet *Lügenpresse* (literally 'lying press') to denigrate the mainstream press. Trump uses a paraphrase of Hitler's lying press epithet - 'fake news' - cribbed, no doubt, from one of Hitler's speeches. For Trump, the mainstream press is a 'lying press' that publishes 'fake news.'" Hitler attacked his opponents as spreading false information to undermine his positions, Neuborne says, just as Trump has attacked "elites" for disseminating false news, "especially his possible links to the Kremlin."
6. They relentlessly attack mainstream media. Trump's assaults on the media echo Hitler's, Neuborne says, noting that he "repeatedly attacks the 'failing New York Times,' leads crowds in chanting 'CNN sucks,' [and] is personally hostile to most reporters." He cites the White House's refusal to fly the flag at half-mast after the murder of five journalists in Annapolis in June 2018, Trump's efforts to punish CNN by blocking a merger of its corporate parent, and trying to revoke federal Postal Service contracts held by Amazon, which was founded by Jeff Bezos, who also owns the Washington Post.

7. Their attacks on truth include science. Neuborne notes, “Both Trump and Hitler intensified their assault on objective truth by deriding scientific experts, especially academics who question Hitler’s views on race or Trump’s views on climate change, immigration, or economics. For both Trump and Hitler, the goal is (and was) to eviscerate the very idea of objective truth, turning everything into grist for a populist jury subject to manipulation by a master puppeteer. In both Trump’s and Hitler’s worlds, public opinion ultimately defines what is true and what is false.”
8. Their lies blur reality - and supporters spread them. “Trump’s pathological penchant for repeatedly lying about his behavior can only succeed in a world where his supporters feel free to embrace Trump’s ‘alternative facts’ and treat his hyperbolic exaggerations as the gospel truth,” Neuborne says. “Once Hitler had delegitimized the mainstream media by a series of systematic attacks on its integrity, he constructed a fawning alternative mass media designed to reinforce his direct radio messages and enhance his personal power. Trump is following the same path, simultaneously launching bitter attacks on the mainstream press while embracing the so-called alt-right media, co-opting both Sinclair Broadcasting and the Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox Broadcasting Company as, essentially, a Trump Broadcasting Network.”
9. Both orchestrated mass rallies to show status. “Once Hitler had cemented his personal communications link with his base via free radios and a fawning media and had badly eroded the idea of objective truth, he reinforced his emotional bond with his base by holding a series of carefully orchestrated mass meetings dedicated to cementing his status as a charismatic leader, or Führer,” Neuborne writes. “The powerful personal bonds nurtured by Trump’s tweets and Fox’s fawning are also systematically reinforced by periodic, carefully orchestrated mass rallies (even going so far as to co-opt a Boy Scout Jamboree in 2017), reinforcing Trump’s insatiable narcissism and his status as a charismatic leader.”
10. They embrace extreme nationalism. “Hitler’s strident appeals to the base invoked an extreme version of German nationalism, extolling a brilliant German past and promising to restore Germany to its rightful place as a preeminent nation,” Neuborne says. “Trump echoes Hitler’s jingoistic appeal to ultranationalist fervor, extolling American exceptionalism right down to the slogan ‘Make America Great Again,’ a paraphrase of Hitler’s promise to restore German greatness.”
11. Both made closing borders a centerpiece. “Hitler all but closed Germany’s borders, freezing non-Aryan migration into the country and rendering it impossible for Germans to escape without official permission. Like Hitler,

Trump has also made closed borders a centerpiece of his administration,” Neuborne continues. “Hitler barred Jews. Trump bars Muslims and seekers of sanctuary from Central America. When the lower courts blocked Trump’s Muslim travel ban, he unilaterally issued executive orders replacing it with a thinly disguised substitute that ultimately narrowly won Supreme Court approval under a theory of extreme deference to the president.”

12. They embraced mass detention and deportations. “Hitler promised to make Germany free from Jews and Slavs. Trump promises to slow, stop, and even reverse the flow of non-white immigrants, substituting Muslims, Africans, Mexicans, and Central Americans of color for Jews and Slavs as scapegoats for the nation’s ills. Trump’s efforts to cast dragnets to arrest undocumented aliens where they work, live, and worship, followed by mass deportation... echo Hitler’s promise to defend Germany’s racial identity,” he writes, also noting that Trump has “stooped to tearing children from their parents [as Nazis in World War II would do] to punish desperate efforts by migrants to find a better life.”
13. Both used borders to protect selected industries. “Like Hitler, Trump seeks to use national borders to protect his favored national interests, threatening to ignite protectionist trade wars with Europe, China, and Japan similar to the trade wars that, in earlier incarnations, helped to ignite World War I and World War II,” Neuborne writes. “Like Hitler, Trump aggressively uses our nation’s political and economic power to favor selected American corporate interests at the expense of foreign competitors and the environment, even at the price of international conflict, massive inefficiency, and irreversible pollution [climate change].”
14. They cemented their rule by enriching elites. “Hitler’s version of fascism shifted immense power - both political and financial - to the leaders of German industry. In fact, Hitler governed Germany largely through corporate executives,” he continues. “Trump has also presided over a massive empowerment - and enrichment - of corporate America. Under Trump, large corporations exercise immense political power while receiving huge economic windfalls and freedom from regulations designed to protect consumers and the labor force. Hitler despised the German labor movement, eventually destroying it and imprisoning its leaders. Trump also detests strong unions, seeking to undermine any effort to interfere with the ‘prerogatives of management.’”
15. Both rejected international norms. “Hitler’s foreign policy rejected international cooperation in favor of military and economic coercion, culminating in the annexation of the Sudetenland, the phony Hitler-Stalin

nonaggression pact, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the horrors of global war,” Neuborne notes. “Like Hitler, Trump is deeply hostile to multinational cooperation, withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Paris Agreement on climate change, and the nuclear agreement with Iran, threatening to withdraw from the North American Free Trade Agreement, abandoning our Kurdish allies in Syria...”

16. They attack domestic democratic processes. “Hitler attacked the legitimacy of democracy itself, purging the voting rolls, challenging the integrity of the electoral process, and questioning the ability of democratic government to solve Germany’s problems,” Neuborne notes. “Trump has also attacked the democratic process, declining to agree to be bound by the outcome of the 2016 elections when he thought he might lose, supporting the massive purge of the voting rolls allegedly designed to avoid (nonexistent) fraud, championing measures that make it harder to vote, tolerating - if not fomenting - massive Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election, encouraging mob violence at rallies, darkly hinting at violence if Democrats hold power, and constantly casting doubt on the legitimacy of elections unless he wins.”
17. Both attack the judiciary and rule of law. “Hitler politicized and eventually destroyed the vaunted German justice system. Trump also seeks to turn the American justice system into his personal playground,” Neuborne writes. “Like Hitler, Trump threatens the judicially enforced rule of law, bitterly attacking American judges who rule against him, slyly praising Andrew Jackson for defying the Supreme Court, and abusing the pardon power by pardoning an Arizona sheriff found guilty of criminal contempt of court for disobeying federal court orders to cease violating the Constitution.”
18. Both glorify the military and demand loyalty oaths. “Like Hitler, Trump glorifies the military, staffing his administration with layers of retired generals (who eventually were fired or resigned), relaxing control over the use of lethal force by the military and the police, and demanding a massive increase in military spending,” Neuborne writes. Just as Hitler “imposed an oath of personal loyalty on all German judges” and demanded courts defer to him, “Trump’s already gotten enough deference from five Republican [Supreme Court] justices to uphold a largely Muslim travel ban that is the epitome of racial and religious bigotry.” Trump has also demanded loyalty oaths. “He fired James Comey, a Republican appointed in 2013 as FBI director by President Obama, for refusing to swear an oath of personal loyalty to the president; excoriated and then sacked Jeff Sessions, his handpicked attorney general, for failing to suppress the criminal investigation into... Trump’s possible collusion with Russia in influencing

the 2016 elections; repeatedly threatened to dismiss Robert Mueller, the special counsel carrying out the investigation; and called again and again for the jailing of Hillary Clinton, his 2016 opponent, leading crowds in chants of ‘lock her up.’” A new chant, “send her back,” has since emerged at Trump rallies directed at non-white Democratic congresswomen.

19. They proclaim unchecked power. “Like Hitler, Trump has intensified a disturbing trend that predated his administration of governing unilaterally, largely through executive orders or proclamations,” Neuborne says, citing the Muslim travel ban, trade tariffs, unraveling of health and environmental safety nets, ban on transgender military service, and efforts to end President Obama’s protection for Dreamers. “Like Hitler, Trump claims the power to overrule Congress and govern all by himself. In 1933, Hitler used the pretext of the Reichstag fire to declare a national emergency and seize the power to govern unilaterally. The German judiciary did nothing to stop him. German democracy never recovered. When Congress refused to give Trump funds for his border wall even after he threw a tantrum and shut down the government, Trump, like Hitler, declared a phony national emergency and claimed the power to ignore Congress,” Neuborne continues. “Don’t count on the Supreme Court to stop him. Five justices gave the game away on the President’s unilateral travel ban. They just might do the same thing on the border wall.” It did in late July, ruling that Trump could divert congressionally appropriated funds from the Pentagon budget - undermining constitutional separation of powers.
20. Both relegate women to subordinate roles. “Finally,” writes Neuborne, “Hitler propounded a misogynistic, stereotypical view of women, valuing them exclusively as wives and mothers while excluding them from full participation in German political and economic life. Trump may be the most openly misogynist figure ever to hold high public office in the United States, crassly treating women as sexual objects, using nondisclosure agreements and violating campaign finance laws to shield his sexual misbehavior from public knowledge, attacking women who come forward to accuse men of abusive behavior, undermining reproductive freedom, and opposing efforts by women to achieve economic equality.”

1.9 Proud Boys

Wikipedia states that “The Proud Boys is a far-right neo-fascist organization which admits only men as members and promotes political violence. It is based in the United States and has a presence in Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The group was started in 2016 by Vice Media co-founder and former commentator Gavin McInnes, taking its name from the song ‘Proud of Your Boy’ from the Disney film Aladdin. Proud Boys emerged

as part of the alt-right, but in early 2017, McInnes began distancing himself from the alt-right, saying the alt-right's focus is race while his focus is what he defines as 'Western values'. This re-branding effort intensified after the Unite the Right Rally ⁶.

"The group sees men - especially white men - and Western culture as under siege; their views have elements of white genocide conspiracy theory. While the group claims it does not support white supremacist views, its members often participate in racist rallies, events, and organizations. The organization glorifies violence, and members engage in violence at events it attends; the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has called it an 'alt-right fight club'.

"The organization has been described as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center and NPR's The Takeaway, and Spencer, McInnes, and the Proud Boys have been described as hipster racists by Vox and Media Matters for America. McInnes says victim mentality of women and other historically oppressed groups is unhealthy: 'There is an incentive to be a victim. It is cool to be a victim.' He sees white men and Western culture as 'under siege' and described criticism of his ideas as "victim blaming". Their views have elements of white genocide conspiracy theory. The group is part of the 'alt lite' and it is 'overtly Islamophobic'...

"The organization glorifies political violence against leftists, re-enacting political assassinations, wearing shirts that praise Augusto Pinochet's murders of leftists, and participating directly in political violence. McInnes has said 'I want violence, I want punching in the face. I'm disappointed in Trump supporters for not punching enough.' He stated, 'We don't start fights [...] but we will finish them.' Heidi Beirich, the Intelligence Project director for the Southern Poverty Law Center, said that this form of intentional aggression was not common among far-right groups in the past; she said: 'We're going to show up and we're intending to get in fights, that's a new thing.' In August 2018, Twitter shut down the official account for the group, as well as McInnes' account, under its policy prohibiting violent extremist groups; at the time, the group's profile photo was a member punching a counter-protester.

⁶Wikipedia describes this event as follows: "The Unite the Right rally was a white supremacist rally that occurred in Charlottesville, Virginia, from August 11 to 12, 2017. Protesters were members of the far-right and included self-identified members of the alt-right, neo-Confederates, neo-fascists,[13] white nationalists, neo-Nazis, Klansmen, and various right-wing militias. The marchers chanted racist and antisemitic slogans, carried semi-automatic rifles, Nazi and neo-Nazi symbols (such as the swastika, Odal rune, Black Sun, and Iron Cross), the Valknut, Confederate battle flags, Deus Vult crosses, flags and other symbols of various past and present anti-Muslim and antisemitic groups."



Figure 1.9: Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes.



Figure 1.10: A member of Proud Boys.

1.10 Evangelicals

Here is an excerpt from a December 31, 2018 article in the New York Times by Katherine Stewart:

The month before the 2018 midterms, a thousand theaters screened “The Trump Prophecy,” a film that tells the story of Mark Taylor, a former firefighter who claims that God told him in 2011 that Donald Trump would be elected president.

At a critical moment in the film, just after the actor representing Mr. Taylor collapses in the flashing light of an epiphany, he picks up a Bible and turns to the 45th chapter of the book of Isaiah, which describes the anointment of King Cyrus by God. In the next scene, we hear Mr. Trump being interviewed on “The 700 Club,” a popular Christian television show.

As Lance Wallnau, an evangelical author and speaker who appears in the film, once said, “I believe the 45th president is meant to be an Isaiah 45 Cyrus,” who will “restore the crumbling walls that separate us from cultural collapse.”

Cyrus, in case you’ve forgotten, was born in the sixth century B.C.E. and became the first emperor of Persia. Isaiah 45 celebrates Cyrus for freeing a population of Jews who were held captive in Babylon. Cyrus is the model for a nonbeliever appointed by God as a vessel for the purposes of the faithful.

The identification of the 45th president with an ancient Middle Eastern potentate isn’t a fringe thing. “The Trump Prophecy” was produced with the help of professors and students at Liberty University, whose president, Jerry Falwell Jr., has been instrumental in rallying evangelical support for Mr. Trump. Jeanine Pirro of Fox News has picked up on the meme, as has Ron Dermer, the Israeli ambassador to the United States, among many others.

As the Trump presidency falls under siege on multiple fronts, it has become increasingly clear that the so-called values voters will be among the last to leave the citadel. A lot of attention has been paid to the supposed paradox of evangelicals backing such an imperfect man, but the real problem is that our idea of Christian nationalism hasn’t caught up with the reality. We still buy the line that the hard core of the Christian right is just an interest group working to protect its values. But what we don’t get is that Mr. Trump’s supposedly anti-Christian attributes and anti-democratic attributes are a vital part of his attraction.

Today’s Christian nationalists talk a good game about respecting the Constitution and America’s founders, but at bottom they sound as if they prefer autocrats to democrats. In fact, what they really want is a king. ‘It is God that raises up a king,’ according to Paula White, a prosperity gospel preacher who has advised Mr. Trump.

Ralph Drollinger, who has led weekly Bible study groups in the White House attended by Vice President Mike Pence and many other cabinet members, likes the word “king” so much that he frequently turns it into a verb. “Get ready



Figure 1.11: Apparently insanity rules the United States today. The Evangelical Right believes that Trump was sent by God to be King, despite the fact that, according to Glenn Kessler, author of the Washington Post's Fact Checker column, Trump told an average of 15 lies per day in 2018. But neither Trump's lies, nor his racism and mysogeny, nor his cruel authorization of imprisonment of very young children and even babies, are his worst crimes. His most serious offense is a crime against human civilization and the biosphere: his support for coal, his climate change denial, his sabotaging of renewable energy, and his withdrawal from the Paris agreement. These actions, and support for them by Republicans, caused Noam Chomsky to call the Republican Party "the most dangerous organization in history".

to king in our future lives," he tells his followers. "Christian believers will - soon, I hope - become the consummate, perfect governing authorities!"

The great thing about kings like Cyrus, as far as today's Christian nationalists are concerned, is that they don't have to follow rules. They are the law. This makes them ideal leaders in paranoid times.



Figure 1.12: Anit-Mexican language used by Trump is very similar to the language used by the El Paso mass murderer. A recent article *Ex-FBI Official, FBI reluctant to probe white supremacists because Trump considers them his base*, quotes Dave Gomez as saying “There’s some reluctance among agents to bring forth an investigation that targets what the president perceives as his base.”



Figure 1.13: Family members mourning the victims of the El Paso murders.



Figure 1.14: A woman lights a candle at a makeshift memorial outside Walmart, near the scene of a mass shooting which left 22 people dead, on August 4, 2019, in El Paso, Texas.

1.11 The El Paso mass murders

On the morning of August 3, 2019, 21-year-old Patrick Wood Crusius, a Republican follower of Donald Trump, walked into a Walmart in El Paso Texas. carrying an AK-47 automatic weapon. He opened fire on the largely Latino customers, killing 22 people and seriously injuring 24 others. In a manifesto, which he published on the Internet just before the murders, he wrote “In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto. This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion.” The language and ideas used by Crusius are similar to those of Donald Trump, who often speaks of a Mexican invasion.

The following day, there was another mass shooting, this time in Dayton, Ohio. Again an automatic attack rifle was used. Nine people were killed.

Between January and February, 2019, President Donald Trump’s Facebook page ran about 2,200 ads referring to immigration as an “invasion”.

1.12 Trump prepared a coup

Here are some quotations from an article by Margorie Cohn entitled *On the Current Status of Trump’s Coup Attempt - and Its Future* published on November 20, 2020 by Common Dreams:

“It may look like this is one frivolity and absurdity after another - and it is. But if this electoral clash reaches the Supreme Court, all bets are off.

“Joe Biden has won states worth 306 Electoral College votes, 36 more than the 270 needed to win, and received in excess of 5 million more popular votes than Donald Trump. Yet Trump insists the election was stolen from him and he is the victor.

“Trump started attacking the election months before it happened. He leveled unsupported charges of massive voter fraud from mail-in ballots to create doubt about the integrity of the election. Knowing that Democrats would cast mail ballots in the midst of the pandemic, Trump told his supporters to vote in person on Election Day to prematurely inflate his vote totals.

“When he had an apparent lead on election night, Trump claimed victory and demanded that the vote-counting stop. Sure enough, as the tabulations continued, the mail ballots counted after Election Day put Biden over the top.

“Trump is setting the stage for an electoral coup. Republicans and the Trump campaign have filed frivolous lawsuits, alleging mostly technical violations of voting procedures, which would not change the outcome of the election even if they were meritorious.

“The real goal of this litigation is to create the perception of widespread voter fraud to whip up distrust for the election results. This would ‘give state

legislatures political cover to appoint their own electors,’ Robert Reich wrote.

“Trump’s lawyers are seeking court orders to delay the certification of the votes in key states so GOP-controlled legislatures can appoint Trump electors notwithstanding Biden’s victories. Trump’s legal team has filed litigation in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Arizona to prevent state officials from certifying the vote count.

“On November 13, judges in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Arizona dismissed Trump lawsuits. State judges in Michigan have refused Trump’s requests to delay the certification of the vote count. Judge Timothy Kenny rejected the petition of two Republican poll watchers to delay ballot count certification in Detroit, calling misconduct allegations ‘not credible.’ The plaintiffs’ request for an outside audit of the voting tallies would cause such a delay that electors might not be chosen by the mid-December vote in the Electoral College. Kenny, who characterized some accusations as ‘rife with speculation and guesswork,’ said, ‘It would be an unprecedented exercise of judicial activism for this court to stop the certification process’.

“The same day, the law firm Porter Wright Morris & Arthur abruptly withdrew from the federal lawsuit they had filed in Pennsylvania on Trump’s behalf earlier in the week, out of concerns they were being used to undermine the integrity of the electoral process. Also last week, Snell & Wilmer withdrew from representation of Arizona’s Republican National Committee.

“ ‘These law firms have been under tremendous pressure as it became clear these claims were baseless, and that they were part of a broader campaign to delegitimize the election,’ Wendy Weiser from the Brennan Center for Justice told ABC News.

“Both Democratic and Republican election officials in virtually every state reported to The New York Times that there was no evidence fraud or other irregularities affected the election results.

“Moreover, on November 12, a joint committee of the Department of Homeland Security’s Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) confirmed the reliability of the election results, calling the November 3rd election ‘the most secure in American history’ The high-level committee concluded, ‘There is no evidence that any voting system deleted or lost votes, changed votes or was in any way compromised.’

“On November 17, CISA Director Christopher Krebs denied that there was a manipulation of the election systems, tweeting, “59 election security experts all agree, ‘in every case of which we are aware, these claims either have been unsubstantiated or are technically incoherent.’ ” Later that day Trump fired Krebs for making a ‘highly inaccurate’ statement, but Trump provided no evidence of his allegation.

“Even Trump advisor Karl Rove wrote in a November 11th Wall Street Journal op-ed that Trump’s challenges ‘are unlikely to move a single state from Mr. Biden’s column, and certainly they’re not enough to change the final

outcome.'

"Attorney General William Barr is aiding and abetting Trump's attempted coup. Just weeks before the election, the Justice Department changed its longstanding ban on voter fraud investigations before an election. Although he told department officials after the election that he didn't see massive voter fraud, Barr saluted and marched to Trump's orders. On November 9th, Barr empowered federal prosecutors to investigate 'substantial allegations of voting and vote tabulation irregularities.' Sixteen federal prosecutors in charge of monitoring the election wrote to Barr that there is no evidence of substantial voting irregularities.

"Richard Pilger, the Justice Department official in charge of voter fraud investigations left his job in protest against Barr's order. But just the fact that the Department of Justice is authorizing investigations is designed to cast a cloud over the election. Indeed, a Politico/Morning Consult poll found that 70% of Republicans now think the election was not fair or free, compared with 35% of Republicans before the election. The purpose of Trump's strategy of falsely alleging fraud from mail ballots combined with Barr's baseless edict establishes fake doubt about the reliability of the vote tallies.

"The Constitution gives state legislatures the power to decide how electors are selected. Article II says, 'Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors.' U.S. Code, Title 3, Section 1 requires that electors be chosen on Election Day. However, when a state "has failed to make a choice on [that] day," then "the electors may be appointed on a subsequent day in such a manner as the legislature of such State may direct," under Section 2.

"But the states did not fail to choose the electors on Election Day. As a result of the voting process, which ended on November 3, Biden garnered more than 270 electoral votes. Trump's own Department of Homeland Security affirmed that the election was the most secure in U.S. history. Even if charges of fraud were supported, that would not amount to a failure of state voters to choose electors on Election Day. Thus, state legislatures have no authority to select Trump's electors in the states Biden won.

"Trump supporters are targeting Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Arizona - all of which Biden won - by raising allegations of fraud in hopes of persuading their state legislatures to override the will of the voters and appoint pro-Trump electors. All four states require that electors be awarded to the winner of the state's popular vote on Election Day.

"In October, the Republican majority leaders from Pennsylvania's Senate and House co-authored an op-ed saying that the GOP-controlled legislature would not select electors to overrule the popular vote. They wrote, 'The Pennsylvania General Assembly does not have and will not have a hand in choosing the state's presidential electors or in deciding the outcome of the presidential election.' But on November 10, members of the Pennsylvania legislature

announced their intention to investigate voter fraud allegations.

“The Republican leader of Wisconsin’s assembly has long maintained that the legislature would not override the will of the voters and he reiterated that view on November 13. But the Wisconsin legislature is also investigating the election.

“Republican leaders in Michigan’s legislature say legislative intervention would violate state law although the GOP-controlled legislature has mounted an investigation of the election. Michigan’s majority leader said, ‘It is not the expectation that our analysis would result in any change in the outcome.’...

“Trump May Be Preparing for Armed Support of His Coup

“Trump is apparently taking steps to quash popular opposition to his attempted electoral theft. On November 9, he fired Defense Secretary Mark Esper. Last summer, Esper refused to support Trump’s proposed deployment of active-duty troops against anti-racist protesters in the wake of the public lynching of George Floyd. Esper opposed the invocation of the Insurrection Act to call out active-duty military on U.S. soil. Mindful that massive protests would erupt if he succeeds in launching an electoral coup, Trump wants his loyalists in place to attack anti-coup demonstrators. Service members, however, have a duty to disobey unlawful orders and may refuse to follow Trump’s illegal directives to repress protesters.

“On November 14, thousands of Trump loyalists, including the Proud Boys and other right-wing groups, assembled in Washington D.C. and claimed that Biden was stealing the election. Trump drove by on his way to play golf and gave the demonstrators a thumbs-up. Later that day, in a violently inciteful tweet, Trump urged police not to ‘hold back’ and to crack down on ‘antifa scum.’

“During the campaign, while he leveled false accusations of massive voter fraud, Trump refused to commit to a peaceful transfer of power. His refusal to concede and his strategy to illegally overturn the election results by stealing Biden’s electoral votes confirm his intention not to go peacefully.

“ ‘Since 1800, when the incumbent John Adams was defeated, every president who lost a reelection bid has left office,’ Berkeley Law School Dean Erwin Chemerinsky told this author. ‘Not every transition was graceful, but every one occurred. We have seen so many instances around the world where that didn’t happen. I am hopeful that our institutions will work again and keep Trump from impermissibly remaining in office.’

“The results of the election must be honored and the presidency awarded to Joe Biden. Hopefully, that will be accomplished with all deliberate speed and the absence of bloodshed. Donald Trump must leave the White House on January 20.”

1.13 Can Biden be made more progressive?

Assuming that all goes well - assuming that Trump's coup fails and that Joe Biden enters the White House on January 20, there are still serious problems. The corporate-controlled Democratic National Committee, and the corporate-controlled US mass media made certain that no progressive candidate won the primaries. The voters in 2020 chose the lesser of two evils, since Trump was by such an enormous margin the greater evil of the two. However, on some issues, such as support for wars, militarism and an aggressive foreign policy, Biden seems more like a Republican than a Democrat.

To give him credit, Biden will probably handle the COVID-19 crisis well. He will also act strongly to prevent catastrophic climate change, although not as strongly as many climate activists would wish. Nowever, Biden's support of militarism is extremely worrying, since, as we will see in subsequent chapters, military activity is very strongly linked to destruction of the global environment. Progressives must take up the extremely important task of persuading a Biden administration to abandon militarism, foreign wars, and imperialism.

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Chapter 2

SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY

2.1 Social systems in Scandinavia

The Green New Deal can simultaneously address the climate crisis and the problem of excessive economic inequality. In this context, it is interesting to look at the social and economic systems of the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland. In these countries the contrast between the rich and poor has been very much reduced. It is almost true to say that poverty has been eliminated in these countries. At the same time, the Scandinavians have strong policies to address the climate emergency. Thus Scandinavian successes are a counter-argument to those who say that the Green New Deal cannot be put into practice.¹

The Danish system today

In 2017, Denmark ranked 2nd in the world (after Norway) in the World Happiness Report. In a number of other years, Denmark has ranked 1st. In compiling the report, researchers ask people in a given country whether they are happy, and record how many say “yes”. Interestingly, in Denmark, women are the most happy of all. It is therefore relevant to look at the Danish social and political system of today, and to examine the reasons why women are so satisfied with it.

Denmark has very high taxes, but in return for these, its citizens receive many social services, such as free health care. If they qualify for university education, the tuition is free, and students are given an allowance for their living expenses. Mothers or alternatively fathers, can take paid leave of up to 52 weeks after the birth of a child. After that, a *vuggestue* (cresch) is always available, so that mothers can return to their jobs. When the child become too old for the cresch, day care centers are always available. For children of school age, after-school clubs are available where children can practice arts and crafts or other activities under supervision until their parents come home from work.

¹But, of course, it cannot be put into practice while maintaining an economic oligarchy.

It is illegal in Denmark to fire a woman because she has become pregnant, or to deny her work because the employer fears that she may become pregnant. Thus, Danish women grow up expecting to find jobs outside the home. Danish women are happy to have careers, but it is also a necessity, because with taxes so high that a single income is not enough to give a family the desired standard of living. Husbands are grateful to their wives for helping to support the family. In the case of single mothers, support is given by the state.

The number of births per woman-life reached a low of 1.38 in 1983, but since that time the number has gradually risen gradually and in 2017 the fertility rate was 1.77, still less than the replacement level. The other Scandinavian countries have very similar systems, and they all have high human development indices, as well as a high degree of economic equality. When US Senator Bernie Sanders declared that he is a socialist, he made the statement more precise by saying that he is in favor of the Scandinavian social and political system.

Renewable energy in Denmark

Here are some excerpts from a recent report by the Danish Ministry of Energy, Utilities and Climate:²

Denmark's success in transforming into a sustainable, green society is widely recognized. Denmark is at the forefront of numerous international initiatives and collaborative endeavors. In 2017, for the second consecutive year in a row, Denmark won the World Energy Council award for the world's best energy system.

Denmark's energy and climate policy was also high lighted in 2017 by the International Energy Agency (IEA), as an international model because the country produces wind turbines, provides record low energy prices and good electricity connections to neighboring countries.

In 2017, Denmark achieved a world record of 43.4% power produced solely by wind turbines.

Denmark can cover the largest share of its electricity production with green power from wind turbines.

Denmark is also a European leader in the export of energy technology, as exports of energy equipment account for a larger share of total exports than in any other EU country.

The government has set ambitious goals that few other countries can match:

- **At least 50% of Denmark's energy needs must be covered by renewable energy by 2030.**
- **Coal must be completely phased out of the power supply by 2030.**

²Denmark: Energy and climate pioneer. Status of the green transition



Figure 2.1: The Icelandic poet, writer, artist, publisher, anti-war activist, and parliamentarian Birgitta Jonsdottir.

- Moratorium on all exploration and drilling activities for oil, gas and shale gas on land and inland waters of Denmark.
- Denmark must be a low-emission society independent of fossil fuels in 2050.

Birgitta Jonsdottir (born 1967)

The Icelandic parliamentarian, Birgitta Jonsdottir, has taken an important step towards solving one of the central problems that the world is facing today. The problem is this: How can we regain democratic government when the mainstream media are completely controlled the corporate oligarchy?

If anyone doubts that democratic government has been lost and needs to be regained, let them think of the recent US election, in which a large percentage of the voters stayed home because they were disillusioned with the political process. They knew that whomever they elected, their voices would not be heard.

The voters did not like to be told that they had power, which in fact they did not have. Both major political parties follow the dictates of the corporate oligarchs, rather than the will of the people. No doubt the Democrats in the US Congress are slightly better than the Republicans, but both parties have essentially been bought by big money from lobbies representing the military-industrial complex, the fossil fuel companies, and Israel.

Contrary to the wishes of the people, social services continue to be cut in favor of obscenely bloated military budgets, perpetual foreign wars, and environment-destroying subsidization of the fossil fuel industry. Despite the will of the people, the US government exposes our beautiful earth to the deadly risks of all-destroying thermonuclear war and

out-of-control global warming.

The United States is by no means the only country with an oligarchic non-democratic government. Globally, countries with truly democratic and sane governments are the exception rather than the rule. Therefore the problem is a global one, and let us repeat it: How can we regain democratic government when the mainstream media are completely controlled the corporate oligarchy?

Let us return to Birgitta Jonsdottir. Who is she? Birgitta is a popular and successful young Icelandic poet, writer, artist, publisher and anti-war activist, who had no inkling until quite recently that she was destined to become a politician. Then in 2008, Iceland underwent a financial crisis. It became clear that the crisis was due to corrupt links of politicians with Iceland's financial sector. In 2009, Birgitta ran for the Icelandic Parliament (Althingi, the oldest parliament in the world) as part of the reform movement.

Believing that lack of free information was the main cause of the corruption behind Iceland's 2008 crisis, Birgitta Jonsdottir persuaded her colleagues in the Althingi to pass unanimously a law calling for complete freedom of information in Iceland. She also worked closely with Julian Assange to produce the video "Collateral Murder".³

Under Birgitta Jonsdottir's leadership, Icelandic parliamentarians plan to pass laws which will make make Iceland a safe haven for journalistic freedom. In so doing, they will help to re-establish democratic government throughout the world, a vital step if nuclear and climatic disasters are to be averted.

³<https://en.immi.is/media/documentaries-on-immi/>
<http://birgitta.is>
<http://en.immi.is>



Figure 2.2: Senator Bernie Sanders, the popular front-running candidate for the US Presidency in 2020, says that he is a socialist. When asked to explain this in detail, Senator Sanders said that he believes that the United States would benefit from a social system similar to the systems in present-day Scandinavia.



Figure 2.3: A day-care center in Sweden. In the Scandinavian countries, most women work, and state-provided day-care centers for pre-school children make this possible.

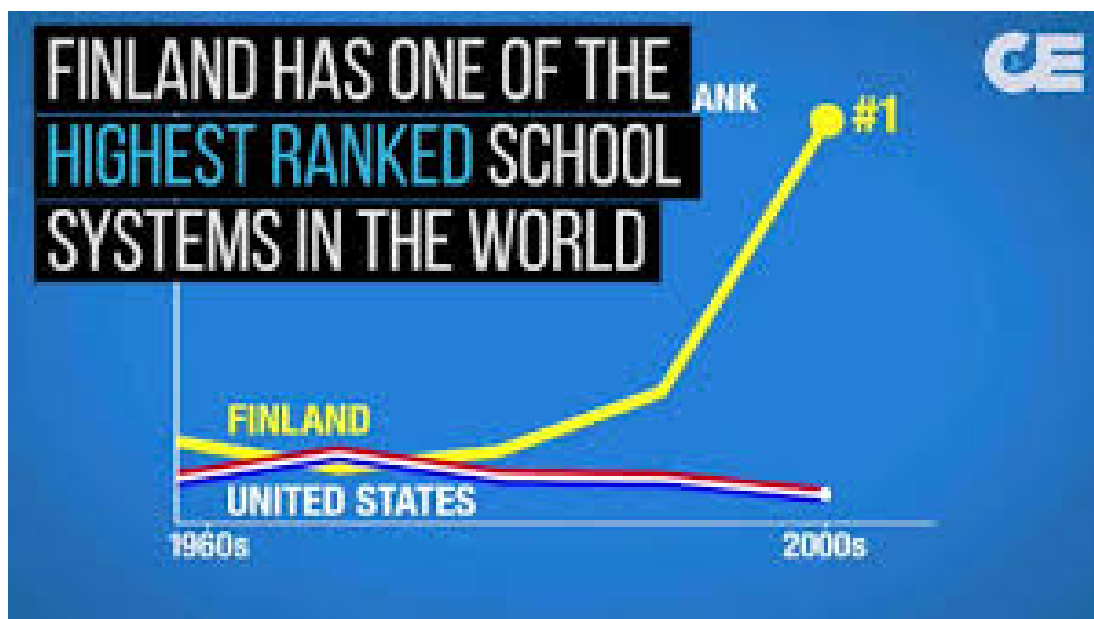


Figure 2.4: Finland has the best school system in the world. One reason for this is that the teachers are very highly selected and highly paid. Another reason is that the children are given frequent short rest periods, during which they may go outdoors and breath fresh air. They return from these small breaks with improved concentration.



Figure 2.5: The long-serving Danish Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning (1873-1942). He was the architect of the Danish social and economic system, which combines a free-market economy with such social benefits as universal free health care, state-provided day-care centers and free higher education. Thanks to Stauning's initiatives, those who qualify for college or university in Denmark are not only given free tuition, but also a stipend to support their living expenses. A high progressive income tax in Denmark pays for these benefits and reduces economic inequality. Stauning forged a coalition that united both labor and employers behind his reforms.

2.2 Roosevelt saves his nation and the world

Born into a very wealthy Dutch-American family Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945) attended Groton School, Harvard College and Colombia Law School. After practicing law in New York, he was elected to the NY State Senate. During World War I, he served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In 1920 he was the Democratic Party's Candidate for US Vice President, but he and James G. Cox were defeated by Warren Harding's ticket.

In 1921, FDR contracted polio and lost the use of his legs. His mother urged him to leave politics and return to the family estate at Hyde Park, but he vigorously resisted this suggestion and struggled to continue despite his handicap. In 1928, Roosevelt was elected Governor of New York. As Governor, he instituted many reforms to combat the economic problems that had followed the 1929 Black Friday stock market crash.

After winning a second term as Governor of New York State in 1930, FDR became the front-running candidate for the US Presidency in 1932. In accepting the Democratic Party nomination at the Chicago convention, he said: "I pledge you, I pledge myself to a new deal for the American people... This is more than a political campaign. It is a call to arms."

Here are some excerpts from FDR's First Inaugural Address, Saturday, March 4th, 1933:

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself - nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment. ..

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes

hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Roosevelt's New Deal programs aimed at "the three R's": **relief** of the poor, **reform** of financial institutions, and **recovery** of confidence. New Deal programs aimed at employing people on infrastructure projects that included the following:

- The Civilian Conservation Corps
- The Civil Works Administration
- The Farm Security Administration
- The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933
- The Social Security Administration
- The Works Progress Administration of 1937 (WPA)

Wikipedia states that "The WPA financed a variety of projects such as hospitals, schools and roads, and employed more than 8.5 million workers who built 650,000 miles of highways and roads, 125,000 public buildings as well as bridges, reservoirs, irrigation systems, parks, playgrounds and so on."

Roosevelt's New Deal serves a model for a Green New Deal that can save human civilization and the biosphere from catastrophic climate change, an emergency even more severe than those faced by Roosevelt. We can afford the Green New Deal. What we cannot afford is inaction.

2.3 Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and the Green New Deal

Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez (born in 1989) won a stunning victory in the Democratic Party primary election of June 26, 2018. Although outspent by a factor of 18 to 1 by her opponent (Democratic Caucus Chair, Joseph Crowley), she won the primary by 57% to 42%. Her campaign contributions came from small individual donors, while his came in large blocks, from corporations. Ocasio-Cortez calls for the United States to transition by 2035 to an electrical grid running on 100% renewable-energy production and end the use of fossil fuels. She calls healthcare "a human right", and says: "Almost every other developed nation in the world has universal healthcare. It's time the United States catch up to the rest of the world in ensuring all people have real healthcare coverage that doesn't break the bank".

The Guardian called her victory "one of the biggest upsets in recent American political history", and Senator Bernie Sanders commented "She took on the entire local Democratic establishment in her district and won a very strong victory. She demonstrated once again what progressive grassroots politics can do". The lesson that the US Democratic Party must learn from this is that in order to overthrow Donald Trump's openly racist and climate-change-denying Republican Party, they must free themselves from the domination of corporate oligarchs, and instead stand for honest government and progressive values.

Even before taking her place in the US House of Representatives, with its newly-won Democratic majority, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez became the leader of a campaign for a Green New Deal. This program takes its inspiration from the massive Federal government program by which Franklin Delano Roosevelt ended the depression of the 1930's. FDR's New Deal built dams, planted forests, and in general to create much needed infrastructure, while at the same time addressing the problem of unemployment by providing jobs. Wikipedia describes FDR's New Deal as follows:

"The New Deal was a series of programs, public work projects, financial reforms and regulations enacted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States between 1933 and 1936. It responded to needs for relief, reform and recovery from the Great Depression. Major federal programs included the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Farm Security Administration (FSA), the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (NIRA) and the Social Security Administration (SSA). They provided support for farmers, the unemployed, youth and the elderly. The New Deal included new constraints and safeguards on the banking industry and efforts to re-inflate the economy after prices had fallen sharply. New Deal programs included both laws passed by Congress as well as presidential executive orders during the first term of the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The programs focused on what historians refer to as the '3 Rs': relief for the unemployed and poor, recovery of the economy back to normal levels and reform of

the financial system to prevent a repeat depression.”

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez believes that the climate emergency that the world now faces is a much more severe emergency than the great depression. Indeed, if quick action is not taken immediately, the long-term effects of catastrophic climate change pose existential threats to human civilization and the biosphere. Therefore she advocates a massive governmental program to create renewable energy infrastructure. Such a program, like FDR’s New Deal, would simultaneously solve the problem of unemployment. Money for the program could be taken from the Pentagon’s obscenely bloated budget. Ocasio-Cortez has also proposed a 70% income tax for the ultra-wealthy.

According to a January 24 2019 article by Robert R. Raymond, “When polled, 92 percent of registered Democratic voters say they support the Green New Deal. But perhaps more importantly, a full 81 percent of all registered voters support it - a number that includes both Republicans and Democrats.”⁴

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi is facing criticism from some climate activists for failing to back a Green New Deal. Last week Pelosi announced the formation of a new Select Committee on the Climate Crisis, headed by long-standing Florida Congressmember Kathy Castor. But the committee is far weaker than what backers of a Green New Deal had envisioned. The committee will not have subpoena power or the power to draft legislation. We speak with Varshini Prakash, founder of the Sunrise Movement, a youth-led climate group that has occupied and lobbied at congressional offices, risking arrest to demand adoption of the Green New Deal and bold climate leadership. Here is the transcript of a January 7, 2019 program made by Amy Goodman of Democracy Now:

AMY GOODMAN: For more, we go to Boston, where we’re joined by Varshini Prakash. She’s founder of Sunrise Movement, the youth-led climate group that’s occupied and lobbied at congressional offices, including Nancy Pelosi’s last month, with the woman we just heard, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. People risked arrest to demand adoption of the Green New Deal and bold climate leadership.

Varshini Prakash, welcome to Democracy Now! Talk about what has been proposed. You know, when Nancy Pelosi did that historic gaveling-in, with the children and grandchildren of congressmembers, as well as her own, in her speech she called out the Select Committee on the Climate Crisis. What do you think works about that committee, and what are you disappointed by?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Sure. Well, what we saw last week was - we were very glad to see that Nancy Pelosi mentioned the climate crisis in her address, but calling it a crisis and an existential threat and treating it like one are two very different things. So, essentially, Nancy Pelosi is reviving a 10-year-old committee, the Select Committee for the Climate Crisis, but we find that it’s actually woefully and inexcusably short - falls short of what we need in this moment in terms of climate ambition in this crucial juncture in history.

Namely, it falls short in three ways, some of which you already mentioned. It doesn’t

⁴<https://truthout.org/articles/the-democratic-party-is-further-to-the-right-than-most-voters/>

include anything about creating a draft, sort of a blueprint, for a plan for a Green New Deal over the next year, ahead of the next presidential election. It doesn't include any provision that actually bars people who are taking money from oil and gas executives and lobbyists, who are jeopardizing my generation's future, from sitting on the committee, something that, frankly, we find to be a conflict of interest. And thirdly, it doesn't include any power to subpoena, which actually renders this committee less powerful than the one we had even a decade ago.

So we were feeling really disappointed that Nancy Pelosi had failed to follow the leadership of the 45 members of Congress, including some of the freshest faces of the Democratic Party - Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Rashida Tlaib, Ilhan Omar, Ayanna Pressley, Joe Ne-guse, so many more - in calling for a select committee for a Green New Deal. And we've seen the hurricanes get bigger. We've seen fires level entire cities and towns. We've seen people struggling to breathe clean air and drink fresh water, fresh and clean water, and are not seeing the Democratic Party step up with the level of climate ambition that we actually need, that has been mandated by UN climate scientists.

AMY GOODMAN: Last week, Congressmember Ocasio-Cortez tweeted, "In DC + even in our own party, it's apparently too controversial to ask that we keep oil+gas co's away from enviro policy." Your response, Varshini?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Absolutely. I mean, putting somebody who takes oil and gas money on a committee to stop the climate crisis is akin to pouring oil on a fire and expecting to put it out. We're talking about a fundamental conflict of interest. People who are taking money from the corporations and individuals who have spent the last 50 years misinforming the public on the science, misleading the public on the science willfully, and buying out politicians on both sides of the aisles - for sure the GOP, but also a large number of Democrats - should not be having a seat at the table in crafting and holding these public hearings and informing the public about the severity of the crisis and building the consensus around the solutions to do it. We'd be hard-pressed to really support somebody to sit on this committee who hasn't taken the No Fossil Fuel Money Pledge, which is why we have been acting - why we have pushed and been pushing for Representative Kathy Castor to take the pledge.

AMY GOODMAN: Did you want Congressmember Ocasio-Cortez to head this committee?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Sure. We definitely think it would be a positive if Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez were able to participate and push this committee in some way. But frankly, we are seeing that our options, through institutional means, through this committee, are not really going to happen in the ways that we wanted. So we're actually looking at not just pushing this Select Committee on a Climate Crisis to be better and push for the real solutions to the climate crisis, what UN climate scientists are saying unprecedented levels of change to our economy and our society over the next 12 years; we actually are realizing

that need to take this fight to a Green New Deal beyond the Beltway and to the American people.

AMY GOODMAN: Pelosi's office said they'd meet with you. Have they?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Yes, we met with them prior to the announcement about the select committee.

AMY GOODMAN: And what came out of that discussion?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Well, largely, they said they were supportive of our aims, and then created the Select Committee for a Climate Crisis. So it feels a little bit - a bit of a contradiction to say that they're on our same page but not to include any of the clear demands and provisions that we had asked for previously. It's clear that the Select Committee for the Climate Crisis is largely going to be a number of public hearings or information gathering. And, frankly, the time to raise awareness about the crisis is over.

And at this point in history, we need to start developing the plans to actually confront the crisis and lay the groundwork. We're clear that we're not going to be able to ramrod legislation through in the 116th Congress. That's obvious, with a Trump administration that is completely bought and sold by fossil fuel executives and a climate-denying Senate. But we can start to lay the groundwork in these next two years for what an actual plan might look like. And that is an opportunity that Democrats are missing right now.

AMY GOODMAN: You did not get your demand for fossil fuel-funded lawmakers not to serve on the committee. Will you protest those or highlight those that are chosen for this committee?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Well, we definitely.

AMY GOODMAN: Will you ask that they stop accepting that money?

VARSHINI PRAKASH: Absolutely. I think we will ask every single member on this committee to reject oil and gas contributions, oil and gas executive and lobbyist contributions, and prioritize the health and well-being of our democracy, our society and our climate instead.

AMY GOODMAN: Varshini Prakash, I want to thank you for being with us, founder of the Sunrise Movement, speaking to us from Boston.



Figure 2.6: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. At 29 she is the youngest woman ever to be elected to the US House of Representatives.



Figure 2.7: The Green New Deal advocated by Ocasio-Cortez proposes to use jobs creating renewable energy infrastructure to ensure full employment, in a manner analogous to Roosevelt's New Deal.



Figure 2.8: Members of the Sunrise movement in the office of House Majority Leader Nancy Pelosi, protesting against her lack of support for the Green New Deal.





Figure 2.9: Award-winning author Naomi Klein, speaking at the Sanders Institute in January, 2019.

Naomi Klein on the urgency of the Green New Deal

A recent article by journalist Naomi LaChance describes a meeting at the Sanders Institute (founded by Senator Bernie Sanders and his wife Jane) at which the famous author and activist Naomi Klein and others spoke about the scope and urgency of the Green New Deal. Here are some excerpts from the article:

Progressive journalist and activist Naomi Klein urged sweeping change that tackles the climate crisis, capitalism, racism and economic inequality in tandem on Friday in Burlington, Vt. If that seems challenging, add the fact that the clock is ticking⁵ and there might not be another chance.

“We need to have started yesterday”, Klein said at the three-day Sanders Institute Gathering on a panel moderated by environmental activist Bill McKibben. “What all of us who follow the science know is that we just can’t lose these four years”, she said, referring to the presidency of climate change denier Donald Trump. The conference, organized by the think tank founded by Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders’ wife, Jane, is aimed

⁵<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/oct/08/global-warming-must-not-exceed-15c-warns-landmark-un-report>

at forming bold progressive agendas for the future.

Progressives are looking to incoming Democratic New York Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for leadership as she galvanizes a grassroots effort by the youth-led climate change group Sunrise Movement⁶ to reduce fossil fuel dependence. Eighteen members of Congress support the idea of creating a House select committee to look at making a realistic plan by January 2020.

Uniting for a Green New Deal

Here are excerpts from an article entitled “Uniting for a Green New Deal”, by Margaret Flowers and Kevin Zeese. It was published on January 15, 2019.

Support is growing in the United States for a Green New Deal. Though there are competing visions for what that looks like, essentially, a Green New Deal includes a rapid transition to a clean energy economy, a jobs program and a stronger social safety net.

We need a Green New Deal for many reasons, most obviously the climate crisis and growing economic insecurity. Each new climate report describes the severe consequences of climate change with increasing alarm and the window of opportunity for action is closing. At the same time, wealth inequality is also growing. Paul Bucheit writes that more than half of the population in the United States is suffering from poverty.

The Green New Deal provides an opportunity for transformational changes, not just reform, but changes that fundamentally solve the crises we face. This is the time to be pushing for a Green New Deal at all levels, in our towns and cities, states and nationally.

The idea of a Green New Deal seems to have arisen in early 2007 when the Green New Deal Group started meeting to discuss it, specifically as a plan for the United Kingdom. They published their report in July 2008. In April 2009, the United Nations Environmental Program also issued a plan for a global Green New Deal.

In the United States, Barack Obama included a Green New Deal in his 2008 presidential campaign and conservative Thomas Friedman started talking about it in 2007. Howie Hawkins, a Green Party gubernatorial candidate in New York, campaigned on a Green New Deal starting in 2010. Listen to our interview with Hawkins about how we win the Green New Deal on Clearing the FOG. Jill Stein campaigned on it during her presidential runs in 2012 and 2016, as have many Green Party candidates.

Alexandria Ocasio Cortez (AOC), who ran for Congress as a Democrat and won in 2018, has made the Green New Deal a major priority. With the backing of the Sunrise Movement, AOC pushed for a congressional committee tasked with developing a Green New Deal and convinced dozens of members of Congress to support it. Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi sidelined that idea by creating a climate committee headed by Kathy Castor, which has no mandate to do anything and lacks the power to write legislation and issue subpoenas. Now the Sunrise Movement is planning a tour to build support for the

⁶<https://www.truthdig.com/articles/will-democrats-back-a-green-new-deal/>



Green New Deal. At each stop they will provide organizing tools to make the Green New Deal a major issue in the 2020 election season.

This week, more than 600 organizations, mostly environmental groups, sent a letter to Congress calling on it to take climate change seriously and design a plan to end dependence on fossil fuels, a transition to 100% clean energy by 2035, create jobs and more. Indigenous leaders are also organizing to urge Congress to pass a Green New Deal that is “Indigenized,” meaning it prioritizes input from and the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples.

2.4 Roosevelt’s original New Deal

In the United States, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was faced with the difficult problems of the depression during his first few years in office. Roosevelt introduced a number of special governmental programs, such as the WPA, the Civilian Construction Corps and the Tennessee Valley Authority, which were designed to create new jobs on projects directed towards socially useful goals - building highways, airfields, auditoriums, harbors, housing projects, schools and dams. The English economist John Maynard Keynes, (1883-1946), provided an analysis of the factors that had caused the 1929 depression, and a theoretical justification of Roosevelt’s policies.

The transition to a sustainable global society will require a similar level of governmental responsibility, although the measures needed are not the same as those which Roosevelt used to end the great depression. Despite the burst of faith in the free market which has followed the end of the Cold War, it seems unlikely that market mechanisms alone will be sufficient to solve problems of unemployment in the long-range future, or to achieve conservation of land, natural resources and environment.



Figure 2.10: Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) with his dog Fala and Ruthie Bie at Hilltop in 1941. Roosevelt served as President of the United States from 1933 to 1945, and was starting his 4th term when he died. Although crippled by polio, he managed to convey an image of dynamism and confidence.

2.5 Keynesian economics

In December, 1933, Keynes wrote to Franklin D. Roosevelt: “Dear Mr. President, You have made yourself the Trustee for those in every country who seek to mend the evils of our condition by reasoned experiment within the framework of the existing social system. If you fail, rational change will be gravely prejudiced throughout the world, leaving orthodoxy and revolution to fight it out. But if you succeed, new and bolder methods will be tried everywhere, and we may date the first chapter of a new economic era from your accession to office...”

“...Thus as the prime mover in the first stage of the technique of recovery I lay overwhelming emphasis on the increase of national purchasing power resulting from governmental expenditure which is financed by Loans and not by taxing present incomes. Nothing else counts in comparison with this. In a boom inflation can be caused by allowing unlimited credit to support the excited enthusiasm of business speculators. But in a slump governmental Loan expenditure is the only sure means of securing quickly a rising output at rising prices. That is why war has always caused intense industrial activity. In the past orthodox finance has regarded war as the only legitimate excuse for creating employment by governmental expenditure. You, Mr. President, having cast off such fetters, are free to engage in the interests of peace and prosperity the technique which hitherto has only been allowed to serve the purposes of war and destruction.”

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), the author of this letter to Roosevelt, was the son of the Cambridge University economist and logician, Neville Keynes. After graduating from Eton and studying economics at King’s College, Cambridge, Keynes spent a few years as a civil servant in the India Office. In 1909, he returned to Cambridge as a Fellow of King’s College. He became a member of the “Bloomsbury Group”, a collection of intellectual friends that included Virginia and Leonard Woolf, E.M. Forster, Clive and Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, Lytton Strachy, Roger Fry, and Bertrand Russell. In 1911, Keynes became the editor of the *Economic Journal*, a position that he retained almost until the end of his life.

In 1918, Keynes married the Russian ballerina Lydia Lopokova. They met at a party given by the Sitwells. Lydia was struggling to learn English, and one of her more interesting remarks was, “I dislike being in the country in August because my legs get so bitten by barristers”. To everyone’s surprise, Lydia proved to be the perfect wife for Keynes, encouraging his wide range of cultural interests. He and Lydia did much to develop the Cambridge Arts Theatre. Lydia maintained her interest in the ballet, although she no longer danced professionally. Visitors to the couple’s house occasionally heard formidable thumpings from an upper room, and they realized that Lydia was practicing.

During World War I, Keynes worked in the British Treasury, helping to find ways to finance the war. In 1919, he was sent to the peace conference at Versailles as a representative of the Treasury. Keynes recognized the disastrous economic consequences that would follow from the Treaty of Versailles, and returning to Cambridge, he wrote *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919). “It is an extraordinary fact”, Keynes wrote, “that the fundamental problems of a Europe starving and disintegrating before their eyes, was the



Figure 2.11: John Maynard Keynes (right) with Harry Dexter White at the Bretton Woods Conference. Keynes was an extremely tall man - 6 feet and 6 inches tall, i.e. 198 cm. Heart problems caused his early death.

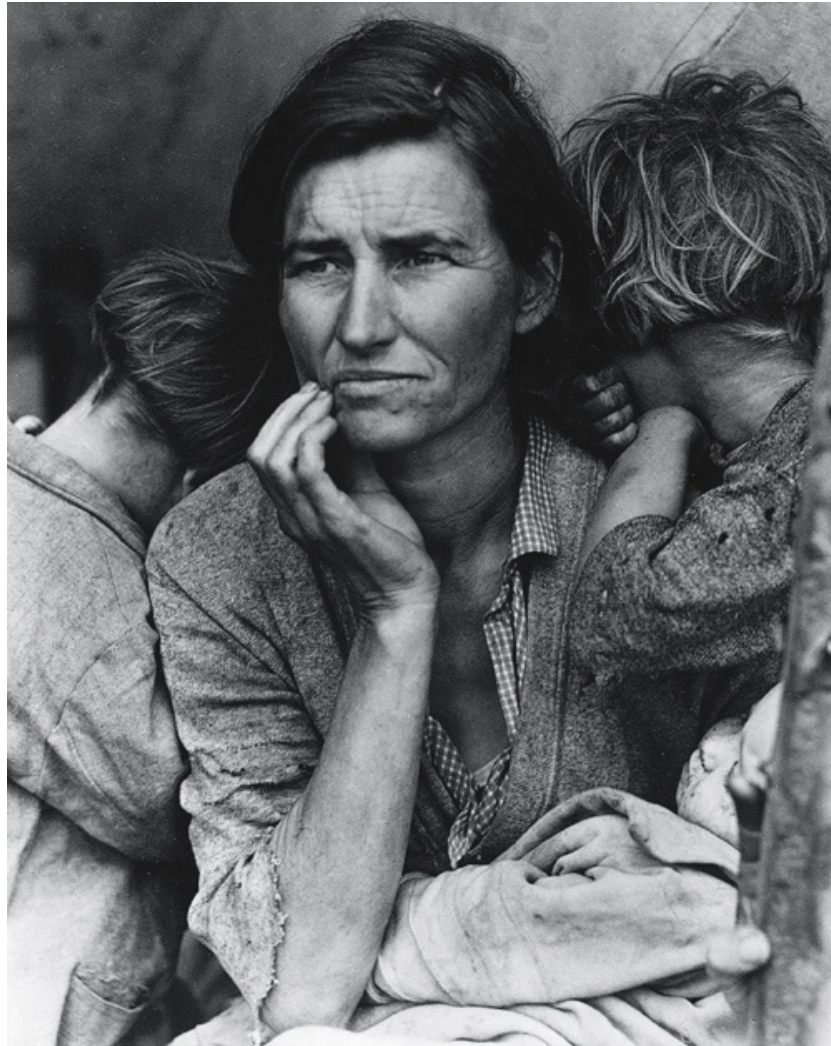


Figure 2.12: **Migrant Mother**, a photograph by Dorothea Lange, shows a destitute pea picker in California in 1936, during the Great Depression.

one question in which it was impossible to arouse the interest of the [Council of] Four.”

The book became a best seller and was very influential in shaping public opinion, both in England and in the United States. In his book, Keynes predicted that the reparations imposed against Germany at Versailles would cause economic ruin. He advocated instead a loan system to rebuild postwar Europe. The plan advocated by Keynes was similar to the Marshall Plan that followed World War II. Had it been put into effect in 1919, it might have prevented the Second World War.

In 1936, Keynes published his magnum opus, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. In this book, he provided a theoretical explanation for the fact that the great depression showed no tendency to right itself, as well as arguments for governmental interventions to counter business cycles and to produce full employment. Once again, Keynes

had written a best-seller. His *General Theory* proved to be one of the most influential books on economics ever written.

Keynes rebelled against the ideas of the classical economists, who believed that if let entirely alone, the world economy would correct itself. The classical economists recommended that, to end the depression, labor unions should be made illegal, minimum wages and long-term wage contracts abolished, and government spending curtailed (to restore business confidence). Then, they maintained, wages would fall, businessmen would hire more workers, and full employment and production would be restored. One reason for the popularity of the *General Theory* was that everyone knew the recommendations of the classical economists were bad policies. Now Keynes showed why these bad policies were also bad economics.

Keynes pointed out that a fall in wages would produce a fall in purchasing power, and hence a fall in aggregate demand. Producers would then be less able to sell their products. Thus Keynes believed that falling wages would deepen the depression, rather than ending it.

Part of Keynes' skepticism towards classical economics had to do with his criticisms of the short-term version of Say's Law, on which classical economics was based. In Chapter 2, we mentioned that Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) believed a general glut to be impossible, since wages for the production of goods could be used by society to buy back its aggregate production. "A glut", Say wrote, "can take place only when there are too many means of production applied to one kind of product, and not enough to another."

Say considered the influence of the money supply on this process to be negligible, and he believed that the problem could be analyzed from the standpoint of barter. Say believed that no one would keep money for long. Having obtained money in a transaction, he believed, people would immediately spend it again. Thus Say did not worry about the problem of excessive saving that bothered both Malthus and Hobson.

"It is not the abundance of money", Say wrote, "but the abundance of other products in general that facilitates sales... Money performs no more than the role of a conduit in this double exchange. When the exchanges have been completed, it will be found that one has paid for products with products."

"It is worthwhile to remark", Say continued, "that a product is no sooner created than it, from that instant, affords a market for other products to the full extent of its value. When the producer has put the finishing hand to his product, he is most anxious to sell it immediately, lest its value should diminish in his hands. Nor is he less anxious to dispose of the money he may get for it; for the value of money is also perishable. But the only way to get rid of money is in the purchase some product or other. Thus the mere circumstance of creation of one product immediately opens a vent for other products."

Keynes disagreed with these conclusions in several respects. First of all, he did not believe, like Say, that the money supply played a negligible role in determining economic activity. Secondly he did not agree that the producer who has received money for his goods is necessarily "anxious to dispose of the money". As a recession deepens, the value of money in terms of goods increases, and therefore it is rational to keep money, hoping to get more goods for it at a later time. Whether it is more rational to keep money or to

spend it immediately depends on the phase of the business cycle, Keynes pointed out.

In James Mill's version, Say's Law states that "supply creates its own demand". Keynes reversed this, and maintained in a depression, the fault may be on the demand side, i.e., "demand creates supply", rather than the reverse. It is true that during the great depression, many people were in need; but need does not constitute demand in the economic sense unless it is combined with purchasing power.

Keynes (like Malthus and Hobson) believed that excessive saving could be a serious problem, capable of causing a "general glut" or depression. By excessive saving, he meant saving beyond planned investment, a condition that could be caused by falling consumer demand, overinvestment in previous years, or lack of business confidence. The classical economists believed that excessive saving would be corrected by falling interest rates. Keynes did not believe that interest rates would respond quickly enough to perform this corrective function. Instead, Keynes believed, excessive savings would be in the end corrected by the fall in aggregate income which characterizes a recession or depression. The economy would reach a new equilibrium at low levels of employment, income, investment and production. This new, undesirable equilibrium would not be self-correcting. (By calling his theory a *General Theory*, Keynes meant that he treated not only the full-employment equilibrium, but also other types of equilibria.)

Keynes believed that active government fiscal and monetary policy could be effective in combating cycles of inflation and depression. *Fiscal policy* is defined as policy regarding government expenditure, while *monetary policy* means governmental policy with respect to the money supply. Keynes advocated a counter-cyclical use of these two tools, i.e. he believed that government spending and expansionist monetary policy should be used to combat recessions and depressions, while the opposite policies should be used to cool an economy whenever it became overheated.

Keynes visited Roosevelt in Washington in 1934. Roosevelt liked him, but found his theories overly mathematical. Nevertheless Keynes ideas influenced Roosevelt's policies, especially in 1937, when a new dip in the economy occurred. Over the years, Keynes' advocacy of counter-cyclical governmental intervention has become widely accepted, especially by social-democratic governments in Europe.

The New Deal measures inaugurated by Roosevelt were only partially effective in producing full employment. The reason that they were only partially successful was that although they were designed to help business get restarted, they were viewed with hostility by the business community. This hostility prevented Roosevelt from using fiscal policy on a large enough scale to produce full employment. Also, because businessmen felt uneasy with the new political climate, business investment remained sluggish.

One of the conclusions of Keynes' *General Theory* was that investment by expanding businesses is essential to keep an economy from contracting. This conclusion is worrying, because in the future, exponential expansion of business activity will gradually become less and less possible. Thus we can visualize a future need for governmental intervention to prevent a depression.

During World War II, Keynes advice on how to finance the war effort was sought by the British government. He did as much as he could, but his activity was limited by increasing

heart problems. At the end of the war, Keynes represented England at the Breton Woods Conference, which established the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He received many honors - for example, he became Lord Keynes. However, his health remained unstable, and in 1946 he died of a heart attack. His life and work had produced a permanent change from the *laissez faire* economics of Adam Smith to an era of recognized governmental responsibility.

2.6 Reserve indices of non-renewable resources

W. David Menzie (Chief of the Minerals Information Team of the U.S. Geological Survey) testified to a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2006 that global reserves of copper are approximately 470 million tons. He also stated that world consumption of copper in 2000 was 14.9 million tons per year, but that it is increasing at 3.1% per year and is expected to reach 27 Mt/y by 2020. Menzie predicted that most of this increase will be in the developing countries. For example, China's use of copper is expected to increase from 2 Mt/y in 2000 to 5.6 Mt/y in 2020, while for India, the increase will be from 0.4 Mt/y to 1.6 Mt/y.

At the 2000 rate of use, global copper reserves will be exhausted in 31 years, while if used at a higher rate, the reserves will last for a shorter time. It is predicted that a Hubbert peak will occur for copper, analogous to the Hubbert peaks for petroleum and natural gas. Thus, copper will not disappear entirely, but there will be a date when the production of copper will reach a maximum and afterward decline because of rising prices.

The reserve index of a metal is defined as the size of its reserves divided by the current annual rate of production. Today, many metals have reserve indices between 10 years and 100 years. These include indium, tantalum, gold, bismuth, silver, cadmium, cobalt, arsenic, tungsten, molybdenum, tin, nickel, lead, zinc, and copper, while magnesium and iron have reserve indices of approximately 100 years⁷.

Future exploration may increase the size of known reserves of metals; and future advances in technology may also make it possible to use lower grade ores. However, we must remember that the extraction of metals from their ores requires much energy. In the long-term future, energy will probably not be available for the production of (for example) iron, steel, and aluminum on the scale that we know today. Thus, recycling will assume great importance.

⁷Craig, J.R., Vaugn, D.J. and Skinner, B.J., *Resources of the Earth: Origin, Use and Environmental Impact, Third Edition*, page 64.

2.7 Money enough for the Green New Deal?

The cost of US wars since 2001

According to the National Priorities Project⁸, the total cost of US wars between November 11, 2001 and April 8, 2019 has been 4.77 trillion US dollars, or written out in detail \$4,773,527,023,293.00. Every hour US taxpayers are paying 32.08 million dollars for the total costs of war. Globally, the world spent 1.9 trillion dollars on military budgets in 2018, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Every war is a war against children

War was always madness, always immoral, always the cause of unspeakable suffering, economic waste and widespread destruction, and always a source of poverty, hate, barbarism and endless cycles of revenge and counter-revenge. It has always been a crime for soldiers to kill people, just as it is a crime for murderers in civil society to kill people. No flag has ever been wide enough to cover up atrocities. Every war is a war against children.

But today, the development of all-destroying modern weapons has put war completely beyond the bounds of sanity and elementary humanity. The danger of a catastrophic nuclear war casts a dark shadow over the future of our species. It also casts a very black shadow over the future of the global environment. The environmental consequences of a massive exchange of nuclear weapons have been treated in a number of studies by meteorologists and other experts from both East and West. Scientists believe that the “nuclear winter” effect could kill a large proportion of the plants, animals and humans on earth.

⁸<https://www.nationalpriorities.org/cost-of/war/>

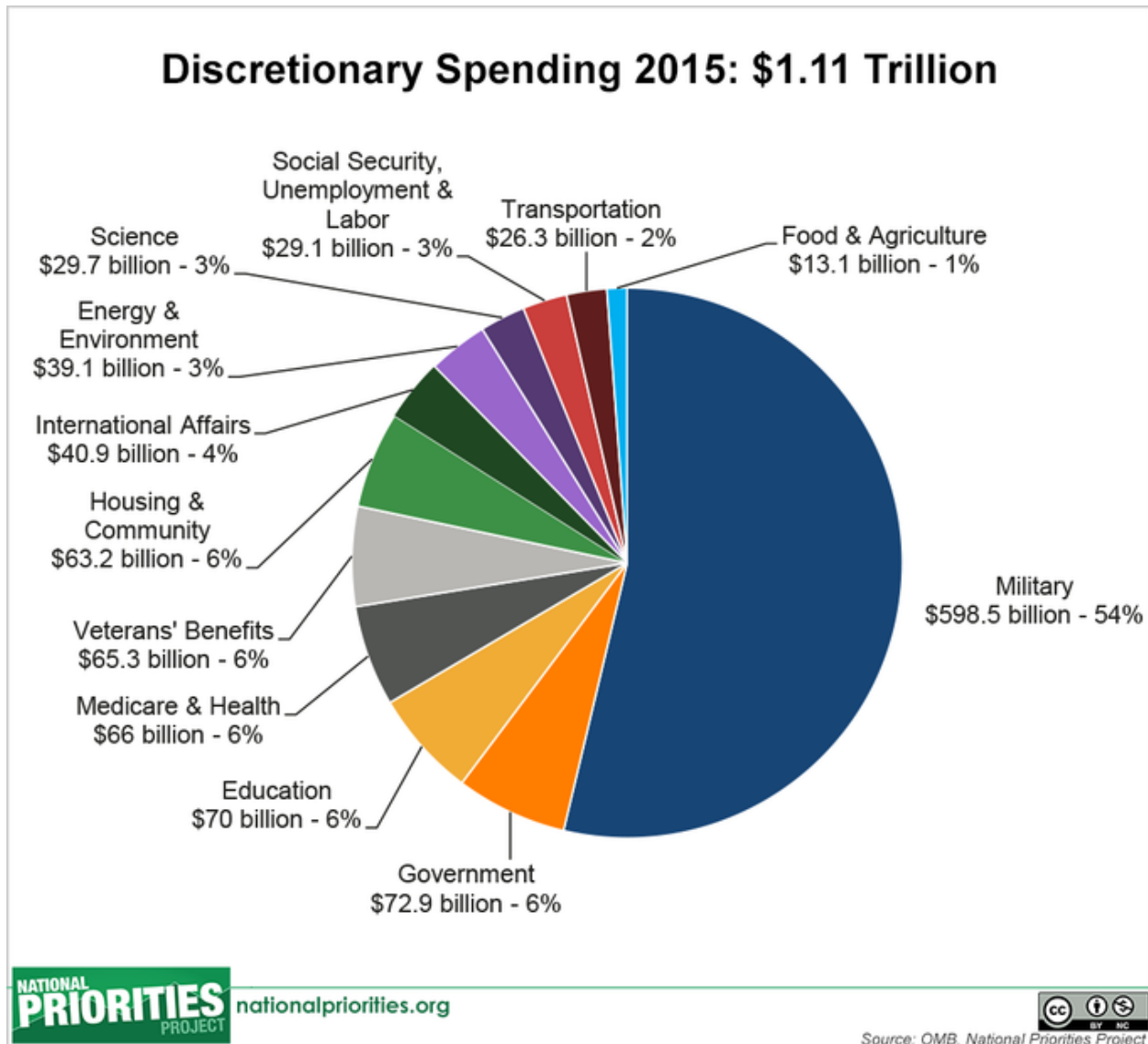


Figure 2.13: In the fiscal year US 2015, military spending accounted for 54 percent of all federal discretionary spending, a total of \$598.5 billion. Military spending includes: all regular activities of the Department of Defense; war spending; nuclear weapons spending; international military assistance; and other Pentagon-related spending.

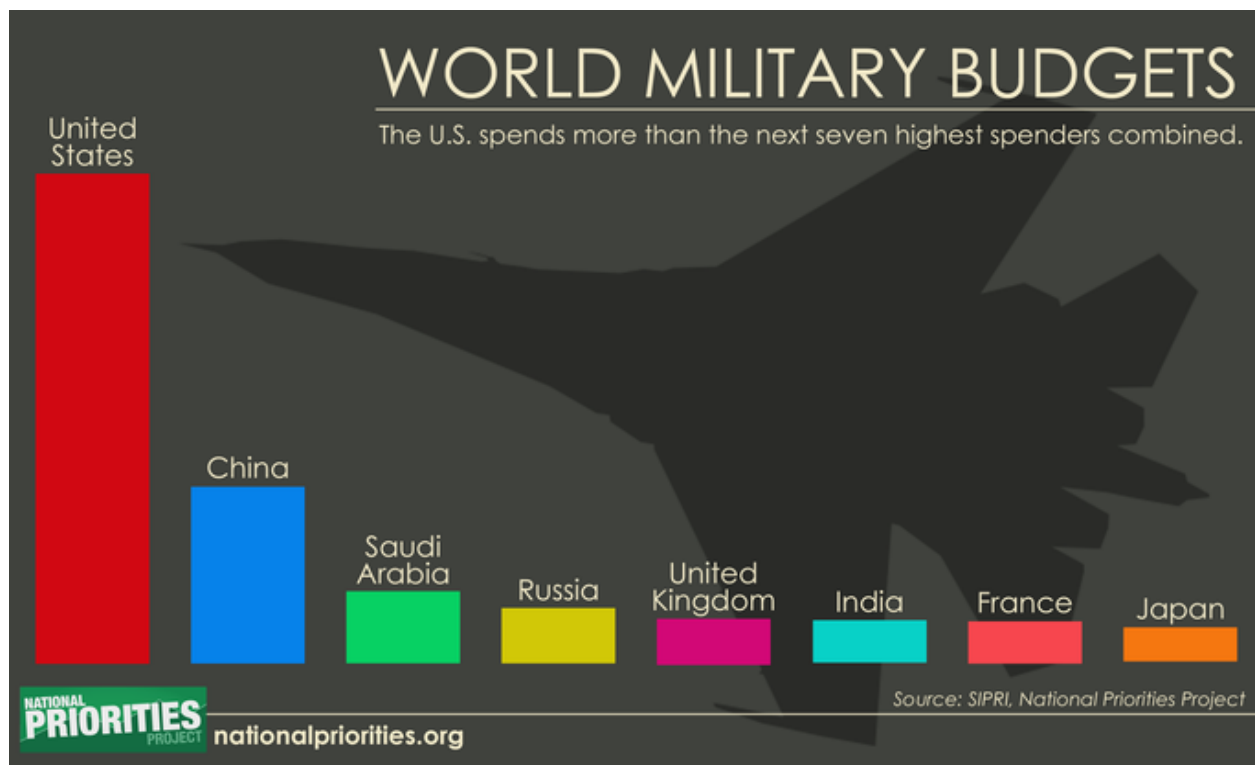


Figure 2.14: U.S. military spending dwarfs the budget of the #2 country - China. For every dollar China spends on its military, the U.S. spends \$2.77. The U.S. outpaces all other nations in military expenditures. World military spending totaled more than \$1.6 trillion in 2015. The U.S. accounted for 37 percent of the total. U.S. military expenditures are roughly the size of the next seven largest military budgets around the world, combined.



Figure 2.15: An attempt was made to audit Pentagon spending, but the firm entrusted with this task eventually pronounced it impossible because of confusing records and lack of records. Trillions of dollars are unaccounted for.



Figure 2.16: No War! No Warming! There are two important connections between war and global warming. Firstly, military organizations run on oil and are the largest single users of fossil fuels. Secondly, and even more importantly, money saved by slashing military budgets would be more than enough to carry out programs to avoid catastrophic climate change.



Figure 2.17: Military-industrial complexes want war. Ordinary people do not want it. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, global military expenses in 2018 amounted to 1.8 trillion dollars. This almost unimaginable river of money is the basic reason why the terrible suffering and waste of war is inflicted on the world's people.



Figure 2.18: The actress Vanessa Redgrave was part of a 1968 protest against the Vietnam War.



Figure 2.19: We must do whatever is necessary to save the future.



Figure 2.20: Young protesters from the Sunrise Movement call on leaders to back the Green New Deal.

2.8 The Extinction Rebellion

In an open letter to governments, reported in *The Guardian* ⁹, leaders of the environmental movement said:

In our complex, interdependent global ecosystem, life is dying, with species extinction accelerating. The climate crisis is worsening much faster than previously predicted. Every single day 200 species are becoming extinct. This desperate situation can't continue.

Political leaders worldwide are failing to address the environmental crisis. If global corporate capitalism continues to drive the international economy, global catastrophe is inevitable.

Complacency and inaction in Britain, the US, Australia, Brazil, across Africa and Asia - all illustrate diverse manifestations of political paralysis, abdicating humankind's grave responsibility for planetary stewardship.

International political organizations and national governments must foreground the climate-emergency issue immediately, urgently drawing up comprehensive policies to address it. Conventionally privileged nations must voluntarily fund comprehensive environment-protection policies in impoverished nations, to compensate the latter for foregoing unsustainable economic growth, and paying recompense for the planet-plundering imperialism of materially privileged nations.

With extreme weather already hitting food production, we demand that governments act now to avoid any risk of hunger, with emergency investment in agro-ecological extreme-weather-resistant food production. We also call for an urgent summit on saving the Arctic icecap, to slow weather disruption of our harvests.

We further call on concerned global citizens to rise up and organize against current complacency in their particular contexts, including indigenous people's rights advocacy, decolonization and reparatory justice - so joining the global movement that's now rebelling against extinction (eg Extinction Rebellion in the UK).

We must collectively do whatever's necessary non-violently, to persuade politicians and business leaders to relinquish their complacency and denial. Their "business as usual" is no longer an option. Global citizens will no longer put up with this failure of our planetary duty.

Every one of us, especially in the materially privileged world, must commit to accepting the need to live more lightly, consume far less, and to not only uphold human rights but also our stewardship responsibilities to the planet.

The letter was signed by 100 academics, authors, politicians and campaigners from

⁹<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/dec/09/act-now-to-prevent-an-environmental-catastrophe>



Figure 2.21: Young protesters in London demanding action to prevent catastrophic climate change.

across the world. Among them were Vandana Shiva, Noam Chomsky, Naomi Klein and Bill McKibben.

2.9 The cost of inaction

In a sense, the cost of inaction is incalculably high. At stake is the entire future of human civilization and the biosphere. Our children's future and our grandchildren's future will be lost if we do not take rapid action to avoid catastrophic climate change. Nevertheless, scientists studying two of the most dangerous feedback loops, the albedo effect from melting of Arctic sea ice, and the release of methane from melting permafrost, have attempted to put a price tag on the cost of inaction under various scenarios. Their results were recently published in *Nature*¹⁰, and reported in *The National Geographic*¹¹.

The *National Geographic* article, written by Stephen Leahey and published on April

¹⁰<https://www.nature.com/articles/s41467-019-09863-x>

¹¹<https://www.msn.com/en-us/weather/topstories/a-warming-arctic-could-cost-the-world-trillions-of-dollars/ar-BBWcxsz?li=BBnbcA1>

GLOBAL ATMOSPHERIC CARBON DIOXIDE SETS NEW RECORD HIGH IN 2017

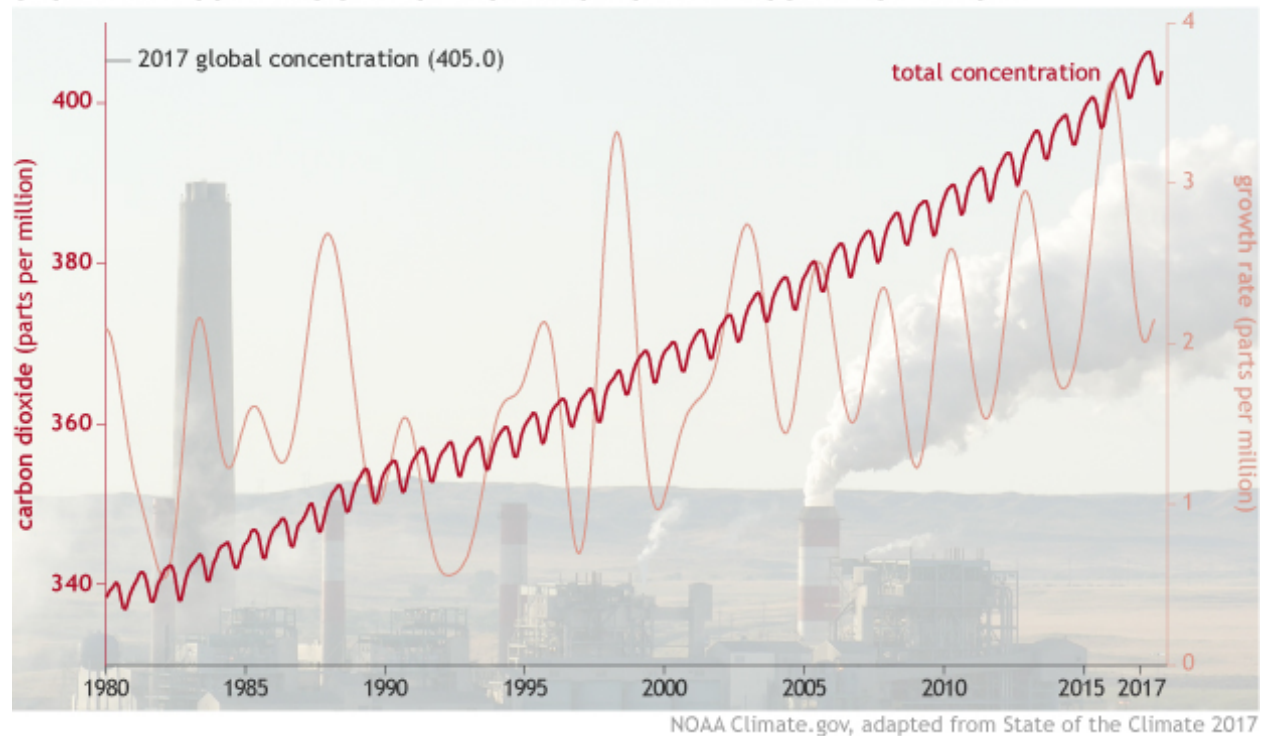


Figure 2.22: Today the atmospheric concentration of CO₂ is 413 ppm., roughly double the pre-industrial concentration. The last time that it was this high was in the Pliocene Epoch 5.3 to 2.6 million years ago. Sea levels were then 20 meters higher than they are right now, and trees were growing at the South Pole. Unless we quickly lower carbon emissions, most coastal cities and low-lying countries will be lost to rising seas.

24, 2019, states the following:

Scientists have long warned that climate change is likely to bring expensive impacts, from rising seas to stronger storms. And a new study comes with a hefty price tag.

A warming Arctic is shifting from white to dark as sea ice melts and land-covered snow retreats, and that means it can absorb even more of the sun's heat. Plus, the Arctic's vast permafrost area is thawing, releasing more heat-trapping carbon and methane. These climate-change-driven feedbacks in the Arctic are accelerating warming even faster and may add nearly \$70 trillion to the overall costs of climate change - even if the world meets the Paris Agreement climate targets, a new study says.

However, if efforts can be made to keep climate change limited to 2.7 degrees Fahrenheit (1.5C), the extra cost of Arctic warming drops to \$25 trillion, new research published in *Nature Communications* reports. A trillion is a thousand billion. For comparison, the global GDP in 2016 was around \$76 trillion.

"Massive changes are underway in the Arctic. Permafrost and loss of sea ice and snow are two known tipping elements in the climate system," said lead author Dmitry Yumashev of the Pentland Centre for Sustainability in Business, Lancaster University in the United Kingdom.

"We wanted to know what Arctic warming could do to the rest of the world," said Yumashev.

Climate "tipping elements" are also known as tipping points or feedbacks, where a change in a natural system triggers further warming. Last year, a study documented ten tipping points and noted that these can act like a row of dominoes, one pushing another system over. Once started, these tipping points are nearly impossible to stop and risk what researchers called a "Hothouse Earth" state - in which the global average temperature is 4 to 5 degrees Celsius higher, with regions like the Arctic averaging 10 degrees C higher than today.

The Arctic is warming at least twice as fast as the global average. Sea ice has been in decline since the 1990s, exposing a million square miles of ocean. As more solar energy is absorbed it creates what's called the surface albedo feedback...

The \$25 to \$70 trillion cost of Arctic warming adds four to six percent to the total cost of climate change - which is estimated to reach \$1,390 trillion by the year 2300 if emissions cuts are not better than the Paris Agreement. However, the costs of the current business-as-usual path could be more than \$2,000 trillion.

Global carbon debt increasing by \$16 trillion annually

Another estimate of the cost of climate inaction has been made by Dr. Gideon Polya in an article entitled “Inescapable \$200-250 Trillion Global Carbon Debt Increasing by \$16 Trillion Annually”¹². Here are some quotations from the article:

Carbon Debt is simply the damage-related cost of greenhouse gas (GHG) pollution that if not addressed now will inescapably have to be paid by future generations. However GHG emissions continue to rise inexorably and there is no global program to draw down CO₂ and other GHGs from the atmosphere. While young people are now vociferously demanding massive climate action, inescapable global Carbon Debt is \$200-\$250 trillion and increasing by \$16 trillion each year.

Unlike Conventional Debt that can be variously expunged by bankruptcy, printing money or default, Carbon Debt is inescapable - thus, for example, national commitments to GHG pollution reduction made to the 2015 Paris Climate Conference amount to a temperature rise of over 3 degrees Centigrade (3C) , and unless huge sea walls are built Netherlands-style , coastal cities of the world housing hundreds of millions of people will be submerged by rising sea levels (notably in Asia), mega-delta agricultural lands vital for feeding Humanity will be subject to inundation and salinization, and low-lying Island States will cease to exist

While outright, anti-science climate change denialism is politically entrenched in climate criminal Trump America and its climate criminal lackey Australia, most governments around the world are politically committed to effective climate change denialism through climate change inaction. That climate change inaction is most clearly quantitated in terms of Carbon Debt, but the very term has been white-washed out of public perception by US owned or subverted Mainstream media. Thus the Australian ABC (the taxpayer-funded Australian equivalent of the UK BBC) is self-assertedly “progressive” but a Search of the ABC for the term “Climate Debt” reveals zero (0) reportage. A Search of the self-assertedly “ethical” UK BBC for the term “Climate Debt” yields 9 items with none later than 2009, defining the term or quantifying global or national Carbon Debt.

Explanations for this extraordinary mainstream media lying by omission over Carbon Debt can be variously advanced, ranging from entrenched mendacity by US- and corporate- subverted media to cognitive dissonance in the face of a worsening climate emergency. However I am confident in predicting that if governments do not take action on the world’s massive Carbon Debt then intergenerational justice action by the utterly betrayed and robbed young people of the world will make the present Extinction Rebellion climate

¹²<https://countercurrents.org/2019/04/27/inescapable-200-250-trillion-global-carbon-debt-increasing-by-16-trillion-annually-gideon-polya/>

demonstrations in London look like a proverbial Teddy Bear's Picnic. A young people-led Climate Revolution (non-violent one hopes) is coming...

Up to one million species face extinction

According to a recent United Nations report¹³

The Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) report warns of “an imminent rapid acceleration in the global rate of species extinction.”

The pace of loss “is already tens to hundreds of times higher than it has been, on average, over the last 10 million years,” it notes.

“Half-a-million to a million species are projected to be threatened with extinction, many within decades.”

Suggestions for further reading

1. Josh Holder, Niko Commenda and Jonathan Watts, *The three-degree world: the cities that will be drowned by global warming*, Guardian, 3 November (2017).
2. Pacific Islands Development Forum, *Suva Declaration on Climate Change*, 4 September (2015).
3. Credit Suisse, *Global Wealth Report 2018*
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Chapter 3

PANDEMICS

3.1 History of the COVID-19 pandemic

Starting in December, 2019, and accelerating rapidly during the spring of 2020, our world has been hit by a new and extremely serious pandemic. It is caused by a coronavirus closely related to bat coronaviruses, and the disease, designated COVID-19 has a high death rate compared with seasonal influenza, as is shown below in Table 1. As of April 1, 2020, more than 859,000 cases of COVID-19 have been reported in over 200 countries and territories, resulting in approximately 42,000 deaths. Of course the death rate is actually lower than that would be calculated from the ratio $42/859=0.049$, since the actual number of infected people is very much larger than the number of confirmed cases. Older people, and people with previously existing health problems are especially at risk.

The first cases of COVID-19 were noticed in the city of Wuhan, in the Hubei province of China. A cluster of cases centered on the Hunan Seafood Wholesale Market, and the outbreak is thought to have been a case where a virus has been transmitted from an animal host to humans.

The World Health Organization recognized the outbreak as being a Public Health Emergency of International Concern on January 30, 2020. Later, on March 11, 2020, WHO declared it to be a pandemic.

Governments around the world have reacted to the pandemic by closing borders, closing schools, universities, restaurants, barber shops, bars, sports events, and nonessential economic activities of all sorts, also requiring people to stay at home, and requesting them to practice “social distancing”, i.e. staying at least 2 meters from all others, even family members. Different countries have reacted with different rates of speed and different degrees of stringency. But the daily life of people around the world has been severely disrupted by the pandemic, and the economic consequences, already severe, will probably become worse.

A pandemic of this kind was not unexpected. Public health experts have been predicting that our world would soon be hit by a severe pandemic because air travel can take infected people almost instantly across vast distances, making local disease outbreaks global before

effective limiting action can be taken.

We do not yet know how or when the COVID-19 pandemic will end. At present, there is no effective vaccine or treatment for the disease. My own belief is that monoclonal antibody techniques will be helpful in quickly developing antibodies for the treatment of the disease. For inexpensive mass-production of these antibodies, gene-splicing techniques may be helpful.

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed many of the faults of the “status quo”, to which corporate oligarchs wish us to return after the epidemic has run its course. We must try to use the disaster as a way to return to something better than we had before. For example, the climate emergency must be adequately addressed. Our economic systems must also be reformed, so that they will work for the broad public good, rather than for the benefit of a small number of very wealthy people.

3.2 Confirmed cases and deaths by country

Table 3.1: Confirmed cases and deaths as of 31 March, 2020

Country	cases	deaths
United States	186,633	3,833
Italy	105,792	12,428
Spain	95,923	8,464
China	81,518	3,305
Germany	71,690	775
France	51,487	3,516
Iran	44,606	2,898
United Kingdom	25,150	1,808
Switzerland	16,597	432
Turkey	13,531	214
Belgium	12,775	705
Netherlands	12,595	1,039
Austria	10,088	128
South Korea	9,786	162
Canada	8,591	100
Portugal	7,443	160
Brazil	5,717	201

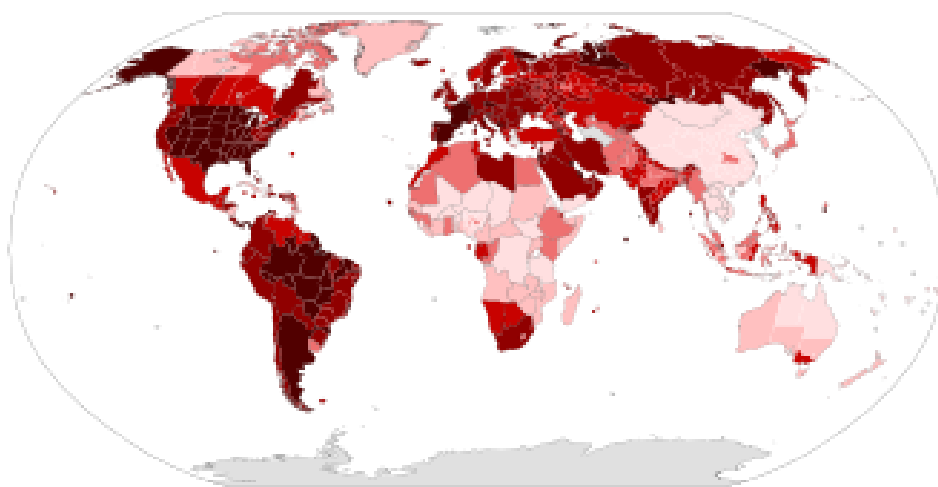


Figure 3.1: Confirmed cases of COVID-19 per 100,000 population as of 20 November, 2020.

Table 3.2: **Confirmed cases and deaths as of 13 April, 2020**

Country	cases	deaths
United States	561,103	22,106
Spain	166,831	17,209
Italy	156,363	19,899
Germany	127,854	3,022
France	95,403	14,393
United Kingdom	84,279	10,612
China	82,160	3,341
Iran	71,686	4,474
Turkey	56,956	1,198
Belgium	29,647	3,600
Netherlands	25,587	2,737
Switzerland	25,398	1,103
Canada	24,366	718
Brazil	22,318	1,230
Portugal	16,585	504
Russia	15,770	130
Austria	13,945	350

Table 3.3: Confirmed cases and deaths as of 24 June, 2020

Country	cases	deaths
United States	2,391,336	122,985
Brazil	1,151,479	52,771
Russia	599,705	8,359
India	456,183	14,476
United Kingdom	306,210	42,927
Peru	260,810	8,404
Chile	250,767	4,505
Spain	246,752	28,325
Italy	238,833	34,675
Iran	209,970	9,863
Germany	192,778	8,986
Mexico	191,410	23,377
Turkey	190,165	5,001
Pakistan	185,034	3,695
Saudi Arabia	164,144	1,346
France	161,267	29,720

Table 3.4: **Confirmed cases and deaths as of 29 October, 2020**

Country	cases	deaths
United States	8,949,332	231,033
India	8,040,203	120,527
Brazil	5,469,755	158,468
Russia	1,563,976	26,935
France	1,235,132	35,785
Spain	1,136,503	35,466
Argentina	1,130,520	30,071
Colombia	1,041,935	30,753
United Kingdom	942,275	45,675
Mexico	906,863	90,309
Peru	894,928	34,315
South Africa	719,714	19,111
Italy	589,766	37,905
Iran	588,648	33,714
Chile	505,530	14,032
Germany	479,621	10,359
Iraq	463,951	10,770

Table 3.5: Confirmed cases and deaths as of 19 November, 2020

Country	cases	deaths
United States	11,592,276	253,940
India	8,958,483	131,578
Brazil	5,947,403	167,497
France	2,065,138	46,698
Russia	1,991,998	34,387
Spain	1,525,341	42,039
United Kingdom	1,430,341	53,274
Argentina	1,339,324	36,347
Italy	1,272,352	47,217
Colombia	1,218,003	34,563
Mexico	1,015,071	99,528
Peru	941,951	35,402
Germany	854,533	13,236
Iran	801,894	42,941
Poland	772,823	11,451
South Africa	757,144	20,556
Ukraine	583,510	10,369

Table 3.6: Deaths per million people as of 19 November, 2020

Country	deaths, total	deaths/million
Belgium	15,025	1,308.34
Peru	35,317	1,086.33
Spain	42,039	892.99
Argentina	36,347	808.81
United Kingdom	53,180	795.70
Brazil	167,455	793.44
Chile	14,897	786.04
Italy	47,217	783.07
Mexico	99,528	780.15
Moldavia	2,072	779.64
Bolivia	8,875	770.86
United States	249,469	760.02
Ecuador	13,052	751.25
France	46,103	687.49
Colombia	34,563	686.60
Panama	2,907	684.57
North Macedonia	1,397	670.52

Table 3.7: Some pandemics of the past

name	time period	type	deaths
Antonine Plague	165-180	smallpox or measles	5,000,000
Japanese Smallpox	735-737	Variola major virus	1,000,000
Plague of Justinian	541-542	Yersinia pestis bacteria	c.40,000,000
Black Death	1347-1351	Yersinia pestis bacteria	200,000,000
New World Smallpox	1320-	Variola major virus	56,000,000
Plague of London	1665	Yersinia pestis bacteria	100,000
Italian plague	1629-1631	Yersinia pestis bacteria	1,000,000
Cholera Pandemics	1817-1923	V. cholerae bacteria	1,000,000+
Third Plague	1885	Yersinia pestis bacteria	12,000,000
Yellow Fever	Late 1800s	Yellow Fever virus	c.125,000
Russian Flu	1889-1890	Believed to be H2N2	1,000,000
Spanish Flu	1918-1919	H1N1 virus	c.45,000,000
Asian Flu	1957-1958	H2N2 virus	1,100,000
Hong Kong Flu	1968-1970	H3N2 virus	1,000,000
HIV/AIDS	1981-	HIV/AIDS virus	c.30,000,000
Swine Flu	2009-2010	H1N1 virus	200,000

3.3 China

Wikipedia states that “The 2019-20 coronavirus pandemic first manifested as a cluster of mysterious, suspected pneumonia cases in Wuhan, the capital of Hubei, China. A Wuhan hospital notified the local center for disease control and prevention (CDC) and health commissions on 27 December 2019. On 31 December Wuhan CDC admitted that there was a cluster of unknown pneumonia cases related to Hunan Seafood Market after the unverified documents appeared on the Internet. The potential disease outbreak soon drew nationwide attention including that of the National Health Commission (NHC) in Beijing who sent experts to Wuhan on the following day. On 8 January, a new coronavirus was identified as the cause of the pneumonia. The sequence of the virus was soon published on an open-access database... WHO declared the outbreak a “Public Health Emergency of International Concern” on 31 January[12] for fear that the virus spread beyond China to where there is no robust healthcare system despite its confidence that China was ‘doing all that it can’.”

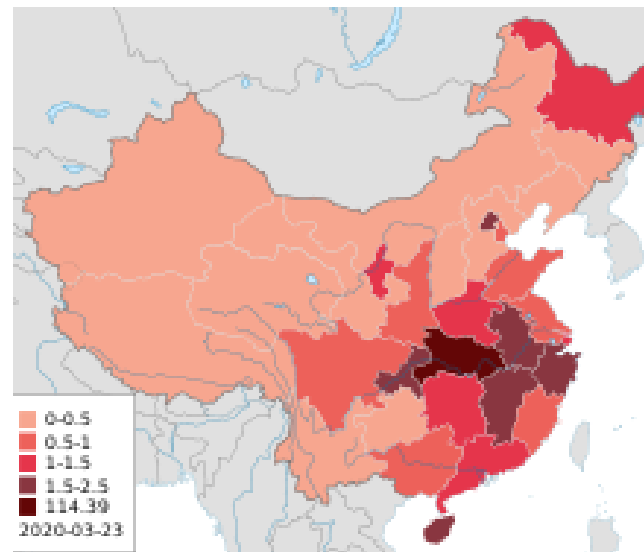


Figure 3.2: A map of China showing the number of cases per 100,000 people

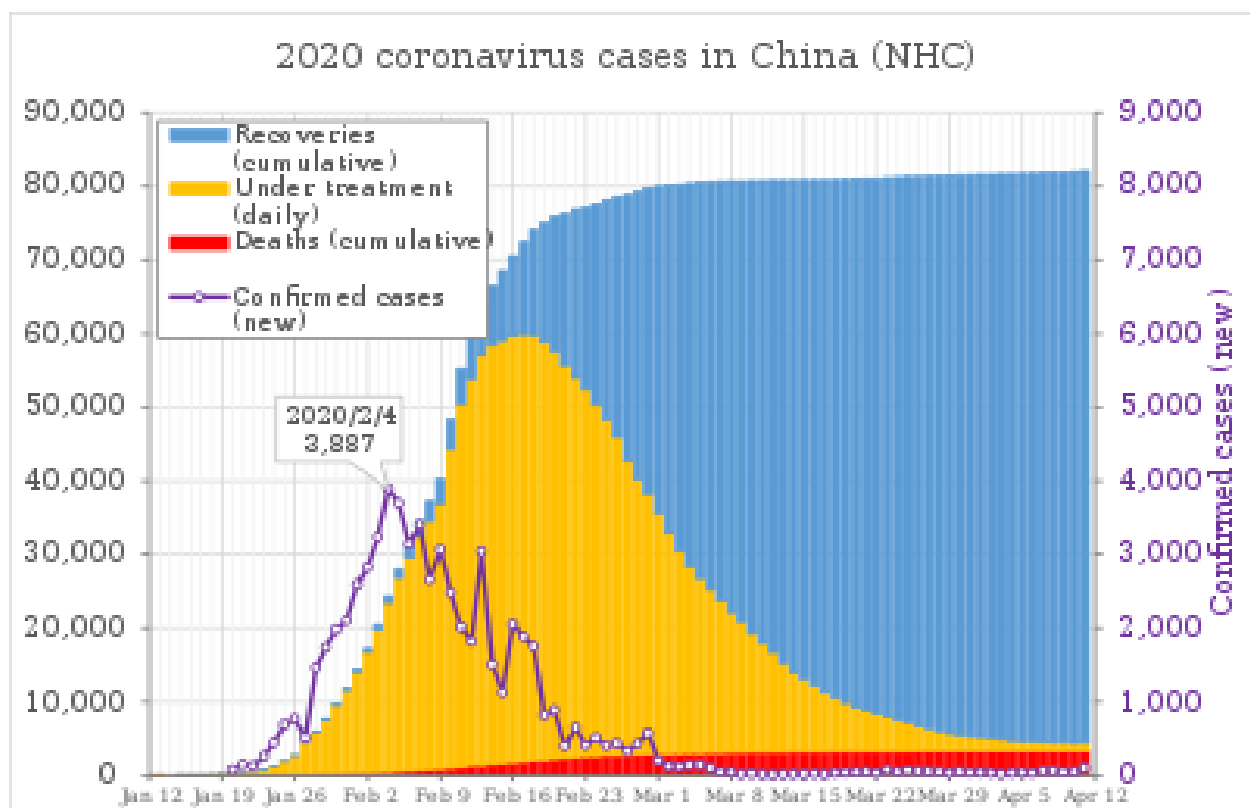


Figure 3.3: Because of the very strong actions of the Chinese government, the number of new cases of COVID-19 in the country has fallen almost to zero, as of April, 2020. However, opening the Chinese economy could lead to a new wave of infections.

3.4 Europe

Wikipedia states that

“The reaction of countries in Europe to the COVID-19 pandemic was initially much too slow, and thus the disease gained a firm foothold, especially in Italy, Spain, Germany, France and the United Kingdom. After this initial period of delay, drastic action was taken by most countries in Europe. Borders were closed, (except to very essential transport of goods), schools and universities were closed, restaurants, bars, hairdressers and churches were closed, public meetings were forbidden, and people were confined to their homes. By the time that these drastic actions were taken, however, it was too late to stop massive infection rates and deaths. In both Spain and Italy, the health services were completely overwhelmed by patients in need of intensive care, and burial services could not keep up with the load, so that corpses had to be kept in refrigerated trucks.

“In the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Boris Johnson, who had initially belittled the severity of the situation, himself became severely ill with COVID-19, and spent a week in an intensive care unit receiving oxygen. Prince Charles, heir to the British throne, also became ill with COVID-19, but luckily his case was a light one. He opened a new emergency hospital in London via a television link. Meanwhile, Queen Elizabeth, speaking to her nation on television, likened the situation to the dark days of World War II, and urged people to be brave.

“As of 17 March, all countries within Europe had a confirmed case of COVID-19, with Montenegro being the last European country to report at least one case. At least one death has been reported in all European countries, apart from the Vatican City.

“As of 18 March, more than 250 million people were in lockdown in Europe.

“As of 24 May, 68 days since its first recorded case, Montenegro became the first COVID-19-free country in Europe, but this situation lasted only 44 days before a newly imported case was identified there.”

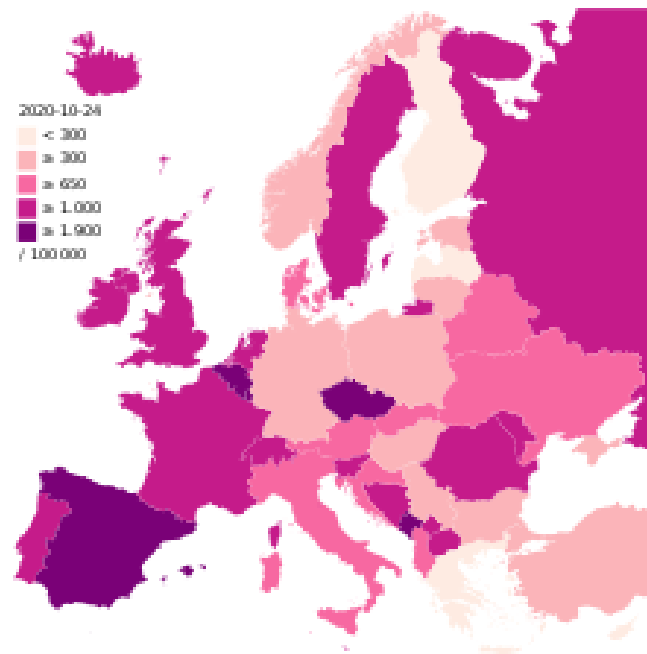


Figure 3.4: Cases of COVID-19 per 100,000 residents in Europe. The numbers are not comparable, as the testing strategy differs among countries and time periods.

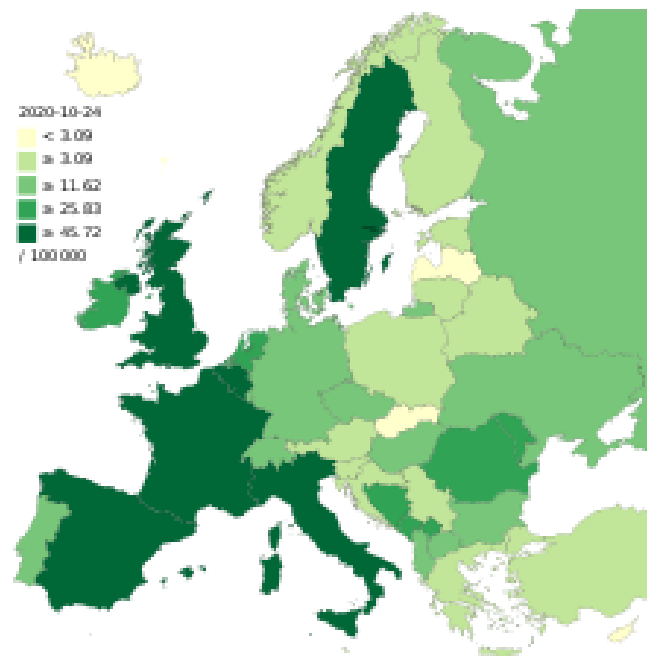


Figure 3.5: Cumulative number of deaths per 100,000 inhabitants from COVID-19 in Europe.

3.5 The United States

Here are some quotations from an article entitled *The US Is A Failed State, And COVID-19 Proves It* by Danny Haiphong, published on April 8, 2020:

“For two months, China heroically employed mass quarantines, built emergency temporary hospitals in record time, and redirected much of its economic and political infrastructure toward containing COVID-19. The U.S. exploited the disease to demonize China only to find itself unprepared for the blowback. President Trump declined testing kit assistance from the World Health Organization (WHO), allowing the virus to spread virtually undetected. Exorbitant healthcare costs and the lack of medical leave have deterred workers from taking the necessary precautions outlined by the WHO and the CDC. With no planned, nationalized response to the outbreak on U.S. shores, local governments have facilitated haphazard curfews and recommendations for more ‘social distancing’ in attempt to stem the tide.

“Forty years-plus of neoliberal shock therapy has turned the United States into the very failed state that the political class constantly complains about in reference to other nations. The U.S. cannot provide free healthcare to the masses because shareholders in the pharmaceutical and insurance industries are more committed to their profits. The U.S. cannot provide homes to the homeless because capitalists in finance, insurance, and real estate industries (FIRE) view public housing as an impediment toward their widening share of the market. The U.S. cannot possibly provide the conditions necessary for a rapid and effective response to a pandemic because private profits remain in command of society.

“Private profits have indeed been prioritized throughout the COVID-19 crisis. The Federal Reserve didn’t hesitate to pump 1.5 trillion dollars into the plunging stock market. Not a cent of a trillion dollars was invested in student and other debt relief, a moratorium on evictions and foreclosures, or toward the development of medical infrastructure to make up for a massive shortfall in masks, ICU beds, and ventilators. What the masses in the United States did receive was a Congressional bill for COVID-19 relief that House leader Pelosi proudly endorsed. The bill possessed a corporate friendly loophole that left nearly eighty percent of workers out of a 14-day federally mandated and funded medical leave benefit...

“The U.S. is a failed state because it has nothing to offer the world but death, destruction, and destitution. Iranians continue to die of treatable diseases and COVID-19 due to U.S. sanctions. The United States continues to deploy its trillion-dollar military albatross to murder, starve, and pollute the vast majority of the world’s people. No calls have been made to halt operations in the U.S.’ eight hundred military bases or to rollback AFRICOM amid the spread of COVID-19.”

Here are some quotations from an article entitled *The Billionaires That Want You to Get Back to Work No Matter the Cost to Your Health*, by Dan Loeb, Kevin Griffin, Paul Tudor Jones, and Stephen Schwarzman:

“On March 24th the Trump administration held a call with some of the wealthiest investors on Wall Street to discuss how COVID-19 and state-by-state restrictions on public gathering and businesses were affecting stock market performance, financial markets, and the broader economy. The call reportedly included heavy hitters such as private equity giant Stephen Schwarzman from Blackstone (net worth \$17.1 billion) and hedge fund managers Ken Griffin (net worth \$12.4 billion) from Citadel, Dan Loeb (net worth \$2.8 billion) from Third Point, and Paul Tudor Jones (net worth \$5.1 billion) among others. The group urged the administration to set a specific date to ease public health restrictions in order to reassure markets.

“Just hours after the call with the Wall Street elite, Trump went on air for a virtual town hall on Fox News and declared that he would like to see the economy ‘opened up and just raring to go’ by April 12th. The arbitrary deadline set by Trump at the behest of these investors was much earlier than what health experts predicted would be necessary to mitigate the spread of the virus. A few days later - after Congress passed a stimulus bill that created a \$500 billion slush fund to bail out big business - Trump walked back his commitment to having the economy ‘opened up’ by Easter. However, the power dynamic had already become crystal clear - Trump’s billionaire backers are pushing him to prioritize financial markets over public health and the creation of a fair safety net for workers impacted by the coronavirus shutdown.”

3.6 India

Although India currently has relatively few confirmed cases of COVID-19 and deaths from the disease, one fears for the future. A large fraction of India’s 1.3 billion people are poor, and live in crowded conditions, often without adequate supplies of clean water. Under such conditions, the social distancing and frequent hand-washing needed to prevent the spread of the disease are impossible. The economic impact of the pandemic will also hit India’s poor very hard. Those without jobs will face starvation. Finally, as the number of cases of COVID-19 rises, the country’s hospital system, inadequate even in normal times, will be completely overwhelmed.

According to an article by Akash Bisht, “India has 0.7 hospital beds for every 100,000 people, far fewer than countries like South Korea (six per 100,000) that have been able to successfully contain the virus.

“Ventilators are also in short supply. India has nearly 100,000 ventilators but most are owned by private hospitals and are already being used by existing patients with critical illnesses.

“Sundaraman from the People’s Health Movement highlighted how the stress of lockdown appeared to be overtaking the stress of the disease. ‘What is really worrying is the huge migration that has started across the country. You just can’t stop public transport like that. The lockdown should have been done in a phased way. People shouldn’t be stranded without income, without work. Even in an authoritarian state, they would know that this is something the state has to do,’ said Sundaraman.”



Figure 3.6: With only a few hours warning, India's Prime Minister Modi imposed a 21 day lockdown on the country. The lockdown left many millions of migrant workers trapped in cities with no income, and no means of returning to their native villages except walking. Many chose to walk hundreds of kilometers to reach their homes.



Figure 3.7: Many of India's estimated 139 million internal migrant workers are trapped in cities far from home after being laid off due to government measures to curb the spread of the coronavirus, leading aid agencies to warn of a looming crisis. The photo shown migrants trying to board one of the last available buses.

3.7 Africa

At present (12 April, 2020) there are relatively few cases of COVID-19 in Africa. However, this situation may very easily change for the worse. In most African countries, hospital beds are in short supply. Also, many poor people live in crowded conditions, without a good supply of safe water for the frequent hand-washing that is recommended as an important measure to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Thus, one worries about the future.

The economic impact of the pandemic is already severe. In many African countries, tourism is an important source of income, and this, of course, has disappeared.

3.8 We need solidarity, not sanctions

According to the United Nations Charter, only the Security Council may impose sanctions. No individual nation may do so. Nevertheless, the United States currently imposes economic sanctions on Iran, North Korea, Sudan, Cuba, Venezuela, Belarus, Burundi, Central African Republic, China, Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Myanmar, Nicaragua, Papua New Guinea, Russia, Somalia, South Sudan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Venezuela, Yemen and Zimbabwe.

Besides violating the United Nations Charter, these unilaterally imposed sanctions also violate the Fourth Geneva Convention, under which collective punishment is a war crime. Article 33 states that “No protected person may be punished for an offense that he or she did not personally commit”.

The sanctions that are currently being imposed on Iran are also an example of collective punishment. They are damaging the health of ordinary Iranian citizens, who can in no way be blamed for the policies of their government. According to Wikipedia: “Pharmaceuticals and medical equipment do not fall under the international sanctions, but the country is facing shortages of drugs for the treatment of 30 illnesses, including cancer, heart and breathing problems, thalassemia and multiple sclerosis, because Iran is not allowed to use International payment systems.... In addition, there are 40,000 hemophiliacs who can’t get anti-clotting medicines... An estimated 23,000 Iranians with HIV/Aids have had their access to the drugs they need to keep alive severely restricted.”

During the present COVID-19 pandemic, economic sanctions are particularly cruel and inhuman. They deprive the affected nations of desperately-needed face masks, respirators and medicines. During this terrible emergency, humanity must unite. We need solidarity, not sanctions!

Gestures of solidarity during the pandemic

Here are a few stories of solidarity during the COVID-19 crisis:

According to an article by Shannon Liao, published by CNN Business on March 14, 2020, “Chinese billionaire and Alibaba co-founder Jack Ma said he will donate 500,000

coronavirus testing kits and one million face masks to the United States... Ma has donated one million masks to Japan as of March 2 and had been attempting to ship one million masks to Iran as of March 6, according to his Weibo posts. In a March 11 post, he wrote that 1.8 million masks and 100,000 testing kits would go to Europe, with the first batch arriving in Belgium this week. He shared plans to donate to Italy and Spain, two other countries hard-hit by the virus, as well.”

Cuba has sent medical doctors and nurses to combat the COVID-19 pandemic in Italy. Cuba has also deployed doctors to Venezuela, Nicaragua, Jamaica, Suriname and Grenada.

On 3 April, 2020, the World Health Organization and UNESCO “announced an agreement to work together on COVID-19 response, through the historic COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund powered by the United Nations Foundation and Swiss Philanthropy Foundation. The COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund has been set up to facilitate an unprecedented global response by supporting the WHO Strategic Preparedness and Response Plan. As part of the agreement, an initial portion of the money from the Fund - which currently stands at more than \$127 million - will flow to UNICEF for its work with vulnerable children and communities all over the world.”

Antonio Guterres proposes a global ceasefire

On 23 March, 2020, the United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres said:

“Our world faces a common enemy: COVID-19. The virus does not care about nationality or ethnicity, faction or faith. It attacks all, relentlessly. Meanwhile, armed conflict rages on around the world. The most vulnerable - women and children, people with disabilities, the marginalized and the displaced - pay the highest price. They are also at the highest risk of suffering devastating losses from COVID-19. Let’s not forget that in war-ravaged countries, health systems have collapsed. Health professionals, already few in number, have often been targeted. Refugees and others displaced by violent conflict are doubly vulnerable. The fury of the virus illustrates the folly of war. That is why today, I am calling for an immediate global ceasefire in all corners of the world. It is time to put armed conflict on lockdown and focus together on the true fight of our lives.”

We can learn from the pandemic

Terrible as it is, the COVID-19 pandemic may be able to teach us something. Humanity must work together to solve our common problems. We must abandon the folly of war, and use the vast sums of money now wasted (or worse than wasted) on armaments for constructive purposes, for example public health programs. We must work together to rebuild the world after the pandemic. The new world that we build, must be sustainable, and it must have both an environmental conscience and a social conscience

3.9 Human encroachment on nature makes pandemics more likely

Here are some quotations from a recent article in The Guardian¹:

“Humanity’s ‘promiscuous treatment of nature’ needs to change or there will be more deadly pandemics such as Covid-19, warn scientists who have analyzed the link between viruses, wildlife and habitat destruction.

“Deforestation and other forms of land conversion are driving exotic species out of their evolutionary niches and into manmade environments, where they interact and breed new strains of disease, the experts say.

“Three-quarters of new or emerging diseases that infect humans originate in animals, according to the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, but it is human activity that multiplies the risks of contagion.

“A growing body of research confirms that bats - the origin of Covid 19 - naturally host many viruses which they are more likely transfer to humans or animals if they live in or near human-disturbed ecosystems, such as recently cleared forests or swamps drained for farmland, mining projects or residential projects.

“In the wild, bats are less likely to transfer the viruses they host to other animals or come into contact with new pathogens because species tend to specialise within distinct and well-established habitats. But once land is converted to human use, the probability increases of contact and viruses jumping zoonotically from one species to another.

“As natural habitats shrink, wild animals concentrate in ever smaller territories or migrate to anthropogenic areas, such as homes, sheds and barns. This is particularly true of bats, which feed on the large number of insects drawn to lamplight or fruit in orchards.

“Two years ago, scientists predicted a new coronavirus would emerge from bats in Asia, partly because this was the area most affected by deforestation and other environmental pressures...

“South America is a key area of concern due to the rapid clearance of the Amazon and other forests. Scientists in Brazil have found viral prevalence was 9.3% among bats near deforested sites, compared to 3.7% in pristine woodland. ‘With deforestation and land-use change, you open a door,’ said Alessandra Nava, of the Manaus-based Biobank research centre.”

The growth of air travel has also meant that recent pandemics leap very quickly across international boundaries.

¹<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/may/07/promiscuous-treatment-of-nature-will-lead-to-more-pandemics-scientists>

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Chapter 4

MILITARISM

4.1 Militarism and money

Military-industrial complexes throughout the world involve a circular flow of money. The vast profits from arms industries are used to buy the votes of politicians, who then vote for obscenely bloated “defense” budgets. Military-industrial complexes need enemies. Without them they would wither. Thus, tensions are manufactured by corrupt politicians in the pay of arms industries. As Arundhati Roy famously observed, “Once weapons were manufactured to fight wars. Now wars are manufactured to sell weapons.” Donald Trump has recently threatened to attack both Iran and North Korea with nuclear weapons. The United States, under Trump, is also threatening both Russia and China. Any such conflict could escalate uncontrollably into an all-destroying global thermonuclear war.

4.2 The arms race prior to World War 1

The inherited tendency towards tribalism in human nature makes war possible. Humans are willing to kill and to be killed to defend their own group against perceived enemies. However, there is another element that drives and perpetuates the institution of war - the enormous amounts of money earned by arms manufacturers - the military-industrial complex against which Dwight D. Eisenhower warned in his famous farewell address.

In an article entitled *Arms Race Prior to 1914, Armament Policy*¹, Eric Brose writes: “New weapons produced during the Industrial Revolution in the late 1800s heightened existing tensions among European nations as countries strove to outpace their enemies technologically. This armaments race accelerated in the decade before 1914 as the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy squared off against the Triple Entente of France, Russia, and Britain. Germany’s fears of increases in Russian armaments, and British fears of the German naval buildup, contributed heavily to the outbreak and spread of the First World War in 1914.”

¹International Encyclopedia of the First World War

The Wikipedia article on *Arms race* states that “From 1897 to 1914, a naval arms race between the United Kingdom and Germany took place. British concern about rapid increase in German naval power resulted in a costly building competition of Dreadnought-class ships. This tense arms race lasted until 1914, when the war broke out. After the war, a new arms race developed among the victorious Allies, which was temporarily ended by the Washington Naval Treaty.

“In addition to the British and Germans, contemporaneous but smaller naval arms races also broke out between Russia and the Ottoman Empire; the Ottomans and Greece; France and Italy; the United States and Japan; and Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

“The United Kingdom had the largest navy in the world. In accord with Wilhelm II’s enthusiasm for an expanded German navy and the strong desires of Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, Secretary of State of the German Imperial Naval Office, four Fleet Acts from 1898 and 1912 greatly expanded the German High Seas Fleet. The German aim was to build a fleet that would be two thirds the size of the British navy. The plan was sparked by the threat of the British Foreign Office in March 1897, after the British invasion of Transvaal that started the Boer War, of blockading the German coast and thereby crippling the German economy if Germany intervened in the conflict in Transvaal. From 1905 onward, the British navy developed plans for such a blockade, which was a central part of British strategy.

“In reaction to the challenge to its naval supremacy, from 1902 to 1910, the British Royal Navy embarked on a massive expansion to keep ahead of the Germans. The competition came to focus on the revolutionary new ships based on HMS Dreadnought, which was launched in 1906.”

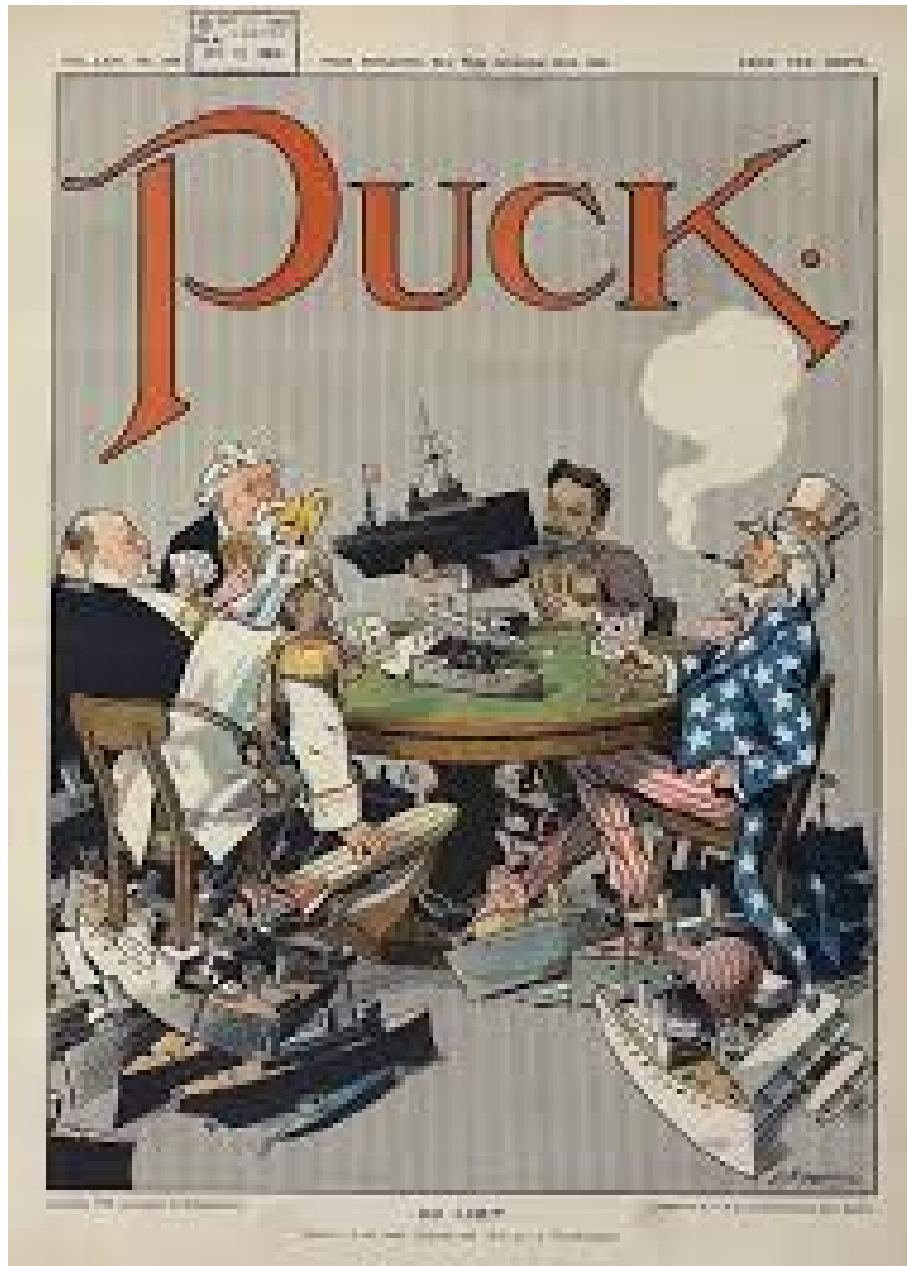


Figure 4.1: Left to right, US, Britain, Germany, France and Japan, engage in a “no limits” game for naval supremacy.

4.3 Krupp, Thyssen and Germany's steel industry

The Krupp family business, known as Friedrich Krupp AG, was the largest company in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. It was important to weapons development and production in both world wars. One of the most powerful dynasties in European history, for 400 years Krupp flourished as the premier weapons manufacturer for Germany. From the Thirty Years' War until the end of the Second World War, they produced everything from battleships, U-boats, tanks, howitzers, guns, utilities, and hundreds of other commodities.

The Thyssen family similarly profited from the arms races prior to World War I and World War II. August Thyssen (1842-1925) founded a large iron and steel company in the Ruhr district of Germany, and was succeeded by his son Fritz Thyssen, who greatly aided Hitler's rise to power.

4.4 Colonialism and the outbreak of the First World War

The First World War broke out approximately 100 years ago, and much thought has been given to the causes of this tragic event, whose consequences continue to cast a dark shadow over the human future. When the war ended four years later, ten million young men had been killed and twenty million wounded, of whom six million were crippled for life. The war had cost 350,000,000,000 1919 dollars. This was a calculable cost; but the cost in human suffering and brutalization of values was incalculable.

It hardly mattered whose fault the catastrophe had been. Perhaps the Austrian government had been more to blame than any other. But blame for the war certainly did not rest with the Austrian people nor with the young Austrians who had been forced to fight. However, the tragedy of the First World War was that it created long-lasting hatred between the nations involved; and in this way it led, only twenty years later, to an even more catastrophic global war, during the course of which nuclear weapons were developed.

Most scholars believe that competing colonial ambitions played an important role in setting the stage for the First World War. A second factor was an armaments race between European countries, and the huge profits gained by arms manufacturers. Even at that time, the Military-industrial complex was firmly established; and today it continues to be the greatest source of war, together with neocolonialism.²

²<http://alphahistory.com/worldwar1/imperialism/>
<http://www.flowofhistory.com/units/etc/19/26>
<http://alphahistory.com/worldwar1/militarism/>



Figure 4.2: Map of European colonies in Africa in 1914, just before the First World War. Source: www.createdebate.com

4.5 Prescott Bush and Hitler

Prescott Sheldon Bush (1895-1972), the father of George H.W. Bush and grandfather of George W. Bush, actively supported the revival of Germany's armament's industry in the 1930's, as well as supplying large amounts of money to Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party.³

An article in *The Guardian*⁴, Ben Aris and Dubcab Campbell write that "George Bush's grandfather, the late US senator Prescott Bush, was a director and shareholder of companies that profited from their involvement with the financial backers of Nazi Germany.

"The Guardian has obtained confirmation from newly discovered files in the US National Archives that a firm of which Prescott Bush was a director was involved with the financial architects of Nazism.

"His business dealings, which continued until his company's assets were seized in 1942 under the Trading with the Enemy Act, has led more than 60 years later to a civil action for damages being brought in Germany against the Bush family by two former slave laborers at Auschwitz and to a hum of pre-election controversy.

"The debate over Prescott Bush's behavior has been bubbling under the surface for some time. There has been a steady Internet chatter about the "Bush-Nazi" connection,

³<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnHnjmCYjy4>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BZCfbrXKs4>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BZCfbrXKs4>
<http://www.georgewalkerbush.net/bushfamilyfundedhitler.htm>
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/sep/25/usa.secondworldwar>

⁴September 25, 2004



Figure 4.3: Prescott Bush, the father of George H.W. Bush and grandfather of George W. Bush, supported Hitler's rise to power with large financial contributions to the Nazi Party. The photo shows them together. Source: topinfo-post.com

much of it inaccurate and unfair. But the new documents, many of which were only declassified last year, show that even after America had entered the war and when there was already significant information about the Nazis' plans and policies, he worked for and profited from companies closely involved with the very German businesses that financed Hitler's rise to power. It has also been suggested that the money he made from these dealings helped to establish the Bush family fortune and set up its political dynasty.

"Bush was also on the board of at least one of the companies that formed part of a multinational network of front companies to allow [Fritz] Thyssen to move assets around the world.

"Thyssen owned the largest steel and coal company in Germany and grew rich from Hitler's efforts to re-arm between the two world wars. One of the pillars in Thyssen's international corporate web, UBC, worked exclusively for, and was owned by, a Thyssen-controlled bank in the Netherlands. More tantalizing are Bush's links to the Consolidated Silesian Steel Company (CSSC), based in mineral rich Silesia on the German-Polish border. During the war, the company made use of Nazi slave labor from the concentration camps, including Auschwitz. The ownership of CSSC changed hands several times in the 1930s, but documents from the US National Archive declassified last year link Bush to CSSC, although it is not clear if he and UBC were still involved in the company when Thyssen's American assets were seized in 1942."

4.6 Fritz Thyssen supports Hitler's rise to power

"In 1923, Thyssen met former General Erich Ludendorff, who advised him to attend a speech given by Adolf Hitler, leader of the Nazi Party. Thyssen was impressed by Hitler and his bitter opposition to the Treaty of Versailles, and began to make large donations to the party, including 100,000 gold marks in 1923 to Ludendorff. In this he was unusual among German business leaders, as most were traditional conservatives who regarded the Nazis with suspicion. Thyssen's principal motive in supporting the National Socialists was his great fear of communism; he had little confidence that the various German anticommunist factions would prevent a Soviet-style revolution in Germany unless the popular appeal of communism among the lower classes was co-opted by an anticommunist alternative. Postwar investigators found that he had donated 650,000 Reichsmarks to right-wing parties, mostly to the Nazis, although Thyssen himself claimed to have donated 1 million marks to the Nazi Party. Thyssen remained a member of the German National People's Party until 1932, and did not join the Nazi Party (National Socialist German Workers' Party) until 1933.

"In November, 1932, Thyssen and Hjalmar Schacht were the main organizers of a letter to President Paul von Hindenburg urging him to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. Thyssen also persuaded the Association of German Industrialists to donate 3 million Reichsmarks to the Nazi Party (National Socialist German Workers' Party) for the March, 1933 Reichstag election. As a reward, he was elected a Nazi member of the Reichstag and appointed to the Council of State of Prussia, the largest German state (both purely honorary positions).

"Thyssen welcomed the suppression of the Communist Party, the Social Democrats and the trade unions. In 1934 he was one of the business leaders who persuaded Hitler to suppress the SA, leading to the "Night of the Long Knives". Thyssen accepted the exclusion of Jews from German business and professional life by the Nazis, and dismissed his own Jewish employees. But as a Catholic, he objected to the increasing repression of the Roman Catholic Church, which gathered pace after 1935: in 1937 he sent a letter to Hitler, protesting the persecution of Christians in Germany.[4] The breaking point for Thyssen was the violent pogrom against the Jews in November 1938, known as Kristallnacht, which caused him to resign from the Council of State. By 1939 he was also bitterly criticizing the regime's economic policies, which were subordinating everything to rearmament in preparation for war."



Figure 4.4: An arms race between the major European powers contributed to the start of World War I.



Figure 4.5: World War I was called “The War to End All Wars”. Today it seems more like The War that Began All Wars.

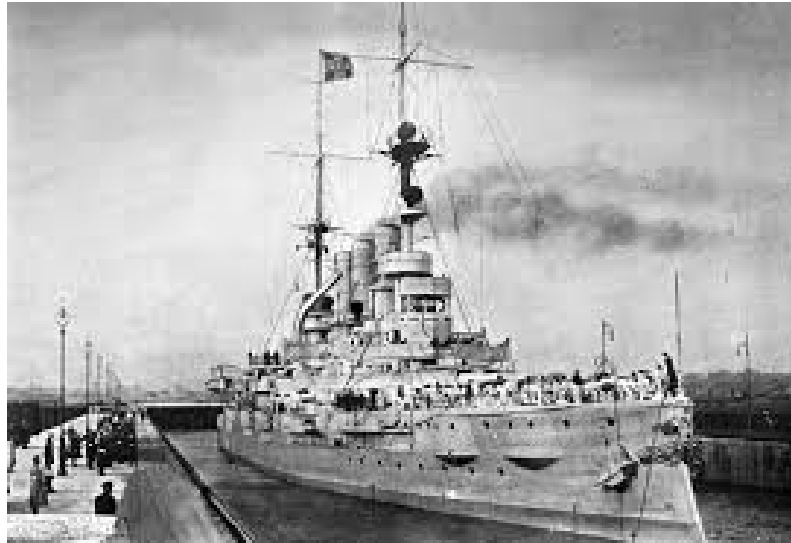


Figure 4.6: The naval arms race, which contributed to the start of World War I, enriched steel manufacturers and military shipbuilders.



Figure 4.7: Who is the leader, and who the follower?

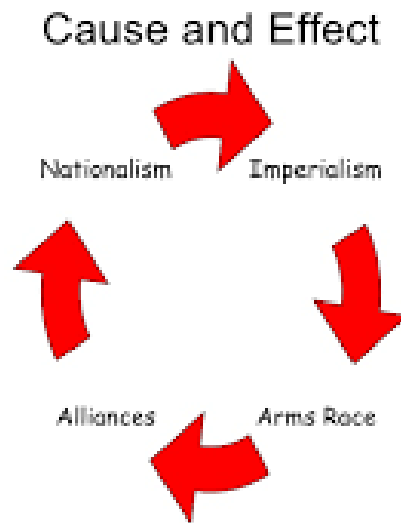


Figure 4.8: A vicious circle.

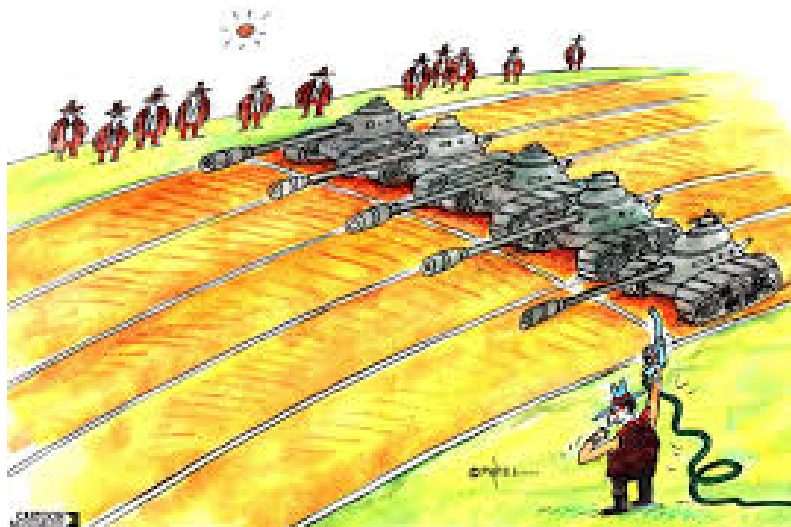


Figure 4.9: Ready, set, go!

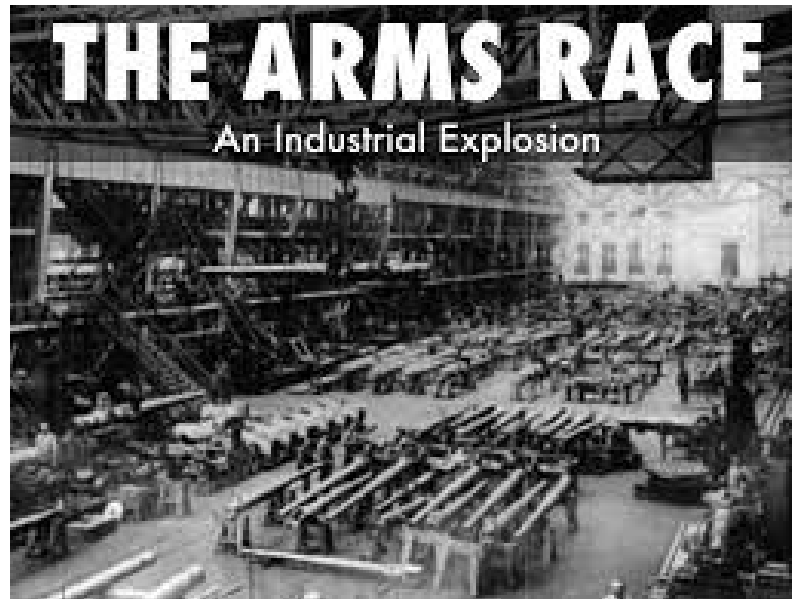


Figure 4.10: If our economies depend on armaments industries, it is an unhealthy dependence, analogous to drug addiction.



Figure 4.11: The nuclear arms race casts a dark shadow over the future of human civilization and the biosphere.



Figure 4.12: During the Cuban Missile Crisis, the world came close to a catastrophic thermonuclear war.

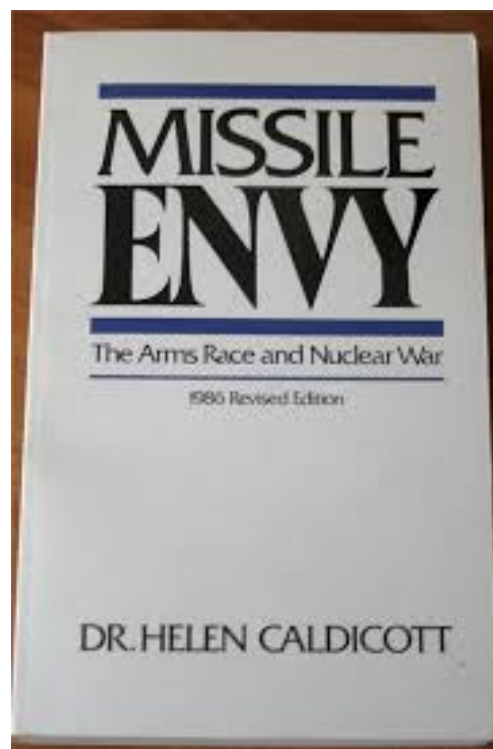


Figure 4.13: Dr. Helen Caldecott has worked to document the dangers of both nuclear weapons and nuclear power generation.



Figure 4.14: We must listen to the wise words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

4.7 Eisenhower's farewell address

In his famous farewell address, US President Dwight Eisenhower eloquently described the terrible effects of an overgrown Military-industrial complex. Here are his words:

“We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions.... This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence, economic, political, even spiritual, is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government...[and] we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

“In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”

In another speech, he said: “Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.”

Today the world spends more than 1.7 trillion dollars (\$ 1,700,000,000,000) every year on armaments. This vast river of money, almost too large to be imagined, is the “devil’s dynamo” driving the institution of war. Politicians notoriously can be bought with a tiny fraction of this enormous amount; hence the decay of democracy. It is also plain that if the almost unbelievable sums now wasted on armaments were used constructively, most of the pressing problems now facing humanity could be solved.

Because the world spends almost two thousand billion dollars each year on armaments, it follows that very many people make their living from war. This is the reason why it is correct to speak of war as an institution, and why it persists, although we know that it is the cause of much of the suffering that inflicts humanity.

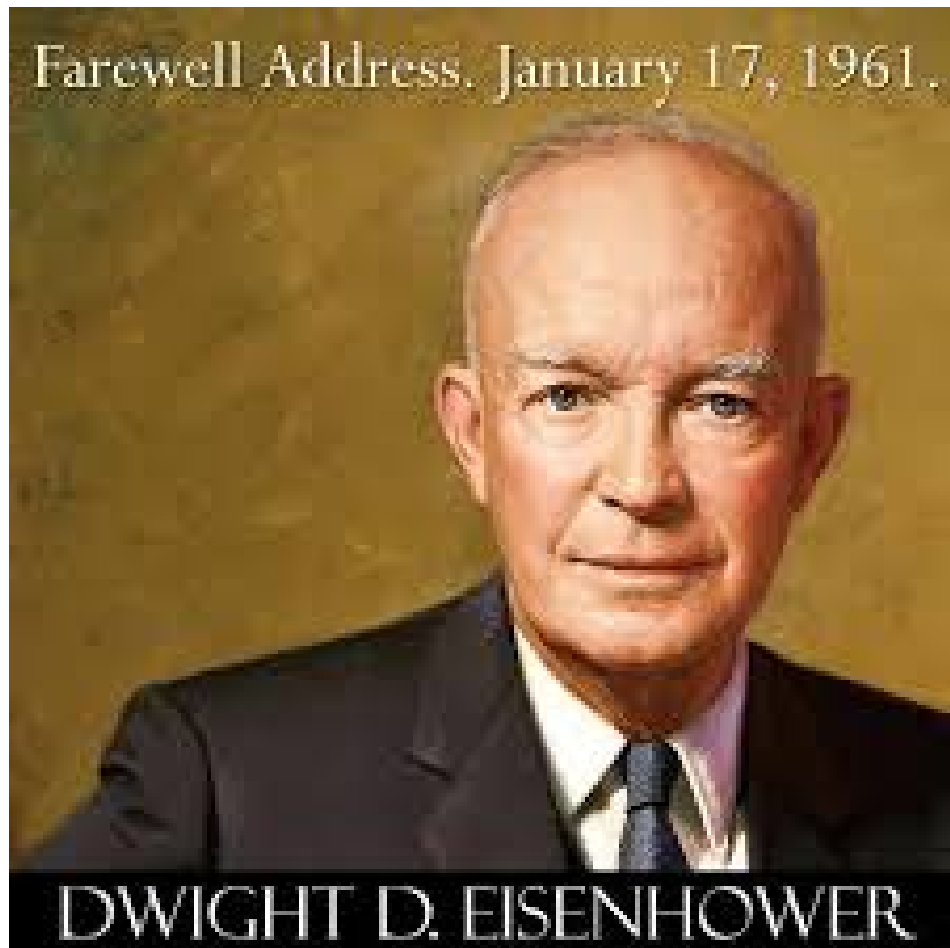


Figure 4.15: “In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”



4.8 Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence

Before discussing other defects in the concept of deterrence, it must be said very clearly that the idea of “massive nuclear retaliation” is completely unacceptable from an ethical point of view. The doctrine of retaliation, performed on a massive scale, violates not only the principles of common human decency and common sense, but also the ethical principles of every major religion. Retaliation is especially contrary to the central commandment of Christianity which tells us to love our neighbor, even if he or she is far away from us, belonging to a different ethnic or political group, and even if our distant neighbor has seriously injured us. This principle has a fundamental place not only in Christianity but also in all other major religions. “Massive retaliation” completely violates these very central ethical principles, which are not only clearly stated and fundamental but also very practical, since they prevent escalatory cycles of revenge and counter-revenge.

Contrast Christian ethics with estimates of the number of deaths that would follow a US nuclear strike against Russia: Several hundred million deaths. These horrifying estimates shock us not only because of the enormous magnitude of the expected mortality, but also because the victims would include people of every kind: women, men, old people, children and infants, completely irrespective of any degree of guilt that they might have. As a result of such an attack, many millions of people in neutral countries would also die. This type of killing has to be classified as genocide.

When a suspected criminal is tried for a wrongdoing, great efforts are devoted to clarifying the question of guilt or innocence. Punishment only follows if guilt can be proved beyond any reasonable doubt. Contrast this with the totally indiscriminate mass slaughter that results from a nuclear attack!

It might be objected that disregard for the guilt or innocence of victims is a universal characteristic of modern war, since statistics show that, with time, a larger and larger

percentage of the victims have been civilians, and especially children. For example, the air attacks on Coventry during World War II, or the fire bombings of Dresden and Tokyo, produced massive casualties which involved all segments of the population with complete disregard for the question of guilt or innocence. The answer, I think, is that modern war has become generally unacceptable from an ethical point of view, and this unacceptability is epitomized in nuclear weapons.

The enormous and indiscriminate destruction produced by nuclear weapons formed the background for an historic 1996 decision by the International Court of Justice in the Hague. In response to questions put to it by WHO and the UN General Assembly, the Court ruled that “the threat and use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and particularly the principles and rules of Humanitarian law.”

The only *possible* exception to this general rule might be “an extreme circumstance of self-defense, in which the very survival of a state would be at stake”. But the Court refused to say that even in this extreme circumstance the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be legal. It left the exceptional case undecided. In addition, the World Court added unanimously that “there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith *and bring to a conclusion* negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict international control.”

This landmark decision has been criticized by the nuclear weapon states as being decided “by a narrow margin”, but the structuring of the vote made the margin seem more narrow than it actually was. Seven judges voted against Paragraph 2E of the decision (the paragraph which states that the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be generally illegal, but which mentions as a possible exception the case where a nation might be defending itself from an attack that threatened its very existence.) Seven judges voted for the paragraph, with the President of the Court, Muhammad Bedjaoui of Algeria casting the deciding vote. Thus the Court adopted it, seemingly by a narrow margin. But three of the judges who voted against 2E did so because they believed that no possible exception should be mentioned! Thus, if the vote had been slightly differently structured, the result would have been ten to four.

Of the remaining four judges who cast dissenting votes, three represented nuclear weapons states, while the fourth thought that the Court ought not to have accepted the questions from WHO and the UN. However Judge Schwebel from the United States, who voted against Paragraph 2E, nevertheless added, in a separate opinion, “It cannot be accepted that the use of nuclear weapons on a scale which would - or could - result in the deaths of many millions in indiscriminate inferno and by far-reaching fallout, have pernicious effects in space and time, and render uninhabitable much of the earth, could be lawful.” Judge Higgins from the UK, the first woman judge in the history of the Court, had problems with the word “generally” in Paragraph 2E and therefore voted against it, but she thought that a more profound analysis might have led the Court to conclude in favor of illegality in all circumstances. Judge Fleischhauer of Germany said in his separate opinion, “The nuclear weapon is, in many ways, the negation of the humanitarian considerations underlying the law applicable in armed conflict and the principle of neutrality.

The nuclear weapon cannot distinguish between civilian and military targets. It causes immeasurable suffering. The radiation released by it is unable to respect the territorial integrity of neutral States.”

President Bedjaoui, summarizing the majority opinion, called nuclear weapons “the ultimate evil”, and said “By its nature, the nuclear weapon, this blind weapon, destabilizes Humanitarian law, the law of discrimination in the use of weapons... The ultimate aim of every action in the field of nuclear arms will always be nuclear disarmament, an aim which is no longer utopian and which all have a duty to pursue more actively than ever.”

Thus the concept of nuclear deterrence is not only unacceptable from the standpoint of ethics; it is also contrary to international law. The World Court’s 1996 advisory Opinion unquestionably also represents the opinion of the majority of the world’s peoples. Although no formal plebiscite has been taken, the votes in numerous resolutions of the UN General Assembly speak very clearly on this question. For example the New Agenda Resolution (53/77Y) was adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1998 by a massively affirmative vote, in which only 18 out of the 170 member states voted against the resolution.⁵ The New Agenda Resolution proposes numerous practical steps towards complete nuclear disarmament, and it calls on the Nuclear-Weapon States “to demonstrate an unequivocal commitment to the speedy and total elimination of their nuclear weapons and without delay to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to the elimination of these weapons, thereby fulfilling their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)”. Thus, in addition to being ethically unacceptable and contrary to international law, nuclear weapons also contrary to the principles of democracy.

Having said these important things, we can now turn to some of the other defects in the concept of nuclear deterrence. One important defect is that nuclear war may occur through accident or miscalculation - through technical defects or human failings. This possibility is made greater by the fact that despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of missiles carrying nuclear warheads are still kept on a “hair-trigger” state of alert with a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by error in evaluating the signal on a radar screen. For example, the BBC reported recently that a group of scientists and military leaders are worried that a small asteroid entering the earths atmosphere and exploding could trigger a nuclear war if mistaken for a missile strike.

A number of prominent political and military figures (many of whom have ample knowledge of the system of deterrence, having been part of it) have expressed concern about the danger of accidental nuclear war. Colin S. Grey⁶ expressed this concern as follows: “The problem, indeed the enduring problem, is that we are resting our future upon a nuclear deterrence system concerning which we cannot tolerate even a single malfunction.” General

⁵Of the 18 countries that voted against the New Agenda resolution, 10 were Eastern European countries hoping for acceptance into NATO, whose votes seem to have been traded for increased probability of acceptance.

⁶Chairman, National Institute for Public Policy

Curtis E. LeMay⁷ has written, "In my opinion a general war will grow through a series of political miscalculations and accidents rather than through any deliberate attack by either side." Bruce G. Blair⁸ has remarked that "It is obvious that the rushed nature of the process, from warning to decision to action, risks causing a catastrophic mistake."... "This system is an accident waiting to happen."

"But nobody can predict that the fatal accident or unauthorized act will never happen", Fred Ikle of the Rand Corporation has written, "Given the huge and far-flung missile forces, ready to be launched from land and sea on on both sides, the scope for disaster by accident is immense... In a matter of seconds - through technical accident or human failure - mutual deterrence might thus collapse."

Another serious failure of the concept of nuclear deterrence is that it does not take into account the possibility that atomic bombs may be used by terrorists. Indeed, the threat of nuclear terrorism has today become one of the most pressing dangers that the world faces, a danger that is particularly acute in the United States.

Since 1945, more than 3,000 metric tons (3,000,000 kilograms) of highly enriched uranium and plutonium have been produced - enough for several hundred thousand nuclear weapons. Of this, roughly a million kilograms are in Russia, inadequately guarded, in establishments where the technicians are poorly paid and vulnerable to the temptations of bribery. There is a continuing danger that these fissile materials will fall into the hands of terrorists, or organized criminals, or irresponsible governments. Also, an extensive black market for fissile materials, nuclear weapons components etc. has recently been revealed in connection with the confessions of Pakistan's bomb-maker, Dr. A.Q. Khan. Furthermore, if Pakistan's less-than-stable government should be overthrown, complete nuclear weapons could fall into the hands of terrorists.

On November 3, 2003, Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, made a speech to the United Nations in which he called for "limiting the processing of weapons-usable material (separated plutonium and high enriched uranium) in civilian nuclear programmes - as well as the production of new material through reprocessing and enrichment - by agreeing to restrict these operations to facilities exclusively under international control." It is almost incredible, considering the dangers of nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, that such restrictions were not imposed long ago. Nuclear reactors used for "peaceful" purposes unfortunately also generate fissionable isotopes of plutonium, neptunium and americium. Thus all nuclear reactors must be regarded as ambiguous in function, and all must be put under strict international control. One might ask, in fact, whether globally widespread use of nuclear energy is worth the danger that it entails.

The Italian nuclear physicist Francesco Calogero, who has studied the matter closely, believes that terrorists could easily construct a simple gun-type nuclear bomb if they were in possession of a critical mass of highly enriched uranium. In such a simple atomic bomb, two grapefruit-sized subcritical portions of HEU are placed at opposite ends of the barrel

⁷Founder and former Commander in Chief of the United States Strategic Air Command

⁸Brookings Institute

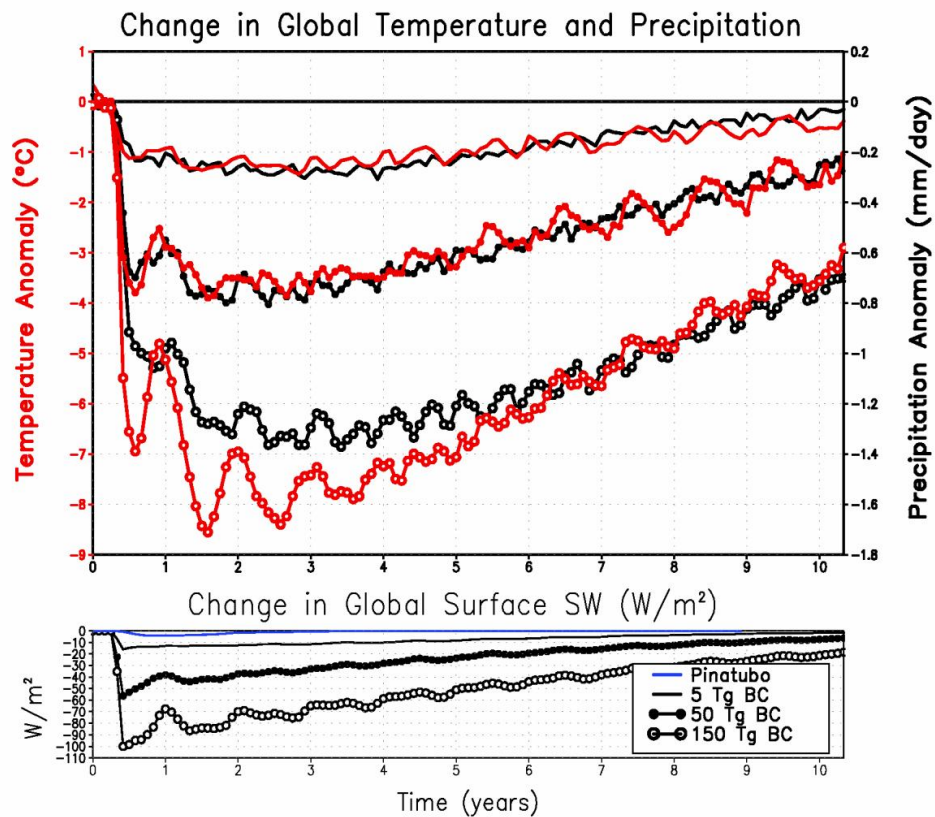


Figure 4.16: Recent studies by atmospheric scientists have shown that the smoke from burning cities produced by even a limited nuclear war would have a devastating effect on global agriculture. The studies show that the smoke would rise to the stratosphere, where it would spread globally and remain for a decade, blocking sunlight and destroying the ozone layer. Because of the devastating effect on global agriculture, darkness from even a small nuclear war (e.g. between India and Pakistan) would result in an estimated billion deaths from famine. Nuclear darkness resulting from a large-scale war involving all of the nuclear weapons that are now on high alert status would destroy all agriculture on earth for a period of ten years, and almost all humans would die of starvation. (See O. Toon, A. Robock, and R. Turco, “The Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War”, *Physics Today*, vol. 61, No. 12, 2008, p. 37-42).

of an artillery piece and are driven together by means of a conventional explosive. Prof. Calogero estimates that the fatalities produced by the explosion of such a device in the center of a large city could exceed 100,000.

We must remember the remark of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan after the 9/11/2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. He said, “*This time* it was not a nuclear explosion”. The meaning of his remark is clear: If the world does not take strong steps to eliminate fissionable materials and nuclear weapons, it will only be a matter of time before they will be used in terrorist attacks on major cities. Neither terrorists nor organized criminals can be deterred by the threat of nuclear retaliation, since they have no territory against which such retaliation could be directed. They blend invisibly into the general population. Nor can a “missile defense system” prevent terrorists from using nuclear weapons, since the weapons can be brought into a port in any one of the hundreds of thousands of containers that enter on ships each year, a number far too large to be checked exhaustively.

Today we must give special weight to the danger that a catastrophic nuclear war may occur through the mental instability of a political leader or an error of judgement, since we now are living with Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un. In the words of ICAN’s Executive Director Beatrice Finn, the end of human civilization and much of the biosphere is “only a tantrum away”. Donald Trump has repeatedly expressed his desire for more “usable” nuclear weapons. and if nuclear weapons are ever used, there is a strong danger of escalation to a full-scale thermonuclear war.

Another problem with the concept of nuclear deterrence is that even if the danger that a catastrophic nuclear war will occur in any given year is small, over a long period of time the danger builds up into a certainty. If the dangers for any given year are 1%, 2% or 3%, the probabilities of are survival until 2100 are respectively 43%, 18% and 8%. If the period for which we must survive is extended to the year 2200, the chances of survival in the three cases are respectively .16%, .025%, and .0039%.

In this perilous situation, the only logical thing for the world to do is to get rid of both fissile materials and nuclear weapons as rapidly as possible. We must acknowledge that the idea of nuclear deterrence is a dangerous fallacy, and acknowledge that the development of military systems based on nuclear weapons has been a terrible mistake, a false step that needs to be reversed. If the most prestigious of the nuclear weapons states can sincerely acknowledge their mistakes and begin to reverse them, nuclear weapons will seem less glamorous to countries like India, Pakistan, North Korea and Iran, where they now are symbols of national pride and modernism.

Civilians have for too long played the role of passive targets, hostages in the power struggles of politicians. It is time for civil society to make its will felt. If our leaders continue to enthusiastically support the institution of war, if they will not abolish nuclear weapons, then let us have new leaders.

4.9 Global famine produced by nuclear war

The danger of a catastrophic nuclear war casts a dark shadow over the future of our species. It also casts a very black shadow over the future of the global environment. The environmental consequences of a massive exchange of nuclear weapons have been treated in a number of studies by meteorologists and other experts from both East and West. They predict that a large-scale use of nuclear weapons would result in fire storms with very high winds and high temperatures, which would burn a large proportion of the wild land fuels in the affected nations. The resulting smoke and dust would block out sunlight for a period of many months, at first only in the northern hemisphere but later also in the southern hemisphere.

Temperatures in many places would fall far below freezing, and much of the earth's plant life would be killed. Animals and humans would then die of starvation. The nuclear winter effect was first discovered as a result of the Mariner 9 spacecraft exploration of Mars in 1971. The spacecraft arrived in the middle of an enormous dust-storm on Mars, and measured a large temperature drop at the surface of the planet, accompanied by a heating of the upper atmosphere. These measurements allowed scientists to check their theoretical models for predicting the effect of dust and other pollutants distributed in planetary atmospheres.

Using experience gained from the studies of Mars, R.P. Turco, O.B. Toon, T. Ackerman, J.B. Pollack and C. Sagan made a computer study of the climatic effects of the smoke and dust that would result from a large-scale nuclear war. This early research project is sometimes called the TTAPS Study, after the initials of the authors.

In April 1983, a special meeting was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the results of the TTAPS Study and other independent studies of the nuclear winter effect were discussed by more than 100 experts. Their conclusions were presented at a forum in Washington, D.C., the following December, under the chairmanship of U.S. Senators Kennedy and Hatfield. The numerous independent studies of the nuclear winter effect all agreed of the following main predictions:

High-yield nuclear weapons exploded near the earth's surface would put large amounts of dust into the upper atmosphere. Nuclear weapons exploded over cities, forests, oilfields and refineries would produce fire storms of the type experienced in Dresden and Hamburg after incendiary bombings during the Second World War. The combination of high-altitude dust and lower altitude soot would prevent sunlight from reaching the earth's surface, and the degree of obscuration would be extremely high for a wide range of scenarios.

A baseline scenario used by the TTAPS study assumes a 5,000-megaton nuclear exchange, but the threshold for triggering the nuclear winter effect is believed to be much lower than that. After such an exchange, the screening effect of pollutants in the atmosphere might be so great that, in the northern and middle latitudes, the sunlight reaching the earth would be only 1% of ordinary sunlight on a clear day, and this effect would persist for many months. As a result, the upper layers in the atmosphere might rise in temperature by as much as 100 °C, while the surface temperatures would fall, perhaps by as much as 50 °C.

The temperature inversion produced in this way would lead to superstability, a condition in which the normal mixing of atmospheric layers is suppressed. The hydrological cycle (which normally takes moist air from the oceans to a higher and cooler level, where the moisture condenses as rain) would be strongly suppressed. Severe droughts would thus take place over continental land masses. The normal cleansing action of rain would be absent in the atmosphere, an effect which would prolong the nuclear winter.

In the northern hemisphere, forests would die because of lack of sunlight, extreme cold, and drought. Although the temperature drop in the southern hemisphere would be less severe, it might still be sufficient to kill a large portion of the tropical forests, which normally help to renew the earth's oxygen.

The oxygen content of the atmosphere would then fall dangerously, while the concentration of carbon dioxide and oxides of nitrogen produced by firestorms would remain high. The oxides of nitrogen would ultimately diffuse to the upper atmosphere, where they would destroy the ozone layer.

Thus, even when the sunlight returned after an absence of many months, it would be sunlight containing a large proportion of the ultraviolet frequencies which are normally absorbed by the ozone in the stratosphere, and therefore a type of light dangerous to life. Finally, after being so severely disturbed, there is no guarantee that the global climate would return to its normal equilibrium.

Even a nuclear war below the threshold of nuclear winter might have climatic effects very damaging to human life. Professor Paul Ehrlich, of Stanford University, has expressed this in the following words:

"...A smaller war, which set off fewer fires and put less dust into the atmosphere, could easily depress temperatures enough to essentially cancel grain production in the northern hemisphere. That in itself would be the greatest catastrophe ever delivered upon *Homo Sapiens*, just that one thing, not worrying about prompt effects. Thus even below the threshold, one cannot think of survival of a nuclear war as just being able to stand up after the bomb has gone off."⁹

⁹<http://www.voanews.com/content/pope-francis-calls-for-nuclear-weapons-ban/2909357.html>
<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrence>
<http://www.countercurrents.org/avery300713.htm>
<https://www.wagingpeace.org/author/john-avery/>
<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/06/70-years-after-bombing-hiroshima-calls-abolish-nuclear-weapons>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42488.htm>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42492.htm>
<http://www.commondreams.org/views/2015/08/06/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-remembering-power>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/07/22/israel-iran-and-the-nuclear-non-proliferation-treaty/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/06/25/militarisms-hostages/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/05/24/the-path-to-zero-dialogues-on-nuclear-dangers-by-richard-falk-and-david-krieger/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/03/30/europe-must-not-be-forced-into-a-nuclear-war-with-russia/>
<http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/32073-the-us-should-eliminate-its-nuclear-arsenal-not-modernize-it>
<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrence>

A 2012 report published by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War states that even a small local nuclear war between India and Pakistan would put two billion people at risk of starvation.

4.10 Remembering the Vietnam War

Here are some quotations from an article by Robert Sheer entitled *McNamara's Evil Lives On*, published in *The Nation* on July 8, 2008.¹⁰

Why not speak ill of the dead?

Robert McNamara, who died this week, was a complex man - charming even, in a blustery way, and someone I found quite thoughtful when I interviewed him. In the third act of his life he was often an advocate for enlightened positions on world poverty and the dangers of the nuclear arms race. But whatever his better nature, it was the stark evil he perpetrated as secretary of defense that must indelibly frame our memory of him.

To not speak out fully because of respect for the deceased would be to mock the memory of the millions of innocent people McNamara caused to be maimed and killed in a war that he later freely admitted never made any sense. Much has been made of the fact that he recanted his support for the war, but that came 20 years after the holocaust he visited upon Vietnam was over.

Is holocaust too emotionally charged a word? How many millions of dead innocent civilians does it take to qualify labels like holocaust, genocide or terrorism? How many of the limbless victims of his fragmentation bombs and land mines whom I saw in Vietnam during and after the war? Or are America's leaders always to be exempted from such questions? Perhaps if McNamara had been held legally accountable for his actions, the architects of the Iraq debacle might have paused.

Instead, McNamara was honored with the Medal of Freedom by President Lyndon Johnson, to whom he had written a private memo nine months earlier

<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-6/arms-trade-treaty-opens-new-possibilities-u>

<http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-6/article/remember-your-humanity>

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42568.htm>

<https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2014/09/23/nobel-peace-prize-fact-day-syria-7th-country-bombed-obama/>

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42577.htm>

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42580.htm>

<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/06/us-unleashing-of-atomic-weapons-against-civilian-populations-was-a-criminal-act-of-the-first-order/>

<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/06/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-remembering-the-power-of-peace/>

<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/04/atomic-bombing-hear-the-story-setsuko-thurlow/>

<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/04/atomic-bombing-hear-the-story-yasuaki-yamashita/>

<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/03/why-nuclear-weapons/>

¹⁰<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/mcnamaras-evil-lives/>

offering this assessment of their Vietnam carnage: 'The picture of the world's greatest superpower killing or seriously injuring 1,000 noncombatants a week, while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are hotly disputed, is not a pretty one.'

He knew it then, and, give him this, the dimensions of that horror never left him. When I interviewed him for the Los Angeles Times in 1995, after the publication of his confessional memoir, his assessment of the madness he had unleashed was all too clear:

'Look, we dropped three to four times the tonnage on that tiny little area as were dropped by the Allies in all of the theaters in World War II over a period of five years. It was unbelievable. We killed - there were killed - 3,200,000 Vietnamese, excluding the South Vietnamese military. My God! The killing, the tonnage - it was fantastic. The problem was that we were trying to do something that was militarily impossible - we were trying to break the will; I don't think we can break the will by bombing short of genocide.'

We - no, he - couldn't break their will because their fight was for national independence. They had defeated the French and would defeat the Americans who took over when French colonialists gave up the ghost. The war was a lie from the first. It never had anything to do with the freedom of the Vietnamese (we installed one tyrant after another in power), but instead had to do with our irrational cold war obsession with 'international communism.' Irrational, as President Richard Nixon acknowledged when he embraced detente with the Soviet communists, toasted China's fierce communist Mao Tse-tung and then escalated the war against 'communist' Vietnam and neutral Cambodia.

It was always a lie and our leaders knew it, but that did not give them pause. Both Johnson and Nixon make it quite clear on their White House tapes that the mindless killing, McNamara's infamous body count, was about domestic politics and never security.

The lies are clearly revealed in the Pentagon Papers study that McNamara commissioned, but they were made public only through the bravery of Daniel Ellsberg. Yet when Ellsberg, a former Marine who had worked for McNamara in the Pentagon, was in the docket facing the full wrath of Nixon's Justice Department, McNamara would lift not a finger in his defense. Worse, as Ellsberg reminded me this week, McNamara threatened that if subpoenaed to testify at the trial by Ellsberg's defense team, 'I would hurt your client badly.'

Not as badly as those he killed or severely wounded. Not as badly as the almost 59,000 American soldiers killed and the many more horribly hurt. One of them was the writer and activist Ron Kovic, who as a kid from Long Island was seduced by McNamara's lies into volunteering for two tours in Vietnam. Eventually, struggling with his mostly paralyzed body, he spoke out against the war in the hope that others would not have to suffer as he did (and still does). Meanwhile, McNamara maintained his golden silence, even as Richard Nixon managed to kill and maim millions more. What McNamara did was evil

- deeply so.

4.11 The Pentagon Papers

Wikipedia states that:

The Pentagon Papers, officially titled *Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force*, is a United States Department of Defense history of the United States' political and military involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967. The papers were released by Daniel Ellsberg, who had worked on the study; they were first brought to the attention of the public on the front page of The New York Times in 1971. A 1996 article in The New York Times said that the Pentagon Papers had demonstrated, among other things, that the Johnson Administration 'systematically lied, not only to the public but also to Congress.'

More specifically, the papers revealed that the U.S. had secretly enlarged the scope of its actions in the Vietnam War with the bombings of nearby Cambodia and Laos, coastal raids on North Vietnam, as well as Marine Corps attacks, none of which were reported in the mainstream media. For his disclosure of the Pentagon Papers, Ellsberg was initially charged with conspiracy, espionage, and theft of government property, but the charges were later dismissed after prosecutors investigating the Watergate scandal discovered that the staff members in the Nixon White House had ordered the so-called White House Plumbers to engage in unlawful efforts to discredit Ellsberg...

To ensure the possibility of public debate about the papers' content, on June 29, US Senator Mike Gravel, an Alaska Democrat, entered 4,100 pages of the papers into the record of his Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds. These portions of the papers, which were edited for Gravel by Howard Zinn and Noam Chomsky, were subsequently published by Beacon Press, the publishing arm of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations. A federal grand jury was subsequently empaneled to investigate possible violations of federal law in the release of the report. Leonard Rodberg, a Gravel aide, was subpoenaed to testify about his role in obtaining and arranging for publication of the Pentagon Papers. Gravel asked the court (in *Gravel v. United States*) to quash the subpoena on the basis of the Speech or Debate Clause in Article I, Section 6 of the United States Constitution.

Daniel Ellsberg believed that when U.S. citizens discovered that the Vietnam War was based on lies, the war would end. However, it continued for many more years.



Figure 4.17: Victims of the Mai Lai Massacre.



Figure 4.18: Napalm burn victims during the war being treated at the 67th Combat Support Hospital. 1967-1968 Innocent children become burn victims in the Vietnam War.



Figure 4.19: **Frightened children flee from an air attack in Vietnam.**

4.12 Effects of Agent Orange

Wikipedia states that:

“Up to four million people in Vietnam were exposed to the defoliant. The government of Vietnam says as many as three million people have suffered illness because of Agent Orange,[4] and the Red Cross of Vietnam estimates that up to one million people are disabled or have health problems as a result of Agent Orange contamination. The United States government has described these figures as unreliable, while documenting higher cases of leukemia, Hodgkin’s lymphoma, and various kinds of cancer in exposed US military veterans. An epidemiological study done by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention showed that there was an increase in the rate of birth defects of the children of military personnel as a result of Agent Orange. Agent Orange has also caused enormous environmental damage in Vietnam. Over 3,100,000 hectares (31,000 km² or 11,969 mi²) of forest were defoliated. Defoliants eroded tree cover and seedling forest stock, making reforestation difficult in numerous areas. Animal species diversity sharply reduced in contrast with unsprayed areas.”



Figure 4.20: Nguyen Xuan Minh lies in a crib at the Tu Du Hospital May 2, 2005 in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.



Figure 4.21: A disabled and malformed victim of foliant Agent Orange, begs on the streets of Saigon to make a living, 1996.

4.13 Bombing of Cambodia and Laos

According to an article by Jessica Pearce Rotondi entitled *Why Laos Has Been Bombed More Than Any Other Country*¹¹,

“The U.S. bombing of Laos (1964-1973) was part of a covert attempt by the CIA to wrest power from the communist Pathet Lao, a group allied with North Vietnam and the Soviet Union during the Vietnam War.

“The officially neutral country became a battleground in the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union, with American bombers dropping over two million tons of cluster bombs over Laos - more than all the bombs dropped during WWII combined. Today, Laos is the most heavily bombed nation in history. Here are facts about the so-called secret war in Laos.

“Laos is a landlocked country bordered by China and Myanmar to the North, Vietnam to the East, Cambodia to the South and Thailand and the Mekong River to the West.

“Its proximity to Mao Zedong’s China made it critical to Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Domino Theory of keeping communism at bay. ‘If Laos were lost, the rest of Southeast Asia would follow,’ Eisenhower told his National Security Council. On the day of his farewell address in 1961, President Eisenhower approved the CIA’s training of anti-communist forces in the mountains of Laos. Their mission: To disrupt communist supply routes across the Ho Chi Minh Trail to Vietnam.

“Eisenhower’s successors in the White House: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon, all approved escalating air support for the guerrilla fighters, but not publicly. The 1962 International Agreement on the Neutrality of Laos, signed by China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, the United States and 10 other countries, forbid signees from directly invading Laos or establishing military bases there. The secret war in Laos had begun...

“In Laos, the legacy of U.S. bombs continues to wreak havoc. Since 1964, more than 50,000 Lao have been killed or injured by U.S. bombs, 98 percent of them civilians. An estimated 30 percent of the bombs dropped on Laos failed to explode upon impact, and in the years since the bombing ended, 20,000 people have been killed or maimed by the estimated 80 million bombs left behind.”

By 1975, one tenth of the population of Laos had been killed by the bombs, and a quarter of the population were refugees.

¹¹<https://www.history.com/news/laos-most-bombed-country-vietnam-war>

Cambodia

Here are some quotations from an article by Maximillian Wechsler entitled *America's 'Secret War' and the Bombing of Southeast Asia*¹²:

“On March 18, 1969, USAF Strategic Air Command (SAC) B-52 bombers began carpet bombing Cambodia on the order of President Nixon. The overall covert operation was code-named ‘Operation Menu’, with various phases named ‘Breakfast’, ‘Lunch’, ‘Dinner’, ‘Snack’, ‘Supper’ and ‘Dessert’.

“President Nixon ordered the campaign without consulting Congress and even kept it secret from top military officials. Five members of Congress were informed several months after the start of Operation Menu, but it was kept secret from the American people until The New York Times broke the story in May 1969. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon’s National Security Adviser, was reportedly outraged over the leaked information in the story and ordered the FBI to wiretap the phones of top White House aides and reporters to find the source.

“More reports of the secret bombing campaign surfaced in the press and records of Congressional proceedings, but it was not until 2000 that official the USAF records of US bombing activity over Indochina from 1964 to 1973 were declassified by President Bill Clinton.

“Some sources say that during the first phase of the bombings lasting until April 1970, ‘Operation Breakfast’, the SAC conducted 3,630 sorties and dropped 110,000 tons of bombs and that in the entire four-year campaign the US dropped about 540,000 tons of bombs. In the book *Bombs Over Cambodia*, historians Ben Kiernan and Taylor Owen state that, based on their analysis of the declassified documents, 2,756,941 tons of ordnance was dropped during Operation Menu, more than the US dropped on Japan during World War II.

“The authors also say that US planes flew 230,516 sorties over 113,716 sites. Estimates of casualties vary widely as well, but it is believed that somewhere between 100,000 and 600,000 civilians died in the bombing and two million became homeless. Some sources say that hundreds of thousands more Cambodians died from the effects of displacement, illness or starvation as a direct result of the bombings.

“The carpet bombing of Cambodia lasted until August 1973. It devastated the countryside and the chaos and upheaval it unleashed played a big part in the installation of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime led by Pol Pot. The Khmer Rouge was responsible for the deaths of up to two million Cambodians through executions, forced labour and starvation.”

¹²<https://www.thebigchilli.com/feature-stories/americas-secret-war-and-the-bombing-of-southeast-asia>



4.14 Military-industrial complexes today

“We’re going to take out seven countries in five years”

In an interview with Amy Goodman¹³, retired 4-star General Wesley Clark said: “About ten days after 9/11, I went through the Pentagon and I saw Secretary Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz. I went downstairs just to say hello to some of the people on the Joint Staff who used to work for me, any one of the generals called me in. He said, “Sir, you’ve got to come in and talk to me a second.” I said, “Well, you’re too busy.” He said, “No, no.” He says, “We’ve made the decision we’re going to war with Iraq.” This was on or about the 20th of September. I said, “We’re going to war with Iraq? Why?” He said, “I don’t know.” He said, “I guess they don’t know what else to do.” So I said, “Well, did they find some information connecting Saddam to al-Qaeda?” He said, “No, no.” He says, “There’s nothing new that way. They just made the decision to go to war with Iraq.” He said, “I guess it’s like we don’t know what to do about terrorists, but we’ve got a good military and we can take down governments.” And he said, “I guess if the only tool you have is a hammer, every problem has to look like a nail.

So I came back to see him a few weeks later, and by that time we were bombing in Afghanistan. I said, “Are we still going to war with Iraq?” And he said, “Oh, it’s worse than that.” He reached over on his desk. He picked up a piece of paper. And he said, “I just got this down from upstairs” - meaning the Secretary of Defense’s office - “today.” And he said, “This is a memo that describes how we’re going to take out seven countries in five years, starting with Iraq, and then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and, finishing off, Iran.” I said, “Is it classified?” He said, “Yes, sir.” I said, “Well, don’t show it to me.” And I saw him a year or so ago, and I said, “You remember that?” He said, “Sir, I didn’t show you that memo! I didn’t show it to you!”

The global trade in light arms

An important poverty-generating factor in the developing countries is war - often civil war. The five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council are, ironically, the five largest exporters of small arms. Small arms have a long life. The weapons poured into Africa by both sides during the Cold War are still there, and they contribute to political chaos and civil wars that block development and cause enormous human suffering.

The United Nations website on Peace and Security through Disarmament states that “Small arms and light weapons destabilize regions; spark, fuel and prolong conflicts; obstruct relief programmes; undermine peace initiatives; exacerbate human rights abuses; hamper development; and foster a ‘culture of violence’.”

An estimated 639 million small arms and light weapons are in circulation worldwide, one for every ten people. Approximately 300,000 people are killed every year by these weapons, many of them women and children.

¹³<https://genius.com/General-wesley-clark-seven-countries-in-five-years-annotated>

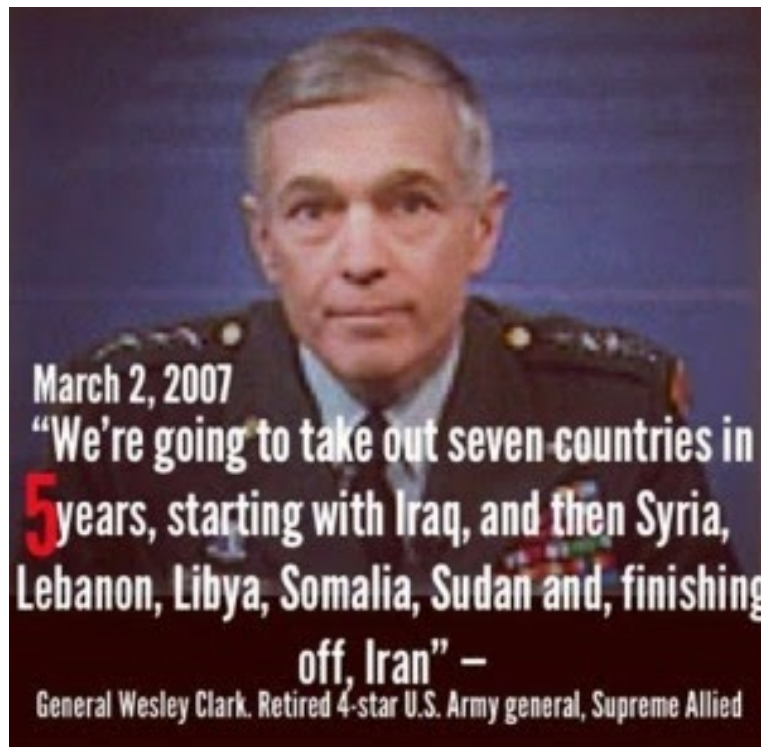


Figure 4.22: General Wesley Clark

Examples of endemic conflict

In several regions of Africa, long-lasting conflicts have prevented development and caused enormous human misery. These regions include Ethiopia, Eritiria, Somalia (Darfur), Chad, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In the Congo, the death toll reached 5.4 million in 2008, with most of the victims dying of disease and starvation, but with war as the root cause. In view of these statistics, the international community can be seen to have a strong responsibility to stop supplying small arms and ammunition to regions of conflict. There is absolutely no excuse for the large-scale manufacture and international sale of small arms that exists today.

The Wolfowitz Doctrine

The Wolfowitz Doctrine is the unofficial name given to the early version of the Defense Strategy for the 1990s: The Regional Defense Strategy report for the 1994-99 fiscal years. It was later released by then Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney in 1993. It brazenly advocates that America do everything in its power to retain its global hegemony and superpower status, including ensuring that Russia, China, Iran and other regional powers - but especially Russia - be prevented from attaining enough power to seriously challenge the US. In short, it's another US blueprint for total global supremacy.



Figure 4.23: 40,000 children die each day from starvation or from poverty-related diseases. Meanwhile, the world spends more than \$1,700,000,000,000 each year on armaments.

There are many quotable passages from the Wolfowitz Doctrine. Here's one which sums up its aims:

"Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival, either on the territory of the former Soviet Union or elsewhere that poses a threat on the order of that posed formerly by the Soviet Union. This is a dominant consideration underlying the new regional defense strategy and requires that we endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union, and Southwest Asia."

Similar motives guide US policy today. In February, 2018, US Secretary of Defense James Mattis said: "We will continue to prosecute the campaign against terrorists, but great-power competition - not terrorism - is now the primary focus of US national security."

Militarism in North Korea

The following states are now believed to currently possess nuclear weapons: The United States, Russia, The United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea and Israel. The way in which North Korea obtained its nuclear weapons is described by Wikipedia in the following paragraphs:

"The nuclear program can be traced back to about 1962, when North Korea committed itself to what it called 'all-fortressization', which was the beginning of the hyper-militarized North Korea of today. In 1963, North Korea asked the Soviet Union for help in developing nuclear weapons, but was refused. The Soviet Union agreed to help North Korea develop a peaceful nuclear energy program, including the training of nuclear scientists. Later, China, after its nuclear tests, similarly rejected North Korean requests for help with developing nuclear weapons.

"Soviet engineers took part in the construction of the Yongbyon Nuclear Scientific Research Center and began construction of an IRT-2000 research reactor in 1963, which became operational in 1965 and was upgraded to 8 MW in 1974. In 1979 North Korea indigenously began to build in Yongbyon a second research reactor, an ore processing plant and a fuel rod fabrication plant. Soviet engineers took part in the construction of the Yongbyon Nuclear Scientific Research Center, and began construction of an IRT-2000 research reactor in 1963, which became operational in 1965 and was upgraded to 8 MW in 1974. In 1979 North Korea indigenously began to build in Yongbyon a second research reactor, an ore processing plant and a fuel rod fabrication plant. "

Thus like other new nuclear weapons states, North Korea obtained nuclear weapons by misuse of nuclear power generation facilities donated by other countries. In addition, North Korea spends a large fraction of its GDP on conventional armaments. Under the Songun policy, the Korean Peoples Army is the central institution of North Korean society. As of 2016, the Korean Peoples Army had 5,889,000 paramilitary personnel (25% of the population of North Korea) making it the largest paramilitary organization on earth.

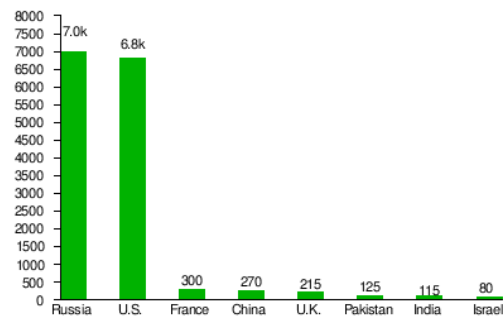


Figure 4.24: Countries by estimated nuclear warhead stockpiles according to the Federation of American scientists.



Figure 4.25: North Korea's dictator, Kim Jong-un. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence rests on the assumption that political leaders will always act rationally, an assumption that seems very uncertain in the case of the U.S.-North Korean conflict.

Table 4.1: **SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, 2016**

Rank	Country	Annual Spending \$ Bn.	% of GDP
1	United State	611.2	3.3
2	China	215.7	1.9
3	Russia	69.2	5.3
4	Saudi Arabia	63.7	10
5	India	55.9	2.5
6	France	55.7	2.3
7	United Kingdom	48.3	1.9
8	Japan	46.1	1.0
9	Germany	41.1	1.2
10	South Korea	36.8	2.7
11	Italy	27.9	1.5
12	Australia	24.3	2.0

Table 4.2: **SIPRI List of arms manufacturers, 2016**

Rank	Company	Country	Annual Arms Sales \$ Mn.
1	Lockheed Martin	United States	40,830
2	Boeing	United States	29,510
3	Raytheon	United States	22,910
4	BAE Systems	United Kingdom	22,700
5	Northrop Grumman	United States	21,400
6	General Dynamics	United States	19,230
7	Airbus	European Union	12,520
8	L-3 Communications	United States	8,890
9	Leonardo-Finmeccanica	Italy	8,500
10	Thales Group	France	8,170
11	United Technologies Corporation	United States	6,870
12	Huntington Ingalls Industries	United States	6,720

The SIPRI Yearbook, 2017

Dan Smith of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) wrote the following Introduction to the organization's yearbook for 2017:

"An overall perspective on 2016 finds a balance between negative developments and the continued functioning of the international system. However, the year ended with clear grounds for concern that the balance sheet seemed to be tipping towards the negative amid growing unease about the durability of key parts of the international security architecture.

"Conflicts in the Middle East continued to generate humanitarian tragedies and large-scale movement of refugees, and violent conflict continued in several other parts of the world, most notably Africa, Asia and to a lesser extent Eastern Europe. Developments in North Korea's nuclear programme contributed to international political instability with potentially serious knock-on effects. On the positive side, the 2015 Paris Climate Agreement entered into force in November 2016, the 2015 Iran nuclear deal began implementation on time in early 2016 and the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution to start negotiations in 2017 on eliminating nuclear weapons. Progress was also made on work to monitor the unfolding implementation of the UN's Agenda 2030 for international social and economic development. A major contribution to the positive side of the balance sheet in 2016 was the peace agreement in Colombia.

"Nonetheless, virtually all the major global indicators for peace and security have moved in a negative direction: more military spending, increased arms trading, more violent conflicts and the continuing forward march of military technology.

"Existing multilateral and bilateral arms control agreements and processes are also under challenge-not least due to the deteriorating relationship between Russia and the United States-raising questions of global concern and potentially epochal scope. Were the great gains in peaceful relations since the end of the cold war now being reversed? Would the return of strategic competition between the major powers have negative implications for managing increased conflict risk? These uncertainties, combined with political developments in Europe and the USA- especially the vote by the United Kingdom to leave the European Union and the election of Donald J. Trump as US President-seemed to reveal a much decreased commitment to international institutions and a renewed emphasis in several key states on a narrowly defined national interest.

"The scale of the challenges facing humanity has been summed up in the proposal to adopt the label of 'the Anthropocene' for the current era, thus designating it as one in which human activity is the dominant influence on climate and the environment. It is disconcerting to note that such cooperation risks becoming more elusive than it has seemed for most of the time since the end of the cold war, at a time when it is more needed than ever. Experience has shown that international cooperation can work. But is the international cooperative urge as persistent as the problems it needs to address?"



Figure 4.26: Tom Cruse in “Top Gun”.



Figure 4.27: A culture of violence supports the Devil’s Dynamo.

4.15 A culture of violence

Links with the entertainment industry

Here are a few films that glorify war:

- Black Hawk Down
- Top Gun
- Behind Enemy Lines
- Red Dawn (1984)
- American Sniper
- Iron Eagle
- Pearl Harbor

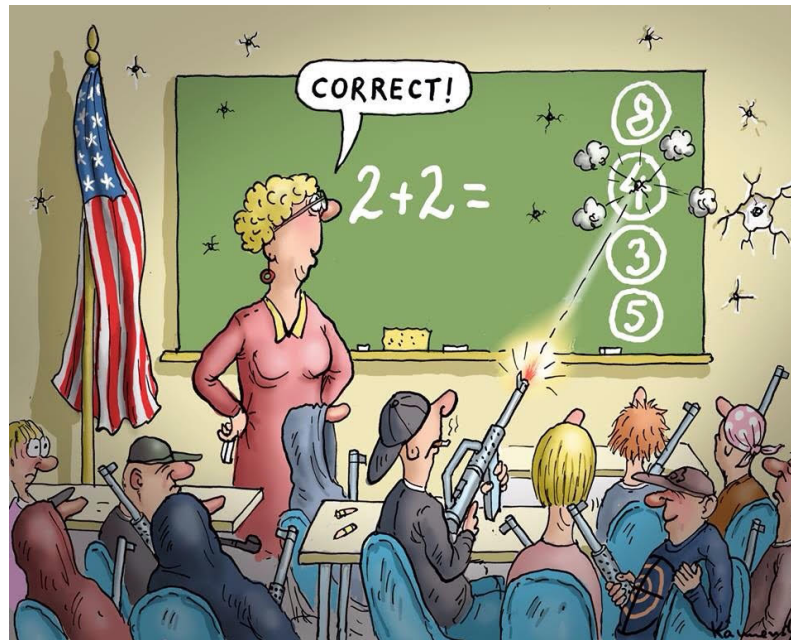


Figure 4.28: **A culture of violence:** In the United States the National Rifle Association has proposed guns in schools as the answer to the epidemic of school shootings.

- Act of Valor
- We Were Soldiers
- The Green Berets

Making a game of killing

The mass media are an important part of our educational system. Perhaps it is time to look more closely at the values that they are transmitting. In particular, we should perhaps look at computer games designed for young boys. They often give the strongest imaginable support to a culture of violence.

For example, a game entitled “Full Spectrum Warrior” was recently reviewed in a Danish newspaper. According to the reviewer, “...An almost perfect combination of graphics, sound, band design, and gameplay makes it seem exactly like the film *Black Hawk Down* - with the player as the main character. This is not just a coincidence, because the game is based on an army training program... Full Spectrum Warrior is an extremely intense experience, and despite the advanced possibilities, the controls are simple enough so that young children can play it... The player is completely drawn into the screen, and remains there until the end of the mission.” The reviewer gave the game six stars (the maximum).

Another genre of computer games has to do with building empires, ignoring the fact that imperialism is morally indefensible. For example, “Forge of Empires” is a browser-based strategy game. It is described as follows: “The game offers a single-player campaign

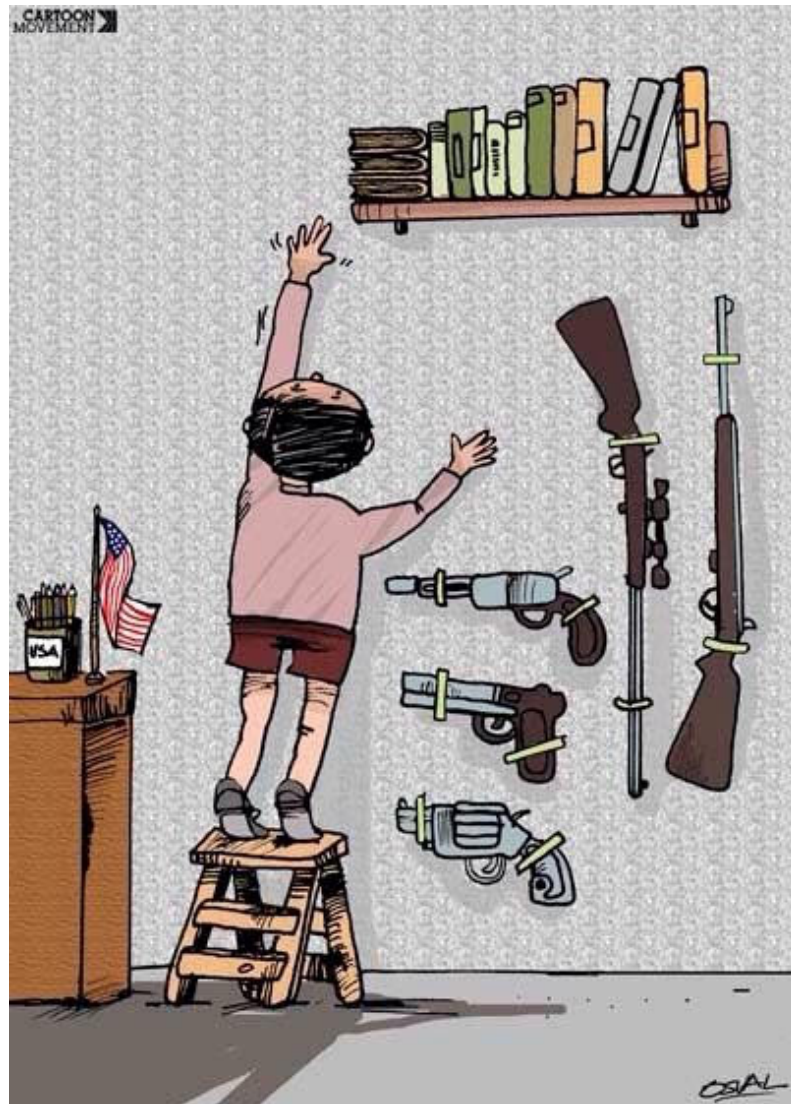


Figure 4.29: A culture of violence. Guns in schools?

for players to explore and conquer several provinces, gaining resources and new technology as they progress.” Conquering countries for the sake of gaining their resources is an all-too-familiar feature of the modern world. In the game “Forge of Empires”, our young people are indoctrinated with the ethos of resource wars.

During his trial, the Norwegian mass-murderer Anders Behring Breivik described how he trained for his attack on young people on the Island of Utøya using the computer game “Call of Duty: Modern Warfare”. The court also heard how he took what he called a “sabbatical” for a year between the summers of 2006 and 2007. During this year, he played a game called “World of Warcraft” full-time, in the bedroom of his mother’s Oslo flat, spending up to 16 hours a day using the game to distance himself from the human and moral significance of killing.

Is this not similar to the frame of mind of drone operators, sitting in comfort in their Nevada bunkers, distanced from the reality of killing? They are playing a computer game that kills targeted individuals and their families, in remote countries, by remote control. There is no need to look into the eyes of the victims. They are just abstract symbols in a computer game.

4.16 The threats and costs of war

In the long run, because of the enormously destructive weapons, which have been produced through the misuse of science, the survival of civilization can only be insured if we are able to abolish the institution of war.

Modern warfare has become prohibitively dangerous and destructive because of the enormously powerful weapons that scientists and engineers have developed. The institution of war could not continue without their cooperation. Thus, scientists and engineers throughout the world have a special responsibility.

Wars are driven by the collective paranoia of voters, who are willing to allow colossal sums to be spent by ‘Defense Departments’. But are civilians really defended? Absolutely not!

We can see this most clearly if we think of nuclear war. Nations threaten each other with “Mutually Assured Destruction”, which has the very appropriate acronym MAD. What does this mean? Does it mean that civilians are being protected? Not at all. Instead they are threatened with complete destruction. Civilians here play the role of hostages in the power games of their leaders. Those leaders’ goal is not protection of ordinary people, but rather protection of the gargantuan profits of the military-industrial complex. As the Indian writer Arundhati Roy put it, “Once weapons were manufactured to fight wars. Now wars are manufactured to sell weapons.”

If a thermonuclear war occurs, it will be the end of human civilization and much of the biosphere. This will definitely happen in the future unless the world rids itself of nuclear weapons, since, in the long run, the finite chance of accidental nuclear war happening due to a technical or human failure during a given year will gradually build up into a certainty of disaster. Scientists and engineers must not sell their knowledge and talents to this march



Figure 4.30: **Children born with birth defects due to the US use of Agent Orange during the Vietnam War. Source: stopwarcoalition.org**

towards the precipice.

The direct and indirect costs of war

The costs of war, both direct and indirect, are so enormous that they are almost beyond comprehension. We face a direct threat because a thermonuclear war may destroy human civilization and much of the biosphere, and an indirect threat because the institution of war interferes seriously with the use of tax money for constructive and peaceful purposes.

Today, despite the end of the Cold War, the world spends roughly 1.7 trillion (i.e. 1.7 million million) US dollars each year on armaments. This colossal flood of money could have been used instead for education, famine relief, development of infrastructure, or on urgently needed public health measures.

The World Health Organization lacks funds to carry through an antimalarial program on as large a scale as would be desirable, but the entire program could be financed for less than our military establishments spend in a single day. Five hours of world arms spending is equivalent to the total cost of the 20-year WHO campaign that resulted in the eradication of smallpox. For every 100,000 people in the world, there are 556 soldiers, but only 85 doctors. Every soldier costs an average of \$20,000 per year, while the average spent on education is only \$380 per school-aged child. With a diversion of funds consumed by three weeks of military spending, the world could create a sanitary water supply for all its people, thus eliminating the cause of almost half of all human illness.

A new drug-resistant form of tuberculosis has recently become widespread in Asia and in the former Soviet Union. In order to combat this new and highly dangerous form of tuberculosis and to prevent its spread, WHO needs \$500 million, an amount equivalent to 1.2 hours of world arms spending.

Today's world is one in which roughly ten million children die every year from starvation or from diseases related to poverty. Besides this enormous waste of young lives through malnutrition and preventable disease, there is a huge waste of opportunities through inadequate education. The rate of illiteracy in the 25 least developed countries is 80%, and the total number of illiterates in the world is estimated to be 800 million. Meanwhile every 60 seconds the world spends \$6.5 million on armaments.



Figure 4.31: A little girl cries as medics attend to her injuries at al-Shifa hospital in Gaza in 2014, during the conflict. Photo: UNICEF/Eyad El Baba

It is plain that if the almost unbelievable sums now wasted on the institution of war were used constructively, most of the pressing problems of humanity could be solved, but today the world spends more than 20 times as much on war as it does on development.

Medical and psychological consequences; loss of life

While in earlier epochs it may have been possible to confine the effects of war mainly to combatants, in the 20th century the victims of war were increasingly civilians, and especially children. For example, according to Quincy Wright's statistics, the First and Second World Wars cost the lives of 26 million soldiers, but the toll in civilian lives was much larger: 64 million.

Since the Second World War, despite the best efforts of the UN, there have been over 150 armed conflicts; and, if civil wars are included, there are on any given day an average of 12 wars somewhere in the world. In the conflicts in Indo-China, the proportion of civilian victims was between 80% and 90%, while in the Lebanese civil war some sources state that the proportion of civilian casualties was as high as 97%.

Civilian casualties often occur through malnutrition and through diseases that would be preventable in normal circumstances. Because of the social disruption caused by war, normal supplies of food, safe water and medicine are interrupted, so that populations become vulnerable to famine and epidemics.¹⁴

¹⁴<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-i>
<http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/27201-the-leading-terrorist-state>



Figure 4.32: Asylum-seekers in a holding centre on Greece's Samos Island.

Effects of war on children

According to UNICEF figures, 90% of the casualties of recent wars have been civilians, and 50% children. The organization estimates that in recent years, violent conflicts have driven 20 million children from their homes. They have become refugees or internally displaced persons within their own countries.

During the last decade 2 million children have been killed and 6 million seriously injured or permanently disabled as the result of armed conflicts, while 1 million children have been orphaned or separated from their families. Of the ten countries with the highest rates of death of children under five years of age, seven are affected by armed conflicts. UNICEF estimates that 300,000 child soldiers are currently forced to fight in 30 armed conflicts throughout the world. Many of these have been forcibly recruited or abducted.

Even when they are not killed or wounded by conflicts, children often experience painful psychological traumas: the violent death of parents or close relatives, separation from their families, seeing family members tortured, displacement from home, disruption of ordinary life, exposure to shelling and other forms of combat, starvation and anxiety about the future.¹⁵

Refugees

Human Rights Watch estimates that in 2001 there were 15 million refugees in the world, forced from their countries by war, civil and political conflict, or by gross violations of human rights. In addition, there were an estimated 22 million internally displaced persons, violently forced from their homes but still within the borders of their countries.

In 2001, 78% of all refugees came from ten areas: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa, Eritrea, Iraq, the Palestinian territories, Somalia and Sudan. A

¹⁵<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2080482/>

quarter of all refugees are Palestinians, who make up the world's oldest and largest refugee population. 45% of the world's refugees have found sanctuaries in Asia, 30% in Africa, 19% in Europe and 5% in North America.

Refugees who have crossed an international border are in principle protected by Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which affirms their right "to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution". In 1950 the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was created to implement Article 14, and in 1951 the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted by the UN. By 2002 this legally binding treaty had been signed by 140 nations. However the industrialized countries have recently adopted a very hostile and restrictive attitude towards refugees, subjecting them to arbitrary arrests, denial of social and economic rights, and even forcible return to countries in which they face persecution.

The status of internally displaced persons is even worse than that of refugees who have crossed international borders. In many cases the international community simply ignores their suffering, reluctant to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. In fact, the United Nations Charter is self-contradictory in this respect, since on the one hand it calls for non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, but on the other hand, people everywhere are guaranteed freedom from persecution by the Charter's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹⁶

Damage to infrastructure

Most insurance policies have clauses written in fine print exempting companies from payment of damage caused by war. The reason for this is simple. The damage caused by war is so enormous that insurance companies could never come near to paying for it without going bankrupt.

We mentioned above that the world spends 1.7 trillion dollars each year on preparations for war. A similarly colossal amount is needed to repair the damage to infrastructure caused by war. Sometimes this damage is unintended, but sometimes it is intentional.

During World War II, one of the main aims of air attacks by both sides was to destroy the industrial infrastructure of the opponent. This made some sense in a war expected to last several years, because the aim was to prevent the enemy from producing more munitions. However, during the Gulf War of 1990, the infrastructure of Iraq was attacked, even though the war was expected to be short. Electrical generating plants and water purification facilities were deliberately destroyed with the apparent aim of obtaining leverage over Iraq after the war.

In general, because war has such a catastrophic effect on infrastructure, it can be thought of as the opposite of development. War is the greatest generator of poverty.¹⁷

¹⁶<https://www.hrw.org/topic/refugees>

¹⁷<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2002/11/iraq-n04.html>

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/crimes-against-humanity-the-destruction-of-iraqs-electricity-infrastructure-the-social-economic-and-environmental-impacts/5355665>

<http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/00157630-EN-ERP-48.PDF>



Figure 4.33: Image source: Greenpeace

Ecological damage

Warfare during the 20th century has not only caused the loss of 175 million lives (primarily civilians) - it has also caused the greatest ecological catastrophes in human history. The damage takes place even in times of peace. Studies by Joni Seager, a geographer at the University of Vermont, conclude that “a military presence anywhere in the world is the single most reliable predictor of ecological damage”.

Modern warfare destroys environments to such a degree that it has been described as an “environmental holocaust.” For example, herbicides use in the Vietnam War killed an estimated 6.2 billion board-feet of hardwood trees in the forests north and west of Saigon, according to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Herbicides such as Agent Orange also made enormous areas of previously fertile land unsuitable for agriculture for many years to come. In Vietnam and elsewhere in the world, valuable agricultural land has also been lost because land mines or the remains of cluster bombs make it too dangerous for farming.

During the Gulf War of 1990, the oil spills amounted to 150 million barrels, 650 times the amount released into the environment by the notorious Exxon Valdez disaster. During the Gulf War an enormous number of shells made of depleted uranium were fired. When the dust produced by exploded shells is inhaled it often produces cancer, and it will remain in the environment of Iraq for decades.

Radioactive fallout from nuclear tests pollutes the global environment and causes many thousands of cases of cancer, as well as birth abnormalities. Most nuclear tests have been carried out on lands belonging to indigenous peoples. Agent Orange also produced cancer, birth abnormalities and other serious forms of illness both in the Vietnamese population and among the foreign soldiers fighting in Vietnam¹⁸

¹⁸<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2401378/Agent-Orange-Vietnamese-children-suffering-effects-herbicide-sprayed-US-Army-40-years-ago.html>



Figure 4.34: The 15 megaton explosion detonated by the United States at Bikini Atoll in 1954 produced lasting biological damage to humans and animals living on the distant Marshall Islands. Today, half a century later, the islanders still experience radiation sickness in the form of leukemia and birth defects. Source: www.theguardian.com

4.17 The threat of nuclear war

As bad as conventional arms and conventional weapons may be, it is the possibility of a catastrophic nuclear war that poses the greatest threat to humanity. There are today roughly 16,000 nuclear warheads in the world. The total explosive power of the warheads that exist or that could be made on short notice is approximately equal to 500,000 Hiroshima bombs.

To multiply the tragedy of Hiroshima by a factor of half a million makes an enormous difference, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. Those who have studied the question believe that a nuclear catastrophe today would inflict irreversible damage on our civilization, genetic pool and environment.

Thermonuclear weapons consist of an inner core where the fission of uranium-235 or plutonium takes place. The fission reaction in the core is able to start a fusion reaction in the next layer, which contains isotopes of hydrogen. It is possible to add a casing of ordinary uranium outside the hydrogen layer, and under the extreme conditions produced by the fusion reaction, this ordinary uranium can undergo fission. In this way, a fission-fusion-fission bomb of almost limitless power can be produced.

For a victim of severe radiation exposure, the symptoms during the first week are nausea, vomiting, fever, apathy, delirium, diarrhoea, oropharyngeal lesions and leukopenia. Death occurs during the first or second week.

We can perhaps be helped to imagine what a nuclear catastrophe means in human terms by reading the words of a young university professor, who was 2,500 meters from the hypocenter at the time of the bombing of Hiroshima: "Everything I saw made a deep impression: a park nearby covered with dead bodies... very badly injured people evacuated



Figure 4.35: A nuclear war would be an ecological disaster, making large portions of the world permanently uninhabitable because of long-lasting radioactivity. Chernobyl radiation map 1996 30km zone by CIA Factbook. Licensed under CC BY-SA 2.5 via Wikimedia Commons.

in my direction... Perhaps most impressive were girls, very young girls, not only with their clothes torn off, but their skin peeled off as well. ... My immediate thought was that this was like the hell I had always read about. ... I had never seen anything which resembled it before, but I thought that should there be a hell, this was it."

One argument that has been used in favor of nuclear weapons is that no sane political leader would employ them. However, the concept of deterrence ignores the possibility of war by accident or miscalculation, a danger that has been increased by nuclear proliferation and by the use of computers with very quick reaction times to control weapons systems.

Recent nuclear power plant accidents remind us that accidents frequently happen through human and technical failure, even for systems which are considered to be very "safe." We must also remember the time scale of the problem. To assure the future of humanity, nuclear catastrophe must be avoided year after year and decade after decade. In the long run, the safety of civilization cannot be achieved except by the abolition of nuclear weapons, and ultimately the abolition of the institution of war.

In 1985, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War received the Nobel



Figure 4.36: **Sculpture depicting Saint George slaying the dragon. The dragon is created from fragments of Soviet SS-20 and United States Pershing nuclear missiles. UN Photo/Milton Grant**

Peace Prize. IPPNW had been founded in 1980 by six physicians, three from the Soviet Union and three from the United States. Today, the organization has wide membership among the world's physicians. Professor Bernard Lowen of the Harvard School of Public Health, one of the founders of IPPNW, said in a recent speech:

“...No public health hazard ever faced by humankind equals the threat of nuclear war. Never before has man possessed the destructive resources to make this planet uninhabitable... Modern medicine has nothing to offer, not even a token benefit, in the event of nuclear war...”

“We are but transient passengers on this planet Earth. It does not belong to us. We are not free to doom generations yet unborn. We are not at liberty to erase humanity's past or dim its future. Social systems do not endure for eternity. Only life can lay claim to uninterrupted continuity. This continuity is sacred.”

The danger of a catastrophic nuclear war casts a dark shadow over the future of our species. It also casts a very black shadow over the future of the global environment. The environmental consequences of a massive exchange of nuclear weapons have been treated in a number of studies by meteorologists and other experts from both East and West. They predict that a large-scale use of nuclear weapons would result in fire storms with very high winds and high temperatures, which would burn a large proportion of the wild land fuels in the affected nations. The resulting smoke and dust would block out sunlight for a period of many months, at first only in the northern hemisphere but later also in the southern hemisphere.

Temperatures in many places would fall far below freezing, and much of the earth's plant life would be killed. Animals and humans would then die of starvation. The nuclear winter effect was first discovered as a result of the Mariner 9 spacecraft exploration of Mars in 1971. The spacecraft arrived in the middle of an enormous dust-storm on Mars, and measured a large temperature drop at the surface of the planet, accompanied by a heating of the upper atmosphere. These measurements allowed scientists to check their

theoretical models for predicting the effect of dust and other pollutants distributed in planetary atmospheres.

Using experience gained from the studies of Mars, R.P. Turco, O.B. Toon, T. Ackerman, J.B. Pollack and C. Sagan made a computer study of the climatic effects of the smoke and dust that would result from a large-scale nuclear war. This early research project is sometimes called the TTAPS Study, after the initials of the authors.

In April 1983, a special meeting was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the results of the TTAPS Study and other independent studies of the nuclear winter effect were discussed by more than 100 experts. Their conclusions were presented at a forum in Washington, D.C., the following December, under the chairmanship of U.S. Senators Kennedy and Hatfield. The numerous independent studies of the nuclear winter effect all agreed of the following main predictions:

High-yield nuclear weapons exploded near the earth's surface would put large amounts of dust into the upper atmosphere. Nuclear weapons exploded over cities, forests, oilfields and refineries would produce fire storms of the type experienced in Dresden and Hamburg after incendiary bombings during the Second World War. The combination of high-altitude dust and lower altitude soot would prevent sunlight from reaching the earth's surface, and the degree of obscuration would be extremely high for a wide range of scenarios.

A baseline scenario used by the TTAPS study assumes a 5,000-megaton nuclear exchange, but the threshold for triggering the nuclear winter effect is believed to be much lower than that. After such an exchange, the screening effect of pollutants in the atmosphere might be so great that, in the northern and middle latitudes, the sunlight reaching the earth would be only 1% of ordinary sunlight on a clear day, and this effect would persist for many months. As a result, the upper layers in the atmosphere might rise in temperature by as much as 100 °C, while the surface temperatures would fall, perhaps by as much as 50 °C.

The temperature inversion produced in this way would lead to superstability, a condition in which the normal mixing of atmospheric layers is suppressed. The hydrological cycle (which normally takes moist air from the oceans to a higher and cooler level, where the moisture condenses as rain) would be strongly suppressed. Severe droughts would thus take place over continental land masses. The normal cleansing action of rain would be absent in the atmosphere, an effect which would prolong the nuclear winter.

In the northern hemisphere, forests would die because of lack of sunlight, extreme cold, and drought. Although the temperature drop in the southern hemisphere would be less severe, it might still be sufficient to kill a large portion of the tropical forests, which normally help to renew the earth's oxygen.

The oxygen content of the atmosphere would then fall dangerously, while the concentration of carbon dioxide and oxides of nitrogen produced by firestorms would remain high. The oxides of nitrogen would ultimately diffuse to the upper atmosphere, where they would destroy the ozone layer.

Thus, even when the sunlight returned after an absence of many months, it would be sunlight containing a large proportion of the ultraviolet frequencies which are normally absorbed by the ozone in the stratosphere, and therefore a type of light dangerous to life.

Finally, after being so severely disturbed, there is no guarantee that the global climate would return to its normal equilibrium.

Even a nuclear war below the threshold of nuclear winter might have climatic effects very damaging to human life. Professor Paul Ehrlich, of Stanford University, has expressed this in the following words:

“...A smaller war, which set off fewer fires and put less dust into the atmosphere, could easily depress temperatures enough to essentially cancel grain production in the northern hemisphere. That in itself would be the greatest catastrophe ever delivered upon Homo Sapiens, just that one thing, not worrying about prompt effects. Thus even below the threshold, one cannot think of survival of a nuclear war as just being able to stand up after the bomb has gone off.”¹⁹

¹⁹<http://www.voanews.com/content/pope-francis-calls-for-nuclear-weapons-ban/2909357.html>
<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrence>
<http://www.countercurrents.org/avery300713.htm>
<https://www.wagingpeace.org/author/john-avery/>
<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/06/70-years-after-bombing-hiroshima-calls-abolish-nuclear-weapons>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42488.htm>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42492.htm>
<http://www.commondreams.org/views/2015/08/06/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-remembering-power>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/07/22/israel-iran-and-the-nuclear-non-proliferation-treaty/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/06/25/militarisms-hostages/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/05/24/the-path-to-zero-dialogues-on-nuclear-dangers-by-richard-falk-and-david-krieger/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/03/30/europe-must-not-be-forced-into-a-nuclear-war-with-russia/>
<http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/32073-the-us-should-eliminate-its-nuclear-arsenal-not-modernize-it>
<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrence>
<http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-6/arms-trade-treaty-opens-new-possibilities-u>
<http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-6/article/remember-your-humanity>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42568.htm>
<https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2014/09/23/nobel-peace-prize-fact-day-syria-7th-country-bombed-obama/>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42577.htm>
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42580.htm>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/06/us-unleashing-of-atomic-weapons-against-civilian-populations-was-a-criminal-act-of-the-first-order/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/06/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-remembering-the-power-of-peace/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/04/atomic-bombing-hear-the-story-setsuko-thurlow/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/04/atomic-bombing-hear-the-story-yasuaki-yamashita/>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/03/why-nuclear-weapons/>

4.18 Dangers of nuclear power generation

The Chernobyl disaster

The dangers of nuclear power generation are exemplified by the Chernobyl disaster: On the 26th of April, 1986, during the small hours of the morning, the staff of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in Ukraine turned off several safety systems in order to perform a test. The result was a core meltdown in Reactor 4, causing a chemical explosion that blew off the reactor's 1,000-ton steel and concrete lid. 190 tons of highly radioactive uranium and graphite were hurled into the atmosphere. The resulting radioactive fallout was 200 times greater than that caused by the nuclear bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The radioactive cloud spread over Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Finland, Sweden and Eastern Europe, exposing the populations of these regions to levels of radiation 100 times the normal background. Ultimately, the radioactive cloud reached as far as Greenland and parts of Asia.

The exact number of casualties resulting from the Chernobyl meltdown is a matter of controversy, but according to a United Nations report, as many as 9 million people have been adversely affected by the disaster. Since 1986, the rate of thyroid cancer in affected areas has increased ten-fold. An area of 155,000 square kilometers (almost half the size of Italy) in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia is still severely contaminated. Even as far away as Wales, hundreds of farms are still under restrictions because of sheep eating radioactive grass.

Public opinion turned against nuclear power generation as a result of the Chernobyl disaster. Had the disaster taken place in Western Europe or North America, its effect on public opinion would have been still greater. Nevertheless, because of the current energy crisis, and because of worries about global warming, a number of people are arguing that nuclear energy should be given a second chance. The counter-argument is that a large increase in the share of nuclear power in the total spectrum of energy production would have little effect on climate change but it would involve unacceptable dangers, not only dangers of accidents and dangers associated with radioactive waste disposal, but above all, dangers of proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Of the two bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, one made use of the rare isotope of uranium, U-235, while the other used plutonium. Both of these materials can be made by a nation with a nuclear power generation program.

Reactors and nuclear weapons

Uranium has atomic number 92, i.e., a neutral uranium atom has a nucleus containing 92 positively-charged protons, around which 92 negatively-charged electrons circle. All of the isotopes of uranium have the same number of protons and electrons, and hence the same chemical properties, but they differ in the number of neutrons in their nuclei. For example, the nucleus of U-235 has 143 neutrons, while that of U-238 has 146. Notice that $92+143=235$, while $92+146=238$. The number written after the name of an element to

specify a particular isotope is the number of neutrons plus the number of protons. This is called the "nucleon number", and the weight of an isotope is roughly proportional to it. This means that U-238 is slightly heavier than U-235. If the two isotopes are to be separated, difficult physical methods dependent on mass must be used, since their chemical properties are identical. In natural uranium, the amount of the rare isotope U-235 is only 0.7 percent.

A paper published in 1939 by Niels Bohr and John A. Wheeler indicated that it was the rare isotope of uranium, U-235, that undergoes fission. A bomb could be constructed, they pointed out, if enough highly enriched U-235 could be isolated from the more common isotope, U-238. Calculations later performed in England by Otto Frisch and Rudolf Peierls showed that the "critical mass" of highly enriched uranium needed is quite small: only a few kilograms.

The Bohr-Wheeler theory also predicted that an isotope of plutonium, Pu-239, should be just as fissionable as U-235²⁰. Instead of trying to separate the rare isotope, U-235, from the common isotope, U-238, physicists could just operate a nuclear reactor until a sufficient amount of Pu-239 accumulated, and then separate it out by ordinary chemical means.

Thus in 1942, when Enrico Fermi and his coworkers at the University of Chicago produced the world's first controlled chain reaction within a pile of cans containing ordinary (nonenriched) uranium powder, separated by blocks of very pure graphite, the chain-reacting pile had a double significance: It represented a new source of energy for mankind, but it also had a sinister meaning. It represented an easy path to nuclear weapons, since one of the by-products of the reaction was a fissionable isotope of plutonium, Pu-239. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 used U-235, while the Nagasaki bomb used Pu-239.

By reprocessing spent nuclear fuel rods, using ordinary chemical means, a nation with a power reactor can obtain weapons-usable Pu-239. Even when such reprocessing is performed under international control, the uncertainty as to the amount of Pu-239 obtained is large enough so that the operation might superficially seem to conform to regulations while still supplying enough Pu-239 to make many bombs.

The enrichment of uranium²¹ is also linked to reactor use. Many reactors of modern design make use of low enriched uranium (LEU) as a fuel. Nations operating such a reactor may claim that they need a program for uranium enrichment in order to produce LEU for fuel rods. However, by operating their ultracentrifuges a little longer, they can easily produce highly enriched uranium (HEU), i.e., uranium containing a high percentage of the rare isotope U-235, and therefore usable in weapons.

Known reserves of uranium are only sufficient for the generation of 8×10^{20} joules of

²⁰Both U-235 and Pu-239 have odd nucleon numbers. When U-235 absorbs a neutron, it becomes U-236, while when Pu-239 absorbs a neutron it becomes Pu-240. In other words, absorption of a neutron converts both these species to nuclei with even nucleon numbers. According to the Bohr-Wheeler theory, nuclei with even nucleon numbers are especially tightly-bound. Thus absorption of a neutron converts U-235 to a highly-excited state of U-236, while Pu-239 is similarly converted to a highly excited state of Pu-240. The excitation energy distorts the nuclei to such an extent that fission becomes possible.

²¹i.e. production of uranium with a higher percentage of U-235 than is found in natural uranium

electrical energy ²², i.e., about 25 TWy. It is sometimes argued that a larger amount of electricity could be obtained from the same amount of uranium through the use of fast breeder reactors, but this would involve totally unacceptable proliferation risks. In fast breeder reactors, the fuel rods consist of highly enriched uranium. Around the core, is an envelope of natural uranium. The flux of fast neutrons from the core is sufficient to convert a part of the U-238 in the envelope into Pu-239, a fissionable isotope of plutonium.

Fast breeder reactors are prohibitively dangerous from the standpoint of nuclear proliferation because both the highly enriched uranium from the fuel rods and the Pu-239 from the envelope are directly weapons-usable. It would be impossible, from the standpoint of equity, to maintain that some nations have the right to use fast breeder reactors, while others do not. If all nations used fast breeder reactors, the number of nuclear weapons states would increase drastically.

It is interesting to review the way in which Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, India and North Korea²³ obtained their nuclear weapons, since in all these cases the weapons were constructed under the guise of “atoms for peace”, a phrase that future generations may someday regard as being tragically self-contradictory.

Israel began producing nuclear weapons in the late 1960's (with the help of a “peaceful” nuclear reactor provided by France, and with the tacit approval of the United States) and the country is now believed to possess 100-150 of them, including neutron bombs. Israel's policy is one of visibly possessing nuclear weapons while denying their existence.

South Africa, with the help of Israel and France, also weaponized its civil nuclear program, and it tested nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean in 1979. In 1991 however, South Africa destroyed its nuclear weapons and signed the NPT.

India produced what it described as a “peaceful nuclear explosion” in 1974. By 1989 Indian scientists were making efforts to purify the lithium-6 isotope, a key component of the much more powerful thermonuclear bombs. In 1998, India conducted underground tests of nuclear weapons, and is now believed to have roughly 60 warheads, constructed from Pu-239 produced in “peaceful” reactors.

Pakistan's efforts to obtain nuclear weapons were spurred by India's 1974 “peaceful nuclear explosion”. As early as 1970, the laboratory of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, (a metallurgist who was to become Pakistan's leading nuclear bomb maker) had been able to obtain from a Dutch firm the high-speed ultracentrifuges needed for uranium enrichment. With unlimited financial support and freedom from auditing requirements, Dr. Khan purchased restricted items needed for nuclear weapon construction from companies in Europe and the United States. In the process, Dr. Khan became an extremely wealthy man. With additional help from China, Pakistan was ready to test five nuclear weapons in 1998. The Indian and Pakistani nuclear bomb tests, conducted in rapid succession, presented the world with the danger that these devastating weapons would be used in the conflict over Kashmir. Indeed, Pakistan announced that if a war broke out using conventional weapons,

²²Craig, J.R., Vaughn, D.J. and Skinner, B.J., *Resources of the Earth: Origin, Use and Environmental Impact, Third Edition*, page 210.

²³Israel, India and Pakistan have refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and North Korea, after signing the NPT, withdrew from it in 2003.

Pakistan's nuclear weapons would be used "at an early stage".

In Pakistan, Dr. A.Q. Khan became a great national hero. He was presented as the person who had saved Pakistan from attack by India by creating Pakistan's own nuclear weapons. In a Washington Post article²⁴ Pervez Hoodbhoy wrote: "Nuclear nationalism was the order of the day as governments vigorously promoted the bomb as the symbol of Pakistan's high scientific achievement and self-respect..." Similar manifestations of nuclear nationalism could also be seen in India after India's 1998 bomb tests.

Early in 2004, it was revealed that Dr. Khan had for years been selling nuclear secrets and equipment to Libya, Iran and North Korea, and that he had contacts with Al-Qaeda. However, observers considered that it was unlikely that Khan would be tried, since a trial might implicate Pakistan's army as well as two of its former prime ministers.

Recent assassination attempts directed at Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, emphasize the precariousness of Pakistan's government. There is a danger that it may be overthrown, and that the revolutionists would give Pakistan's nuclear weapons to a subnational organization. This type of danger is a general one associated with nuclear proliferation. As more and more countries obtain nuclear weapons, it becomes increasingly likely that one of them will undergo a revolution, during the course of which nuclear weapons will fall into the hands of criminals or terrorists.

If nuclear reactors become the standard means for electricity generation as the result of a future energy crisis, the number of nations possessing nuclear weapons might ultimately be as high as 40. If this should happen, then over a long period of time the chance that one or another of these nations would undergo a revolution during which the weapons would fall into the hands of a subnational group would gradually grow into a certainty.

There is also a possibility that poorly-guarded fissionable material could fall into the hands of subnational groups, who would then succeed in constructing their own nuclear weapons. Given a critical mass of highly-enriched uranium, a terrorist group, or an organized criminal (Mafia) group, could easily construct a crude gun-type nuclear explosive device. Pu-239 is more difficult to use since it is highly radioactive, but the physicist Frank Barnaby believes that a subnational group could nevertheless construct a crude nuclear bomb (of the Nagasaki type) from this material.

We must remember the remark of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan after the 9/11/2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. He said, "*This time* it was not a nuclear explosion". The meaning of his remark is clear: If the world does not take strong steps to eliminate fissionable materials and nuclear weapons, it will only be a matter of time before they will be used in terrorist attacks on major cities, or by organized criminals for the purpose of extortion. Neither terrorists nor organized criminals can be deterred by the threat of nuclear retaliation, since they have no territory against which such retaliation could be directed. They blend invisibly into the general population. Nor can a "missile defense system" prevent criminals or terrorists from using nuclear weapons, since the weapons can be brought into a port in any one of the hundreds of thousands of containers that enter on ships each year, a number far too large to be checked exhaustively.

²⁴1 February, 2004

Finally we must remember that if the number of nations possessing nuclear weapons becomes very large, there will be a greatly increased chance that these weapons will be used in conflicts between nations, either by accident or through irresponsible political decisions.

On November 3, 2003, Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, made a speech to the United Nations in which he called for “limiting the processing of weapons-usable material (separated plutonium and high enriched uranium) in civilian nuclear programs - as well as the production of new material through reprocessing and enrichment - by agreeing to restrict these operations to facilities exclusively under international control.” It is almost incredible, considering the dangers of nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, that such restrictions were not imposed long ago.

From the facts that we have been reviewing, we can conclude that if nuclear power generation becomes widespread during a future energy crisis, and if equally widespread proliferation of nuclear weapons is to be avoided, the powers and budget of the IAEA will have to be greatly increased. All enrichment of uranium and Reprocessing fuel rods throughout the world will have to be placed be under direct international control, as has been emphasized by Mohamed ElBaradei. Because this will need to be done with fairness, such regulations will have to hold both in countries that at present have nuclear weapons and in countries that do not. It has been proposed that there should be an international fuel rod bank, to supply new fuel rods and reprocess spent ones. In addition to this excellent proposal, one might also consider a system where all power generation reactors and all research reactors would be staffed by the IAEA.

Nuclear reactors used for “peaceful” purposes unfortunately also generate fissionable isotopes of not only of plutonium, but also of neptunium and americium. Thus all nuclear reactors must be regarded as ambiguous in function, and all must be put under strict international control. One must ask whether globally widespread use of nuclear energy is worth the danger that it entails.

Let us now examine the question of whether nuclear power generation would appreciably help to prevent global warming. The fraction of nuclear power in the present energy generation spectrum is at present approximately 1/16. Nuclear energy is used primarily for electricity generation. Thus increasing the nuclear fraction would not affect the consumption of fossil fuels used directly in industry, transportation, in commerce, and in the residential sector. Coal is still a very inexpensive fuel, and an increase in nuclear power generation would do little to prevent it from being burned. Thus besides being prohibitively dangerous, and besides being unsustainable in the long run (because of finite stocks of uranium and thorium), the large-scale use of nuclear power cannot be considered to be a solution to the problem of anthropogenic climate change.

Optimists point to the possibility of using fusion of light elements, such as hydrogen, to generate power. However, although this can be done on a very small scale (and at great expense) in laboratory experiments, the practical generation of energy by means of thermonuclear reactions remains a mirage rather than a realistic prospect on which planners can rely. The reason for this is the enormous temperature required to produce thermonuclear reactions. This temperature is comparable to that existing in the interior of

the sun, and it is sufficient to melt any ordinary container. Elaborate “magnetic bottles” have been constructed to contain thermonuclear reactions, and these have been used in successful very small scale experiments. However, despite 50 years of heavily-financed research, there has been absolutely no success in producing thermonuclear energy on a large scale, or at anything remotely approaching commercially competitive prices.

Nuclear weapons are criminal! Every war is a crime!

War was always madness, always immoral, always the cause of unspeakable suffering, economic waste and widespread destruction, and always a source of poverty, hate, barbarism and endless cycles of revenge and counter-revenge. It has always been a crime for soldiers to kill people, just as it is a crime for murderers in civil society to kill people. No flag has ever been wide enough to cover up atrocities.

But today, the development of all-destroying modern weapons has put war completely beyond the bounds of sanity and elementary humanity.

Can we not rid ourselves of both nuclear weapons and the institution of war itself? We must act quickly and resolutely before everything that we love in our beautiful world is reduced to radioactive ashes.

4.19 Militarism is the US national religion

Here are some quotations from an article by William Astore entitled *Military Might Is Our National Religion*²⁵. He lists the following facts to support his thesis:

- **We believe in wars.** We may no longer believe in formal declarations of war (not since December 1941 has Congress made one in our name), but that sure hasn’t stopped us from waging them. From Korea to Vietnam, Afghanistan to Iraq, the Cold War to the War on Terror, and so many military interventions in between, including Grenada, Panama, and Somalia, Americans are always fighting somewhere as if we saw great utility in thumbing our noses at the Prince of Peace. (That’s Jesus Christ, if I remember my Catholic catechism correctly.)
- **We believe in weaponry, the more expensive the better.** The underperforming F-35 stealth fighter may cost \$1.45 trillion over its lifetime. An updated nuclear triad (land-based missiles, nuclear submarines, and strategic bombers) may cost that already mentioned \$1.7 trillion. New (and malfunctioning) aircraft carriers cost us more than \$10 billion each. And all such weaponry requests get funded, with few questions asked, despite a history of their redundancy, ridiculously high price, regular cost overruns, and mediocre performance. Meanwhile, Americans squabble bitterly over a few hundred million dollars for the arts and humanities.

²⁵Truthout, August 13, 2019

- We believe in weapons of mass destruction. We believe in them so strongly that we're jealous of anyone nibbling at our near monopoly. As a result, we work overtime to ensure that "infidels" and atheists (that is, the Iranians and North Koreans, among others) don't get them. In historical terms, no country has devoted more research or money to deadly nuclear, biological, and chemical weaponry than the United States. In that sense, we've truly put our money where our mouths are (and where a devastating future might be).
- We believe with missionary zeal in our military and seek to establish our "faith" everywhere. Hence, our global network of perhaps 800 overseas military bases. We don't hesitate to deploy our elite missionaries, our equivalent to the Jesuits, the Special Operations forces to more than 130 countries annually. Similarly, the foundation for what we like to call foreign assistance is often military training and foreign military sales. Our present supreme leader, Pope Trump I, boasts of military sales across the globe, most notably to the "infidel" Saudis. Even when Congress makes what, until recently, was the rarest of attempts to rein in this deadly trade in arms, Pope Trump vetoes it. His rationale: weapons and profits should rule all.
- We believe in our college of cardinals, otherwise known as America's generals and admirals. We sometimes appoint them (or anoint them?) to the highest positions in the land. While Trump's generals - Michael Flynn, James Mattis, H.R. McMaster, and John Kelly - have fallen from grace at the White House, America's generals and admirals continue to rule globally. They inhabit proconsul-like positions in sweeping geographical commands that (at least theoretically) cover the planet and similarly lead commands aimed at dominating the digital-computer realm and special operations. One of them will head a new force meant to dominate space through time eternal. A "strategic" command (the successor to the Strategic Air Command, or SAC, so memorably satirized in Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove*) continues to ensure that, at some future moment, the U.S. will be able to commit mass genocide by quite literally destroying the world with nuclear weapons. Indeed, Pope Trump recently boasted that he could end America's Afghan War in a week, apparently through the mass nuclear genocide of (his figure) 10 million Afghans. Even as he then blandly dismissed the idea of wiping that country "off the face of the earth," he openly reflected the more private megalomania of those military professionals funded by the rest of us to think about "the unthinkable". In sum, everything is - theoretically at least - under the thumbs of our unelected college of cardinals. Their overblown term for it is "full-spectrum dominance," which, in translation, means they grant

themselves god-like powers over our lives and that of our planet (though the largely undefeated enemies in their various wars don't seem to have acknowledged this reality).

- We believe that freedom comes through obedience. Those who break ranks from our militarized church and protest, like Chelsea Manning, are treated as heretics and literally tortured.
- We believe military spending brings wealth and jobs galore, even when it measurably doesn't. Military production is both increasingly automated and increasingly outsourced, leading to far fewer good-paying American jobs compared to spending on education, infrastructure repairs and improvements in roads, bridges, levees, and the like, or just about anything else for that matter.
- We believe, and our most senior leaders profess to believe, that our military represents the very best of us, that we have the "finest" one in human history.
- We believe in planning for a future marked by endless wars, whether against terrorism or "godless" states like China and Russia, which means our military church must be forever strengthened in the cause of winning ultimate victory.



Figure 4.37: The peoples of the world must revolt against the endless wars of their governments. All-destroying modern weapons have made the institution of war prohibitively dangerous.

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Chapter 5

RESOURCE WARS

5.1 Adam Smith's invisible hand is at our throats

As everyone knows, Adam Smith invented the theory that individual self-interest is, and ought to be, the main motivating force of human economic activity, and that this, in effect, serves the wider social interest. He put forward a detailed description of this concept in an immense book, “The Wealth of Nations” (1776).

Adam Smith (1723-1790) had been Professor of Logic at the University of Glasgow, but in 1764 he withdrew from his position at the university to become the tutor of the young Duke of Buccleuch. In those days a Grand Tour of Europe was considered to be an important part of the education of a young nobleman, and Smith accompanied Buccleuch to the Continent. To while away the occasional dull intervals of the tour, Adam Smith began to write an enormous book on economics which he finally completed twelve years later. He began his “Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations” by praising division of labor. As an example of its benefits, he cited a pin factory, where ten men, each a specialist in his own set of operations, could produce 48,000 pins in a day. In the most complex civilizations, Smith stated, division of labor has the greatest utility.

The second factor in prosperity, Adam Smith maintained, is a competitive market, free from monopolies and entirely free from governmental interference. In such a system, he tells us, the natural forces of competition are able to organize even the most complex economic operations, and are able also to maximize productivity. He expressed this idea in the following words:

“As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can, both to employ his capital in support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of greatest value, each individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the Society as great as he can.”

“He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of greatest value, he intends only his own gain; and he is in this, as in

many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end that was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for Society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest, he frequently promotes that of Society more effectively than when he really intends to promote it.”

In other words, Smith maintained that self-interest (even greed) is a sufficient guide to human economic actions. The passage of time has shown that he was right in many respects. The free market, which he advocated, has turned out to be the optimum prescription for economic growth. However, history has also shown that there is something horribly wrong or incomplete about the idea that individual self-interest alone, uninfluenced by ethical and ecological considerations, and totally free from governmental intervention, can be the main motivating force of a happy and just society. There has also proved to be something terribly wrong with the concept of unlimited economic growth. Here is what actually happened:

In pre-industrial Europe, peasant farmers held a low but nevertheless secure position, protected by a web of traditional rights and duties. Their low dirt-floored and thatched cottages were humble but safe refuges. If a peasant owned a cow, it could be pastured on common land.

With the invention of the steam engine and the introduction of spinning and weaving machines towards the end of the 18th Century, the pattern changed, at first in England, and afterwards in other European countries. Land-owners in Scotland and Northern England realized that sheep were more profitable to have on the land than “crofters” (i.e., small tenant farmers), and families that had farmed land for generations were violently driven from their homes with almost no warning. The cottages were afterwards burned to prevent the return of their owners.

The following account of the Highland Clearances has been left by Donald McLeod, a crofter in the district of Sutherland: “The consternation and confusion were extreme. Little or no time was given for the removal of persons or property; the people striving to remove the sick or helpless before the fire should reach them; next struggling to save the most valuable of their effects. The cries of the women and children; the roaring of the affrighted cattle, hunted at the same time by the yelling dogs of the shepherds amid the smoke and fire, altogether presented a scene that completely baffles description - it required to be seen to be believed... The conflagration lasted for six days, until the whole of the dwellings were reduced to ashes and smoking ruins.”

Between 1750 and 1860, the English Parliament passed a large number of “Enclosure Acts”, abolishing the rights of small farmers to pasture their animals on common land that was not under cultivation. The fabric of traditional rights and duties that once had protected the lives of small tenant farmers was torn to pieces. Driven from the land, poor families flocked to the towns and cities, hoping for employment in the textile mills that seemed to be springing up everywhere.

According to the new rules by which industrial society began to be governed, traditions were forgotten and replaced by purely economic laws. Labor was viewed as a commodity, like coal or grain, and wages were paid according to the laws of supply and demand, without regard for the needs of the workers. Wages fell to starvation levels, hours of work increased,



Figure 5.1: A watercolor painting by Vincent van Gogh showing wives of Belgian miners carrying bags of coal.



Figure 5.2: London during the industrial revolution

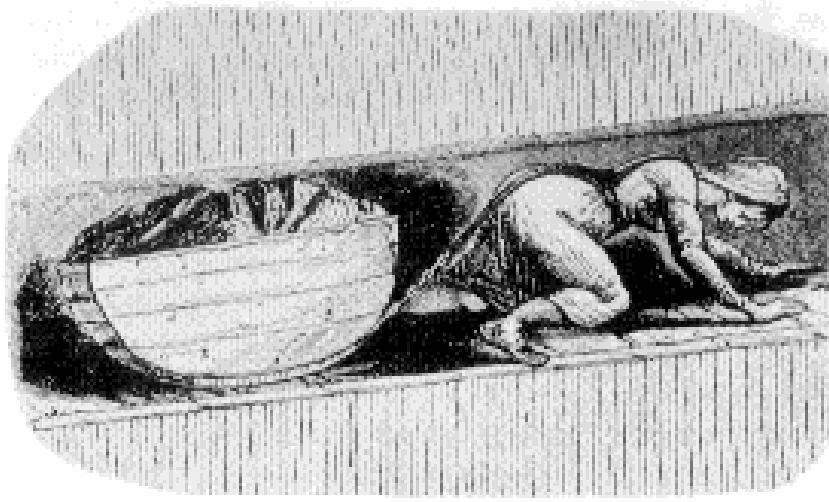


Figure 5.3: **A girl pulling a coaltub through the narrow space left by removal of coal from a seam.**

and working conditions deteriorated.

John Fielden's book, "The Curse of the Factory System" was written in 1836, and it describes the condition of young children working in the cotton mills. "The small nimble fingers of children being by far the most in request, the custom instantly sprang up of procuring 'apprentices' from the different parish workhouses of London, Birmingham and elsewhere... Overseers were appointed to see to the works, whose interest it was to work the children to the utmost, because their pay was in proportion to the quantity of pay that they could exact."

"Cruelty was, of course, the consequence; and there is abundant evidence on record to show that in many of the manufacturing districts, the most heart-rending cruelties were practiced on the unoffending and friendless creatures... that they were flogged, fettered and tortured in the most exquisite refinements of cruelty, that they were in many cases starved to the bone while flogged to their work, and that they were even in some instances driven to commit suicide... The profits of manufacture were enormous, but this only whetted the appetite that it should have satisfied."

Dr. Peter Gaskell, writing in 1833, described the condition of the English mill workers as follows: "The vast deterioration in personal form which has been brought about in the manufacturing population during the last thirty years... is singularly impressive, and fills the mind with contemplations of a very painful character... Their complexion is sallow and pallid, with a peculiar flatness of feature caused by the want of a proper quantity of adipose substance to cushion out the cheeks. Their stature is low - the average height of men being five feet, six inches... Great numbers of the girls and women walk lamely or awkwardly... Many of the men have but little beard, and that in patches of a few hairs... (They have) a spiritless and dejected air, a sprawling and wide action of the legs..."

"Rising at or before daybreak, between four and five o'clock the year round, they



Figure 5.4: **Child laborers during the early Industrial Revolution**

swallow a hasty meal or hurry to the mill without taking any food whatever... At twelve o'clock the engine stops, and an hour is given for dinner... Again they are closely immured from one o'clock till eight or nine, with the exception of twenty minutes, this being allowed for tea. During the whole of this long period, they are actively and unremittingly engaged in a crowded room at an elevated temperature."

Dr. Gaskell described the housing of the workers as follows: "One of the circumstances in which they are especially defective is that of drainage and water-closets. Whole ranges of these houses are either totally undrained, or very partially... The whole of the washings and filth from these consequently are thrown into the front or back street, which, often being unpaved and cut into deep ruts, allows them to collect into stinking and stagnant pools; while fifty, or even more than that number, having only a single convenience common

to them all, it is in a very short time choked with excrementous matter. No alternative is left to the inhabitants but adding this to the already defiled street.”

“It frequently happens that one tenement is held by several families... The demoralizing effects of this utter absence of domestic privacy must be seen before they can be thoroughly appreciated. By laying bare all the wants and actions of the sexes, it strips them of outward regard for decency - modesty is annihilated - the father and the mother, the brother and the sister, the male and female lodger, do not scruple to commit acts in front of each other which even the savage keeps hid from his fellows.”

The landowners of Scotland were unquestionably following self-interest as they burned the cottages of their crofters; and self-interest motivated overseers as they whipped half-starved child workers in England’s mills. Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” no doubt guided their actions in such a way as to maximize production. But whether a happy and just society was created in this way is questionable. Certainly it was a society with large areas of unhappiness and injustice. Self-interest alone was not enough. A society following purely economic laws - a society where selfishness is exalted as the mainspring for action - lacks both the ethical and ecological dimensions needed for social justice, widespread happiness, and sustainability.

5.2 Our greed-based economic system today

Today our greed-based, war addicted, and growth-obsessed economic system poses even greater threats than it did during the early phases of the Industrial Revolution. Today it threatens to destroy human civilization and much of the biosphere.

According to a recently-published study by Oxfam, just 1 percent of the world’s population controls nearly half of the planet’s wealth. The study says that this tiny slice of humanity controls 110 trillion US dollars, or 65 times the total wealth of the poorest 3.5 billion people. The world’s 85 richest people own as much as the poorest 50 percent of humanity. 70 percent of the world’s people live in a country where income inequality has increased in the past three decades.

This shocking disparity in wealth has led to the decay of democracy in many countries, because the very rich have used their money to control governments, and also to control the mass media and hence to control public opinion. The actions of many governments today tend not to reflect what is good for the people (or more crucially, what is good for the future of our planet), but rather what is good for special interest groups, for example, the fossil fuel industry and the military-industrial complex.

Today the world spends roughly 1,700,000,000,000 US dollars on armaments, almost 2 trillion. This vast river of money, almost too great to be imagined, flows into the pockets of arms manufacturers, and is used by them to control governments, which in turn vote for bloated military budgets and aggressive foreign policies which provoke the endless crises and conflicts that are necessary to justify the diversion of such vast sums of money from urgently-needed social goals into the bottomless pit of war.

The reelection of the slave-like politicians is ensured by the huge sums made available



Figure 5.5: **An oxymoron: The vultures of greed never protect the dove of peace.**

for their campaigns by the military-industrial complex. This pernicious circular flow of money, driving endless crises, has sometimes been called “The Devil’s Dynamo”. Thus the world is continually driven to the brink of thermonuclear war by highly dangerous interventions such as the recent ones in North Africa, the Middle East, Ukraine, South and Central America, and the Korean Peninsula.

It is doubtful that any of the political or military figures involved with this arrogant risking of human lives and the human future have any imaginative idea of what a thermonuclear war would be like. In fact it would be an ecological catastrophe of huge proportions, making large areas of the world permanently uninhabitable through long-lived radioactive contamination. The damage to global agriculture would be so great as to produce famine leading to a billion or more deaths from starvation. All the nations of the earth would suffer, neutrals as well as belligerents.

Besides supporting the appalling war machine, our bought-and-paid-for politicians also fail to take the actions that would be needed to prevent the worst effects of climate change. The owners of the fossil fuel industries have even mounted advertising campaigns to convince the public that the threat of anthropogenic climate change is not real. Sadly, the threat of catastrophic climate change is all too real, as 99 percent the world’s climate scientists have warned.

The world has recently passed a dangerous landmark in atmospheric CO₂ concentration, 400 ppm. The last time that the earth experienced such high concentrations of this

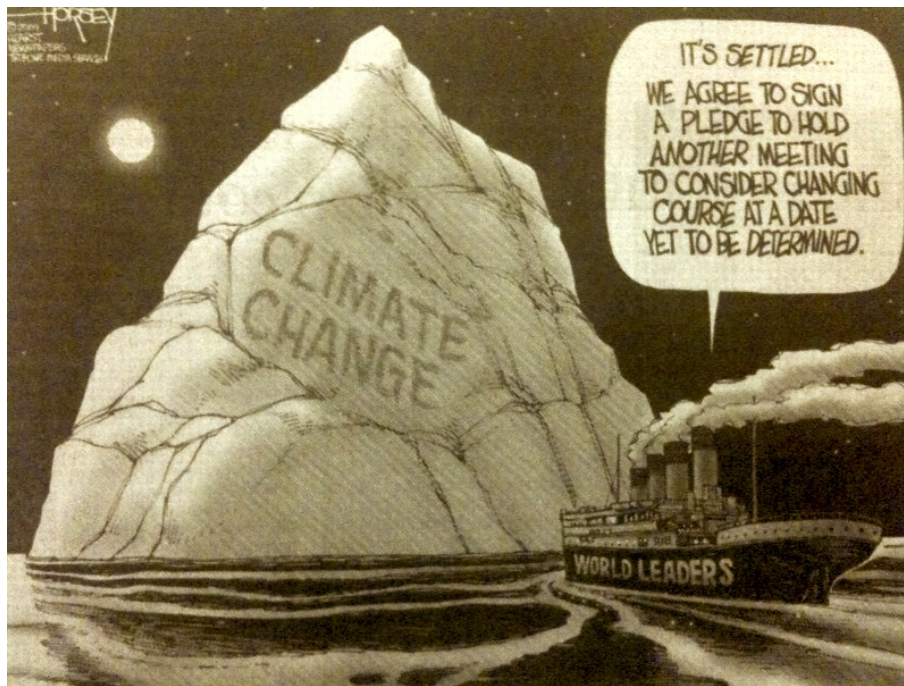


Figure 5.6: The ship in the cartoon is drawn so as to resemble the Titanic.

greenhouse gas were several million years ago. At that time the Arctic was free from ice, and sea levels were 40 meters higher than they are today. Global warming is a slow and long-term effect, so such high sea levels will be slow in arriving, but ultimately we must expect that coastal cities and much of the world's low-lying land will be under water. We must also expect many tropical regions of the world to become uninhabitable because of high temperatures. Finally there is a threat of famine because agriculture will be hit by high temperatures and aridity.

There are several very dangerous feedback loops that may cause the earth's temperatures to rise much faster than has been predicted by the International Panel on Climate Change. By far the most dangerous of these comes from the melting of methane hydrate crystals that are currently trapped in frozen tundra and on the floor of seabeds.

At high pressures, methane combines with water to form crystals called hydrates or clathrates. These crystals are stable at the temperatures currently existing on ocean floors, but whenever the water temperature rises sufficiently, the crystals become unstable and methane gas bubbles to the surface. This effect has already been observed in the Arctic seas north of Russia. The total amount of methane clathrates on ocean floors is not precisely known, but it is estimated to be very large indeed, corresponding to between 3,000 and 11,000 gigatons of carbon. The release of even a small fraction of this amount of methane into our atmosphere would greatly accelerate rising temperatures, leading to the release of still more methane, in a highly dangerous feedback loop. We must at all costs avoid global temperatures which will cause this feedback loop to trigger in earnest.

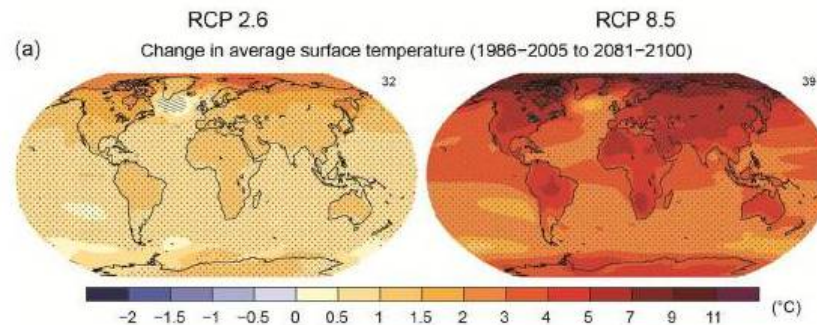


Figure 5.7: Temperature changes will be greatest in the polar regions. Far greater changes in global temperatures are to be expected in the 22nd and 23rd centuries and in subsequent centuries, because the thermal inertia of the oceans makes climate change a very slow and long-term effect.

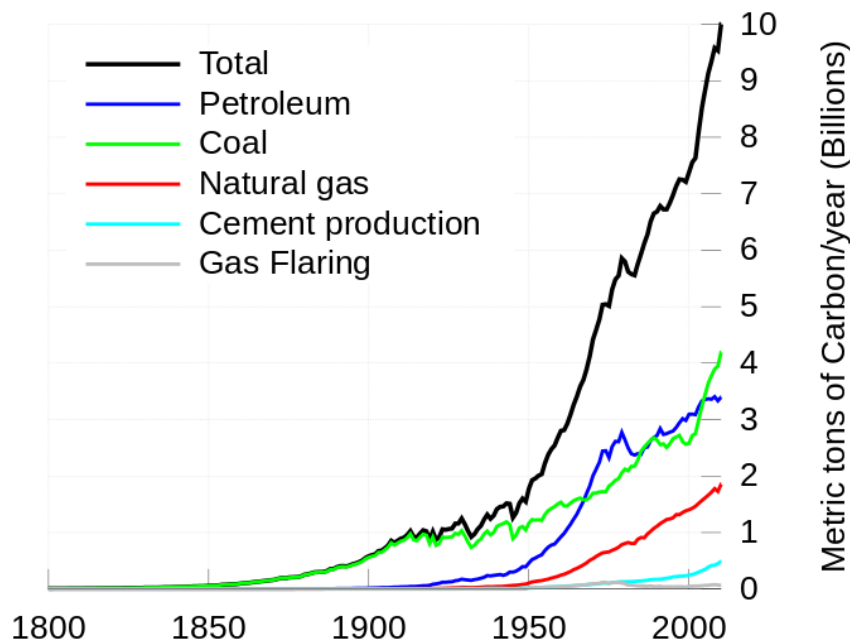


Figure 5.8: The isotope ratios in ice cores from the Greenland ice sheet allow us to see the close correlation between atmospheric CO₂ concentration and temperatures over a very long period of time. Thus regardless of questions of cause and effect, we can expect rising concentrations of CO₂ to be accompanied by rising temperatures. As we can see from the graphs, the rate of increase in carbon emissions has shown no sign of slowing in recent years.

5.3 Human motivations were not always so selfish

For the reasons mentioned above, we can see that an economic system where selfishness and greed are exalted as the mainspring for human actions lacks both a social conscience and an ecological conscience. Both these dimensions are needed for the long-term survival of human civilization and the biosphere.

We must remember, however, that the worship of the free market and the exaltation of selfishness are relatively recent developments in human history. During most of their million-year history, humans lived in small groups, not in great cities or nations, and sharing was part of their lifestyle. Perhaps that lifestyle is the one to which we should return if we wish the human future to stretch out for another million years.

5.4 Neocolonialism

In his book, “Neocolonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism” (Thomas Nielsen, London, 1965), Kwamai Nkrumah defined neocolonialism with the following words: “The essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent, and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from the outside. The methods and form of this direction can take various shapes. For example, in an extreme case, the troops of the imperial power may garrison the territory of the neocolonial State and control the government of it. More often, however, neocolonial control is exercised through monetary means...”

“The struggle against neocolonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries from being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed.”

5.5 The resource curse

The way in which the industrialized countries maintain their control over less developed nations can be illustrated by the “resource curse”, i.e. the fact that resource-rich developing countries are no better off economically than those that lack resources, but are cursed with corrupt and undemocratic governments. This is because foreign corporations extracting local resources under unfair agreements exist in a symbiotic relationship with corrupt local officials.

One might think that taxation of foreign resource-extracting firms would provide developing countries with large incomes. However, there is at present no international law governing multinational tax arrangements. These are usually agreed to on a bilateral basis, and the industrialized countries have stronger bargaining powers in arranging the bilateral agreements.

5.6 Confessions of an economic hit-man

1

A book by John Perkins, “Confessions of an Economic Hit-Man”, can give us an idea of the way in which our economic system operates to further enrich wealthy nations and impoverish poor ones. Here are some excerpts:

“Economic hit men (EHMs) are highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other foreign ‘aid’ organizations into the coffers of huge corporations and the pockets of a few wealthy families who control the planet’s natural resources.”

“Their tools included fraudulent financial reports, rigged elections, payoffs, extortion, sex, and murder. They play a game as old as empire, but one that has taken on new and terrifying dimensions during this time of globalization. I was initially recruited while I was in business school back in the late sixties by the National Security Agency, the nation’s largest and least understood spy organization; but ultimately I worked for private corporations.”

“The first real economic hit man was back in the early 1950s, Kermit Roosevelt, Jr., the grandson of Teddy, who overthrew the government of Iran, a democratically elected government, Mossadegh’s government, who was Time magazine’s person of the year; and he was so successful at doing this without any bloodshed, well, there was a little bloodshed, but no military intervention, just spending millions of dollars and replaced Mossadegh with the Shah of Iran.”

“At that point understood that this idea of economic hit man was an extremely good one. We didn’t have to worry about the threat of war with Russia when we did it this way. The problem with that was that Roosevelt was a C.I.A. agent. He was a government employee. Had he been caught, we would have been in a lot of trouble. It would have been very embarrassing. So, at that point, the decision was made to use organizations like the C.I.A. and the N.S.A. to recruit potential economic hit men like me and then send us to work for private consulting companies, engineering firms, construction companies, so that if we were caught, there would be no connection with the government.”

¹<http://techrig.blogspot.dk/2013/11/confessions-of-economic-hit-man.html>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yTbdnNgqfs8>
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corporatocracy>



5.7 Debt slavery

At the moment, the issue of debt slavery is in the news because of the predicament of Greece and the intended fate of Ukraine, but the problem is a very general one.

If any quantity, for example indebtedness, is growing at the rate of 7% per year, the doubling time is only 9.9 years. At higher rates of interest, the doubling time is still less. If a debt remains unpaid for so long that it more than doubles, most of the repayments will go for interest, rather than for reducing the amount of the debt.

In the case of the debts of third world countries to private banks in the industrialized parts of the world and to the IMF, many of the debts were incurred in the 1970's for purposes which were of no benefit to local populations, for example purchase of military hardware. Today the debts remain, although the amount paid over the years by the developing countries is very many times the amount originally borrowed.

Third world debt can be regarded as a means by which the industrialized nations extract raw materials from developing countries without any repayment whatever. In fact, besides extracting raw materials, they extract money. The injustice of this arrangement was emphasized recently by Pope Francis in his wonderful encyclical *Laudato Si'*.²

Dr. Michael Klare holds the post of Five Colleges Professor of Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College, Amherst College, Smith College, Mount Holyoke College, and the University of Massachusetts Amherst. He has written 16 books exploring the relationship between natural resources and war.³

Like Naomi Klein, Prof. Klare believes that the peace movement and the climate movement ought to join forces.⁴

5.8 Blood for oil

There is a close relationship between petroleum and war. James A. Paul, Executive Director of the Global Policy Forum, has described this relationship very clearly in the following words:

“Modern warfare particularly depends on oil, because virtually all weapons systems rely on oil-based fuel - tanks, trucks, armored vehicles, self-propelled artillery pieces, airplanes, and naval ships. For this reason, the governments and general staffs of powerful nations seek to ensure a steady supply of oil during wartime, to fuel oil-hungry military forces in far-flung operational theaters.”

²<http://dissidentvoice.org/2015/07/a-revolutionary-pope-calls-for-rethinking-the-outdated-criteria-that-rule-the-world/>

<http://www.globalissues.org/issue/28/third-world-debt-undermines-development>

³<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PCXgnbTdhNo>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-cdHIGFrF0>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LIdlm4ywAlc>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PCXgnbTdhNo>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-cdHIGFrF0>

⁴<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LIdlm4ywAlc>

“Just as governments like the US and UK need oil companies to secure fuel for their global war-making capacity, so the oil companies need their governments to secure control over global oilfields and transportation routes. It is no accident, then, that the world’s largest oil companies are located in the world’s most powerful countries.”

“Almost all of the world’s oil-producing countries have suffered abusive, corrupt and undemocratic governments and an absence of durable development. Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq, Iran, Angola, Colombia, Venezuela, Kuwait, Mexico, Algeria - these and many other oil producers have a sad record, which includes dictatorships installed from abroad, bloody coups engineered by foreign intelligence services, militarization of government and intolerant right-wing nationalism.”

Iraq, in particular, has been the scene of a number of wars motivated by the West’s thirst for oil. During World War I, 1914-1918, the British captured the area (then known as Mesopotamia) from the Ottoman Empire after four years of bloody fighting. Although Lord Curzon denied that the British conquest of Mesopotamia was motivated by oil, there is ample evidence that British policy was indeed motivated by a desire for control of the region’s petroleum. For example, Curzon’s Cabinet colleague Sir Maurice Hankey stated in a private letter that oil was “a first-class war aim”. Furthermore, British forces continued to fight after the signing of the Mudros Armistice. In this way, they seized Mosul, the capital of a major oil-producing region, thus frustrating the plans of the French, who had been promised the area earlier in the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement.

Lord Curzon was well aware of the military importance of oil, and following the end of the First World War he remarked: “The Allied cause has floated to victory on a wave of oil”.

During the period between 1918 and 1930, fierce Iraqi resistance to the occupation was crushed by the British, who used poison gas, airplanes, incendiary bombs, and mobile armored cars, together with forces drawn from the Indian Army. Winston Churchill, who was Colonial Secretary at the time, regarded the conflict in Iraq as an important test of modern military-colonial methods.

In 1932, Britain granted nominal independence to Iraq, but kept large military forces in the country and maintained control of it through indirect methods. In 1941, however, it seemed likely that Germany might try to capture the Iraqi oilfields, and therefore the British again seized direct political power in Iraq by means of military force. It was not only Germany that Britain feared, but also US attempts to gain access to Iraqi oil.

The British fear of US interest in Iraqi oil was soon confirmed by events. In 1963 the US secretly backed a military coup in Iraq that brought Saddam Hussein’s Ba’ath Party to power. In 1979 the western-backed Shah of Iran was overthrown, and the United States regarded the fundamentalist Shi’ite regime that replaced him as a threat to supplies of oil from Saudi Arabia. Washington saw Saddam’s Iraq as a bulwark against the militant Shi’ite extremism of Iran that was threatening oil supplies from pro-American states such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

In 1980, encouraged to do so by the fact that Iran had lost its US backing, Saddam Hussein’s government attacked Iran. This was the start of a extremely bloody and destructive war that lasted for eight years, inflicting almost a million casualties on the two



nations. Iraq used both mustard gas and the nerve gases Tabun and Sarin against Iran, in violation of the Geneva Protocol.

Both the United States and Britain helped Saddam Hussein's government to obtain chemical weapons. A chemical plant, called Falluja 2, was built by Britain in 1985, and this plant was used to produce mustard gas and nerve gas. Also, according to the Riegel Report to the US Senate, May 25, (1994), the Reagan Administration turned a blind eye to the export of chemical weapon precursors to Iraq, as well as anthrax and plague cultures that could be used as the basis for biological weapons. According to the Riegel Report, "records available from the supplier for the period 1985 until the present show that during this time, pathogenic (meaning disease producing) and toxigenic (meaning poisonous), and other biological research materials were exported to Iraq pursuant to application and licensing by the US Department of Commerce."

In 1984, Donald Rumsfeld, Reagan's newly appointed Middle East Envoy, visited Saddam Hussein to assure him of America's continuing friendship, despite Iraqi use of poison gas. When (in 1988) Hussein went so far as to use poison gas against civilian citizens of his own country in the Kurdish village of Halabja, the United States worked to prevent international condemnation of the act. Indeed US support for Saddam was so unconditional that he obtained the false impression that he had a free hand to do whatever he liked in the region.

On July 25, 1990, US Ambassador April Glaspie met with Saddam Hussein to discuss oil prices and how to improve US-Iraq relations. According to the transcript of the meeting, Ms Glaspie assured Saddam that the US "had no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." She then left on vacation. Mistaking this conversation for a green light, Saddam invaded Kuwait eight days later.

By invading Kuwait, Hussein severely worried western oil companies and governments, since Saudi Arabia might be next in line. As George Bush senior said in 1990, at the time of the Gulf War, "Our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would all suffer if control of the world's great oil reserves fell into the hands of Saddam Hussein."

On August 6, 1990, the UN Security Council imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq with the aim of forcing Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Meanwhile, US

Secretary of State James A. Baker III used arm-twisting methods in the Security Council to line up votes for UN military action against Iraq. In Baker's own words, he undertook the process of "cajoling, extracting, threatening and occasionally buying votes".

On November 29, 1990, the Council passed Resolution 678, authorizing the use of "all necessary means" (by implication also military means) to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. There was nothing at all wrong with this, since the Security Council had been set up by the UN Charter to prevent states from invading their neighbors. However, one can ask whether the response to Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait would have been so wholehearted if oil had not been involved.

There is much that can be criticized in the way that the Gulf War of 1990-1991 was carried out. Besides military targets, the US and its allies bombed electrical generation facilities with the aim of creating postwar leverage over Iraq. The electrical generating plants would have to be rebuilt with the help of foreign technical assistance, and this help could be traded for postwar compliance. In the meantime, hospitals and water-purification plants were without electricity. Also, during the Gulf War, a large number of projectiles made of depleted uranium were fired by allied planes and tanks. The result was a sharp increase in cancer in Iraq. Finally, both Shi'ites and Kurds were encouraged by the Allies to rebel against Saddam Hussein's government, but were later abandoned by the allies and slaughtered by Saddam.

The most terrible misuse of power, however, was the US and UK insistence the sanctions against Iraq should remain in place after the end of the Gulf War. These two countries used their veto power in the Security Council to prevent the removal of the sanctions. Their motive seems to have been the hope that the economic and psychological impact would provoke the Iraqi people to revolt against Saddam. However that brutal dictator remained firmly in place, supported by universal fear of his police and by massive propaganda. The effect of the sanctions was to produce more than half a million deaths of children under five years of age, as is documented by UNICEF data. The total number of deaths that the sanctions produced among Iraqi civilians probably exceeded a million, if older children and adults are included.

Ramsey Clark, who studied the effects of the sanctions in Iraq from 1991 onwards, wrote to the Security Council that most of the deaths "are from the effects of malnutrition including marasmas and kwashiorkor, wasting or emaciation which has reached twelve per cent of all children, stunted growth which affects twenty-eight per cent, diarrhea, dehydration from bad water or food, which is ordinarily easily controlled and cured, common communicable diseases preventable by vaccinations, and epidemics from deteriorating sanitary conditions. There are no deaths crueller than these. They are suffering slowly, helplessly, without simple remedial medication, without simple sedation to relieve pain, without mercy."

On the morning of September 11, 2001, two hijacked airliners were deliberately crashed into New York's World Trade Center, causing the collapse of three skyscrapers and the deaths of more than three thousand people. Almost simultaneously, another hijacked airliner was driven into the Pentagon in Washington DC, and a fourth hijacked plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. The fourth plane probably was to have made a suicide

attack on the White House or the Capitol, but passengers on the airliner became aware what was happening through their mobile telephones, and they overpowered the hijackers.

Blame for the September 11 attacks soon centered on the wealthy Saudi Arabian Islamic extremist, Osama bin Laden, and on his terrorist organization, al-Qaeda. In a later statement acknowledging responsibility for the terrorist attacks, bin Laden gave as his main reasons firstly the massive US support for Israel, a country that, in his view, was committing atrocities against the Palestinians, and secondly the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia.

Like Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden was an ex-protegé of the CIA, by whom he had previously been armed, trained, and supported. The history of bin Laden's relationship with the CIA began in 1979, when the CIA, acting through Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency, began to train and arm the Mujaheddin, an international force of Islamic fundamentalists who were encouraged to attack Afghanistan's secular socialist government.

US National Security Advisor Zbigniew Bryzinski anticipated that the Soviets would respond by sending troops to protect the socialist government of Afghanistan, and he believed that the resulting war would be the Soviet Union's version of Viet Nam: It would be a war that would fatally weaken the Soviet Union. Thus he saw the war that he was provoking in Afghanistan as an important step in the liberation of Eastern Europe. "What is most important in the history of the world?", Polish-born Bryzinski asked in a 1998 interview, "The Taliban, or the collapse of the Soviet empire? Some stirred-up Muslims, or the liberation of central Europe...?" It was, in fact, these same "stirred-up Muslims" who guided two hijacked aircraft into the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001.

During the spring of 2003, our television and newspapers presented us with the spectacle of an attack by two technologically superior powers on a much less industrialized nation, a nation with an ancient and beautiful culture. The ensuing war was one-sided. Missiles guided by laser beams and signals from space satellites were more than a match for less sophisticated weapons.

Speeches were made to justify the attack. It was said to be needed because of weapons of mass destruction (some countries are allowed to have them, others not). It was said to be necessary to get rid of a cruel dictator (whom the attacking powers had previously supported and armed). But the suspicion remained that the attack was resource-motivated. It was about oil.

Looking at the present and threatened conflicts in the Middle East against the background of this history, must we not ask: To what extent are they too about oil?

5.9 Concluding remarks

From the discussion presented above, we can see that our present economic system produces an endless series of resource-motivated wars. In addition to the enormous suffering, waste, injustice and ecological destruction produced by modern wars, we must recognize that in

an era of thermonuclear weapons, war has become prohibitively dangerous. Therefore we need a new economic system.

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Chapter 6

ETHOLOGY

6.1 The biology of war and peace

In the long run, because of the terrible weapons that have already been produced through the misuse of science, and because of the even more terrible weapons that are likely to be invented in the future, the only way in which we can ensure the survival of civilization is to abolish the institution of war. But is this possible? Or are the emotions that make war possible so much a part of human nature that we cannot stop humans from fighting any more than we can stop cats and dogs from fighting? Can biological science throw any light on the problem of why our supposedly rational species seems intent on choosing war, pain and death instead of peace, happiness and life? To answer this question, we need to turn to the science of ethology - the study of inherited emotional tendencies and behavior patterns in animals and humans.

In *The Origin of Species*, Charles Darwin devoted a chapter to the evolution of instincts, and he later published a separate book on *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. Because of these pioneering studies, Darwin is considered to be the founder of ethology.

The study of inherited behavior patterns in animals (and humans) was continued in the 20th century by such researchers as Karl von Frisch (1886-1982), Nikolaas Tinbergen (1907-1988), and Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989), three scientists who shared a Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology in 1973.

The third of the 1973 prizewinners, Konrad Lorenz, is controversial, but at the same time very interesting in the context of studies of the causes of war and discussions of how war may be avoided. As a young boy, he was very fond of animals, and his tolerant parents allowed him to build up a large menagerie in their house in Altenberg, Austria. Even as a child, he became an expert on waterfowl behavior, and he discovered the phenomenon of imprinting. He was given a one day old duckling, and found, to his intense joy, that it transferred its following response to his person. As Lorenz discovered, young waterfowl have a short period immediately after being hatched, when they identify as their “mother” whomever they see first. In later life, Lorenz continued his studies of imprinting, and there

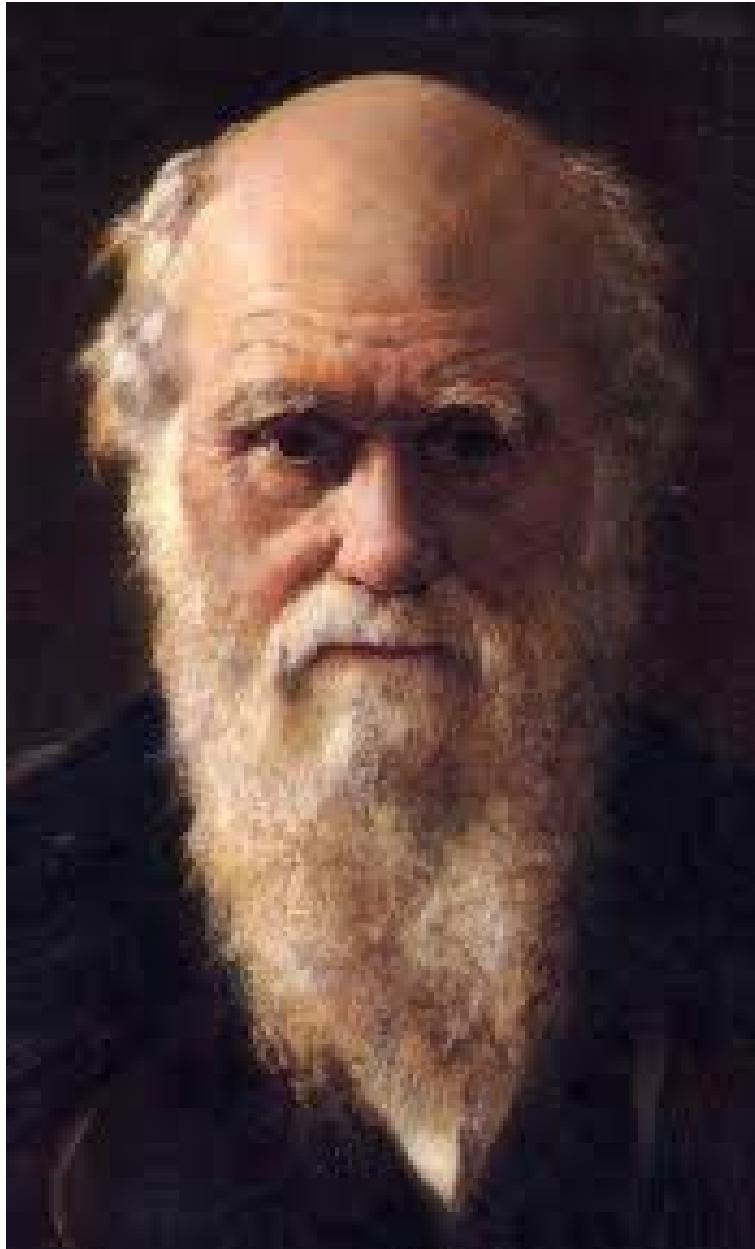


Figure 6.1: Because of Charles Darwin's book "The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals", he is considered to be the founder of the field of Ethology, the study of inherited behavior patterns.



Figure 6.2: Nikolaas Tinbergen (1907-1988) on the left, with Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989). Together with Karl von Frisch (1886-1982) they shared the 1973 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine for their pioneering work in Ethology.



Figure 6.3: Konrad Lorenz with geese who consider him to be their mother.

exists a touching photograph of him, with his white beard, standing waist-deep in a pond, surrounded by an adoring group of goslings who believe him to be their mother. Lorenz also studied bonding behavior in waterfowl.

It is, however, for his controversial book *On Aggression* that Konrad Lorenz is best known. In this book, Lorenz makes a distinction between intergroup aggression and intragroup aggression. Among animals, he points out, rank-determining fights are seldom fatal. Thus, for example, the fights that determine leadership within a wolf pack end when the loser makes a gesture of submission. By contrast, fights between groups of animals are often fights to the death, examples being wars between ant colonies, or of bees against intruders, or the defense of a rat pack against strange rats.

Many animals, humans included, seem willing to kill or be killed in defense of the communities to which they belong. Lorenz calls this behavioral tendency a "communal defense response". He points out that the "holy shiver" - the tingling of the spine that humans experience when performing a heroic act in defense of their communities - is related to the prehuman reflex for raising the hair on the back of an animal as it confronts an enemy - a reflex that makes the animal seem larger than it really is.

In his book *On Aggression*, Konrad Lorenz gives the following description of the emotions of a hero preparing to risk his life for the sake of the group:

"In reality, militant enthusiasm is a specialized form of communal aggression, clearly distinct from and yet functionally related to the more primitive forms of individual aggression. Every man of normally strong emotions knows, from his own experience, the subjective phenomena that go hand in hand with the response of militant enthusiasm. A shiver runs down the back and, as more exact observation shows, along the outside of both arms. One soars elated, above all the ties of everyday life, one is ready to abandon all for the call of what, in the moment of this specific emotion, seems to be a sacred duty. All obstacles in its path become unimportant; the instinctive inhibitions against hurting or killing one's fellows lose, unfortunately, much of their power. Rational considerations, criticisms, and all reasonable arguments against the behavior dictated by militant enthusiasm are silenced by an amazing reversal of all values, making them appear not only untenable, but base and dishonorable.

Men may enjoy the feeling of absolute righteousness even while they commit atrocities. Conceptual thought and moral responsibility are at their lowest ebb. As the Ukrainian proverb says: 'When the banner is unfurled, all reason is in the trumpet'."

"The subjective experiences just described are correlated with the following objectively demonstrable phenomena. The tone of the striated musculature is raised, the carriage is stiffened, the arms are raised from the sides and slightly rotated inward, so that the elbows point outward. The head is proudly raised, the chin stuck out, and the facial muscles mime the 'hero face' familiar from the films. On the back and along the outer surface of the arms, the hair stands on end. This is the objectively observed aspect of the shiver!"

"Anybody who has ever seen the corresponding behavior of the male chimpanzee defending his band or family with self-sacrificing courage will doubt the purely spiritual character of human enthusiasm. The chimp, too, sticks out his chin, stiffens his body, and raises his elbows; his hair stands on end, producing a terrifying magnification of his body

contours as seen from the front. The inward rotation of the arms obviously has the purpose of turning the longest-haired side outward to enhance the effect. The whole combination of body attitude and hair-raising constitutes a bluff. This is also seen when a cat humps its back, and is calculated to make the animal appear bigger and more dangerous than it really is. Our shiver, which in German poetry is called a 'heiliger Schauer', a 'holy' shiver, turns out to be the vestige of a prehuman vegetative response for making a fur bristle which we no longer have. To the humble seeker for biological truth, there cannot be the slightest doubt that human militant enthusiasm evolved out of a communal defense response of our prehuman ancestor."

Lorenz goes on to say, "An impartial visitor from another planet, looking at man as he is today - in his hand the atom bomb, the product of his intelligence - in his heart the aggression drive, inherited from his anthropoid ancestors, which the same intelligence cannot control - such a visitor would not give mankind much chance of survival."

In an essay entitled *The Urge to Self-Destruction*¹, Arthur Koestler says:

"Even a cursory glance at history should convince one that individual crimes, committed for selfish motives, play a quite insignificant role in the human tragedy compared with the numbers massacred in unselfish love of one's tribe, nation, dynasty, church or ideology... Wars are not fought for personal gain, but out of loyalty and devotion to king, country or cause..."

"We have seen on the screen the radiant love of the Führer on the faces of the Hitler Youth... They are transfixed with love, like monks in ecstasy on religious paintings. The sound of the nation's anthem, the sight of its proud flag, makes you feel part of a wonderfully loving community. The fanatic is prepared to lay down his life for the object of his worship, as the lover is prepared to die for his idol. He is, alas, also prepared to kill anybody who represents a supposed threat to the idol." The emotion described here by Koestler is the same as the communal defense mechanism ("militant enthusiasm") described in biological terms by Lorenz.

Generations of schoolboys have learned the Latin motto: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" - it is both sweet and noble to die for one's country. Even in today's world, death in battle in defense of country and religion is still praised by nationalists. However, because of the development of weapons of mass destruction, both nationalism and narrow patriotism have become dangerous anachronisms.

In thinking of violence and war, we must be extremely careful not to confuse the behavioral patterns that lead to wife-beating or bar-room brawls with those that lead to episodes like the trench warfare of the First World War, or to the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first type of aggression is similar to the rank-determining fights of animals, while the second is more akin to the team-spirit exhibited by a football side. Heroic behavior in defense of one's community has been praised throughout the ages, but the tendency to such behavior has now become a threat to the survival of civilization, since tribalism makes war possible, and war with thermonuclear weapons threatens civilization

¹in *The Place of Value in a World of Facts*, A. Tiselius and S. Nielsson editors, Wiley, New York, (1970)

with catastrophe.

Warfare involves not only a high degree of aggression, but also an extremely high degree of altruism. Soldiers kill, but they also sacrifice their own lives. Thus patriotism and duty are as essential to war as the willingness to kill. As Arthur Koestler points out, "Wars are not fought for personal gain, but out of loyalty and devotion to king, country or cause..."

Tribalism involves passionate attachment to one's own group, self-sacrifice for the sake of the group, willingness both to die and to kill if necessary to defend the group from its enemies, and belief that in case of a conflict, one's own group is always in the right.

6.2 Population genetics

If we examine altruism and aggression in humans, we notice that members of our species exhibit great altruism towards their own children. Kindness towards close relatives is also characteristic of human behavior, and the closer the biological relationship is between two humans, the greater is the altruism they tend to show towards each other. This profile of altruism is easy to explain on the basis of Darwinian natural selection since two closely related individuals share many genes and, if they cooperate, the genes will be more effectively propagated.

To explain from an evolutionary point of view the communal defense mechanism discussed by Lorenz - the willingness of humans to kill and be killed in defense of their communities - we have only to imagine that our ancestors lived in small tribes and that marriage was likely to take place within a tribe rather than across tribal boundaries. Under these circumstances, each tribe would tend to consist of genetically similar individuals. The tribe itself, rather than the individual, would be the unit on which the evolutionary forces of natural selection would act. The idea of group selection in evolution was proposed in the 1930's by J.B.S. Haldane and R.A. Fisher, and more recently it has been discussed by W.D. Hamilton and E.O. Wilson.

According to the group selection model, a tribe whose members showed altruism towards each other would be more likely to survive than a tribe whose members cooperated less effectively. Since several tribes might be in competition for the same territory, intertribal aggression might, under some circumstances, increase the chances for survival of one's own tribe. Thus, on the basis of the group selection model, one would expect humans to be kind and cooperative towards members of their own group, but at the same time to sometimes exhibit aggression towards members of other groups, especially in conflicts over territory. One would also expect intergroup conflicts to be most severe in cases where the boundaries between groups are sharpest - where marriage is forbidden across the boundaries.



Figure 6.4: **Sir Ronald Aylmer Fisher (1890-1962).** Together with J.B.S Haldane he pioneered the theory of population genetics. Recent contributions to this theory have been made by W.D. Hamilton and E.O. Wilson.

6.3 Hope for the future

Although humans originally lived in small, genetically homogeneous tribes, the social and political groups of the modern world are much larger, and are often multiracial and multiethnic.

There are a number of large countries that are remarkable for their diversity, for example Brazil, Argentina and the United States. Nevertheless it has been possible to establish social cohesion and group identity within each of these enormous nations. India and China too, are mosaics of diverse peoples, but nevertheless, they function as coherent societies. Thus we see that group identity is a social construction, in which artificial “tribal markings” define the boundaries of the group. These tribal markings will be discussed in more detail below.

One gains hope for the future by observing how it has been possible to produce both internal peace and social cohesion over very large areas of the globe - areas that contain extremely diverse populations. The difference between making large, ethnically diverse countries function as coherent sociopolitical units and making the entire world function as a unit is not very great.

Since group identity is a social construction, it is not an impossible goal to think of enlarging the already-large groups of the modern world to include all of humanity.

On our small but beautiful earth, made small by technology, made beautiful by nature, there is room for one group only: the all-inclusive family of humankind.

6.4 Religion and ethnic identity

An acceleration of human cultural development seems to have begun approximately 70,000 years ago. The first art objects date from that period, as do migrations that ultimately took modern man across the Bering Strait to the western hemisphere. A land bridge extending from Siberia to Alaska is thought to have been formed approximately 70,000 years ago, disappearing again roughly 10,000 years before the present. Cultural and genetic studies indicate that migrations from Asia to North America took place during this period. Shamanism,² which is found both in Asia and the new world, as well as among the Sami (Lapps) of northern Scandinavia, is an example of the cultural links between the hunting societies of these regions.

Before the acceleration of human cultural development just mentioned, genetic change and cultural change went hand in hand, but during the last 70,000 years, the constantly accelerating rate of information-accumulation and cultural evolution has increasingly out-distanced the rate of genetic change in humans. Genetically we are almost identical with our hunter-gatherer ancestors of 70,000 years ago, but cultural evolution has changed our way of life beyond recognition.

²A shaman is a special member of a hunting society who, while in a trance, is thought to be able pass between the upper world, the present world, and the lower world, to cure illnesses, and to insure the success of a hunt.

Humans are capable of cultural evolution because it is so easy to overwrite and modify our instinctive behavior patterns with learned behavior. Within the animal kingdom, humans are undoubtedly the champions in this respect. No other species is so good at learning as we are. During the early stages of cultural evolution, the tendency of humans to be religious may have facilitated the overwriting of instinctive behavior with the culture of the tribe. Since religions, like languages, are closely associated with particular cultures, they serve as marks of ethnic identity.

6.5 Tribal markings; ethnicity; pseudospeciation

In biology, a species is defined to be a group of mutually fertile organisms. Thus all humans form a single species, since mixed marriages between all known races will produce children, and subsequent generations in mixed marriages are also fertile. However, although there is never a biological barrier to marriages across ethnic and racial boundaries, there are often very severe cultural barriers.

Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, a student of Konrad Lorenz, introduced the word *pseudospeciation* to denote cases where cultural barriers between two groups of humans are so strongly marked that marriages across the boundary are difficult and infrequent. In such cases, he pointed out, the two groups function as though they were separate species, although from a biological standpoint this is nonsense. When two such groups are competing for the same land, the same water, the same resources, and the same jobs, the conflicts between them can become very bitter indeed. Each group regards the other as being “not truly human”.

In his book *The Biology of War and Peace*, Eibl-Eibesfeldt discusses the “tribal markings” used by groups of humans to underline their own identity and to clearly mark the boundary between themselves and other groups. One of the illustrations in the book shows the marks left by ritual scarification on the faces of the members of certain African tribes. These scars would be hard to counterfeit, and they help to establish and strengthen tribal identity. Seeing a photograph of the marks left by ritual scarification on the faces of African tribesmen, it is impossible not to be reminded of the dueling scars that Prussian army officers once used to distinguish their caste from outsiders.

Surveying the human scene, one can find endless examples of signs that mark the bearer as a member of a particular group - signs that can be thought of as “tribal markings”: tattoos; piercing; bones through the nose or ears; elongated necks or ears; filed teeth; Chinese binding of feet; circumcision, both male and female; unique hair styles; decorations of the tongue, nose, or naval; peculiarities of dress, fashions, veils, chadors, and headdresses; caste markings in India; use or nonuse of perfumes; codes of honor and value systems; traditions of hospitality and manners; peculiarities of diet (certain foods forbidden, others preferred); giving traditional names to children; knowledge of dances and songs; knowledge of recipes; knowledge of common stories, literature, myths, poetry or common history; festivals, ceremonies, and rituals; burial customs, treatment of the dead and ancestor worship; methods of building and decorating homes; games and sports peculiar to a culture;



Figure 6.5: A tattooed face can help to establish tribal identity



Figure 6.6: An example of the dueling scars that Prussian army officers once used to distinguish their caste from outsiders.

relationship to animals, knowledge of horses and ability to ride; nonrational systems of belief. Even a baseball hat worn backwards or the professed ability to enjoy atonal music can mark a person as a member of a special “tribe”. Undoubtedly there are many people in New York who would never think of marrying someone who could not appreciate the paintings of Jasper Johns, and many in London who would consider anyone who had not read all the books of Virginia Wolfe to be entirely outside the bounds of civilization.

By far the most important mark of ethnic identity is language, and within a particular language, dialect and accent. If the only purpose of language were communication, it would be logical for the people of a small country like Denmark to stop speaking Danish and go over to a more universally-understood international language such as English. However, language has another function in addition to communication: It is also a mark of identity. It establishes the boundary of the group.

Within a particular language, dialects and accents mark the boundaries of subgroups. For example, in England, great social significance is attached to accents and diction, a tendency that George Bernard Shaw satirized in his play, *Pygmalion*, which later gained greater fame as the musical comedy, *My Fair Lady*. This being the case, we can ask why all citizens of England do not follow the example of Eliza Doolittle in Shaw’s play, and improve their social positions by acquiring Oxford accents. However, to do so would be to run the risk of being laughed at by one’s peers and regarded as a traitor to one’s own local community and friends. School children everywhere can be very cruel to any child who does not fit into the local pattern. At Eton, an Oxford accent is compulsory; but in a Yorkshire school, a child with an Oxford accent would suffer for it.

Next after language, the most important “tribal marking” is religion. As mentioned above, it seems probable that in the early history of our hunter-gatherer ancestors, religion evolved as a mechanism for perpetuating tribal traditions and culture. Like language, and like the innate facial expressions studied by Darwin, religion is a universal characteristic of all human societies. All known races and cultures practice some sort of religion. Thus a tendency to be religious seems to be built into human nature, or at any rate, the needs that religion satisfies seem to be a part of our inherited makeup. Otherwise, religion would not be so universal as it is.

Religion is often strongly associated with ethnicity and nationalism, that is to say, it is associated with the demarcation of a particular group of people by its culture or race. For example, the Jewish religion is associated with Zionism and with Jewish nationalism. Similarly Islam is strongly associated with Arab nationalism. Christianity too has played an important role in many aggressive wars, for example in the Crusades, in the European conquest of the New World, in European colonial conquests in Africa and Asia, and in the wars between Catholics and Protestants within Europe.

Human history seems to be saturated with blood. It would be impossible to enumerate the conflicts with which the story of humankind is stained. Many of the atrocities of history have involved what Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt called “pseudospeciation”, that is to say, they were committed in conflicts involving groups between which sharply marked cultural barriers have made intermarriage difficult and infrequent. Examples include the present conflict between Israelis and Palestinians; “racial cleansing” in Kosovo; the devas-

tating wars between Catholics and Protestants in Europe; the Lebanese civil war; genocide committed against Jews and Gypsies during World War II; recent genocide in Rwanda; current intertribal massacres in the Ituri Province of Congo; use of poison gas against Kurdish civilians by Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq; the massacre of Armenians by Turks; massacres of Hindus by Muslims and of Muslims by Hindus in post-independence India; massacres of Native Americans by white conquerors and settlers in all parts of the New World; and massacres committed during the Crusades. The list seems almost endless.

Religion often contributes to conflicts by sharpening the boundaries between ethnic groups and by making marriage across those boundaries difficult and infrequent. However, this negative role is balanced by a positive one, whenever religion is the source of ethical principles, especially the principle of universal human brotherhood.

The religious leaders of today's world have the opportunity to contribute importantly to the solution of the problem of war. They have the opportunity to powerfully support the concept of universal human brotherhood, to build bridges between religious groups, to make intermarriage across ethnic boundaries easier, and to soften the distinctions between communities. Our political leaders have the duty to move away from nationalism and militarism. If they fail to do this, they will have failed humankind at a time of great danger and crisis.



Figure 6.7: An illustration from Darwin's book, "The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals". Here a cat raises its back and fur when confronting an enemy to make itself seem larger and more dangerous. This reflex was later discussed by the ethologist Konrad Lorenz.

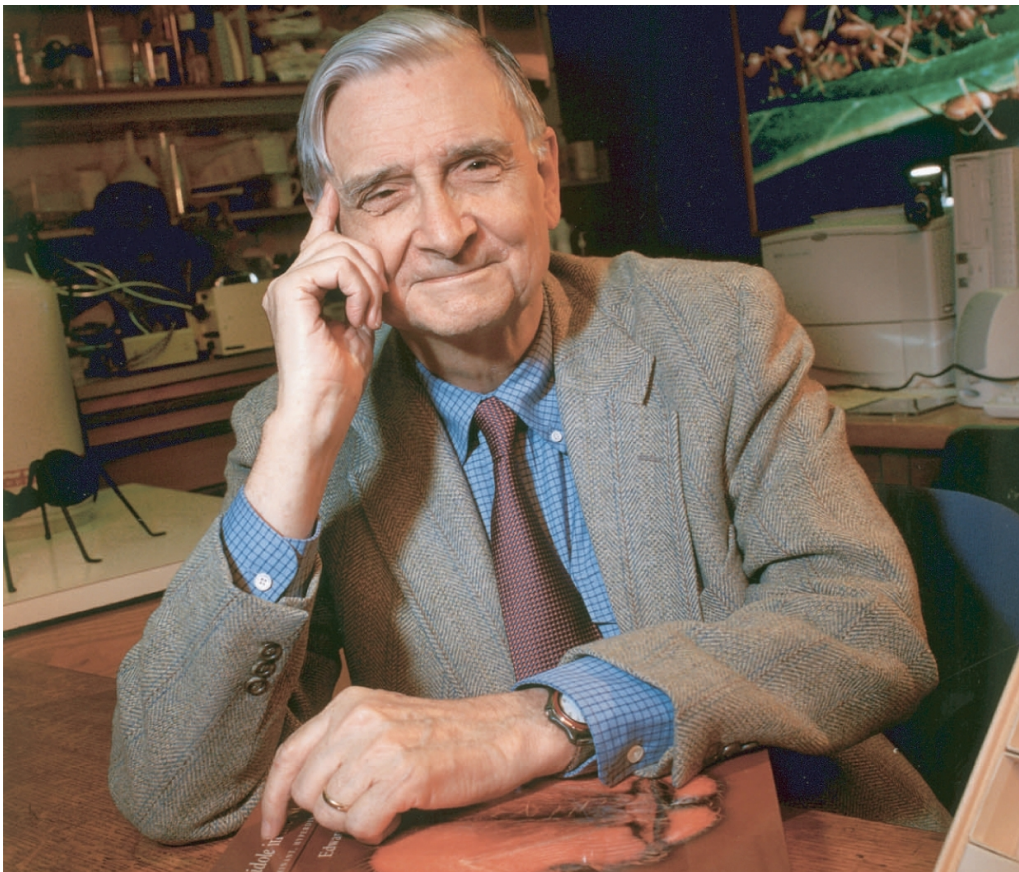


Figure 6.8: **Professor E.O. Wilson** of Harvard is famous for his books on **Sociobiology**.



Figure 6.9: **Professor Richard Dawkins** of Oxford, controversial author of “**The Selfish Gene**” and many other books. He has contributed much to the debate on relationships between science, religion, aggression and altruism.

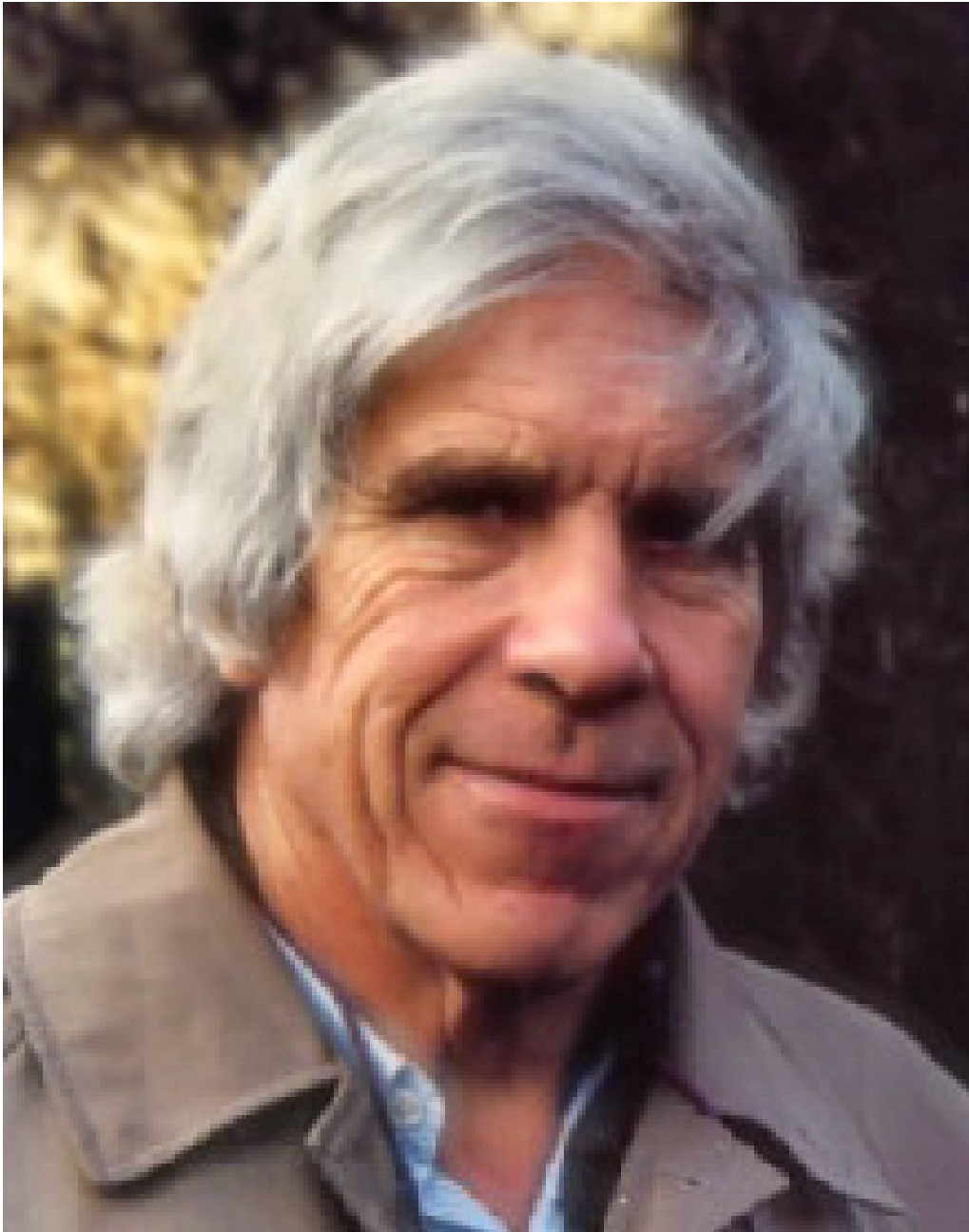


Figure 6.10: William Donald Hamilton was a Royal Society Research Professor at Oxford University until his death in 2000. He contributed importantly to our understanding of altruism from the standpoint of genetics.

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Chapter 7

THE CLIMATE EMERGENCY

7.1 Contrasting responses to the pandemic and the climate crisis

There is a remarkable contrast in the way that governments around the world have responded to the COVID-19 pandemic and the way that they have responded to the climate emergency. The pandemic, which indeed represents an extremely grave danger to humanity, has produced a massive global response. Borders have been closed, airlines have become virtually inoperative, industries, restaurants and entertainments have been closed, sporting events have been cancelled or postponed, people have been asked to stay at home and practice social distancing, and the everyday life of citizens around the world has been drastically changed.

By contrast, let us consider the threat that if immediate action is not taken to halt the extraction and use of fossil fuels, irreversible feedback loops will be initiated which will make catastrophic climate change inevitable despite human any human efforts to prevent it.

This threat is even more serious than the COVID-19 pandemic. Climate change could make much of the earth too hot for human life. It could produce a famine involving billions of people, rather than millions.

My own belief is that catastrophic climate change would not lead do the extinction of the human species; but I think that because much of the world would become uninhabitable, the global population of humans would be very much reduced.

How have governments responded to the climate emergency? A minority, for example the Scandinavian countries, have taken appropriate action. Most governments pay lip service to the emergency, but do not take effective action; and a few countries, such as the United States under Donald Trump, Bolsonaro's Brazil, and Saudi Arabia, deny that there is a climate emergency and actively sabotage action.

The world's net response has been totally inadequate. The Keeling Curve, which measures CO₂ concentrations in the atmosphere, continues to rise, and the rate of rising is even increasing.

What is the reason for this remarkable contrast in our response to two serious emergencies? We see clearly and respond to what is close to us, and are relatively indifferent to what is far away. We hear of people dying every day from the COVID-19 pandemic, and there is a danger that as many as 100 million people could die before it is over.

By contrast, although immediate climate action is needed today to avoid disaster, the worst consequences of climate change lie in the long-term future. Old people, like me, will not live to see massive deaths from starvation and overheating.

However, we have a responsibility to our children and grandchildren, and to all future generations. A large-scale global famine could occur by the middle of the present century, and children who are alive today could experience it.

7.2 Recovery from the pandemic offers climate action opportunities

When the COVID-19 pandemic is over, governments will be faced by the task of repairing the enormous economic damage that it has caused. The situation will be similar to the crisis that faced US President Franklin D. Roosevelt when he took office during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Roosevelt, encouraged by John Maynard Keynes, used federal funds to build much-needed infrastructure around the United States. His programs, the New Deal, ended the Great Depression in his country.

Today, the concept of a similar Green New Deal is being put forward globally. This concept visualizes government-sponsored programs aimed at simultaneously creating both jobs and urgently-needed renewable energy infrastructure. The Green New Deal programs could be administered in such a way as to correct social injustices.

7.3 Quick action is needed to save the long-term future

The worst effects of catastrophic climate change lie in the distant future, a century or even many centuries from the present; but disaster can only be avoided if quick action is taken. The nations of the world must act immediately to reduce and eventually stop the use of fossil fuels and the destruction of forests. If decisive action is not taken within the next few decades, feedback loops will make human intervention useless. These feedback loops include the albedo effect, the methane hydrate feedback loop, and the fact as tropical forests become drier, they become vulnerable to fires ignited by lightning. These fires accelerate the drying, and thus a feed-back loop is formed.

As time passes, and as the disastrous consequences of climate change become more apparent, the political will required for action will increase; but by that time it may be too late. We are rapidly approaching several crucial tipping points.

At present, the average global rate of use of primary energy is roughly 2 kW_t per person.

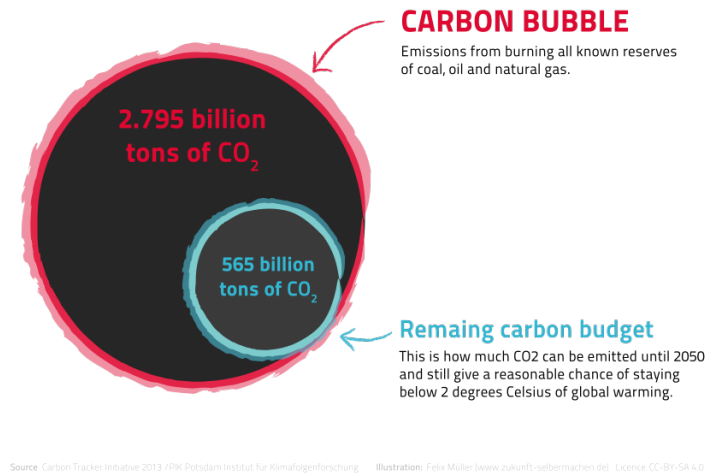


Figure 7.1: **The Carbon Bubble according to data by the Carbon Tracker Initiative 2013. In order to avoid tipping points that will make human attempts to avoid catastrophic climate change useless, we must leave most of the known fossil fuel reserves in the ground!**

In North America, the rate is 12 kW_t per capita, while in Europe, the figure is 6 kW_t . In Bangladesh, it is only 0.2 kW_t . This wide variation implies that considerable energy savings are possible, through changes in lifestyle, and through energy efficiency.

7.4 Is the transition to 100% renewable energy possible?

If we ask whether the transition to 100% renewable energy is possible, the answer is very simple: It is not only possible; it is inevitable! This is because the supply of fossil fuels is finite, and at the present rate of use they will be exhausted in less than a century. While the transition to 100% renewables is inevitable, the vitally important point to remember is that if we are to avoid disaster, the transition must come quickly.

	Reserves	2005 rate of use	Years remaining
Coal	780 TW _y	3.5 TW	217 years
Oil	250 TW _y	6.0 TW	42 years
Natural gas	250 TW _y	3.7 TW	68 years
Total	1260 TW _y	13.2 TW	(95 years)

Year	Demand	Population	Per Capita
1980	9.48 TW	4.45 bil.	2.13 kW
1985	10.3 TW	4.84 bil.	2.11 kW
1990	11.6 TW	5.99 bil.	2.20 kW
1995	12.3 TW	5.68 bil.	2.16 kW
2003	14.1 TW	6.30 bil.	2.23 kW
2010	17.1 TW	6.84 bil.	2.50 kW
2015	18.9 TW	7.23 bil.	2.58 kW
2020	20.5 TW	7.61 bil.	2.70 kW
2025	22.3 TW	7.91 bil.	2.82 kW
2030	24.2 TW	8.30 bil.	2.93 kW

In this book, we will use kilowatts (kW), megawatts (MW) and terawatts (TW) as the units in which we discuss the rate of use of energy. A megawatt is equal to a thousand kilowatts or a million watts. A terawatt is equal to a thousand megawatts, or a million kilowatts or a billion (1,000,000,000) watts. A citizen of the European Union uses energy at the rate of about 6 kilowatts, while in North America, the rate of energy use is double that amount. The global average rate of energy use is a little over 2 kilowatts. Since there are now 7.5 billion people in the world, our present rate of energy use is roughly 15 terawatts,

The total available energy from fossil fuels can be measured in terawatt.years (TWy). Rough estimates of global coal reserves of coal, oil and natural gas are given by the table shown above.

The present rate of use of fossil fuels is greater than the 2005 rate shown in the table, and the remaining reserves are smaller than those shown. It is assumed that as oil becomes exhausted, coal will be converted into liquid fuels, as was done in Germany during World War II.

A second table, shown below, illustrates the historical and projected total global energy demand as a function of time between 1980 and 2030. In this slightly out-of-date table, the last year using historical data is 2003, later years being estimates based on projections.

Notice that the per capita energy use is almost constant. Our rapidly growing demand for energy is primarily the result of the world's rapidly growing population of humans. It would be wise to stabilize human populations because of the threat of human-caused ecological catastrophes and the danger of an extremely large-scale famine, involving billions of people rather than millions. Such a famine is threatened because growing populations require a growing food supply, climate changes threaten agriculture through droughts, melting glaciers and loss of agricultural land. The end of the fossil fuel era will also mean the end of high-yield petroleum-based agriculture.

The rate of growth of renewable energy

There is reason for hope that even the high energy demands show in the second table can be met by renewables. The basis of this hope can be found in the extremely high present rate of growth of renewable energy, and in the remarkable properties of exponential growth. According to figures recently released by the Earth Policy Institute, the global installed photovoltaic capacity is currently able to deliver 242,000 megawatts, and it is increasing at the rate of 27.8% per year. Wind energy can now deliver 370,000 megawatts, and it is increasing at the rate of roughly 20% per year.

Because of the astonishing properties of exponential growth, we can calculate that if these growth rates are maintained, renewable energy can give us 24.8 terawatts within only 15 years! This is far more than the world's present use of all forms of energy.

7.5 Renewables are now much cheaper than fossil fuels!

According to an article written by Megan Darby and published in *The Guardian* on 26 January, 2016, "Solar power costs are tumbling so fast the technology is likely to fast outstrip mainstream energy forecasts.

"That is the conclusion of Oxford University researchers, based on a new forecasting

model published in Research Policy¹.

“Commercial prices have fallen by 58% since 2012 and by 16

“Since the 1980s, panels to generate electricity from sunshine have got 10% cheaper each year. That is likely to continue, the study said, putting solar on course to meet 20% of global energy needs by 2027.’ ’

Solar energy

Unlike the burning of fossil fuels, renewables like solar energy do not release pollutants into the atmosphere. In China, public opinion has shifted in favor of renewables because of air pollution in cities.

Photovoltaic cells

The price of solar photovoltaic panels has declined 99 percent over the last four decades, from \$74 a watt in 1972 to less than 70 cents a watt in 2014.

Between 2009 and 2014, solar panel prices dropped by three fourths, helping global PV installations grow 50 percent per year.

Deutsche Bank notes that as of early 2014, solar PV was already competitive with average residential, commercial or industrial electricity rates in 14 countries, and in California - even without subsidies. By late 2014 there were nearly 600,000 individual PV systems in the United States, almost twice as many as in 2012. This number may well pass 1 million in 2016.

In 2013, just 12 percent of U.S. homebuilders offered solar panels as an option for new single-family homes. More than half of them anticipate doing so by 2016. Four of the top five U.S. home construction firms - DR Horton, Lennar Corp, PulteGroup and KB Home - now automatically include solar panels on every new house in certain markets.

In 2007 there were only 8,000 rooftop solar installations in coal-heavy Australia; now there are over a million.

Saudi Arabia has 41,000 megawatts of solar PV operating, under construction and planned - enough to generate up to two thirds of the country's electricity.

For the roughly 1.3 billion people without access to electricity, it is now often cheaper and more efficient simply to install solar panels rooftop-by-rooftop than to build a central power plant and transmission infrastructure.

Wind energy

Over the past decade, world wind power capacity grew more than 20 percent a year, its increase driven by its many attractive features, by public policies supporting its expansion, and by falling costs.

¹<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0048733315001699>

By the end of 2014, global wind generating capacity totaled 369,000 megawatts, enough to power more than 90 million U.S. homes. Wind currently has a big lead on solar PV, which has enough worldwide capacity to power roughly 30 million U.S. homes.

China is now generating more electricity from wind farms than from nuclear plants, and should have little trouble meeting its official 2020 wind power goal of 200,000 megawatts. For perspective, that would be enough to satisfy the annual electricity needs of Brazil.

In nine U.S. states, wind provides at least 12 percent of electricity. Iowa and South Dakota are each generating more than one quarter of their electricity from wind.

In the Midwestern United States, contracts for wind power are being signed at a price of 2.5 cents per kilowatt-hour (kWh), which compares with the nationwide average grid price of 10-12 cents per kWh.

Although a wind farm can cover many square miles, turbines occupy little land. Coupled with access roads and other permanent features, a wind farm's footprint typically comes to just over 1 percent of the total land area covered by the project.

Wind energy yield per acre is off the charts. For example, a farmer in northern Iowa could plant an acre in corn that would yield enough grain to produce roughly \$1,000 worth of fuel-grade ethanol per year, or the farmer could put on that same acre a turbine that generates \$300,000 worth of electricity per year. Farmers typically receive \$3,000 to \$10,000 per turbine each year in royalties. As wind farms spread across the U.S. Great Plains, wind royalties for many ranchers will exceed their earnings from cattle sales.

The problem of intermittency

Many forms of renewable energy encounter the problem of intermittency. For example, on windy days, Denmark's windmills generate more than enough electricity to meet the needs of the country, but on days when the wind is less strong, the electrical energy generated is insufficient. Denmark solves this problem by selling surplus electrical power to Germany on windy days, and buying power from hydroelectric-rich Norway on less windy days.

The problem of intermittency can alternatively be solved by pumping water to uphill reservoirs when the wind is strong, and letting the stored water drive turbines when the wind is weak. The problem of intermittency can also be solved with lithium ion storage batteries, by splitting water into hydrogen and oxygen, or by using other types of fuel cells.

Developing countries: No need for grids

When cell phones came into general use, developing countries with no telephone networks were able to use the new technology through satellites, thus jumping over the need for country-wide telephone lines. Similarly, village solar or wind installations in the developing countries can supply power locally, bypassing the need for a grid.

7.6 An economic tipping point

Renewables are now cheaper than fossil fuels

Solar energy and wind energy have recently become cheaper than fossil fuels. Thus a tipping point has been passed. From now on, despite frantic efforts of giant fossil fuel corporations to prevent it from happening, the transition to 100% renewable energy will be driven by economic forces alone.

Subsidies to the fossil fuel industry

<http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/53/sonew070215a>
<http://priceofoil.org/fossil-fuel-subsidies/>

7.7 An unprecedented investment opportunity

Investment in electric vehicles

On July 5, 2017, the Volvo Car Group made the following announcement: ²

“Volvo Cars, the premium car maker, has announced that every Volvo it launches from 2019 will have an electric motor, marking the historic end of cars that only have an internal combustion engine (ICE) and placing electrification at the core of its future business.

“The announcement represents one of the most significant moves by any car maker to embrace electrification and highlights how over a century after the invention of the internal combustion engine electrification is paving the way for a new chapter in automotive history.

“‘This is about the customer,’ said Håkan Samuelsson, president and chief executive. ‘People increasingly demand electrified cars and we want to respond to our customers’ current and future needs. You can now pick and choose whichever electrified Volvo you wish.’

“Volvo Cars will introduce a portfolio of electrified cars across its model range, embracing fully electric cars, plug in hybrid cars and mild hybrid cars.

“It will launch five fully electric cars between 2019 and 2021, three of which will be Volvo models and two of which will be high performance electrified cars from Polestar, Volvo Cars’ performance car arm. Full details of these models will be announced at a later date.”

The electric vehicle investment opportunity was also illustrated by the 2017 vote of Germany’s Bundesrat to ban the manufacture of internal combustion engines after 2030 ³.

The article announcing the vote adds that “It’s a strong statement in a nation where the auto industry is one of the largest sectors of the economy; Germany produces more

²<https://www.media.volvocars.com/global/en-gb/media/pressreleases/210058/volvo-cars-to-go-all-electric>

³<https://arstechnica.com/cars/2016/10/germanys-bundesrat-votes-to-ban-the-internal-combustion-engine-by-2030/>

automobiles than any other country in Europe and is the third largest in the world. The resolution passed by the Bundesrat calls on the European Commission (the executive arm of the European Union) to 'evaluate the recent tax and contribution practices of Member States on their effectiveness in promoting zero-emission mobility,' which many are taking to mean an end to the lower levels of tax currently levied on diesel fuel across Europe."

France plans to end the sale of vehicles powered by gasoline and diesel by 2040, environment minister Nicolas Hulot announced recently.

Hulot made the announcement on Thursday, June 13, 2017, in Paris as he launched the country's new Climate Plan to accelerate the transition to clean energy and to meet its targets under the Paris climate agreement.

To ease the transition, Hulot said the French government will offer tax incentives to replace fossil-fuel burning cars with clean alternatives.

Furthermore, the government of India has recently announced its intention to only have electric vehicles by 2030⁴. This hugely ambitious plan was announced during the 2017 Confederation of Indian Industry Annual Session. Besides the avoidance of climate change, which might make many regions of India uninhabitable, the motive for replacing 28 million combustion engine vehicles by electric ones was the severe air pollution from which India suffers. Severe air pollution also motivates efforts by the government of China to promote the transition to electric vehicles.

The governments of Norway and the Netherlands have taken steps towards banning the internal combustion engine⁵. Both the upper and lower houses of the Netherlands' government voted to ban cars driven by internal combustion engines by 2025, the same year in which Norway plans to sell nothing but zero-emission vehicles.

In a report commissioned by the investment bankers Cowan & Co, managing director and senior research analyst Jeffrey Osborne, predicted that electric vehicles will cost less than gasoline-powered cars by the early- to mid-2020s due to falling battery prices as well as the costs that traditional carmakers will incur as they comply to new fuel-efficiency standards. Osbourne pointed out that a number of major car brands are hopping onto the electric bandwagon to compete in a space carved out by industry disrupter, Tesla.

"We see the competitive tides shifting in 2019 and beyond as European [car makers] roiled by the diesel scandal and loss of share to Tesla in the high margin luxury segment step on the gas and accelerate the pace of EV introductions", he wrote.

Bloomberg New Energy Finance reported similar predictions: "Falling battery costs will mean electric vehicles will also be cheaper to buy in the U.S. and Europe as soon as 2025," the report said. "Batteries currently account for about half the cost of EVs, and their prices will fall by about 77 percent between 2016 and 2030."

In October, 2017, General Motors unveiled plans to roll out 20 new entirely electric car models by 2023, with two of the new EVs coming out in the next 18 months. Meanwhile, Ford announced the creation of "Team Edison," intended to accelerate the company's EV

⁴<https://www.greentechmedia.com/articles/read/what-country-will-become-the-first-to-ban-internal-combustion-cars>

⁵<http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/the-dutch-revolution-in-smart-charging-of-electric-vehicles-597268791.html>

development and partnership work. The name, is “seemingly in direct response to Elon Musk’s Tesla, which recently surpassed Ford’s market capitalization.”

Tesla’s Chairman, highly successful inventor and entrepreneur Elon Musk, has made massive investments in factories manufacturing electric vehicles, improved lithium ion storage cells, and photovoltaic panels, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Investment in wind turbine energy

In Denmark, the wind turbine industry contributes substantially to the country’s positive balance of payments. According to Wikipedia, “The Danish wind turbine industry is the world’s largest. Around 90% of the national output is exported, and Danish companies accounted for 38% of the world turbine market in 2003, when the industry employed some 20,000 people and had a turnover of around 3 billion euro.”

Denmark’s two largest wind turbine manufacturers are Vestas and Simiens Wind Power. Vestas employs more than 21000 people globally. In February 2016, Vestas got its largest order of 1,000 MW (278 x 3.6 MW) for the Fosen project near Trondheim in Norway. It costs DKK 11 billion, and should deliver 3.4 TWh per year.

In 2015 Siemens Wind had a combined market share of 63% of European offshore wind turbines (nearly 75% in 2009 by capacity and number). In 2011, Siemens Wind Power had 6.3% share of the world wind turbine market, and was the second largest in 2014.

In many countries, including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, India, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, and United States, wind turbine cooperatives have sprung up. In these cooperatives, communities share the costs and profits of wind turbine projects. For example, the Hepburn Wind Project in Victoria, Australia, owns two 2MW wind turbines which produce enough power for 2,300 households.

Investment in solar energy

Global revenues from solar photovoltaic installations are expected to reach \$1.2 trillion between the present and 2024 according to a recent article⁶

Another article⁷ states that “The global electric power industry is evolving into a model that offers more diversity, both in terms of generation and in the ownership of generation assets, and solar PV is one technology at the head of this change. Following years of unsustainable pricing and oversupply, demand for solar PV systems has finally caught up, with 2015 expected to be the year when the global solar PV market shifts and starts to compete with other technologies. According to a recent report from Navigant Research, global revenue from solar PV installations is expected to total more than \$1.2 trillion from 2015 to 2024.”

⁶<https://cleantechnica.com/2016/01/25/global-revenue-solar-pv-installations-expected-reach-1-2-trillion/>

⁷<http://www.navigantresearch.com/newsroom/global-revenue-from-solar-pv-installations-is-expected-to-total-more-than-1-2-trillion-from-2015-to-2024>

7.8 For creating jobs, renewables beat fossil fuels

Here are some excerpts from a 2016 report issued by the Solar Foundation:

- One out of every 50 new jobs added in the United States in 2016 was created by the solar industry, representing 2 percent of all new jobs.
- Solar jobs in the United States have increased at least 20 percent per year for the past four years, and jobs have nearly tripled since the first Solar Jobs Census was released in 2010.
- Over the next 12 months, employers surveyed expect one out of every 50 new jobs added in the United States in 2016 was created by the solar industry, representing 2 percent of all new jobs.
- In 2016, the five states with the most solar jobs were California, Massachusetts, Texas, Nevada, and Florida.
- The solar industry added \$84 billion to the US GDP in 2016 to see total solar industry employment increase by 10 percent to 286,335 solar workers.
- The solar industry added \$84 billion to the US GDP in 2016.

7.9 The Stern Review

Background of the Stern Review

The Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change is a 700 page document commissioned by the government of the United Kingdom and released on 30 October, 2006. The research behind this report was conducted by a team led by Nicolas Stern (Baron Stern of Brentford), chair of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment.

The Stern Review discusses the catastrophic climate change which will result if prompt action is not taken, and it proposes that 1% of global GDP be used annually to prevent such disasters. In 2014, the global GDP was estimated to be 77.9 trillion dollars, so that the 1% investment in renewable energy recommended by Lord Stern and his research team would have amounted to nearly a trillion dollars.

The Middle East

According to current estimates, 81.5% of the world's proven crude oil reserves are located in OPEC Member Countries, with the bulk of OPEC oil reserves in the Middle East, amounting to 65.5% of the OPEC total.

China

China's large reserves of coal lie near to the surface, and are thus very easily accessible. Mining of coal has driven the country's rapid industrial growth, but it has also produced a severe public health problem because of air pollution.

In April, 2017, China's rate of economic growth was 6.9%⁸. This rate of growth, if continued, would mean that China's economy would double every ten years. and increase by a factor of 1024 every century. Obviously this is impossible. Never-ending economic growth on a finite planet is a logical absurdity. China's high economic growth rate, is driven by its use of coal, and this must quickly stop if ecological disaster is to be avoided.

India

The MIT Technology Review recently published an important article entitled *India's Energy Crisis*⁹.

The article makes alarming reading in view of the world's urgent need to make a very rapid transition from fossil fuels to 100% renewable energy. We must make this change quickly in order to avoid a tipping point beyond which catastrophic climate change will be unavoidable.

The MIT article states that "Since he took power in May, 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has made universal access to electricity a key part of his administration's ambitions. At the same time, he has pledged to help lead international efforts to limit climate change. Among other plans, he has promised to increase India's total power generating capacity to 175 gigawatts, including 100 gigawatts of solar, by 2022. (That's about the total power generation of Germany.)"

However India plans to expand its industrial economy, and to do this, it is planning to very much increase its domestic production and use of coal. The MIT article continues, pointing out that

However India plans to expand its industrial economy, and to do this, it is planning to very much increase its domestic production and use of coal. The MIT article continues, pointing out that "Such growth would easily swamp efforts elsewhere in the world to curtail carbon emissions, dooming any chance to head off the dire effects of global climate change. (Overall, the world will need to reduce its current annual emissions of 40 billion tons by 40 to 70 percent between now and 2050.) By 2050, India will have roughly 20 percent of the world's population. If those people rely heavily on fossil fuels such as coal to expand the economy and raise their living standards to the level people in the rich world have enjoyed for the last 50 years, the result will be a climate catastrophe regardless of anything the United States or even China does to decrease its emissions. Reversing these trends will require radical transformations in two main areas: how India produces electricity, and how it distributes it."

⁸<https://tradingeconomics.com/china/gdp-growth-annual>

⁹<http://www.technologyreview.com/featuredstory/542091/indias-energy-crisis/>

The Indian Minister of Power, Piyush Goyal, is an enthusiastic supporter of renewable energy expansion, but he also supports, with equal enthusiasm, the large-scale expansion of domestic coal production in India.

Meanwhile, the consequences of global warming are being felt by the people of India. For example, last May, a heat wave killed over 1,400 people and melted asphalt streets.¹⁰

Have India's economic planners really thought about the long-term future? Have they considered the fact that drastic climate change could make India completely uninhabitable?

Russia

According to Wikipedia, "The petroleum industry in Russia is one of the largest in the world. Russia has the largest reserves, and is the largest exporter, of natural gas. It has the second largest coal reserves, the eighth largest oil reserves, and is one of the largest producer of oil. It is the third largest energy user."

One of the difficulties of reducing Russia's fossil fuel production is that the Russian economy depends so heavily on its oil and gas industries. Many European countries also depend on natural gas from Russia for winter heating of homes and workplaces.

North America

Canadian oil sands

Canada's oil-sands deposits contain an amount of carbon comparable to the world's total reserves of conventional oil. Oil is currently being extracted by methods that release four times as much carbon into the atmosphere as is contained in the refined oil from the deposits. Nevertheless, the government of Canada wholeheartedly supports extraction of oil from the tar sands.

The position of the Canadian government has been strongly criticized by leading climate scientist Professor James Hansen. A recent article in *The Guardian*¹¹, reported him as saying; "To leave our children with a manageable situation, we need to leave the unconventional fuel in the ground. Canada's ministers are acting as salesmen for those people who will gain from the profits of that industry. But I don't think they are looking after the rights and wellbeing of the population as a whole.

"The thing we are facing overall is that the fossil fuel industry has so much money that they are buying off governments. Our democracies are seriously handicapped by the money that is driving decisions in Washington and other capitals."

Fracking in the United States

According to the US Department of Energy (DOE), in 2013 at least two million oil and gas wells in the US have been hydraulically fractured, and that of new wells being drilled,

¹⁰<https://www.rt.com/news/262641-india-heat-wave-killed/>

¹¹<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2013/may/19/tar-sands-exploitation-climate-scientist>

up to 95% are hydraulically fractured. The output from these wells makes up 43% of the oil production and 67% of the natural gas production in the United States.

Because of earthquakes and poisoning of water supplies caused by fracking, this practice has been banned by several states in the US, and nine countries or regions in Europe: France, Bulgaria, Roumania, Germany, The Czech Republic, Luxembourg, Northern Ireland, Spain and Switzerland,

Latin America

Venezuela's Belt of Tar

The Orinoco River Basin in Venezuela contains the world's largest deposit of extra-heavy oil and tar. The amount of carbon contained in this deposit is comparable to the carbon content of all the world's known reserves of conventional oil, and also larger than the carbon contained in Canada's oil sands.

The Belt of Tar follows the line of the Orinoco river. It is approximately 600 kilometers (370 mi) from east to west, and 70 kilometers (43 mi) from north to south, with an area about 55,314 square kilometers (21,357 sq mi). The Orinoco deposit is estimated to contain 1.2 trillion barrels of extra-heavy oil.

The government of Venezuela has no plans for halting extraction from the Belt of Tar. On the contrary, detailed plans have been made for expanded exploitation of the deposit¹².

Extraction of oil in Brazil

According to a recent article in *The Guardian*¹³ "The discovery of tens of billions of barrels of oil in fields far off the coast of Rio de Janeiro was billed as one of the biggest finds of this century when it was announced in 2006.

"Many hoped it would deliver a bonanza for education and health and make Brazil one of world's major economies.

"But with the country's biggest energy company, Petrobras, mired in debt and scandal, the low price of oil and the dangers of a second Deepwater Horizon, the viability of this massive undertaking has never been under more scrutiny."

The Brazilian offshore deposits are called "presalt oil", since they lie under a thick layer of salt deposits.

According to the article in *The Guardian*, "Suggestions by climate campaigners that this reservoir of fossil fuel is a 'carbon bomb' that should be left in the ground, are dismissed as hypocrisy."

The article quotes the geologist who discovered the off-shore fields as saying "The big countries of the world today developed without any concern for the environment. The

¹²<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PDVSA>

¹³<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/ng-interactive/2015/jun/25/brazils-gamble-on-deep-water-oil-guanabara-bay>

base of US development was the oil in the Gulf of Mexico. The base of the UK's industrial revolution was coal. How can they now say we can't use our own pre-salt?"

The European Union

Coal in Germany and Poland

In 2016, Germany produced 176,100,000 tonnes of coal while Poland produced 131,100,000 tonnes. In the past, Poland experienced severe ecological effects from acid rain due to the burning of coal. Polish forests were destroyed by the effects of acid rain, and the facades of statues and buildings in Krakow and elsewhere were dissolved by the acid. Today the situation is improving, but the two countries are still heavily dependant on coal.

North Sea oil

According to Wikipedia, "The British and Norwegian sections hold most of the remainder of the large oil reserves. It is estimated that the Norwegian section alone contains 54% of the sea's oil reserves and 45% of its gas reserves- More than half of the North Sea oil reserves have been extracted, according to official sources in both Norway and the UK. For Norway, the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate [28] gives a figure of 4,601 million cubic meters of oil (corresponding to 29 billion barrels) for the Norwegian North Sea alone (excluding smaller reserves in Norwegian Sea and Barents Sea) of which 2,778 million cubic meters (60%) has already been produced prior to January 2007. UK sources give a range of estimates of reserves, but even using the most optimistic 'maximum' estimate of ultimate recovery, 76% had been recovered at end 2010.[citation needed] Note the UK figure includes fields which are not in the North Sea (onshore, West of Shetland).

7.10 Major producers of fossil fuels

The top 20 oil-producing nations in 2016

Wikipedia's article entitles *List of countries by oil production* gives information shown in the table below. In the table, which is based on data from the International Energy Agency, production is measured in barrels of oil per day

1	Russia	10,551,497
2	Saudi Arabia	10,460,710
3	United States	8,875,817
4	Iraq	4,451,516
5	Iran	3,990,956
6	China	3,980,650
7	Canada	3,662,694
8	United Arab Emirates	3,106,077
9	Kuwait	2,923,825
10	Brazil	2,515,459
11	Venezuela	2,276,967
12	Mexico	2,186,877
13	Nigeria	1,999,885
14	Angola	1,769,615
15	Norway	1,647,975
16	Kazakhstan	1,595,199
17	Qatar	1,522,902
18	Algeria	1,348,361
19	Oman	1,006,841
20	United Kingdom	939,760

The top 10 coal producing nations in 2016

Wikipedia gives a similar list of coal producing nations. Only the top 10 are shown here, since these countries completely dominate global coal production. In the table, production is measured in millions of tonnes per year.

1	China	3411.0
2	India	692.4
3	United States	660.6
4	Australia	492.8
5	Indonesia	434.0
6	Russia	385.4
7	South Africa	251.3
8	Germany	176.1
9	Poland	131.1
10	Kazakhstan	102.4
	World	7,460.4

The world production of coal is falling. In 2014 it was 8,164.9 tonnes, in 2015, 7,861.1 tonnes, and in 2016 7,460.4 tonnes. Nevertheless, global production of coal remains worryingly high. If catastrophic climate change is to be avoided, it must stop altogether within one or two decades. At the moment the world is still producing roughly 1 tonne of coal per capita each year.

List of countries by natural gas production

Here is a similar table for natural gas. Production is measured in m³ per year. The final column indicates the date of the data.

1	United States	728,200,000,000	2014
2	Russia	578,700,000,000	2014
3	Iran	438,000,000,000	2017
4	Canada	143,100,000,000	2012
5	Qatar	133,200,000,000	2011
6	Norway	114,700,000,000	2012
7	China	107,200,000,000	2012
8	Saudi Arabia	103,200,000,000	2012
9	Algeria	82,760,000,000	2011
10	Netherlands	80,780,000,000	2012
	World	4,359,000,000,000	2010

7.11 Fossil fuel extraction must stop!

“Leave the oil in the soil! Leave the coal in the hole! Leave the gas under the grass!” That was message of protesters at the 2017 G20 meeting. But from the facts shown in this chapter, we can see that on the whole, fossil fuels are not being left in the ground, where they have to remain if an ecological disaster is to be avoided. On the contrary, the extraction of coal, oil and gas continues almost as though the climate emergency did not exist. Most politicians, with their eyes focused on the present, seem blind to future dangers. They think primarily about the jobs and living standards of their constituents, and about the next election. Meanwhile, the future of human civilization is neglected and remains in peril.¹⁴

The fact that historically, the highly industrialized nations were primarily responsible for atmospheric CO₂ increases does not excuse the developing countries from their responsibility for saving the future. Today China’s coal, India’s coal, Venezuela’s tar sands and Brazil’s pre-salt oil are among the greatest threats, and in these countries as elsewhere, extraction must stop.

We have to wake up! Business as usual cannot continue!

7.12 Permian-Triassic extinction event

The geological record shows five major extinction events.

- Ordovician-Silurian Extinction. around 439 million years ago.

¹⁴See <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/18/enough-tiptoeing-around-lets-make-this-clear-coal-kills-people>

- Late Devonian Extinction. 375-360 million years ago.
- Permian-Triassic extinction. 352 million years ago.
- Triassic-Jurassic extinction, 201 million years ago.
- Cretaceous-Paleogene extinction, 66 million years ago.

The most devastating of these was the Permian-Triassic extinction, which occurred 252 million years ago.¹⁵ In the Permian-Triassic extinction, 96% of all marine species and 76% of all terrestrial vertebrates disappeared forever. The cause of this extremely severe event is disputed, but according to one of the most plausible theories it was triggered by a massive volcanic eruption in Siberia, which released enormous amounts of CO₂ into the earth's atmosphere.

The region where massive volcanic eruptions are known to have occurred 252 million years ago called the "Siberian Traps". (The "Traps" part of the name comes from the fact that many of the volcanic rock formations in the region resemble staircases. The Swedish word for staircase is "trapped".) The eruptions continued for about a million years.

Today the area covered is about 2 million square kilometers, roughly equal to western Europe in land area. Estimates of the original coverage are as high as 7 million square kilometers. The original volume of lava is estimated to range from 1 to 4 million cubic kilometers.

The CO₂ released by the Siberian Traps eruption is believed to have caused a global temperature increase of 6°C, and this was enough to trigger the methane-hydrate feedback loop, which will be discussed below. The earth's temperature is thought to have continued to rise for 85,000 years, finally reaching 15° above normal.

7.13 Tipping points and feedback loops

A tipping point is usually defined as the threshold for an abrupt and irreversible change¹⁶. To illustrate this idea, we can think of a book lying on a table. If we gradually push the book towards the edge of the table, we will finally reach a point after which more than half of the weight of the book will not be supported by the table. When this "tipping point" is passed the situation will suddenly become unstable, and the book will fall to the floor. Analogously, as the earth's climate gradually changes, we may reach tipping points. If we pass these points, sudden instabilities and abrupt climatic changes will occur.

¹⁵ <https://www.thomhartmann.com/bigpicture/last-hours-climate-change>
The Last Hours of Humanity: Warming the World To Extinction (book), by Thom Hartmann
<https://www.amazon.com/Last-Hours-Humanity-Warming-Extinction/dp/1629213640>
<http://www.mediaite.com/online/leonardo-dicaprio-boosts-thom-hartmann-apocalyptic-global-warming-film-last-hours/>

¹⁶ Other definitions of tipping points are possible. A few authors define these as points beyond which change is inevitable, emphasizing that while inevitable, the change may be slow.

Greenland ice cores supply a record of temperatures in the past, and through geological evidence we have evidence of sea levels in past epochs. These historical records show that abrupt climatic changes have occurred in the past.

Timothy Michael Lenton, FRS, Professor of Climate Change and Earth System Science at the University of Exeter, lists the following examples of climatic tipping points:

- Boreal forest dieback
- Amazon rainforest dieback
- Loss of Arctic and Antarctic sea ice (Polar ice packs) and melting of Greenland and Antarctic ice sheets
- Disruption to Indian and West African monsoon
- Formation of Atlantic deep water near the Arctic ocean, which is a component process of the thermohaline circulation.
- Loss of permafrost, leading to potential Arctic methane release and clathrate gun effect

It can be seen from this list that climate tipping points are associated with feedback loops. For example, the boreal forest dieback and the Amazon rainforest dieback tipping points are associated with the feedback loop involving the drying of forests and forest fires, while the tipping point involving loss of Arctic and Antarctic sea ice is associated with the Albedo effect feedback loop. The tipping point involving loss of permafrost is associated with the methane hydrate feedback loop.

Once a positive feedback loop starts to operate in earnest, change may be abrupt.

7.14 Greta Thunberg's TED talk

While political leaders and the older generation have been slow to react to the climate crisis, young people, whose future is at stake, are wide awake and are warning the world that action must be taken immediately if disaster is to be avoided. Massive global demonstrations have been initiated by the teenage activist, Greta Thunberg, who has succeeded where others have failed by speaking with extraordinary clarity, honesty and forcefulness.

Greta was born in Sweden in 2003. Her father, Svante Thunberg, is related to Svante Arrhenius, one of the important pioneers of climate science, and is named after him. Greta's mother was a successful opera singer. Greta Thunberg's strong belief in the urgency of action to prevent catastrophic climate change converted her parents, so that they made changes in their lives. For example, Greta's mother gave up her career as an opera singer because it involved air travel.

In November, 2018, Greta Thunberg gave an impressively clear TEDx talk in Stockholm, the video of which was recently released.¹⁷ Here is a transcript of the talk.

When I was about 8 years old, I first heard about something called ‘climate change’ or ‘global warming’. Apparently, that was something humans had created by our way of living. I was told to turn off the lights to save energy and to recycle paper to save resources. I remember thinking that it was very strange that humans, who are an animal species among others, could be capable of changing the Earth’s climate. Because, if we were, and if it was really happening, we wouldn’t be talking about anything else. As soon as you turn on the TV, everything would be about that. Headlines, radio, newspapers: You would never read or hear about anything else. As if there was a world war going on, but no one ever talked about it. If burning fossil fuels was so bad that it threatened our very existence, how could we just continue like before? Why were there no restrictions? Why wasn’t it made illegal?

To me, that did not add up. It was too unreal.

So, when I was 11, I became ill, I fell into depression, I stopped talking, and I stopped eating. In two months, I lost about 10 kilos of weight. Later on, I was diagnosed with Asperger’s syndrome, OCD and selective mutism. This basically means, I only speak, when I think it is necessary.

Now is one of those moments.

For those of us, who are on the spectrum, almost everything is black or white. We aren’t very good at lying and we usually don’t enjoy participating in the social games that the rest of you seem so fond of. I think, in many ways, that we autistic are the normal ones and the rest of the people are pretty strange. Especially when it comes to the sustainability crisis: Where everyone keeps saying that climate change is an existential threat and the most important issue of all. And yet, they just carry on like before.

I don’t understand that. Because if the emissions have to stop, then we must stop the emissions. To me, that is black or white. There are no gray areas when it comes to survival. Either we go on as a civilization or we don’t.

We have to change.

Rich countries like Sweden need to start reducing emissions by at least 15% every year. And that is so that we can stay below a 2 degrees warming target. Yet, as the IPCC has recently demonstrated, aiming instead for 1.5 degrees Celsius would significantly reduce the climate impacts. But we can only imagine what that means for reducing emissions.

You would think the media and every one of our leaders would be talking about nothing else. But they never even mention it.

Nor does anyone ever mentioned the greenhouse gases already locked in the

¹⁷<https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2018/12/16/1819508/-A-Call-to-Action-on-Climate-Change-by-15-year-Old-Greta-Thunberg>

system. Nor that air pollution is hiding some warming; so that, when we stop burning fossil fuels, we already have an extra level of warming - perhaps as high as 0.5 to 1.1 degrees Celsius.

Furthermore, does hardly anyone speak about the fact that we are in the midst of the sixth mass extinction: With up to 200 species going extinct every single day. That the extinction rate is today between 1000 and 10,000 times higher than what is seen as normal.

Nor does hardly anyone ever speak about the aspect of equity or climate justice, clearly stated everywhere in the Paris agreement, which is absolutely necessary to make it work on a global scale. That means that rich countries need to get down to zero emissions within 6 to 12 years with today's emission speed. And that is so that people in poorer countries can have a chance to heighten their standard of living by building some of the infrastructures that we have already built, such as roads, schools, hospitals, clean drinking water, electricity, and so on. Because, how can we expect countries like India or Nigeria to care about the climate crisis if we, who already have everything, don't care even a second about it or our actual commitments to the Paris agreement?

So why are we not reducing our emissions? Why are they in fact still increasing? Are we knowingly causing a mass extinction? Are we evil?

No, of course, not. People keep doing what they do because the vast majority doesn't have a clue about the actual consequences for their everyday life. And they don't know that rapid change is required.

We all think we know and we all think everybody knows. But we don't.

Because, how could we? If there really was a crisis, and if this crisis was caused by our emissions, you would at least see some signs. Not just flooded cities. Tens of thousands of dead people and whole nations leveled to piles of torn down buildings. You would see some restrictions.

But no. And no one talks about it. There are no emergency meetings, no headlines, no breaking news. No one is acting as if we were in a crisis.

Even most climate scientists or green politicians keep on flying around the world, eating meat and dairy.

If I live to be 100, I will be alive in the year 2103. When you think about the future today, you don't think beyond the year 2050. By then I will, in the best case, not even have lived half of my life. What happens next? In the year 2078, I will celebrate my 75th birthday. If I have children or grandchildren, maybe they will spend that day with me. Maybe they will ask me about you, the people who were around back in 2018. Maybe they will ask why you didn't do anything while there still was time to act. What we do or don't do right now, will affect my entire life and the lives of my children and grandchildren. What we do or don't do right now, me and my generation can't undo in the future.

So, when school started in August of this year, I decided that this was

enough. I set myself down on the ground outside the Swedish parliament. I school-striking for the climate.

Some people say that I should be in school instead. Some people say that I should study, to become a climate scientist so that I can solve the climate crisis.

But the climate crisis has already been solved. We already have all the facts and solutions. All we have to do is to wake up and change.

And why should I be studying for a future that soon will be no more, when no one is doing anything whatsoever to save that future? And what is the point of learning facts in the school system, when the most important facts given by the finest science of that same school system clearly means nothing to our politicians and our society?

Some people say that Sweden is just a small country and that it doesn't matter what we do. But I think that if a few children can get headlines all over the world just by not coming to school for a few weeks, imagine what we could all do together if we wanted to?

Now we're almost at the end of my talk and this is where people usually people usually start talking about hope. Solar panels, wind power, circular economy, and so on. But I'm not going to do that. We've had 30 years of pep talking and selling positive ideas. And I'm sorry but it doesn't work because if it would have, the emissions would have gone down by now. They haven't.

And yes, we do need hope. Of course, we do. But the one thing we need more than hope is action. Once we start to act, hope is everywhere. So instead of looking for hope, look for action. Then and only then, hope will come today.

Today we use 100 million barrels of oil every single day. There are no politics to change that. There are no rules to keep that oil in the ground. So, we can't save the world by playing by the rules, because the rules have to be changed.

Everything needs to change and it has to start today.

Thank you.

7.15 Only immediate climate action can save the future

Immediate action to halt the extraction of fossil fuels and greatly reduce the emission of CO₂ and other greenhouse gasses is needed to save the long-term future of human civilization and the biosphere.

At the opening ceremony of United Nations-sponsored climate talks in Katowice, Poland, Sir David Attenborough said "Right now, we are facing a man-made disaster of global scale. Our greatest threat in thousands of years. Climate change. If we don't take action, the collapse of our civilizations and the extinction of much of the natural world is on the hori-

zon. The world's people have spoken. Their message is clear. Time is running out. They want you, the decision-makers, to act now."

Antonio Guterres, UN Secretary-General, said climate change was already "a matter of life and death" for many countries. He added that the world is "nowhere near where it needs to be" on the transition to a low-carbon economy.

Swedish student Greta Thunberg, is a 16-year-old who has launched a climate protest movement in her country. She said, in a short but very clear speech after that of UN leader Antonio Guterres: "Some people say that I should be in school instead. Some people say that I should study to become a climate scientist so that I can 'solve the climate crisis'. But the climate crisis has already been solved. We already have all the facts and solutions."

She added: "Why should I be studying for a future that soon may be no more, when no one is doing anything to save that future? And what is the point of learning facts when the most important facts clearly mean nothing to our society?"

Thunberg continued: "Today we use 100 million barrels of oil every single day. There are no politics to change that. There are no rules to keep that oil in the ground. So we can't save the world by playing by the rules. Because the rules have to be changed."

She concluded by saying that "since our leaders are behaving like children, we will have to take the responsibility they should have taken long ago."

Appearing among billionaires, corporate CEO's and heads of state at the Davos Economic Forum in Switzerland, like a new Joan of Arc, 16-year-old Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg called on decision-makers to fulfil their responsibilities towards future generations. Here are some excerpts from her speech:

Greta's speech at Davos

Our house is on fire. I am here to say, our house is on fire. According to the IPCC, we are less than 12 years away from not being able to undo our mistakes. In that time, unprecedented changes in all aspects of society need to have taken place, including a reduction of our CO₂ emissions by at least 50%...

Here in Davos - just like everywhere else - everyone is talking about money. It seems money and growth are our only main concerns.

And since the climate crisis has never once been treated as a crisis, people are simply not aware of the full consequences on our everyday life. People are not aware that there is such a thing as a carbon budget, and just how incredibly small that remaining carbon budget is. That needs to change today.

No other current challenge can match the importance of establishing a wide, public awareness and understanding of our rapidly disappearing carbon budget, that should and must become our new global currency and the very heart of our future and present economics.

We are at a time in history where everyone with any insight of the climate crisis that threatens our civilization - and the entire biosphere - must speak

out in clear language, no matter how uncomfortable and unprofitable that may be.

We must change almost everything in our current societies. The bigger your carbon footprint, the bigger your moral duty. The bigger your platform, the bigger your responsibility.

7.16 Worldwide school strike, 15 March, 2019

Over 1.4 million young students across all continents took to the streets on Friday March 15th for the first ever global climate strike. Messages in more than 40 languages were loud and clear: world leaders must act now to address the climate crisis and save our future. The school strike was the largest climate action in history. Nevertheless it went almost unmentioned in the media,

Here are some of the statements by the students explaining why they took part in the strikes:

In India, no one talks about climate change. You don't see it on the news or in the papers or hear about it from government. We want global leaders to declare a climate emergency. If we don't act today, then we will have no tomorrow. - Vidit Baya, 17, Udaipur, India.

We face heartbreaking loss due to increasingly extreme weather events. We urge the Taiwanese government to implement mitigation measures and face up to the vulnerability of indigenous people, halt construction projects in the indigenous traditional realm, and recognize the legal status of Plains Indigenous People, in order to implement environmental protection as a bottom-up approach - Kaisanan Ahuan, Puli City, Taiwan.

We have reached a point in history when we have the technical capacities to solve poverty, malnutrition, inequality and of course global warming. The deciding factors for whether we take advantage of our potential will be our activism, our international unity and our ability to develop the art of making the impossible possible. Whether we succeed or not depends on our political will - Eyal Weintraub, 18, and Bruno Rodriguez, 18, Argentina.

The damage done by multinationals is enormous: the lack of transparency, dubious contracts, the weakening of the soil, the destruction of flora and fauna, the lack of respect for mining codes, the contamination of groundwater. In Mali, the state exercises insufficient control over the practices of the multinationals, and it is us, the citizens, who suffer the consequences. The climate alarm has sounded, and the time has come for us all to realize that there is still time to act locally, in our homes, our villages, our cities - Mone Fousseny,

22, Mali.

7.17 Understatement of existential climate risk

Here are some excerpts from a 44-page report entitled *What Lies Beneath: The Understanding of Existential Climate Risk*, by David Spratt and Ian Dunlop¹⁸:

Three decades ago, when serious debate on human-induced climate change began at the global level, a great deal of statesmanship was on display. There was a preparedness to recognize that this was an issue transcending nation states, ideologies and political parties which had to be addressed pro-actively in the long-term interests of humanity as a whole. This was the case even though the existential nature of the risk it posed was far less clear cut than it is today.

As global institutions, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which was established at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, were developed to take up this challenge, and the extent of change this would demand of the fossil-fuel-dominated world order became clearer, the forces of resistance began to mobilize. Today, as a consequence, and despite the diplomatic triumph of the 2015 Paris Agreement, the debate around climate change policy has never been more dysfunctional, indeed Orwellian.

In his book 1984, George Orwell describes a double-think totalitarian state where most of the population accepts “the most flagrant violations of reality, because they never fully grasped the enormity of what was demanded of them, and were not sufficiently interested in public events to notice what was happening. By lack of understanding they remained sane.”

Orwell could have been writing about climate change and policymaking. International agreements talk of limiting global warming to 1.5-2 degrees Celsius (°C), but in reality they set the world on a path of 3-5°C of warming. Goals are reaffirmed, only to be abandoned. Coal is “clean”. Just 1°C of warming is already dangerous, but this cannot be admitted. The planetary future is hostage to myopic national self-interest. Action is delayed on the assumption that as yet unproven technologies will save the day, decades hence. The risks are existential, but it is “alarmist” to say so.

A one-in-two or one-in-three chance of missing a goal is normalized as reasonable. Moral hazard permeates official thinking, in that there is an incentive to ignore the risks in the interests of political expediency.

Climate policymaking for years has been cognitively dissonant, “a flagrant violation of reality”. So it is unsurprising that there is a lack of understanding amongst the public and elites of the full measure of the climate challenge. Yet

¹⁸<https://www.breakthroughonline.org.au/>

most Australians sense where we are heading: three-quarters of Australians see climate change as catastrophic risk, and half see our way of life ending within the next 100 years.

Politics and policymaking have norms: rules and practices, assumptions and boundaries, that constrain and shape them. In recent years, the previous norms of statesmanship and long-term thinking have disappeared, replaced by an obsession with short-term political and commercial advantage. Climate policymaking is no exception. Since 1992, short-term economic interest has trumped environmental and future human needs.

The world today emits 50% more carbon dioxide (CO₂) from the consumption of energy than it did 25 years ago, and the global economy has more than doubled in size. The UNFCCC strives “to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner”, but every year humanity’s ecological footprint becomes larger and less sustainable. Humanity now requires the biophysical capacity of 1.7 Earths annually as it rapidly chews up natural capital.

A fast, emergency-scale transition to a post-fossil fuel world is absolutely necessary to address climate change. But this is excluded from consideration by policymakers because it is considered to be too disruptive. The orthodoxy is that there is time for an orderly economic transition within the current short-termist political paradigm. Discussion of what would be safe - less warming than we presently experience - is non-existent. And so we have a policy failure of epic proportions.

Policymakers, in their magical thinking, imagine a mitigation path of gradual change to be constructed over many decades in a growing, prosperous world. The world not imagined is the one that now exists: of looming financial instability; of a global crisis of political legitimacy and “fake news”; of a sustainability crisis that extends far beyond climate change to include all the fundamentals of human existence and most significant planetary boundaries (soils, potable water, oceans, the atmosphere, biodiversity, and so on); and of severe global energy-sector dislocation.

In anticipation of the upheaval that climate change would impose upon the global order, the IPCC was established by the United Nations (UN) in 1988, charged with regularly assessing the global consensus on climate science as a basis for policymaking. The IPCC Assessment Reports (AR), produced every five-to-eight years, play a large part in the public framing of the climate narrative: new reports are a global media event.

AR5 was produced in 2013-14, with AR6 due in 2022. The IPCC has done critical, indispensable work of the highest standard in pulling together a periodic consensus of what must be the most exhaustive scientific investigation in world history.

It does not carry out its own research, but reviews and collates peer-reviewed material from across the spectrum of this incredibly complex area, identifying key issues and trends for policymaker consideration. However, the

IPCC process suffers from all the dangers of consensus-building in such a wide-ranging and complex arena. For example, IPCC reports, of necessity, do not always contain the latest available information. Consensus-building can lead to “least drama”, lowest-common-denominator outcomes, which overlook critical issues. This is particularly the case with the “fat-tails” of probability distributions, that is, the high-impact but lower-probability events where scientific knowledge is more limited.

Vested-interest pressure is acute in all directions; climate denialists accuse the IPCC of alarmism, whereas many climate action proponents consider the IPCC to be far too conservative. To cap it all, the IPCC conclusions are subject to intense political oversight before being released, which historically has had the effect of substantially watering-down sound scientific findings.

These limitations are understandable, and arguably were not of overriding importance in the early period of the IPCC. However, as time has progressed, it is now clear that the risks posed by climate change are far greater than previously anticipated. We have moved out of the twilight period of much talk, but relatively limited climate impacts, into the harsh light of physically-evident existential threats. Climate change is now turning nasty, as we have witnessed recently in the North America, East and South Asia, the Middle East and Europe, with record-breaking heatwaves and wildfires, more intense flooding and more damaging hurricanes.

The distinction between climate science and risk is the critical issue, for the two are not the same. Scientific reticence - a reluctance to spell out the full risk implications of climate science in the absence of perfect information - has become a major problem. Whilst this is understandable, particularly when scientists are continually criticized by denialists and political apparatchiks for speaking out, it is extremely dangerous given the fat-tail risks of climate change. Waiting for perfect information, as we are continually urged to do by political and economic elites, means it will be too late to act. Time is not on our side. Sensible risk management addresses risk in time to prevent it happening, and that time is now.

Irreversible, adverse climate change on the global scale now occurring is an existential risk to human civilization. Many of the world’s top climate scientists - Kevin Anderson, James Hansen, Michael E. Mann, Michael Oppenheimer, Naomi Oreskes, Stefan Rahmstorf, Eric Rignot, Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Kevin Trenberth and others - who are quoted in this report well understand these implications and are forthright about their findings, where we are heading, and the limitations of IPCC reports.

This report seeks to alert the wider community and business and political leaders to these limitations and urges changes to the IPCC approach, to the wider UNFCCC negotiations, and to national policymaking. It is clear that existing processes will not deliver the transformation to a carbon-negative world in the limited time now available. We urgently require a re-framing of scien-

tific research within an existential risk-management framework. This requires special precautions that go well beyond conventional risk management. Like an iceberg, there is great danger in “what lies beneath”.

Existential Risk to Human Civilization

In 2016, the World Economic Forum survey of the most impactful risks for the years ahead elevated the failure of climate change mitigation and adaptation to the top of the list, ahead of weapons of mass destruction, ranking second, and water crises, ranking third. By 2018, following a year characterized by high-impact hurricanes and extreme temperatures, extreme-weather events were seen as the single most prominent risk. As the survey noted: “We have been pushing our planet to the brink and the damage is becoming increasingly clear.”

Climate change is an existential risk to human civilization: that is, an adverse outcome that would either annihilate intelligent life or permanently and drastically curtail its potential.

Temperature rises that are now in prospect, after the Paris Agreement, are in the range of 3-5 °C. At present, the Paris Agreement voluntary emission reduction commitments, if implemented, would result in planetary warming of 3.4 °C by 2100, without taking into account “long-term” carbon-cycle feedbacks. With a higher climate sensitivity figure of 4.5 °C, for example, which would account for such feedbacks, the Paris path would result in around 5 °C of warming, according to a MIT study.

A study by Schroeder Investment Management published in June 2017 found - after taking into account indicators across a wide range of the political, financial, energy and regulatory sectors - the average temperature increase implied for the Paris Agreement across all sectors was 4.1 °C.

Yet 3 °C of warming already constitutes an existential risk. A 2007 study by two US national security think-tanks concluded that 3 °C of warming and a 0.5 meter sea-level rise would likely lead to “outright chaos” and “nuclear war is possible”, emphasizing how “massive non-linear events in the global environment give rise to massive nonlinear societal event”.

The Global Challenges Foundation (GCF) explains what could happen: “If climate change was to reach 3 °C, most of Bangladesh and Florida would drown, while major coastal cities - Shanghai, Lagos, Mumbai - would be swamped, likely creating large flows of climate refugees. Most regions in the world would see a significant drop in food production and increasing numbers of extreme weather events, whether heat waves, floods or storms. This likely scenario for a 3 °C rise does not take into account the considerable risk that self-reinforcing feedback loops set in when a certain threshold is reached, leading to an ever increasing rise in temperature. Potential thresholds include the melting of the Arctic permafrost releasing methane into the atmosphere, forest die-back releasing the carbon currently stored in the Amazon and boreal forests, or the

melting of polar ice caps that would no longer reflect away light and heat from the sun.”

Warming of 4 °C or more could reduce the global human population by 80% or 90%, and the World Bank reports “there is no certainty that adaptation to a 4 °C world is possible.”

Prof. Kevin Anderson says a 4 °C future “is incompatible with an organized global community, is likely to be beyond ‘adaptation’, is devastating to the majority of ecosystems, and has a high probability of not being stable”.

This is a commonly-held sentiment amongst climate scientists. A recent study by the European Commission’s Joint Research Centre found that if the global temperature rose 4 °C, then extreme heatwaves with “apparent temperatures” peaking at over 55 °C will begin to regularly affect many densely populated parts of the world, forcing much activity in the modern industrial world to stop. (“Apparent temperatures” refers to the Heat Index, which quantifies the combined effect of heat and humidity to provide people with a means of avoiding dangerous conditions.)

In 2017, one of the first research papers to focus explicitly on existential climate risks proposed that “mitigation goals be set in terms of climate risk category instead of a temperature threshold”, and established a “dangerous” risk category of warming greater than 1.5 °C, and a “catastrophic” category for warming of 3 °C or more. The authors focussed on the impacts on the world’s poorest three billion people, on health and heat stress, and the impacts of climate extremes on such people with limited adaptation resources. They found that a 2 °C warming “would double the land area subject to deadly heat and expose 48% of the population (to deadly heat). A 4 °C warming by 2100 would subject 47% of the land area and almost 74% of the world population to deadly heat, which could pose existential risks to humans and mammals alike unless massive adaptation measures are implemented.”

A 2017 survey of global catastrophic risks by the Global Challenges Foundation found that: “In high-end [climate] scenarios, the scale of destruction is beyond our capacity to model, with a high likelihood of human civilization coming to an end.”

84% of 8000 people in eight countries surveyed for the Foundation considered climate change a “global catastrophic risk”.

Existential risk may arise from a fast rate of system change, since the capacity to adapt, in both the natural and human worlds, is inversely proportional to the pace of change, amongst other factors. In 2004, researchers reported on the rate of warming as a driver of extinction...

At 4 °C of warming “the limits for adaptation for natural systems would largely be exceeded throughout the world”.

Ecological breakdown of this scale would ensure an existential human crisis. By slow degrees, these existential risks are being recognized. In May 2018, an inquiry by the Australian Senate into national security and global warming

recognized “climate change as a current and existential national security risk... defined as ‘one that threatens the premature extinction of Earth-originating intelligent life or the permanent and drastic destruction of its potential for desirable future development’”.

In April 2018, the Intelligence on European Pensions and Institutional Investment think-tank warned business leaders that “climate change is an existential risk whose elimination must become a corporate objective”.

However the most recent IPCC Assessment Report did not consider the issue. Whilst the term “risk management” appears in the 2014 IPCC Synthesis Report fourteen times, the terms “existential” and “catastrophic” do not appear...

7.18 The 2018 IPCC report

Excerpts from an article summarizing the report

Here are excerpts from an article entitled **UN Experts Warn of ‘Climate Catastrophe’ by 2040** by Jessica Corbett. The article was published in Common Dreams on Monday, October 8, 2018.¹⁹:

“The climate crisis is here and already impacting the most vulnerable,” notes 350.org’s program director. “Staying under 1.5°C is now a matter of political will.”

Underscoring the need for “rapid, far-reaching, and unprecedented” changes to life as we know it to combat the global climate crisis, a new report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) - the United Nations’ leading body for climate science - details what the world could look like if the global temperature rises to 1.5°C versus 2°C (2.7°F versus 3.6°F) above pre-industrial levels, and outlines pathways to reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty.

“Climate change represents an urgent and potentially irreversible threat to human societies and the planet,” the report reads. “Human-induced warming has already reached about 1°C (1.8°F) above pre-industrial levels at the time of writing of this Special Report... If the current warming rate continues, the world would reach human-induced global warming of 1.5°C around 2040.”

Approved by the IPCC in South Korea on Saturday ahead of COP24 in Poland in December, **Global Warming of 1.5°C** was produced by 91 authors and reviewers from 40 countries. Its release has elicited calls to action from climate campaigners and policymakers the world over.

¹⁹<https://www.commondreams.org/news/2018/10/08/un-experts-warn-climate-catastrophe-2040-without-rapid-and-unprecedented-global>

“This is a climate emergency. The IPCC 1.5 report starkly illustrates the difference between temperature rises of 1.5°C and 2°C - for many around the world this is a matter of life and death,” declared Karin Nansen, chair of Friends of the Earth International (FOEI). “It is crucial to keep temperature rise well below 1.5 degrees ... but the evidence presented by the IPCC shows that there is a narrow and shrinking window in which to do so.”

The report was requested when the international community came together in December of 2015 for the Paris agreement, which aims to keep global warming within this century “well below” 2°C, with an ultimate target of 1.5°C. President Donald Trump’s predecessor supported the accord, but Trump has vowed to withdraw the United States, even as every other nation on the planet has pledged their support for it. In many cases, however, sworn support hasn’t led to effective policy.

“It’s a fresh reminder, if one was needed, that current emissions reduction pledges are not enough to meet the long-term goals of the Paris agreement. Indeed, they are not enough for any appropriately ambitious temperature target, given what we know about dangerous climate impacts already unfolding even at lower temperature thresholds,” Rachel Cleetus, lead economist and climate policy manager for the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), wrote ahead of its release.

“The policy implications of the report are obvious: We need to implement a suite of policies to sharply limit carbon emissions and build climate resilience, and we must do all this in a way that prioritizes equitable outcomes particularly for the world’s poor and marginalized communities,” Cleetus added.

“We want a just transition to a clean energy system that benefits people not corporations,” Nansen emphasized. “Only with a radical transformation of our energy, food and economic systems, embracing environmental, social, gender and economic justice, can we prevent climate catastrophe and temperature rises exceeding 1.5°C.”

Only immediate climate action can save the future

Immediate action to halt the extraction of fossil fuels and greatly reduce the emission of CO₂ and other greenhouse gasses is needed to save the long-term future of human civilization and the biosphere.

At the opening ceremony of United Nations-sponsored climate talks in Katowice, Poland, Sir David Attenborough said “Right now, we are facing a man-made disaster of global scale. Our greatest threat in thousands of years. Climate change. If we don’t take action, the collapse of our civilizations and the extinction of much of the natural world is on the horizon. The world’s people have spoken. Their message is clear. Time is running out. They want you, the decision-makers, to act now.”

Antonio Guterres, UN Secretary-General, said climate change was already “a matter of life and death” for many countries. He added that the world is “nowhere near where it

needs to be” on the transition to a low-carbon economy.

Swedish student Greta Thunberg, is a 16-year-old who has launched a climate protest movement in her country. She said, in a short but very clear speech after that of UN leader Antonio Guterres: “Some people say that I should be in school instead. Some people say that I should study to become a climate scientist so that I can ‘solve the climate crisis’. But the climate crisis has already been solved. We already have all the facts and solutions.”

She added: “Why should I be studying for a future that soon may be no more, when no one is doing anything to save that future? And what is the point of learning facts when the most important facts clearly mean nothing to our society?”

Thunberg continued: “Today we use 100 million barrels of oil every single day. There are no politics to change that. There are no rules to keep that oil in the ground. So we can’t save the world by playing by the rules. Because the rules have to be changed.”

She concluded by saying that “since our leaders are behaving like children, we will have to take the responsibility they should have taken long ago.”

Institutional inertia

Our collective failure to respond adequately to the current crisis is very largely due to institutional inertia. Our financial system is deeply embedded and resistant to change. Our entire industrial infrastructure is based on fossil fuels; but if the future is to be saved, the use of fossil fuels must stop. International relations are still based on the concept of absolutely sovereign nation states, even though this concept has become a dangerous anachronism in an era of instantaneous global communication and economic interdependence. Within nations, systems of law and education change very slowly, although present dangers demand rapid revolutions in outlook and lifestyle.

The failure of the recent climate conferences to produce strong final documents can be attributed to the fact that the nations attending the conferences felt themselves to be in competition with each other, when in fact they ought to have cooperated in response to a common danger. The heavy hand of the fossil fuel industry also made itself felt at the conferences.

Until the development of coal-driven steam engines in the 19th century humans lived more or less in harmony with their environment. Then, fossil fuels, representing many millions of years of stored sunlight, were extracted and burned in two centuries, driving a frenzy of growth of population and industry that has lasted until the present. But today, the party is over. Coal, oil and gas are nearly exhausted, and what remains of them must be left in the ground to avoid existential threats to humans and the biosphere. Big coal and oil corporations base the value of their stocks on ownership of the remaining resources that are still buried, and they can be counted on to use every trick, fair or unfair, to turn those resources into money.

In general corporations represent a strong force resisting change. By law, the directors of corporations are obliged to put the profits of stockholders above every other consideration. No room whatever is left for an ecological or social conscience. Increasingly, corporations

have taken control of our mass media and our political system. They intervene in such a way as to make themselves richer, and thus to increase their control of the system.

Polite conversation and cultural inertia

Each day, the conventions of polite conversation contribute to our sense that everything is as it always was. Politeness requires that we do not talk about issues that might be contrary to another person's beliefs. Thus polite conversation is dominated by trivia, entertainment, sports, the weather, gossip, food, and so on. Worries about the distant future, the danger of nuclear war, the danger of uncontrollable climate change, or the danger of widespread famine seldom appear in conversations at the dinner table, over coffee or at the pub. In conversations between polite people, we obtain the false impression that all is well with the world. But in fact, all is not well. We have to act promptly and adequately to save the future.

The situation is exactly the same in the mass media. The programs and articles are dominated by trivia and entertainment. Serious discussions of the sudden crisis which civilization now faces are almost entirely absent, because the focus is on popularity and ratings. As Neil Postman remarked, we are entertaining ourselves to death.

Further growth implies future collapse

We have to face the fact that endless economic growth on a finite planet is a logical impossibility, and that we have reached or passed the sustainable limits to growth.

In today's world, we are pressing against the absolute limits of the earth's carrying capacity, and further growth carries with it the danger of future collapse. In the long run, neither the growth of industry nor that of population is sustainable; and we have now reached or exceeded the sustainable limits.

Our responsibility to future generations and to the biosphere

All of the technology needed for the replacement of fossil fuels by renewable energy is already in place. Although renewable sources currently supply only 19 percent of the world's energy requirements, they are growing rapidly. For example, wind energy is growing at the rate of 30 percent per year. Because of the remarkable properties of exponential growth, this will mean that wind will soon become a major supplier of the world's energy requirements, despite bitter opposition from the fossil fuel industry.

Both wind and solar energy can now compete economically with fossil fuels, and this situation will become even more pronounced if more countries put a tax on carbon emissions, as Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Costa Rica, the United Kingdom and Ireland already have done. ²⁰

²⁰<http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-5/article/urgent-need-renewable-energy>

Much research and thought have also been devoted to the concept of a steady-state economy. The only thing that is lacking is political will. It is up to the people of the world to make their collective will felt.²¹

History has given to our generation an enormous responsibility towards future generations. We must achieve a new kind of economy, a steady-state economy. We must stabilize global population. We must replace fossil fuels by renewable energy. We must abolish nuclear weapons. We must end the institution of war. We must reclaim democracy in our own countries when it has been lost. We must replace nationalism by a just system of international law. We must prevent degradation of the earth's environment. We must act with dedication and fearlessness to save the future of the earth for human civilization and for the plants and animals with which we share the gift of life.

“And yes, we do need hope. Of course, we do. But the one thing we need more than hope is action. Once we start to act, hope is everywhere. So instead of looking for hope, look for action. Then and only then, hope will come today.”
Greta Thunberg

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Chapter 8

REFUGEES FROM CLIMATE CHANGE

8.1 Climate change as genocide

Climate change does not affect all parts of the world equally. The harshest effects of the extreme weather that we are already experiencing are disproportionately felt by the poorest people of the world.

In March, 2017, the Security Council was informed ¹ that 20 million people in four countries, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen, were in danger of dying unless provided with immediate help. The cost of the necessary aid was estimated to be \$4.4 billion. The developed world's response has been a shrug of indifference. By the midsummer, 2017 only a tenth of the amount needed had been raised.

Conflicts and famine are interlinked. The struggle for food produces conflicts; and famine is often used as an instrument of war. Food aid, when available, is often deliberately blocked or destroyed by warring factions. Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Shabaab in Somalia, assorted militias and the government in South Sudan, and Saudi-backed forces in Yemen all interfered with the delivery of aid supplies.

In the future, the effects of rising temperatures and reduced rainfall will disproportionately affect poor farmers of Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Latin America. If the more affluent parts of the world continue to produce greenhouse gasses in a business-as-usual scenario, and if they continue to ignore calls for help from starving people, these actions will amount to genocide.

¹by Stephen O'Brian, UN Under Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs



Figure 8.1: A starving child in Somalia.

8.2 The United Nations High Commission on Refugees

In an article on *Climate Change and Disasters* the United Nations High Commission on Refugees makes the following statement:

“The Earth’s climate is changing at a rate that has exceeded most scientific forecasts. Some families and communities have already started to suffer from disasters and the consequences of climate change, forced to leave their homes in search of a new beginning.

“For UNHCR, the consequences of climate change are enormous. Scarce natural resources such as drinking water are likely to become even more limited. Many crops and some livestock are unlikely to survive in certain locations if conditions become too hot and dry, or too cold and wet. Food security, already a concern, will become even more challenging.

“People try to adapt to this situation, but for many this will mean a conscious move to another place to survive. Such moves, or the effects of climate change on natural resources, may spark conflict with other communities, as an increasing number of people compete for a decreasing amount of resources.

“Since 2009, an estimated one person every second has been displaced by a disaster, with an average of 22.5 million people displaced by climate- or weather-related events since 2008 (IDMC 2015). Disasters and slow onsets, such as droughts in Somalia in 2011 and 2012, floods in Pakistan between 2010 and 2012, and the earthquake in Nepal in 2015, can leave huge numbers of people traumatized without shelter, clean water and basic supplies.”

8.3 Populations displaced by sea level rise

In a recent article² discussed the long-term effects of sea level rise and the massive refugee crisis that it might create. By 2060, about 1.4 billion people could be climate change refugees, according to the paper, and that number could reach 2 billion by 2100.

The lead author, Prof. Emeritus Charles Geisler of Cornell University says: “The colliding forces of human fertility, submerging coastal zones, residential retreat, and impediments to inland resettlement is a huge problem. We offer preliminary estimates of the lands unlikely to support new waves of climate refugees due to the residues of war, exhausted natural resources, declining net primary productivity, desertification, urban sprawl, land concentration, ‘paving the planet’ with roads and greenhouse gas storage zones offsetting permafrost melt.”

We should notice that Prof. Geisler’s estimate of 2 billion climate refugees by 2100 includes all causes, not merely sea level rise. However, the number of refugees from sea level rise alone will be very large, since all the world’s coastal cities, and many river deltas will be at risk.

8.4 Populations displaced by drought and famine

Climate change could produce a refugee crisis that is “unprecedented in human history”, Barack Obama has warned as he stressed global warming was the most pressing issue of the age.

Speaking at an international food conference in Milan, the former US President said rising temperatures were already making it more difficult to grow crops and rising food prices were “leading to political instability”.

If world leaders put aside “parochial interests” and took action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by enough to restrict the rise to one or two degrees Celsius, then humanity would probably be able to cope.

Failing to do this, Mr Obama warned, increased the risk of “catastrophic” effects in the future, “not only real threats to food security, but also increases in conflict as a consequence of scarcity and greater refugee and migration patterns”.

“If you think about monsoon patterns in the Indian subcontinent, maybe half a billion people rely on traditional rain patterns in those areas,”

8.5 Populations displaced by rising temperatures

A new study published in *Nature: Climate Change* has warned that up to 75% of the world’s population could face deadly heat waves by 2100 unless greenhouse gas emissions are rapidly controlled.³ The following is an excerpt from the article:

²Geisler C. et al., *Impediments to inland resettlement under conditions of accelerated sea level rise*, Land Use Policy, Vol 55, July 2017, Pages 322-330

³Mora, C. et al., *Global risk of deadly heat*, *Nature: Climate Change*, 19 June 2017

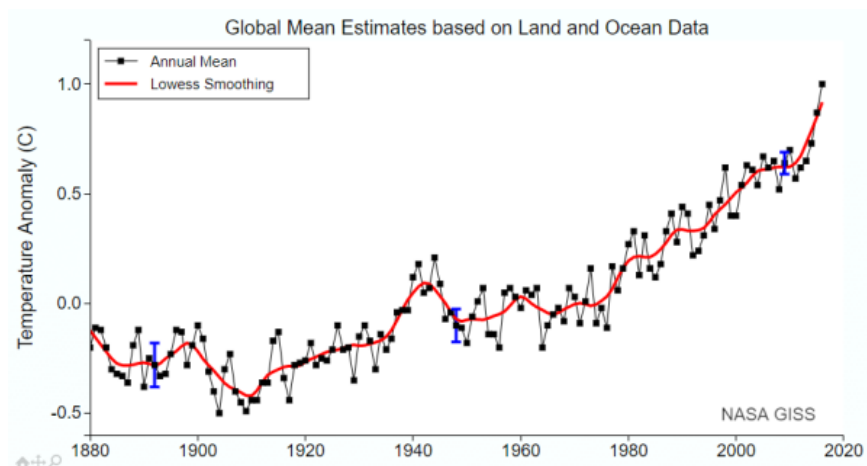


Figure 8.2: **This figure shows an alarming upward turn in the average global temperature**

“Here we conducted a global analysis of documented lethal heat events to identify the climatic conditions associated with human death and then quantified the current and projected occurrence of such deadly climatic conditions worldwide. We reviewed papers published between 1980 and 2014, and found 783 cases of excess human mortality associated with heat from 164 cities in 36 countries.

“Based on the climatic conditions of those lethal heat events, we identified a global threshold beyond which daily mean surface air temperature and relative humidity become deadly. Around 30% of the world’s population is currently exposed to climatic conditions exceeding this deadly threshold for at least 20 days a year.

“By 2100, this percentage is projected to increase to 48% under a scenario with drastic reductions of greenhouse gas emissions and 74% under a scenario of growing emissions. An increasing threat to human life from excess heat now seems almost inevitable, but will be greatly aggravated if greenhouse gases are not considerably reduced.”⁴

8.6 Populations displaced by war

A recent article in *The Guardian*⁵ discusses the relationship between climate change and war. Here are some excerpts from the article:

“Climate change is set to cause a refugee crisis of ‘unimaginable scale’, according to senior military figures, who warn that global warming is the greatest security threat of the 21st century and that mass migration will become the ‘new normal’.

⁴See also <https://phys.org/news/2017-08-deadly-south-asia-century.html> and <https://cleantechnica.com/2017/09/28/extreme-heatwaves-like-recent-lucifer-heatwave-become-normal-europe-2050s/>

⁵Thursday, 1 December, 2016

“The generals said the impacts of climate change were already factors in the conflicts driving a current crisis of migration into Europe, having been linked to the Arab Spring, the war in Syria and the Boko Haram terrorist insurgency.

“Military leaders have long warned that global warming could multiply and accelerate security threats around the world by provoking conflicts and migration. They are now warning that immediate action is required.

“‘Climate change is the greatest security threat of the 21st century,’ said Maj Gen Muniruzzaman.

“Muniruzzaman, chairman of the Global Military Advisory Council on climate change and a former military adviser to the president of Bangladesh. He said one meter of sea level rise will flood 20% of his nation. ‘We’re going to see refugee problems on an unimaginable scale, potentially above 30 million people.’

“Previously, Bangladesh’s finance minister, Abul Maal Abdul Muhith, called on Britain and other wealthy countries to accept millions of displaced people.

“Brig Gen Stephen Cheney, a member of the US Department of State’s foreign affairs policy board and CEO of the American Security Project, said: ‘Climate change could lead to a humanitarian crisis of epic proportions. We’re already seeing migration of large numbers of people around the world because of food scarcity, water insecurity and extreme weather, and this is set to become the new normal’.

8.7 Political reactions to migration

Brexit

Across the developed world, the reaction to threatened migration of refugees from climate change has been less than generous, to say the least. The recent decision of Britain to leave the European Union was motivated largely by the fear of British workers that EU laws would force their country to accept large numbers of refugees.

Swings to the right in Europe

In Germany, Angela Merkel’s generous policies towards refugees have cost her votes, while an openly racist party, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party, has gained in strength. Frauke Petry, 40, the party’s leader, has said border guards might need to turn guns on anyone crossing a frontier illegally. The party’s policy platform says “Islam does not belong in Germany” and calls for a ban on the construction of mosques.

In September, 2017, eight people from the neo-Nazi Freital Group were put on trial in Dresden for bomb attacks on homes for asylum applicants. Hundreds of similar assaults occur in Germany every year, but they had never before been tried as terrorism in a federal court.

In the German election, which took place on Sunday, October 1, 2017, Angela Merkel won a fourth term as Chancellor, but her party won only 33% of the votes, a percentage

much reduced from the 41% won in the election of 2013. Angela Merkel was paying a high price for her refugee-friendly policies.

Meanwhile the far right anti-immigration AfD party made a historic breakthrough, winning 13.5% of the vote, thus becoming the first overtly nationalist party to sit in the Bundestag in 60 years. The Greens have already complained that “Nazis have returned to parliament”. In fact, members of the AfD party have begun to say that Germans should stop being ashamed of their country’s Nazi past.

In France, the National Front is a nationalist party that uses populist rhetoric to promote its anti-immigration and anti-European Union positions. The party favors protectionist economic policies and would clamp down on government benefits for immigrants.

Similarly, in the Netherlands, the anti-European Union, anti-Islam Party for Freedom has called for closing all Islamic schools and recording the ethnicity of all Dutch citizens. In early November, the party was leading in polls ahead of next year’s parliamentary elections.

Other far-right anti-immigrant parties in Europe include Golden Dawn (Greece), Jobbic (Hungary), Sweden Democrats (Sweden), Freedom Party (Austria), and People’s Party - Our Slovakia (Slovakia). All of these parties have gained in strength because of the widespread fear of immigration.

Populism in the United States

The election of Donald Trump, who ran for President in 2016 on an openly racist and anti-immigrant platform, can also be seen as the result of fear of immigration, especially on the part of industrial workers.

8.8 A more humane response to the refugee crisis

In the long-term future, climate change will make the refugee crisis much more severe. Heat and drought will make large regions of the world uninhabitable, and will threaten many populations with famine. The severity of the refugee crisis will depend on how quickly we reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

While making many parts of the world uninhabitable, long-term climate change will make other regions more suitable for human habitation and agriculture. For example, farming will become more possible in Siberia, Greenland, the Canadian Arctic, Alaska and Patagonia. A humane response to the refugee crisis could include the generous opening of these regions to refugees.

The global population of humans is currently increasing by almost a billion people every decade. Global population must be stabilized, and in the long run, gradually reduced. Money currently wasted (or worse than wasted) on armaments could be used instead to promote universal primary health care, and with it, universal access to the knowledge and materials needed for family planning.

Finally, reduced consumption of meat, particularly beef, would shorten the food chain thus make more food available for famine relief.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 9

THE THREAT OF LARGE-SCALE FAMINE

“Unless progress with agricultural yields remains very strong, the next century will experience human misery that, on a sheer numerical scale, will exceed everything that has come before”

Nobel Laureate Norman Borlaug speaking of a global food crisis in the 21st century

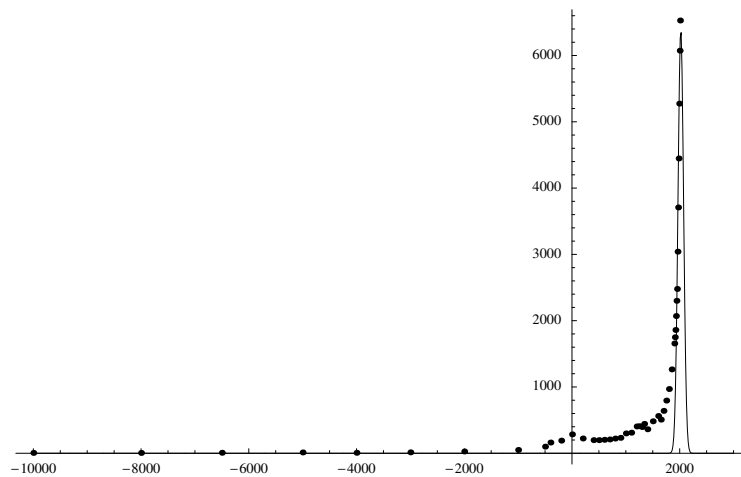


Figure 9.1: **Population growth and fossil fuel use, seen on a time-scale of several thousand years.** The dots are population estimates in millions from the US Census Bureau. Fossil fuel use appears as a spike-like curve, rising from almost nothing to a high value, and then falling again to almost nothing in the space of a few centuries. When the two curves are plotted together, the explosive rise of global population is seen to be simultaneous with, and perhaps partially driven by, the rise of fossil fuel use. This raises the question of whether the world's population is headed for a crash when the fossil fuel era has ended. (Author's own graph)

9.1 Introduction

As glaciers melt in the Himalayas, depriving India and China of summer water supplies; as sea levels rise, drowning the fertile rice fields of Viet Nam and Bangladesh; as drought threatens the productivity of grain-producing regions of North America; and as the end of the fossil fuel era impacts modern high-yield agriculture, there is a threat of wide-spread famine. There is a danger that the 1.5 billion people who are undernourished today will not survive an even more food-scarce future.

People threatened with famine will become refugees, desperately seeking entry into countries where food shortages are less acute. Wars, such as those currently waged in the Middle East, will add to the problem.

What can we do to avoid this crisis, or at least to reduce its severity? We must urgently address the problem of climate change; and we must shift money from military expenditure to the support of birth control programs and agricultural research. We must also replace the institution of war by a system of effective global governance and enforceable international laws.

9.2 Optimum population in the distant future

What is the optimum population of the world? It is certainly not the maximum number that can be squeezed onto the globe by eradicating every species of plant and animal that cannot be eaten. The optimum global population is one that can be supported in comfort, equality and dignity - and with respect for the environment.

In 1848 (when there were just over one billion people in the world), John Stuart Mill described the optimal global population in the following words:

“The density of population necessary to enable mankind to obtain, in the greatest degree, all the advantages of cooperation and social intercourse, has, in the most populous countries, been attained. A population may be too crowded, although all be amply supplied with food and raiment.”

“... Nor is there much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation, which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural pasture plowed up, all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man’s use exterminated as his rivals for food, every hedgerow or superfluous tree rooted out, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed in the name of improved agriculture. If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness which it owes to things that the unlimited increase of wealth and population would extirpate from it, for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger, but not better or happier population, I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it.”¹

Has the number of humans in the world already exceeded the earth’s sustainable limits? Will the global population of humans crash catastrophically after having exceeded the carrying capacity of the environment? There is certainly a danger that this will happen - a danger that the 21st century will bring very large scale famines to vulnerable parts of the world, because modern energy-intensive agriculture will be dealt a severe blow by prohibitively high petroleum prices, and because climate change will reduce the world’s agricultural output. When the major glaciers in the Himalayas have melted, they will no longer be able to give India and China summer water supplies; rising oceans will drown much agricultural land; and aridity will reduce the output of many regions that now produce much of the world’s grain. Falling water tables in overdrawn aquifers, and loss of topsoil will add to the problem. We should be aware of the threat of a serious global food crisis in the 21st century if we are to have a chance of avoiding it.

The term *ecological footprint* was introduced by William Rees and Mathis Wackernagel in the early 1990’s to compare demands on the environment with the earth’s capacity to regenerate. In 2005, humanity used environmental resources at such a rate that it would take 1.3 earths to renew them. In other words, we have already exceeded the earth’s carrying capacity. Since eliminating the poverty that characterizes much of the world

¹John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy, With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, (1848).

today will require more resources per capita, rather than less. it seems likely that in the era beyond fossil fuels, the optimum global population will be considerably less than the present population of the world.

9.3 Population growth and the Green Revolution

In 1944 the Norwegian-American plant geneticist Norman Borlaug was sent to Mexico by the Rockefeller Foundation to try to produce new wheat varieties that might increase Mexico's agricultural output. Borlaug's dedicated work on this project was spectacularly successful. He remained with the project for 16 years, and his group made 6,000 individual crossings of wheat varieties to produce high-yield disease-resistant strains.

In 1963, Borlaug visited India, bringing with him 100 kg. of seeds from each of his most promising wheat strains. After testing these strains in Asia, he imported 450 tons of the Lerma Rojo and Sonora 64 varieties - 250 tons for Pakistan and 200 for India. By 1968, the success of these varieties was so great that school buildings had to be commandeered to store the output. Borlaug's work began to be called a "Green Revolution". In India, the research on high-yield crops was continued and expanded by Prof. M.S. Swaminathan and his coworkers. The work of Green Revolution scientists, such Norman Borlaug and M.S. Swaminathan, has been credited with saving the lives of as many as a billion people.

Despite these successes, Borlaug believes that the problem of population growth is still a serious one. "Africa and the former Soviet republics", Borlaug states, "and the Cerrado², are the last frontiers. After they are in use, the world will have no additional sizable blocks of arable land left to put into production, unless you are willing to level whole forests, which you should not do. So, future food-production increases will have to come from higher yields. And though I have no doubt that yields will keep going up, whether they can go up enough to feed the population monster is another matter. Unless progress with agricultural yields remains very strong, the next century will experience human misery that, on a sheer numerical scale, will exceed the worst of everything that has come before."

A very serious problem with Green Revolution plant varieties is that they require heavy inputs of pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. Because of this, the use of high-yield varieties contributes to social inequality, since only rich farmers can afford the necessary inputs. Monocultures, such as the Green Revolution varieties may also prove to be vulnerable to future epidemics of plant diseases, such as the epidemic that caused the Irish Potato Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend on the use of fossil fuels. One must therefore ask whether high agricultural yields can be maintained in the future, when fossil fuels are expected to become prohibitively scarce and expensive.

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² The Cerrado is a large savanna region of Brazil.



Figure 9.2: **Norman Borlaug’s work on developing high-yield disease-resistant plant varieties won him a Nobel Peace Prize in 1970.**

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With regard to the prospect of increasing the area of cropland, a report by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (*Provisional Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development*, FAO, Rome, 1970) states that “In Southern Asia,... in some countries of Eastern Asia, in the Near East and North Africa... there is almost no scope for expanding agricultural area... In the drier regions, it will even be necessary to return to permanent pasture the land that is marginal and submarginal for cultivation. In most of Latin America and Africa south of the Sahara, there are still considerable possibilities for expanding cultivated areas; but the costs of development are high, and it will often be more

³ The Cerrado is a large savanna region of Brazil.



Figure 9.3: **Professor M.S. Swaminathan, father of the Green Revolution in India.** (Open and Shut7)



Figure 9.4: **Norman Borlaug and agronomist George Harrer in 1943.** (Human Wrongs Watch)

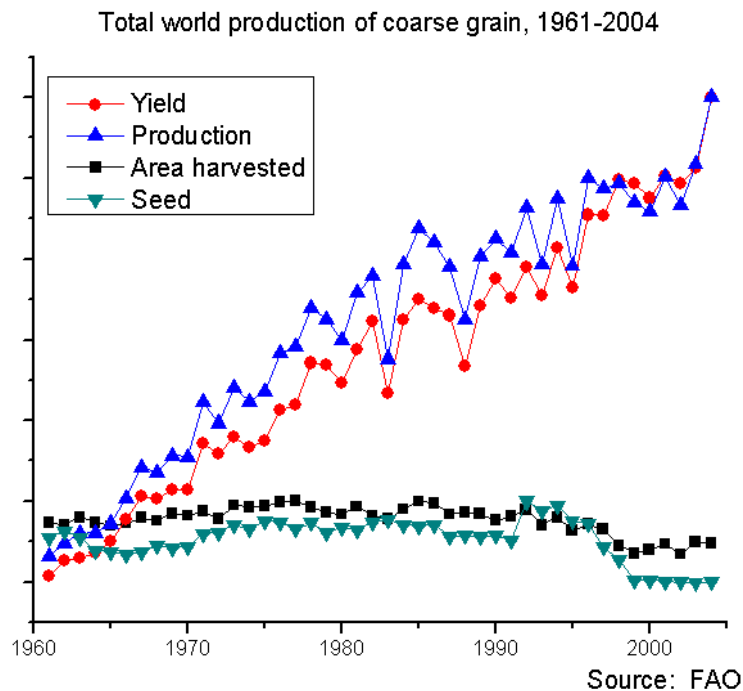


Figure 9.5: This graph shows the total world production of coarse grain between 1960 and 2004. Because of high-yield varieties, the yield of grain increased greatly. Notice, however, that the land under cultivation remained almost constant. High-yield agriculture depends on large inputs of fossil fuel energy and irrigation, and may be difficult to maintain in the future. (FAO)

economical to intensify the utilization of areas already settled.” Thus there is a possibility of increasing the area of cropland in Africa south of the Sahara and in Latin America, but only at the cost of heavy investment and at the additional cost of destruction of tropical rain forests.

Rather than an increase in the global area of cropland, we may encounter a future loss of cropland through soil erosion, salination, desertification, loss of topsoil, depletion of minerals in topsoil, urbanization and failure of water supplies. In China and in the southwestern part of the United States, water tables are falling at an alarming rate. The Ogallala aquifer (which supplies water to many of the plains states in the central and southern parts of the United States) has a yearly overdraft of 160%.

In the 1950's, both the U.S.S.R and Turkey attempted to convert arid grasslands into wheat farms. In both cases, the attempts were defeated by drought and wind erosion, just as the wheat farms of Oklahoma were overcome by drought and dust in the 1930's.

If irrigation of arid lands is not performed with care, salt may be deposited, so that the land is ruined for agriculture. This type of desertification can be seen, for example, in some parts of Pakistan. Another type of desertification can be seen in the Sahel region of Africa, south of the Sahara. Rapid population growth in the Sahel has led to overgrazing, destruction of trees, and wind erosion, so that the land has become unable to support even its original population.

Especially worrying is a prediction of the International Panel on Climate Change concerning the effect of global warming on the availability of water: According to Model A1 of the IPCC, global warming may, by the 2050's, have reduced by as much as 30% the water available in large areas of world that now a large producers of grain⁴.

Added to the agricultural and environmental problems, are problems of finance and distribution. Famines can occur even when grain is available somewhere in the world, because those who are threatened with starvation may not be able to pay for the grain, or for its transportation. The economic laws of supply and demand are not able to solve this type of problem. One says that there is no “demand” for the food (meaning demand in the economic sense), even though people are in fact starving.

9.4 Energy-dependence of modern agriculture

Food prices and energy prices

A very serious problem with Green Revolution plant varieties is that they require heavy inputs of pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. Because of this, the use of high-yield varieties contributes to social inequality, since only rich farmers can afford the necessary inputs. Monocultures, such as the Green Revolution varieties may also prove to be vulnerable to future epidemics of plant diseases, such as the epidemic that caused the Irish Potato Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend on the use of fossil fuels. One must therefore ask whether high agricultural yields can be

⁴See the discussion of the Stern Report in Chapter 7.

maintained in the future, when fossil fuels are expected to become prohibitively scarce and expensive.

Modern agriculture has become highly dependent on fossil fuels, especially on petroleum and natural gas. This is especially true of production of the high-yield grain varieties introduced in the Green Revolution, since these require especially large inputs of fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation. Today, fertilizers are produced using oil and natural gas, while pesticides are synthesized from petroleum feedstocks, and irrigation is driven by fossil fuel energy. Thus agriculture in the developed countries has become a process where inputs of fossil fuel energy are converted into food calories. If one focuses only on the farming operations, the fossil fuel energy inputs are distributed as follows:

1. Manufacture of inorganic fertilizer, 31%
2. Operation of field machinery, 19%
3. Transportation, 16%
4. Irrigation, 13%
5. Raising livestock (not including livestock feed), 8%
6. Crop drying, 5%
7. Pesticide production, 5%
8. Miscellaneous, 8%

The ratio of the fossil fuel energy inputs to the food calorie outputs depends on how many energy-using elements of food production are included in the accounting. David Pimental and Mario Giampietro of Cornell University estimated in 1994 that U.S. agriculture required 0.7 kcal of fossil fuel energy inputs to produce 1.0 kcal of food energy. However, this figure was based on U.N. statistics that did not include fertilizer feedstocks, pesticide feedstocks, energy and machinery for drying crops, or electricity, construction and maintenance of farm buildings. A more accurate calculation, including these inputs, gives an input/output ratio of approximately 1.0. Finally, if the energy expended on transportation, packaging and retailing of food is included, Pimental and Giampietro found that the input/output ratio for the U.S. food system was approximately 10, and this figure did not include energy used for cooking.

The Brundtland Report's ⁵ estimate of the global potential for food production assumes "that the area under food production can be around 1.5 billion hectares (3.7 billion acres - close to the present level), and that the average yields could go up to 5 tons of grain equivalent per hectare (as against the present average of 2 tons of grain equivalent)." In

⁵ World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, Oxford University Press, (1987). This book is often called "The Brundtland Report" after Gro Harlem Brundtland, the head of WCED, who was then Prime Minister of Norway.

other words, the Brundtland Report assumes an increase in yields by a factor of 2.5. This would perhaps be possible if traditional agriculture could everywhere be replaced by energy-intensive modern agriculture using Green Revolution plant varieties. However, Pimental and Giampietro's studies show that modern energy-intensive agricultural techniques cannot be maintained after fossil fuels have been exhausted.

At the time when the Brundtland Report was written (1987), the global average of 2 tons of grain equivalent per hectare included much higher yields from the sector using modern agricultural methods. Since energy-intensive petroleum-based agriculture cannot be continued in the post-fossil-fuel era, future average crop yields will probably be much less than 2 tons of grain equivalent per hectare.

The 1987 global population was approximately 5 billion. This population was supported by 3 billion tons of grain equivalent per year. After fossil fuels have been exhausted, the total world agricultural output is likely to be considerably less than that, and therefore the population that it will be possible to support will probably be considerably less than 5 billion, assuming that our average daily per capita use of food calories remains the same, and assuming that the amount of cropland and pasturage remains the same (1.5 billion hectares cropland, 3.0 billion hectares pasturage).

The Brundtland Report points out that "The present (1987) global average consumption of plant energy for food, seed and animal feed amounts to 6,000 calories daily, with a range among countries of 3,000-15,000 calories, depending on the level of meat consumption." Thus there is a certain flexibility in the global population that can survive on a given total agricultural output. If the rich countries were willing to eat less meat, more people could be supported.

9.5 Effects of climate change on agriculture

Effects of temperature increase on crops

There is a danger that when climate change causes both temperature increases and increased aridity in regions like the US grain belt, yields will be very much lowered. Of the three main grain types (corn, wheat and rice) corn is the most vulnerable to the direct effect of increases in temperature. One reason for this is the mechanism of pollination of corn: A pollen grain lands on one end of a corn-silk strand, and the germ cell must travel the length of the strand in order to fertilize the kernel. At high temperatures, the corn silk becomes dried out and withered, and is unable to fulfill its biological function. Furthermore, heat can cause the pores on the underside of the corn leaf to close, so that photosynthesis stops.

According to a study made by Mohan Wali and coworkers at Ohio State University, the photosynthetic activity of corn increases until the temperature reaches 20 degrees Celsius. It then remains constant until the temperature reaches 35 degrees, after which it declines. At 40 degrees and above, photosynthesis stops altogether.

Scientists in the Philippines report that the pollination of rice fails entirely at 40 degrees

Celsius, leading to crop failures. Wheat yields are also markedly reduced by temperatures in this range.

Predicted effects on rainfall

According to the Stern Report, some of the major grain-producing areas of the world might lose up to 30% of their rainfall by 2050. These regions include much of the United States, Brazil, the Mediterranean region, Eastern Russia and Belarus, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Australia. Of course possibilities for agriculture may simultaneously increase in other regions, but the net effect of climate change on the world's food supply is predicted to be markedly negative.

Unsustainable use of groundwater

It may seem surprising that fresh water can be regarded as a non-renewable resource. However, groundwater in deep aquifers is often renewed very slowly. Sometimes renewal requires several thousand years. When the rate of withdrawal of groundwater exceeds the rate of renewal, the carrying capacity of the resource has been exceeded, and withdrawal of water becomes analogous to mining a mineral. However, it is more serious than ordinary mining because water is such a necessary support for life.

In many regions of the world today, groundwater is being withdrawn faster than it can be replenished, and important aquifers are being depleted. In China, for example, groundwater levels are falling at an alarming rate. Considerations of water supply in relation to population form the background for China's stringent population policy.

At a recent lecture, Lester Brown of the Worldwatch Institute was asked by a member of the audience to name the resource for which shortages would most quickly become acute. Most of the audience expected him to name oil, but instead he replied "water". Lester Brown then cited China's falling water table. He predicted that within decades, China would be unable to feed itself. He said that this would not cause hunger in China itself: Because of the strength of China's economy, the country would be able to purchase grain on the world market. However Chinese purchases of grain would raise the price, and put world grain out of reach of poor countries in Africa. Thus water shortages in China will produce famine in parts of Africa, Brown predicted.

Under many desert areas of the world are deeply buried water tables formed during glacial periods when the climate of these regions was wetter. These regions include the Middle East and large parts of Africa. Water can be withdrawn from such ancient reservoirs by deep wells and pumping, but only for a limited amount of time.

In oil-rich Saudi Arabia, petroenergy is used to drill wells for ancient water and to bring it to the surface. Much of this water is used to irrigate wheat fields, and this is done to such an extent that Saudi Arabia exports wheat. The country is, in effect, exporting its ancient heritage of water, a policy that it may, in time, regret. A similarly short-sighted project is Muammar Qaddafi's enormous pipeline, which will bring water from ancient sub-desert reservoirs to coastal cities of Libya.



Figure 9.6: **Whitechuck Glacier in the North Cascades National Park in 1973.** (Nicholas College)



Figure 9.7: **The same glacier in 2006** (Nicholas College)

In the United States, the great Ogallala aquifer is being overdrawn. This aquifer is an enormous stratum of water-saturated sand and gravel underlying parts of northern Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming and South Dakota. The average thickness of the aquifer is about 70 meters. The rate of water withdrawal from the aquifer exceeds the rate of recharge by a factor of eight.

Thus we can see that in many regions, the earth's present population is living on its inheritance of water, rather than its income. This fact, coupled with rapidly increasing populations and climate change, may contribute to a food crisis partway through the 21st century.

Glacial melting and summer water supplies

The summer water supplies of both China and India are threatened by the melting of glaciers. The Gangotri glacier, which is the principle glacier feeding India's great Ganges River, is reported to be melting at an accelerating rate, and it could disappear within a few decades. If this happens, the Ganges could become seasonal, flowing only during the monsoon season.

Chinese agriculture is also threatened by disappearing Himalayan glaciers, in this case those on the Tibet-Qinghai Plateau. The respected Chinese glaciologist Yao Tandong estimates that the glaciers feeding the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers are disappearing at the rate of 7% per year.

The Indus and Mekong Rivers will be similarly affected by the melting of glaciers. Lack of water during the summer season could have a serious impact on the irrigation of rice and wheat fields.

Forest loss and climate change

Mature forests contain vast amounts of sequestered carbon, not only in their trees, but also in the carbon-rich soil of the forest floor. When a forest is logged or burned to make way for agriculture, this carbon is released into the atmosphere. One fifth of the global carbon emissions are at present due to destruction of forests. This amount is greater than the CO₂ emissions for the world's transportation systems.

An intact forest pumps water back into the atmosphere, increasing inland rainfall and benefiting agriculture. By contrast, deforestation, for example in the Amazonian rainforest, accelerates the flow of water back into the ocean, thus reducing inland rainfall. There is a danger that the Amazonian rainforest may be destroyed to such an extent that the region will become much more dry. If this happens, the forest may become vulnerable to fires produced by lightning strikes. This is one of the feedback loops against which the Stern Report warns - the drying and burning of the Amazonian rainforest may become irreversible, greatly accelerating climate change, if destruction of the forest proceeds beyond a certain point.

Erosion of topsoil

Besides depending on an adequate supply of water, food production also depends on the condition of the thin layer of topsoil that covers the world's croplands. This topsoil is being degraded and eroded at an alarming rate: According to the World Resources Institute and the United Nations Environment Programme, "It is estimated that since World War II, 1.2 billion hectares... has suffered at least moderate degradation as a result of human activity. This is a vast area, roughly the size of China and India combined." This area is 27% of the total area currently devoted to agriculture ⁶. The report goes on to say that

⁶The total area devoted to agriculture throughout the world is 1.5 billion hectares of cropland and 3.0 billion hectares of pasturage.

the degradation is greatest in Africa.

The risk of topsoil erosion is greatest when marginal land is brought into cultivation, since marginal land is usually on steep hillsides which are vulnerable to water erosion when wild vegetation is removed.

David Pimental and his associates at Cornell University pointed out in 1995 that "Because of erosion-associated loss of productivity and population growth, the per capita food supply has been reduced over the past 10 years and continues to fall. The Food and Agricultural Organization reports that the per capita production of grains which make up 80% of the world's food supply, has been declining since 1984."

Pimental et al. add that "Not only is the availability of cropland per capita decreasing as the world population grows, but arable land is being lost due to excessive pressure on the environment. For instance, during the past 40 years nearly one-third of the world's cropland (1.5 billion hectares) has been abandoned because of soil erosion and degradation. Most of the replacement has come from marginal land made available by removing forests. Agriculture accounts for 80% of the annual deforestation."

Topsoil can also be degraded by the accumulation of salt when irrigation water evaporates. The worldwide area of irrigated land has increased from 8 million hectares in 1800 to more than 100 million hectares today. This land is especially important to the world food supply because it is carefully tended and yields are large in proportion to the area. To protect this land from salination, it should be irrigated in such a way that evaporation is minimized.

Finally cropland with valuable topsoil is being lost to urban growth and highway development, a problem that is made more severe by growing populations and by economic growth.

Laterization

Every year, more than 100,000 square kilometers of rain forest are cleared and burned, an area which corresponds to that of Switzerland and the Netherlands combined. Almost half of the world's tropical forests have already been destroyed. Ironically, the land thus cleared often becomes unsuitable for agriculture within a few years.

Tropical soils may seem to be fertile when covered with luxuriant vegetation, but they are usually very poor in nutrients because of leeching by heavy rains. The nutrients which remain are contained in the vegetation itself; and when the forest cover is cut and burned, the nutrients are rapidly lost.

Often the remaining soil is rich in aluminum oxide and iron oxide. When such soils are exposed to oxygen and sun-baking, a rocklike substance called Laterite is formed. The temples of Angkor Wat in Cambodia are built of Laterite; and it is thought that laterization of the soil contributed to the disappearance of the Khmer civilization, which built these temples.

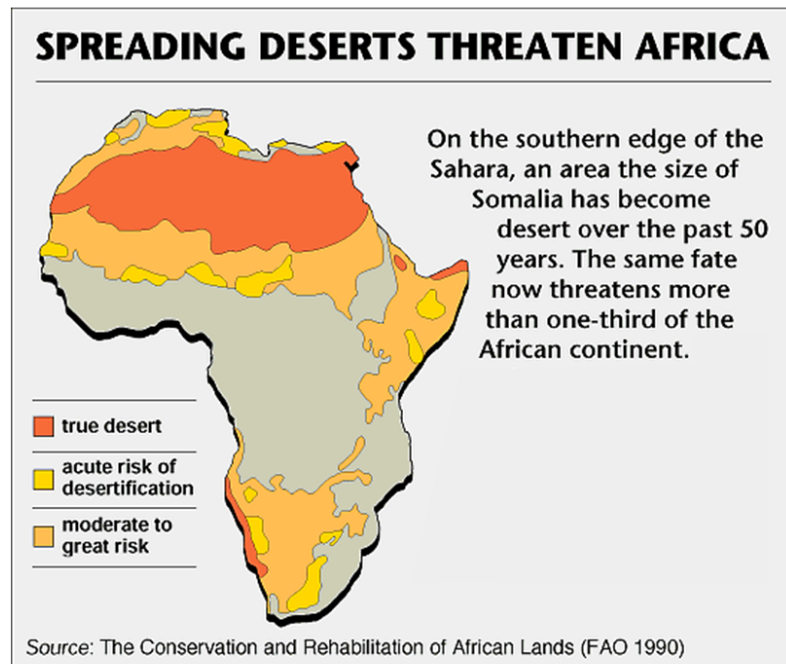


Figure 9.8: Desert regions of the Africa that are in danger of spreading. (FAO)

9.6 Harmful effects of industrialized farming

A major global public health crisis may soon be produced by the wholesale use of antibiotics in the food of healthy farm animals. The resistance factors produced by shovelling antibiotics into animal food produces resistance factors (plasmids) which can easily be transferred to human pathogens. A related problem is the excessive use of pesticides and artificial fossil-fuel-derived fertilizers in agriculture. Pharming is not a joke. It is a serious threat.⁷

Plasmids

Bacteria belong to a class of organisms (prokaryotes) whose cells do not have a nucleus. Instead, the DNA of the bacterial chromosome is arranged in a large loop. In the early

⁷<http://ecowatch.com/2014/03/06/misuse-antibiotics-fatal-superbug-crisis/>
<http://ecowatch.com/2013/12/06/8-scary-facts-about-antibiotic-resistance/>
<http://ecowatch.com/2015/03/27/obama-fight-superbug-crisis/>
<http://ecowatch.com/2014/03/12/fda-regulation-antibiotics-factory-farms/>
<http://www.bbc.com/news/health-35153795>
<http://www.bbc.com/news/health-21702647>
<http://www.bbc.com/news/health-34857015>
<http://sustainableagriculture.net/about-us/>
<https://pwccc.wordpress.com/programa/>

1950's, Joshua Lederberg discovered that bacteria can exchange genetic information. He found that a frequently-exchanged gene, the F-factor (which conferred fertility), was not linked to other bacterial genes; and he deduced that the DNA of the F-factor was not physically a part of the main bacterial chromosome. In 1952, Lederberg coined the word "plasmid" to denote any extrachromosomal genetic system.

In 1959, it was discovered in Japan that genes for resistance to antibiotics can be exchanged between bacteria; and the name "R-factors" was given to these genes. Like the F-factors, the R-factors did not seem to be part of the main loop of bacterial DNA.

Because of the medical implications of this discovery, much attention was focused on the R-factors. It was found that they were plasmids, small loops of DNA existing inside the bacterial cell, but not attached to the bacterial chromosome. Further study showed that, in general, between one percent and three percent of bacterial genetic information is carried by plasmids, which can be exchanged freely even between different species of bacteria.

In the words of the microbiologist, Richard Novick, "Appreciation of the role of plasmids has produced a rather dramatic shift in biologists' thinking about genetics. The traditional view was that the genetic makeup of a species was about the same from one cell to another, and was constant over long periods of time. Now a significant proportion of genetic traits are known to be variable (present in some individual cells or strains, absent in others), labile (subject to frequent loss or gain) and mobile, all because those traits are associated with plasmids or other atypical genetic systems."

Because of the ease with which plasmids conferring resistance to antibiotics can be transferred from animal bacteria to the bacteria carrying human disease, the practice of feeding antibiotics to healthy farm animals is becoming a major human health hazard. The World Health Organization has warned that if we lose effective antibiotics through this mechanism, "Many common infections will no longer have a cure, and could kill unabated". The US Center for Disease Control has pointed to the emergence of "nightmare bacteria", and the chief medical officer for England Prof Dame Sally Davies has evoked parallels with the "apocalypse".

Pesticides, artificial fertilizers and topsoil

A closely analogous danger results from the overuse of pesticides and petroleum-derived fertilizers in agriculture. A very serious problem with Green Revolution plant varieties is that they require heavy inputs of pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. Because of this, the use of high-yield varieties contributes to social inequality, since only rich farmers can afford the necessary inputs. Monocultures, such as the Green Revolution varieties may also prove to be vulnerable to future plant diseases, such as the epidemic that caused the Irish Potato Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend on the use of fossil fuels. One must ask, therefore, whether high-yield agriculture can be maintained in the post-fossil-fuel era.

Topsoil is degraded by excessive use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. Natural topsoil is rich in organic material, which contains sequestered carbon that would otherwise

be present in our atmosphere in the form of greenhouse gases. In addition, natural topsoil contains an extraordinarily rich diversity of bacteria and worms that act to convert agricultural wastes from one year's harvest into nutrients for the growth of next year's crop. Pesticides kill these vital organisms, and make the use of artificial fertilizers necessary.

Finally, many small individual farmers, whose methods are sustainable, are being eliminated by secret land-grabs or put out of business because they cannot compete with unsustainable high-yield agriculture. Traditional agriculture contains a wealth of knowledge and biodiversity, which it would be wise for the world to preserve.

9.7 The demographic transition

The phrase “developing countries” is more than a euphemism; it expresses the hope that with the help of a transfer of technology from the industrialized nations, all parts of the world can achieve prosperity. Some of the forces that block this hope have just been mentioned. Another factor that prevents the achievement of worldwide prosperity is population growth.

In the words of Dr. Halfdan Mahler, former Director General of the World Health Organization, “Country after country has seen painfully achieved increases in total output, food production, health and educational facilities and employment opportunities reduced or nullified by excessive population growth.”

The growth of population is linked to excessive urbanization, infrastructure failures and unemployment. In rural districts in the developing countries, family farms are often divided among a growing number of heirs until they can no longer be subdivided. Those family members who are no longer needed on the land have no alternative except migration to overcrowded cities, where the infrastructure is unable to cope so many new arrivals. Often the new migrants are forced to live in excrement-filled makeshift slums, where dysentery, hepatitis and typhoid are endemic, and where the conditions for human life sink to the lowest imaginable level. In Brazil, such shanty towns are called “favelas”.

If modern farming methods are introduced in rural areas while population growth continues, the exodus to cities is aggravated, since modern techniques are less labor-intensive and favor large farms. In cities, the development of adequate infrastructure requires time, and it becomes a hopeless task if populations are growing rapidly. Thus, population stabilization is a necessary first step for development.

It can be observed that birth rates fall as countries develop. However, development is sometimes blocked by the same high birth rates that economic progress might have prevented. In this situation (known as the “demographic trap”), economic gains disappear immediately because of the demands of an exploding population.

For countries caught in the demographic trap, government birth control programs are especially important, because one cannot rely on improved social conditions to slow birth rates. Since health and lowered birth rates should be linked, it is appropriate that family-planning should be an important part of programs for public health and economic development.



Figure 9.9: **Child suffering with the deficiency disease Marasmus in India.** (Public domain)

A recent study conducted by Robert F. Lapham of Demographic Health Surveys and W. Parker Maudlin of the Rockefeller Foundation has shown that the use of birth control is correlated both with socio-economic setting and with the existence of strong family-planning programs. The implication of this study is that even in the absence of increased living standards, family-planning programs can be successful, provided they have strong government support.

China, the world's most populous nation, has adopted the somewhat draconian policy of allowing only one child for families in living in towns and cities (35.9% of the population). Chinese leaders obtained popular support for their one-child policy by means of an educational program which emphasized future projections of diminishing water resources and diminishing cropland per person if population increased unchecked. Like other developing countries, China has a very young population, which will continue to grow even when fertility has fallen below the replacement level because so many of its members are contributing to the birth rate rather than to the death rate. China's present population is 1.3 billion. Its projected population for the year 2025 is 1.5 billion. China's one-child policy is supported by 75% of the country's people, but the methods of enforcement are sometimes criticized, and it has led to a M/F sex ratio of 1.17/1.00. The natural baseline for the sex ratio ranges between 1.03/1.00 and 1.07/1.00.

Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because in many countries these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates. Religious leaders who oppose programs for the education of women and for family planning on "ethical" grounds should think carefully about the scope and consequences of the catastrophic global famine which will undoubtedly occur within the next 50 years if population is allowed to increase unchecked. Do these leaders really wish to be responsible for the suffering and death from starvation of hundreds of millions of people?

At the United Nations Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in September, 1994, a theme which emerged very clearly was that one of the most important keys to controlling the global population explosion is giving women better education and equal rights. These goals are desirable for the sake of increased human happiness, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented point of view which women can give us; but in addition, education and improved status for women have shown themselves to be closely connected with lowered birth rates. When women lack education and independent careers outside the home, they can be forced into the role of baby-producing machines by men who do not share in the drudgery of cooking, washing and cleaning; but when women have educational, legal, economic, social and political equality with men, experience has shown that they choose to limit their families to a moderate size.

Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out that the changes needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor and general economic development.



Figure 9.10: Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates. (Kundan Srivastava)

The UN Summit on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants

On September 19, 2016, the United Nations General Assembly held a 1-day summit meeting to address the pressing problem of refugees. It is a problem that has been made acute by armed conflicts in the Middle East and Africa, and by climate change.

One of the outcomes of the summit was the a Declaration for Refugees and Migrants. Here is a statement of the severity of the problem from paragraph 3 of the Declaration:

“We are witnessing in today’s world an unprecedented level of human mobility. More people than ever before live in a country other than the one in which they were born. Migrants are present in all countries of the world. Most of them move without incident. In 2015, their number surpassed 244 million, growing at a rate faster than the world’s population. However, there are 65 million forcibly displaced persons, including over 21 million refugees, 3 million asylum seekers and over 40 million internally displaced persons.”

Sadly, the world’s response to the tragic plight of refugees fleeing from zones of armed conflict has been less than generous. Men, women and many children, trying to escape from almost certain death in the war-torn Middle East, have been met, not with sympathy and kindness, but with barbed wire and tear gas.

Germany’s Chancellor, Angela Merkel, courageously made arrangements for her country to accept a large number of refugees, but as a consequence her party has suffered political setbacks. On the whole, European governments have moved to the right, as anti-refugee parties gained strength. The United States, Canada Australia and Russia, countries that could potentially save the lives of many refugees, have accepted almost none. In contrast, tiny Lebanon, despite all its problems, has become the home of so many refugees that they

are a very large fraction of the country's total population.

As the effects of climate change become more pronounced, we can expect the suffering and hopelessness of refugees to become even more severe. This is a challenge which the world must meet with humanity and solidarity.

The World Cities Report, 2016

According to the World Cities Report⁸, by 2030, two thirds of the world's population will be living in cities. As the urban population increases, the land area occupied by cities is increasing at a higher rate. It is projected that by 2030, the urban population of developing countries will double, while the area covered by cities could triple.

Commenting on this, the UN-Habitat Executive Director, Joan Clos, said: "In the twenty years since the Habitat II conference, the world has seen a gathering of its population in urban areas. This has been accompanied by socioeconomic growth in many instances. But the urban landscape is changing and with it, the pressing need for a cohesive and realistic approach to urbanization".

"Such urban expansion is wasteful in terms of land and energy consumption and increases greenhouse gas emissions. The urban centre of gravity, at least for megacities, has shifted to the developing regions."

One can foresee that in the future, as fossil fuels become increasingly scarce, the problem of feeding urban populations will become acute.

9.8 Lester Brown's lecture in Copenhagen

After a lecture at the University of Copenhagen in the 1980's, Lester R. Brown of the Earth Policy Institute was asked which resource would be the first to become critically scarce. Everyone in the audience expected him to say "oil", but instead he said "fresh water". He went on to explain that falling water tables in China would soon make China unable to feed its population. This would not cause famine in China itself because of the strength of the Chinese economy, which would allow the Chinese to purchase grain on the world market. However, shortages of fresh water in China would indeed cause famine, for example in Africa, because Chinese demand for grain would raise prices on the world market beyond the ability of poor countries to pay.

⁸<http://wcr.unhabitat.org/>



Figure 9.11: **Lester R. Brown**

9.9 Predictions of drought in the Stern Review

According to a report presented to the Oxford Institute of Economic Policy by Sir Nicholas Stern on 31 January, 2006, areas likely to lose up to 30% of their rainfall by the 2050's because of climate change include much of the United States, Brazil, the Mediterranean region, Eastern Russia and Belarus, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Southern Australia. Meanwhile rainfall is predicted to increase up to 30% in Central Africa, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Siberia, and much of China.

Stern and his team point out that “We can... expect to see changes in the Indian monsoon, which could have a huge impact on the lives of hundreds of millions of people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Most climate models suggest that the monsoon will change, although there is still uncertainty about exactly how. Nevertheless, small changes in the monsoon could have a huge impact. Today, a fluctuation of just 10% in either direction from average monsoon rainfall is known to cause either severe flooding or drought. A weak summer monsoon, for example, can lead to poor harvests and food shortages among the rural population - two-thirds of India's almost 1.1 billion people. Heavier-than-usual monsoon downpours can also have devastating consequences...”

In some regions, melting of glaciers can be serious from the standpoint of dry-season water supplies. For example, melts from glaciers in the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas now supply much of Asia, including China and India, with a dry-season water supply. Complete melting of these glacial systems would cause an exaggerated runoff for a few decades, after which there would be a drying out of some of the most densely populated regions of the world.

9.10 Ocean current changes and failure of monsoons

It is expected that climate change will affect ocean currents, and hence also affect monsoon rainfall. We are already experiencing a diversion of the Gulf Stream due to southward currents of cold water from melting ice in the Arctic. This has caused what is known as the *North Atlantic Anomaly*. While most regions of the world are experiencing rising

temperatures, the North Atlantic and several northern European countries are exceptions to this rule, and have cooled. Complete failure of the Gulf Stream would lead to much colder temperatures in Europe.

Changes in ocean currents have already lead to the failure of the West African Monsoon, and this has already produced severe food insecurity in West Africa.

In the future, climate-changed ocean currents may lead to failures of monsoons in South-east Asia, and thus damage the food supply of almost two billion people.

9.11 Falling water tables around the world

Under many desert areas of the world are deeply buried water tables formed during glacial periods when the climate of these regions was wetter. These regions include the Middle East and large parts of Africa. Water can be withdrawn from such ancient reservoirs by deep wells and pumping, but only for a limited amount of time.

In oil-rich Saudi Arabia, petroenergy is used to drill wells for ancient water and to bring it to the surface. Much of this water is used to irrigate wheat fields, and this is done to such an extent that Saudi Arabia exports wheat. The country is, in effect, exporting its ancient heritage of water, a policy that it may, in time, regret. A similarly short-sighted project is Muammar Qaddafi's enormous pipeline, which will bring water from ancient sub-desert reservoirs to coastal cities.

In the United States, the great Ogallala aquifer is being overdrawn. This aquifer is an enormous stratum of water-saturated sand and gravel under-lying parts of northern Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming and South Dakota. The average thickness of the aquifer is about 70 meters. The rate of water withdrawal from the aquifer exceeds the rate of recharge by a factor of eight.

Thus we can see that in many regions, the earth's present population is living on its inheritance of water, rather than its income. This fact, coupled with rapidly increasing populations and climate change, may contribute to a very serious food crisis partway through the 21st century.

9.12 Glacial melting and summer water supplies

The summer water supplies of both China and India are threatened by the melting of glaciers. The Gangotri glacier, which is the principle glacier feeding India's great Ganges River, is reported to be melting at an accelerating rate, and it could disappear within a few decades. If this happens, the Ganges could become seasonal, flowing only during the monsoon season. Chinese agriculture is also threatened by disappearing Himalayan glaciers, in this case those on the Tibet-Quinghai Plateau. The respected Chinese glaciologist Yao Tandong estimates that the glaciers feeding the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers are

disappearing at the rate of 7% per year.⁹

9.13 Advances in desalinization technology

Scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have developed a new desalinization process, called shock electrodialysis. In this process, water flows through a porous material - in this case, made of tiny glass particles, called a frit - with membranes or electrodes sandwiching the porous material on each side. When an electric current flows through the system, the salty water divides into regions where the salt concentration is either depleted or enriched. When that current is increased to a certain point, it generates a shockwave between these two zones, sharply dividing the streams and allowing the fresh and salty regions to be separated by a simple physical barrier at the center of the flow.

“It generates a very strong gradient,” says Martin Bazant, a researcher involved with the project¹⁰.

Even though the system can use membranes on each side of the porous material, Bazant explains, the water flows across those membranes, not through them. That means they are not as vulnerable to fouling - a buildup of filtered material - or to degradation due to water pressure, as happens with conventional membrane-based desalination, including conventional electrodialysis. “The salt doesn’t have to push through something,” Bazant says. “The charged salt particles, or ions, just move to one side”.

9.14 Sustainable future populations

In an important and detailed study entitled *Will Limited Land, Water, and Energy Control Human Population Numbers in the Future?*, David Pimentel et al.¹¹ discuss the problem of agriculture and global population in the post fossil fuel era. Here are some quotations from the article:

“Nearly 60% of the world’s human population is malnourished and the numbers are growing. Shortages of basic foods related to decreases in per capita cropland, water, and fossil energy resources contribute to spreading malnutrition and other diseases. The suggestion is that in the future only a smaller number of people will have access to adequate nourishment. In about 100 years, when it is reported that the planet will run out of fossil energy, we suggest that a world population of about two billion might be sustainable if it relies on renewable energy technologies and also reduces per capita use of the earth’s natural resources.

“Developed and developing nations need to provide a good quality life for their people while coping with rapid population growth, but ‘Population is the issue no one wants

⁹<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/04/global-glaciers-melting-three-times-rate-20th-century>

¹⁰ He was quoted in an article published in *MIT News*, November 12, 2015

¹¹D. Pimentel et al., *Human Ecology* DOI 10.1007/s10745-010-9346-y, (2010)

to touch' (Meadows 2000). The current world population is about 6.8 billion. Based on the present growth rate of 1.2% per year, the population is projected to double in approximately 58 years (Chiras 2006; PRB 2008). Because population growth cannot continue indefinitely, society can either voluntarily control its numbers or let natural forces such as disease, malnutrition, and other disasters limit human numbers (Bartlett 1997-98; Pimentel et al. 1999). Increasing human numbers especially in urban areas, and increasing pollution of food, water, air, and soil by pathogenic disease organisms and chemicals, are causing a rapid increase in the prevalence of disease and human mortality (Murray and Lopez 1996; Pimentel et al. 2007). Currently, more than 3.7 billion humans are malnourished worldwide - the largest number ever (WHO 2005a, b).

"The planet's numerous environmental problems highlight the urgent need to evaluate available land, water, and energy resources and how they relate to the requirements of a rapidly growing human population (Pimentel and Pimentel 2008). In this article we assess the carrying capacity of the Earth's natural resources, and suggest that humans should voluntarily limit their population growth, rather than letting natural forces control their numbers (Ferguson 1998; Pimentel et al. 1999). In addition, we suggest appropriate policies and technologies that would improve standards of living and quality of life worldwide...

"In 1960, when the world population numbered about 3 billion, approximately 0.5 ha of cropland was available per capita worldwide. This half a hectare is needed to provide a diverse, healthy, nutritious diet of plant and animal products..."

Pimentel et al. state that worldwide, the average cropland per capita has now fallen to 0.22 hectares. This number will continue to fall because global population is increasing at the rate of almost one billion people per decade, while the global area available for cropland is not increasing. On the contrary, it is decreasing because of desertification, erosion, salination and urban sprawl. Pimentel et al. state that cropland is being degraded and lost at a rate of more than 20 million hectares per year-

The current cropland per capita in the United States is 0.56 hectares, and thus still quite large, but in China, the figure is dangerously low: only 0.1 hectares. China will soon be unable to feed its population and will have to buy grain on the world market. As Lester Brown pointed out in his Copenhagen lecture, China will be able to import grain because of its strong economy, but this will raise food prices and will cause widespread famine in other parts of the world.

Added to the agricultural and environmental problems, are problems of finance and distribution. Famines can occur even when grain is available somewhere in the world, because those who are threatened with starvation may not be able to pay for the grain, or for its transportation. The economic laws of supply and demand are not able to solve this type of problem. One says that there is no "demand" for the food (meaning demand in the economic sense), even though people are in fact starving.

What is the optimum population of the world? It is certainly not the maximum number that can be squeezed onto the globe by eradicating every species of plant and animal that cannot be eaten. The optimum global population is one that can be supported in comfort, equality and dignity - and with respect for the environment.

In 1848 (when there were just over one billion people in the world), John Stuart Mill

described the optimal global population in the following words:

“The density of population necessary to enable mankind to obtain, in the greatest degree, all the advantages of cooperation and social intercourse, has, in the most populous countries, been attained. A population may be too crowded, although all be amply supplied with food and raiment.”

“... Nor is there much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation, which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural pasture plowed up, all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man’s use exterminated as his rivals for food, every hedgerow or superfluous tree rooted out, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed in the name of improved agriculture. If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness which it owes to things that the unlimited increase of wealth and population would extirpate from it, for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger, but not better or happier population, I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it.”¹²

Dennis Meadows, one of the authors of *Limits to Growth*, stated recently that the optimum human population in the distant future may be about 2 billion people.

But what about the near future? Will the global population of humans crash catastrophically after having exceeded the carrying capacity of the environment? There is certainly a danger that this will happen - a danger that the 21st century will bring very large scale famines to vulnerable parts of the world, because modern energy-intensive agriculture will be dealt a severe blow by prohibitively high petroleum prices. At present, there are only a few major food-exporting countries, notably the United States, Canada, Australia and Argentina. There is a danger that within a few decades, the United States will no longer be able to export food because of falling production and because of the demands of a growing population. We should be aware of these serious future problems if we are to have a chance of avoiding them.

9.15 The demographic transition

The developed industrial nations of the modern world have gone through a process known as the “demographic transition” - a shift from an equilibrium where population growth is held in check by the grim Malthusian forces of disease, starvation and war, to one where it is held in check by birth control and late marriage.

The transition begins with a fall in the death rate, caused by various factors, among which the most important is the application of scientific knowledge to the prevention of disease. Malthus gives the following list of some of the causes of high death rates: “...unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common

¹²John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy, With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, (1848).

diseases and epidemics, wars, plague and famine.” The demographic transition begins when some of the causes of high death rates are removed.

Cultural patterns require some time to adjust to the lowered death rate, and so the birth rate continues to be high. Families continue to have six or seven children, just as they did when most of the children died before having children of their own. Therefore, at the start of the demographic transition, the population increases sharply. After a certain amount of time, however, cultural patterns usually adjust to the lowered death rate, and a new equilibrium is established, where both the birth rate and the death rate are low.

In Europe, this period of adjustment required about two hundred years. In 1750, the death rate began to fall sharply: By 1800, it had been cut in half, from 35 deaths per thousand people in 1750 to 18 in 1800; and it continued to fall. Meanwhile, the birth rate did not fall, but even increased to 40 births per thousand per year in 1800. Thus the number of children born every year was more than twice the number needed to compensate for the deaths!

By 1800, the population was increasing by more than two percent every year. In 1750, the population of Europe was 150 million; by 1800, it was roughly 220 million; by 1950 it had exceeded 540 million, and in 1970 it was 646 million.

Meanwhile the achievements of medical science and the reduction of the effects of famine and warfare had been affecting the rest of the world: In 1750, the non-European population of the world was only 585 million. By 1850 it had reached 877 million. During the century between 1850 and 1950, the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America more than doubled, reaching 1.8 billion in 1950. In the twenty years between 1950 and 1970, the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America increased still more sharply, and in 1970, this segment of the world's population reached 2.6 billion, bringing the world total to 3.6 billion. The fastest increase was in Latin America, where population almost doubled during the twenty years between 1950 and 1970.

The latest figures show that population has stabilized or in some cases is even decreasing in Europe, Russia, Canada, Japan, Cuba and New Zealand. In Argentina, the United States, China, Myanmar, Thailand and Australia, the rates of population increase are moderate - 0.6%-1.0%; but even this moderate rate of increase will have a heavy ecological impact, particularly in the United States, with its high rates of consumption.

The population of the remainder of the world is increasing at breakneck speed - 2%-4% per year - and it cannot continue to expand at this rate for very much longer without producing widespread famines, since modern intensive agriculture cannot be sustained beyond the end of the fossil fuel era. The threat of catastrophic future famines makes it vital that all countries that have not completed the demographic transition should do so as rapidly as possible.

The Stages of the Demographic Transition.

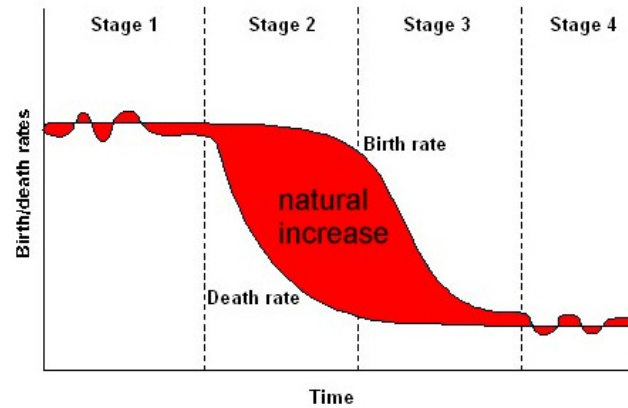


Figure 9.12: The demographic transition.

9.16 Urbanization

The global rate of population growth has slowed from 2.0 percent per year in 1972 to 1.7 percent per year in 1987; and one can hope that it will continue to fall. However, it is still very high in most developing countries. For example, in Kenya, the population growth rate is 4.0 percent per year, which means that the population of Kenya will double in seventeen years.

During the 60 years between 1920 and 1980 the urban population of the developing countries increased by a factor of 10, from 100 million to almost a billion. In 1950, the population of Sao Paulo in Brazil was 2.7 million. By 1980, it had grown to 12.6 million; and it is expected to reach 24.0 million by the year 2000. Mexico City too has grown explosively to an unmanageable size. In 1950, the population of Mexico City was 3.05 million; in 1982 it was 16.0 million; and the population in 2000 was 17.8 million.

A similar explosive growth of cities can be seen in Africa and in Asia. In 1968, Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, and Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, were both growing at the rate of 14 percent per year, doubling in size every 5 years. In 1950, Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, had a population of 0.14 million. In a 1999 census, it was estimated to be between 3 and 4 million, having increased by a factor of 25.

In 1972, the population of Calcutta was 7.5 million. By the turn of the century in 2000, it had almost doubled in size. This rapid growth produced an increase in the poverty and pollution from which Calcutta already suffered in the 1970's. The Hooghly estuary near Calcutta is choked with untreated industrial waste and sewage, and a large percentage of Calcutta's citizens suffer from respiratory diseases related to air pollution.

Governments in the third world, struggling to provide clean water, sanitation, roads, schools, medical help and jobs for all their citizens, are defeated by rapidly growing urban



Figure 9.13: Because of the threat of widespread famine, it is vital that all countries should complete the demographic transition as quickly as possible.



Figure 9.14: Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out that all the changes needed for population stabilization are desirable in themselves. These include education for women, higher status for women, state provision of old-age help for the poor, universal health care, and making safe drinking water available near to dwellings.

populations. Often the makeshift shantytowns inhabited by new arrivals have no piped water; or when water systems exist, the pressures may be so low that sewage seeps into the system.

Many homeless children, left to fend for themselves, sleep and forage in the streets of third world cities. These conditions have tended to become worse with time rather than better. Whatever gains governments can make are immediately canceled by growing populations.

9.17 Achieving economic equality

Today's world is characterized by intolerable economic inequalities, both between nations and within nations. A group of countries including (among others) Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, has only 13% of the world's population, but receives 45% of the global PPP¹³ income. By contrast, a second group, including 2.1 Billion people (45% of the world's population) receives only 9% of the global PPP income. Another indicator of inequality is the fact that the 50 million richest people in the world receive as much as the 2,700 million poorest.

18 million of our fellow humans die each year from poverty-related causes. Each year, 11 million children die before reaching their fifth birthday. 1.1 billion people live on less than \$1 per day; 2.7 billion live on less than \$2.

At the United Nations Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in September, 1994, a theme which emerged very clearly was that one of the most important keys to controlling the global population explosion is giving women better education and equal rights. These goals are desirable for their own sake, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented point of view which women can give us; but in addition, education and improved status for women have shown themselves to be closely connected with lowered birth rates. When women lack education and independent careers outside the home, they can be forced into the role of baby-producing machines by men who do not share in the drudgery of cooking, washing and cleaning; but when women have educational, legal, economic, social and political equality with men, experience has shown that they choose to limit their families to a moderate size.

As glaciers melt in the Himalayas, depriving India and China of summer water supplies; as sea levels rise, drowning the fertile rice fields of Viet Nam and Bangladesh; as drought threatens the productivity of grain-producing regions of North America; and as the end of the fossil fuel era impacts modern high-yield agriculture, there is a threat of wide-spread famine. There is a danger that the 1.5 billion people who are undernourished today will not survive an even more food-scarce future.

People threatened with famine will become refugees, desperately seeking entry into countries where food shortages are less acute. Wars, such as those currently waged in the Middle East, will add to the problem.

¹³Purchasing Power Parity



Figure 9.15: Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates.

What can we do to avoid this crisis, or at least to reduce its severity? We must urgently address the problem of climate change; and we must shift money from military expenditure to the support of birth control programs and agricultural research. We must also replace the institution of war by a system of effective global governance and enforceable international laws.

9.18 Achieving a steady-state economic system

Endless economic growth on a finite planet is a logical impossibility. Just as population growth is limited by ecological constraints, so too is the growth of resource-using and pollution-producing industrial production. Culture, of course, can and should continue to grow,

A number of economists have studied this problem, and in particular, outstanding contributions have been made by Frederick Soddy, Nickolas Georgescu-Roegan and Herman Daly. These authors have taken into account the role which entropy plays in economics.

9.19 Harmful effects of industrialized farming

Pharming

A major global public health crisis may soon be produced by the wholesale use of antibiotics in the food of healthy farm animals. The resistance factors produced by shovelling

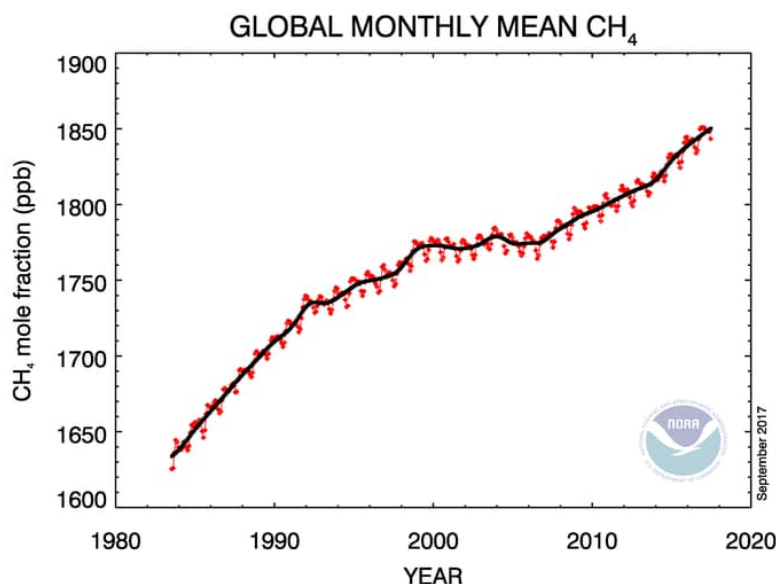


Figure 9.16: Methane emissions are steadily increasing. A new report has shown ruminants are largely responsible for increases in rates of emission.

antibiotics into animal food produces resistance factors (plasmids) which can easily be transferred to human pathogens. A related problem is the excessive use of pesticides and artificial fossil-fuel-derived fertilizers in agriculture. Pharming is not a joke. It is a serious threat.¹⁴

Meat and methane

Methane is an extremely powerful greenhouse gas. and it is emitted in large quantities by ruminants, such as cattle produced for beef. A new report¹⁵ finds that cattle are not the biggest contributor to the annual methane budget in the atmosphere, but they may be the biggest contributor to increases in methane emissions over recent years.

¹⁴<http://ecowatch.com/2014/03/06/misuse-antibiotics-fatal-superbug-crisis/>
<http://ecowatch.com/2013/12/06/8-scary-facts-about-antibiotic-resistance/>
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¹⁵J. Wolf et al., *Revised methane emissions factors and spatially distributed annual carbon fluxes for global livestock*, Carbon Balance and Management 2017, 12:16

One must also remember that by eating less meat, and in particular less beef, we can shorten the food chain and thus help famine-threatened populations.

Pesticides, artificial fertilizers and topsoil

A closely analogous danger results from the overuse of pesticides and petroleum-derived fertilizers in agriculture. A very serious problem with Green Revolution plant varieties is that they require heavy inputs of pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. Because of this, the use of high-yield varieties contributes to social inequality, since only rich farmers can afford the necessary inputs. Monocultures, such as the Green Revolution varieties may also prove to be vulnerable to future plant diseases, such as the epidemic that caused the Irish Potato Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend on the use of fossil fuels. One must ask, therefore, whether high-yield agriculture can be maintained in the post-fossil-fuel era.

Topsoil is degraded by excessive use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. Natural topsoil is rich in organic material, which contains sequestered carbon that would otherwise be present in our atmosphere in the form of greenhouse gases. In addition, natural topsoil contains an extraordinarily rich diversity of bacteria and worms that act to convert agricultural wastes from one year's harvest into nutrients for the growth of next year's crop. Pesticides kill these vital organisms, and make the use of artificial fertilizers necessary.

Finally, many small individual farmers, whose methods are sustainable, are being eliminated by secret land-grabs or put out of business because they cannot compete with unsustainable high-yield agriculture. Traditional agriculture contains a wealth of knowledge and biodiversity, which it would be wise for the world to preserve.

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Chapter 10

THE GLOBAL HUMAN FOOTPRINT

10.1 How many earths does it take to support us?

The total ecological footprint of humanity is a concept used to measure the relationship between the resources that humans demand from their environment, compared with the ability of nature to provide those resources. In recent years humans have been asking the earth to provide the with much more than the earth can regenerate. Our collective footprint on the face of nature has become too large.

Here are some quotations from the homepage of the Footprint Network organization:¹

“If a population’s Ecological Footprint exceeds the region’s biocapacity, that region runs an ecological deficit. Its demand for the goods and services that its land and seas can provide - fruits and vegetables, meat, fish, wood, cotton for clothing, and carbon dioxide absorption - exceeds what the region’s ecosystems can renew. A region in ecological deficit meets demand by importing, liquidating its own ecological assets (such as overfishing), and/or emitting carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. If a region’s biocapacity exceeds its Ecological Footprint, it has an ecological reserve.

“Conceived in 1990 by Mathis Wackernagel and William Rees at the University of British Columbia, the Ecological Footprint launched the broader Footprint movement, including the carbon Footprint, and is now widely used by scientists, businesses, governments, individuals, and institutions working to monitor ecological resource use and advance sustainable development.

“A rich introduction to the theory and practice of the approach is available in the book Ecological Footprint: Managing Our Biocapacity Budget (2019).”

¹<https://www.footprintnetwork.org/our-work/ecological-footprint/>

How many Earths does it take to support humanity?

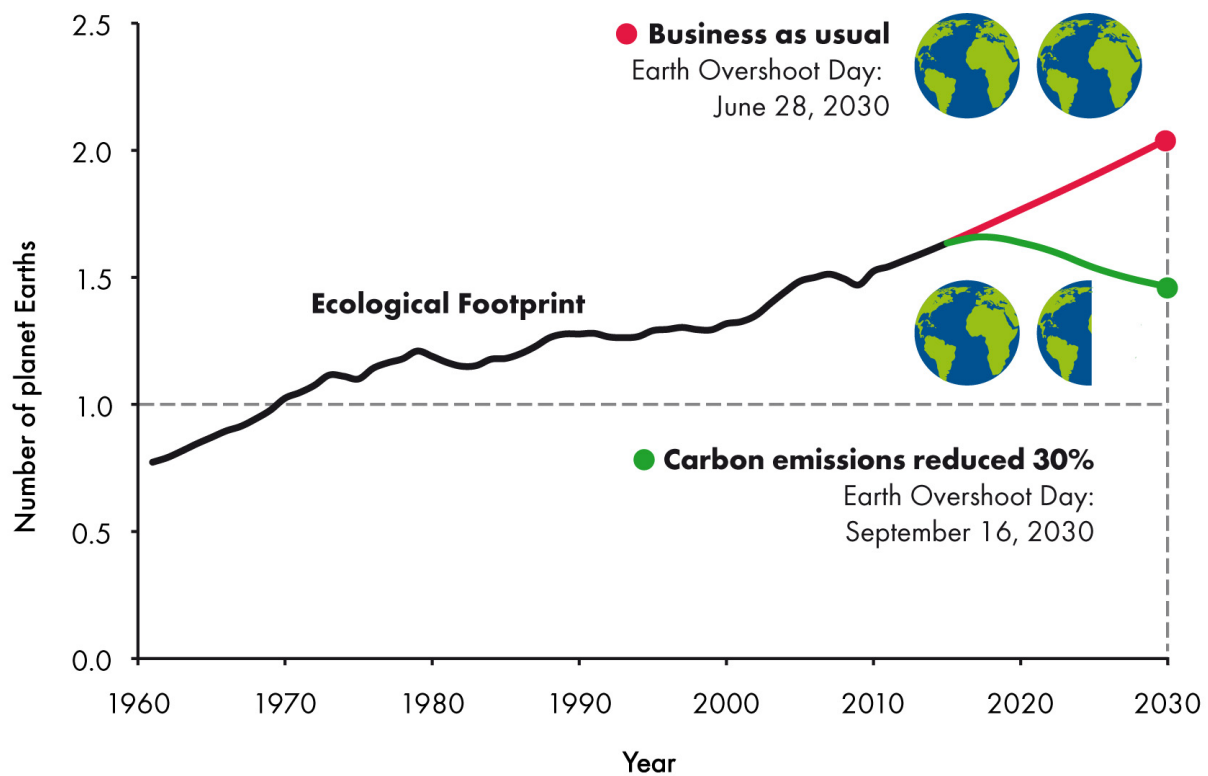


Figure 10.1: The business as usual course would lead us to disaster.

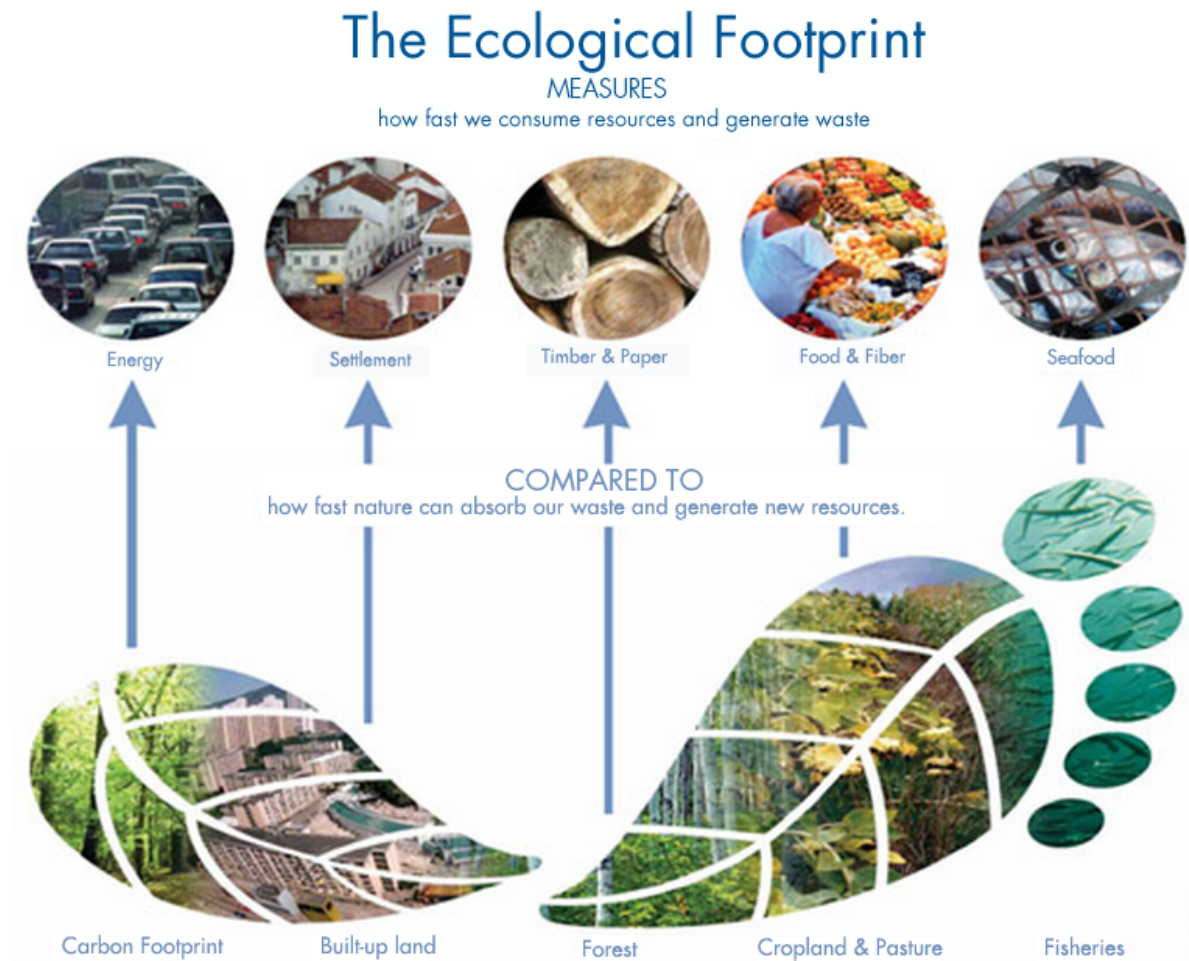


Figure 10.2: Both the Ecological Footprint and biocapacity are expressed in global hectares - globally comparable, standardized hectares with world average productivity.

10.2 Overuse of pesticides and the insect apocalypse

Loss of flying insects, especially bees

Studies have shown an annual decline of 5.2% in flying insect biomass found in nature reserves in Germany - about 75% loss in 26 years.

In the United States the managed bee populations have declined dramatically. According to one study, for the single year, from April 1, 2018, to April 1, 2019, the managed bee population decreased by 40.7%.

Overuse of pesticides degrades topsoil

It is not only the loss of bees and other pollinator insects that is dangerous to agriculture. The excessive use of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals also degrades topsoil. Normally, topsoil contains richly numerous and diverse populations of tiny worms and bacteria, that aid the recycling of crop residue from previous years into nutrients for plant growth. However, the overuse of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals kills these vitally important populations. Carbon from the dead topsoil is released into the atmosphere, thus increasing the concentrations of dangerous greenhouse gases. Having killed the living topsoil, farmers then find that they need increased quantities of petroleum-derived fertilizers to make their crops grow.

The Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants

An environmental treaty, signed in 2001 and effective since May, 2004, aims at restricting the production and use of persistent organic pollutants (POPs). These are defined by the United Nations Environmental Institute as “chemical substances that persist in the environment, bio-accumulate through the food web, and pose a risk of causing adverse effects to human health and the environment”. Besides DDT, the Stockholm Treaty also lists Aldrin, α -Hexachlorocyclohexane, β -Hexachlorocyclohexane, Chlordane, Chlordecone, Decabromodiphenyl ether, Dicofol, Dieldrin, Endosulfan, Endrin, Heptachlor, Hexabromobiphenyl, Hexabromocyclododecane, Hexabromodiphenylether, Hexachlorobenzene, Hexachlorobutadiene, Lindane, Mirex, Pentachlorobenzene, Pentachlorophenol, Perfluorooctanoic acid, Perfluorooctane sulfonic acid, Polychlorinated biphenyls, Polychlorinated dibenzodioxins, Polychlorinated naphthalenes, Tetrabromodiphenyl ether, Short-chain chlorinated paraffins, and Toxaphene.

Although some critics have claimed that the treaty is responsible for the continuing death toll from malaria, in reality it specifically permits the public health use of DDT for the control of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. In 2016, there were 216 million cases of malaria worldwide, resulting in an estimated 445,000 to 731,000 deaths.



Figure 10.3: 20 May 2019, Rome - The global decline in bee populations poses a serious threat to a wide variety of plants critical to human well-being and livelihoods, and countries should do more to safeguard our key allies in the fight against hunger and malnutrition, FAO stressed today as it marked UN World Bee Day. Bees and other pollinator are declining in abundance in many parts of the world largely due to intensive farming practices, mono-cropping, excessive use of agricultural chemicals and higher temperatures associated with climate change, affecting not only crop yields but also nutrition. If this trend continues, nutritious crops such as fruits, nuts, and many vegetables will be substituted increasingly by staple crops like rice, corn, and potatoes, eventually resulting in an imbalanced diet.

10.3 The Silent Spring

Dangers from pesticide pollution

Rachel Carson's most influential book, *The Silent Spring*, was published in 1962, when she was already suffering from breast cancer. Eventually it sold over two million copies. The book expresses Carson's worries about the environmental consequences of overuse of pesticides, such as DDT, which were killing not only their targeted pests, but also many vitally important insects, as well as causing health problems in humans. Part of the anger that Carson expressed in the book may have come because the cancer from which she was suffering could have been caused by mutagenic pesticides.

The town was fictitious, but the problems were real

The Silent Spring begins by describing a fictitious Midwestern American town, where people are mysteriously suffering and dying from a variety of unexplained illnesses previously unseen by doctors. Sheep and cattle, fish in the river, and birds, all sicken and die. Orchards bear no fruit and vegetation withers. It gradually becomes clear that the people of the town are themselves to blame. They have been poisoning themselves and their environment by overuse of pesticides.

Some quotations from *The Silent Spring*

Here are two quotations from the book:

As crude a weapon as the cave man's club, the chemical barrage has been hurled against the fabric of life - a fabric on the one hand delicate and destructible, on the other miraculously tough and resilient, and capable of striking back in unexpected ways... It is our alarming misfortune that so primitive a science has armed itself with the most modern and terrible weapons, and that in turning them against the insects it has also turned them against the earth...

Among the herbicides are some that are classified as 'mutagens,' or agents capable of modifying the genes, the materials of heredity. We are rightly appalled by the genetic effects of radiation; how then, can we be indifferent to the same effect in chemicals that we disseminate widely in our environment?

Although extremely ill with cancer and in constant pain, Carson gave newspaper interviews and appeared on television to make her case. In July, 1962, the US Department of agriculture issued the following statement: "Miss Carson provides a lucid description of the real and potential dangers of misusing chemical pesticides... She expresses the concern of many people about the effect of chemical pesticides on birds, animals and people. We are fully aware of and share this concern."

'Silent Spring' Is Now Noisy Summer

*Pesticides Industry
Up in Arms Over
a New Book*

By JOHN M. LEE

The \$300,000,000 pesticides industry has been highly irritated by a quiet woman author whose previous works on science have been praised for the beauty and precision of the writing.

The author is Rachel Carson, whose "The Sea Around Us" and "The Edge of the Sea" were best sellers in 1951 and 1955. Miss Carson, trained as a marine biologist, wrote gracefully of sea and shore life.

In her latest work, however, Miss Carson is not so gentle,



*Rachel Carson Stirs
Conflict—Producers
Are Crying 'Foul'*

fending the use of their products. Meetings have been held in Washington and New York. Statements are being drafted and counter-attacks plotted.

A drowsy midsummer has suddenly been enlivened by the greatest uproar in the pesticides industry since the cranberry scare of 1959.

Miss Carson's new book is entitled "Silent Spring." The title is derived from an idealized situation in which Miss Carson envisions an imaginary town where chemical pollution has silenced "the voices of spring."

Figure 10.4: Rachel Carson's book, *The Silent Spring*, was controversial, to say the least, but it focused public attention on problems of ecology.

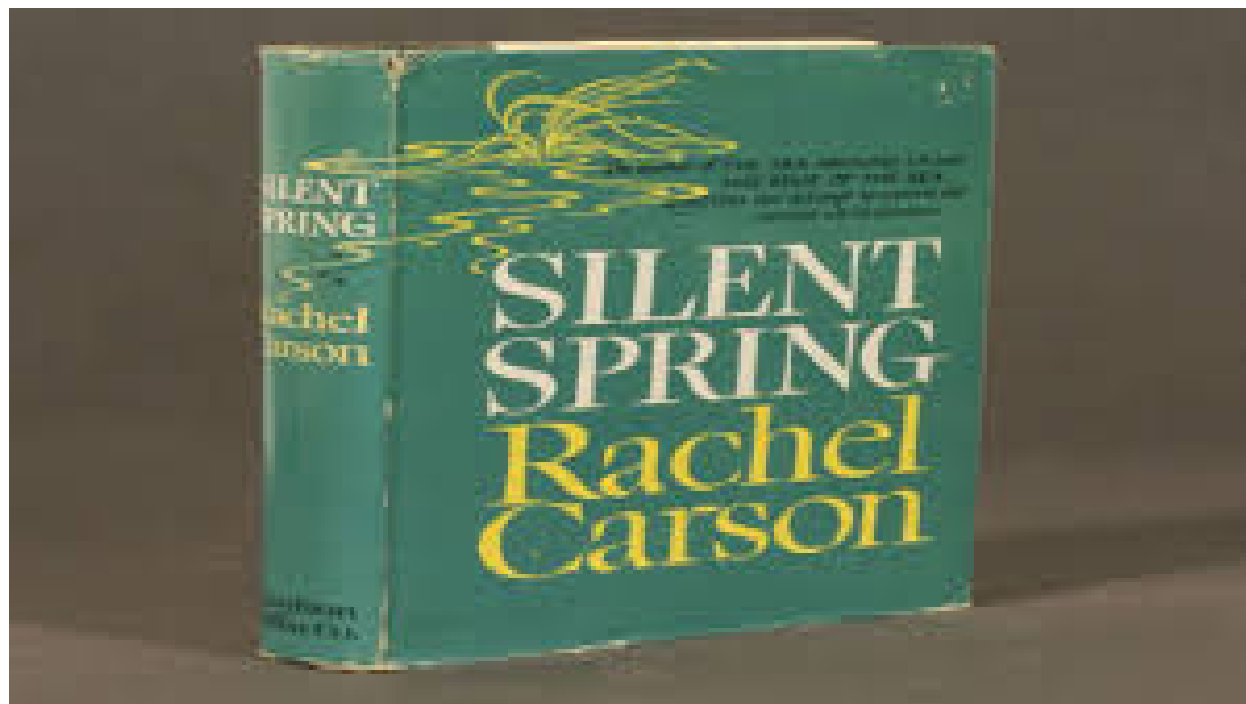


Figure 10.5: *The Silent Spring* was an international best-seller, and it ignited the environmental movement.

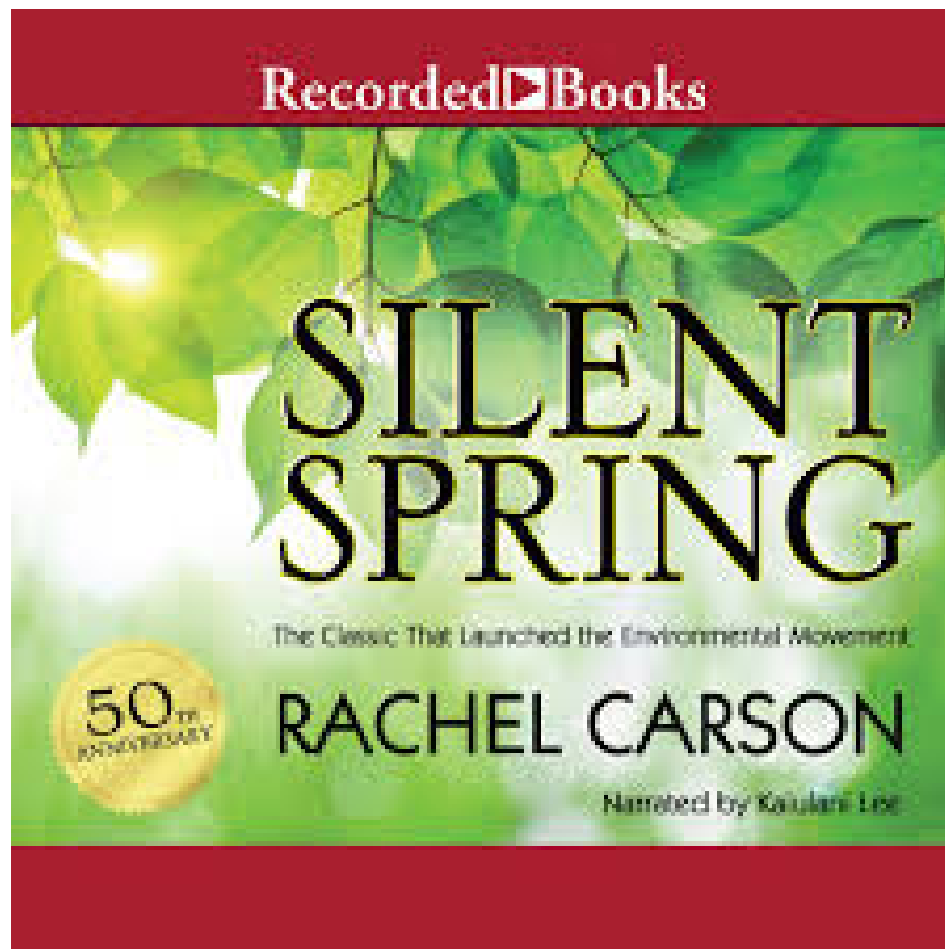


Figure 10.6: An audio version of *The Silent Spring*.



Figure 10.7: As Rachel Carson's influence increased, she began speaking to large audiences.



Figure 10.8: Statue of Carson at the Museo Rocsen, Nono, Argentina.

10.4 Biodiversity loss

According to Wikipedia's article on *Biodiversity Loss*,

“The current rate of global diversity loss is estimated to be 100 to 1000 times higher than the (naturally occurring) background extinction rate and expected to still grow in the upcoming years...

“According to the UN's Global Biodiversity Outlook 2014 estimates that 70 percent of the projected loss of terrestrial biodiversity are caused by agriculture use. Moreover, more than 1/3 of the planet's land surface is utilized for crops and grazing of livestock. Agriculture destroys biodiversity by converting natural habitats to intensely managed systems and by releasing pollutants, including greenhouses gases. Food value chains further amplify impacts including through energy use, transport and waste. The direct effects of urban growth on habitat loss are well understood: Building construction often results in habitat destruction and fragmentation. The rise of urbanization greatly reduced biodiversity when large areas of natural habitat are fragmented. Small habitat patches are unable to support the same level of genetic or taxonomic diversity as they formerly could while some of the more sensitive species may become locally extinct.

“Pollution from burning fossil fuels such as oil, coal and gas can remain in the air as particle pollutants or fall to the ground as acid rain. Acid rain, which is primarily composed of sulfuric and nitric acid, causes acidification of lakes, streams and sensitive forest soils, and contributes to slower forest growth and tree damage at high elevations. Moreover, Carbon dioxide released from burning fossil fuels and biomass, deforestation, and agricultural practices contributes to greenhouse gases, which prevent heat from escaping the earth's surface. With the increase in temperature expected from increasing greenhouse gases, there will be higher levels of air pollution, greater variability in weather patterns, and changes in the distribution of vegetation in the landscape. These two factors play a huge role towards biodiversity loss and entirely depended on human-driven factors.”

10.5 Illegal burning for palm oil plantations

According to a recent article published by the Union of Concerned Scientists, “One huge source of global warming emissions associated with palm oil is the draining and burning of the carbon-rich swamps known as peatlands. Peatlands can hold up to 18 to 28 times as much carbon as the forests above them; when they are drained and burned, both carbon and methane are released into the atmosphere - and unless the water table is restored, peatlands continue to decay and release global warming emissions for decades.

“As if that wasn't bad enough, the burning of peatlands releases a dangerous haze into

the air, resulting in severe health impacts and significant economic losses. Each year, more than 100,000 deaths in Southeast Asia can be attributed to particulate matter exposure from landscape fires, many of which are peat fires.

"Beyond its global warming and human health impacts, palm oil production also takes a toll on biodiversity and human rights. Only about 15 percent of native animal species can survive the transition from primary forest to plantation. Among the species vulnerable to palm oil expansion are orangutans, tigers, rhinoceros, and elephants. Furthermore, palm oil growers have also been accused of using forced labor, seizing land from local populations, and other human rights abuses."

Licences to burn forests for palm oil plantations are often granted by corrupt government officials. Fortunately, through the efforts of NGO's the public has become increasingly aware of the problem, and supermarkets are being urged to purchase products containing deforestation-free palm oil.

Another recent article² states that "Indonesia is being deforested faster than any other country in the world, and it has everything to do with one product: palm oil.

"According to a new study in the journal *Nature Climate Change*, deforestation in the Southeast Asian archipelago is nearly double the rate in the Amazon. Indonesia is said to have lost 840,000 hectares (3,250 square miles) of forest in 2012 while Brazil - which has four times Indonesia's rainforest - lost a still-massive 460,000 hectares.

"The report's authors found that government figures underestimated the true toll of forest clearing by as much as half. In the last 12 years, it's possible that the destruction of one million hectares of 'primary forest' went unreported.

"The tree-killing spree is largely due to slashing and burning vegetation for the expansion of palm oil plantations to feed growing demand in countries like China and India. Americans and Europeans are still far and away the top consumers per capita - it's estimated that palm oil can be found in roughly half the manufactured goods in any supermarket or drug store. Everything from peanut butter to soap to cosmetics contains the oil in its various forms.

"In Indonesia, where much of the land consists of carbon-rich soil known as peat, the problem is acute. Water-logged peat is commonly found in the jungles of Sumatra and Borneo, and merely exposing it to the air releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere."

10.6 Jair Bolsonaro's attack on the Amazon rainforest

Beef is killing the rainforest

Beef Production is Killing the Amazon Rainforest. That is the title of an article published by onegreenplanet.org³. Here are some excerpts from the article

²<https://news.vice.com/article/indonesia-is-killing-the-planet-for-palm-oil>

³<http://www.onegreenplanet.org/animalsandnature/beef-production-is-killing-the-amazon-rainforest/>

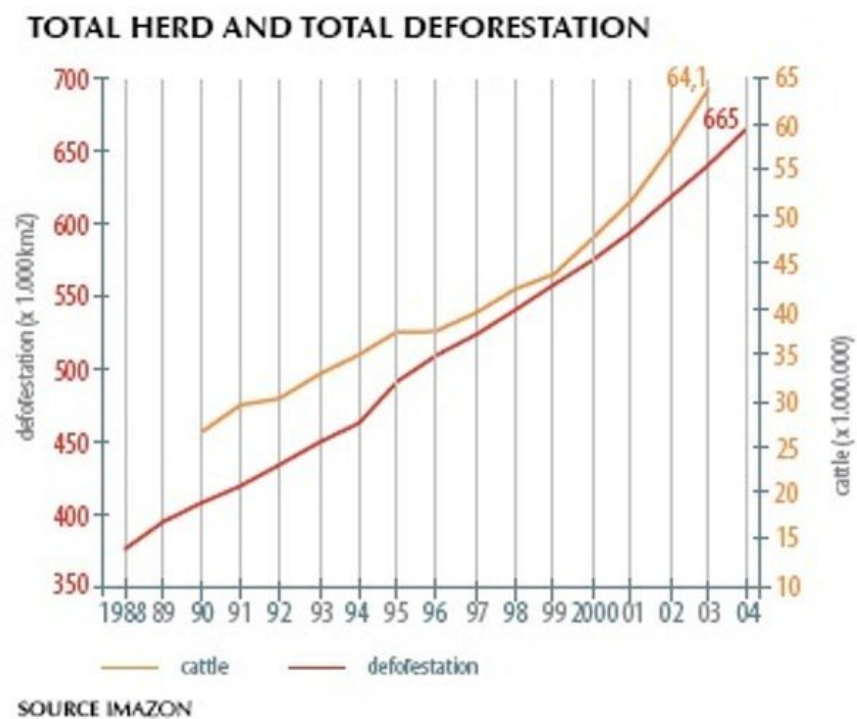


Figure 10.9: Total cattle herds and total deforestation in Amazonia between 1988 and 2004. Deforestation is measured in thousands of square kilometers, while herd size is measured in millions.

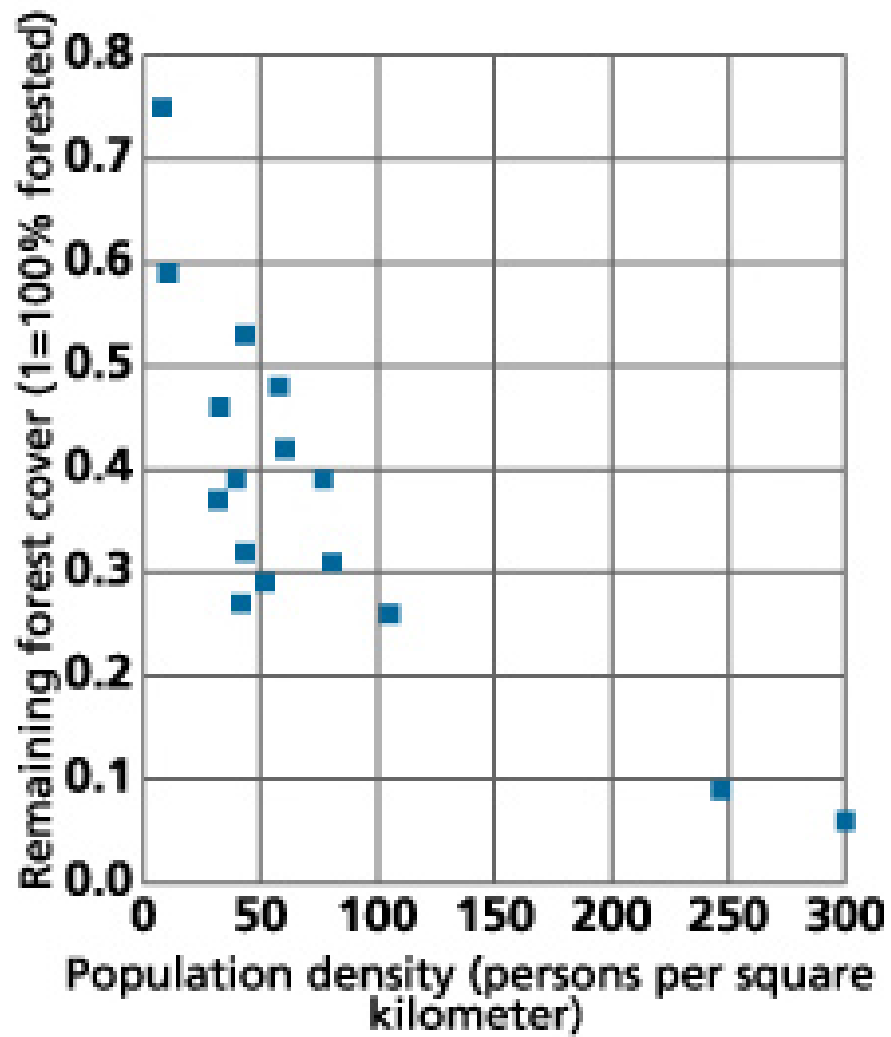


Figure 10.10: Population density and forest size.

“The Amazon rainforest has been facing severe deforestation problems for several decades - it has lost about a fifth of its forest in the past three. While there are many causes, one of the main causes is cattle ranching, particularly in Brazil. Trees are cut and the land is converted into a pasture for cattle grazing. According to one report, an estimated 70 percent of deforestation in the Amazon basin can be attributed to cattle ranching. Using these numbers, cattle ranching in the Amazon has resulted in the loss of an area larger than the state of Washington.

“The government of Brazil offers loans of billions of dollars to support the expansion of its beef industry. Approximately 200 million pounds of beef is imported by the United States from Central America every year. While the chief importers of Brazilian beef were previously Europe and North America, nowadays Asian countries such as China and Russia consume more Brazilian beef than the European market. So, the demand is increasing day by day.

“With increasing population and increased per capita meat consumption, the rate of deforestation is increasing every day as well. It is expected that by 2018, the beef export will increase 93 percent, thereby increasing Brazil’s beef market share of world exports to 61 percent. Beef is the most carbon-intensive form of meat production on the planet. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization finds that beef production gives rise to more greenhouse gases than the transportation industry.”

Beef production and methane

A cow (or a bull) releases between 70 and 120 kg of methane per year. Methane is a greenhouse gas like carbon dioxide, but the negative effect on the climate of methane (CH_4) is 23 times higher than the effect of CO_2 . Therefore the release of about 100 kg methane per year for each cow is equivalent to about 2,300 kg CO_2 per year.

World-wide, there are about 1.5 billion cows and bulls. All ruminants (animals which regurgitates food and re-chews it) on the world emit about two billion metric tons of CO_2 , equivalents per year. In addition, clearing of tropical forests and rain forests to get more grazing land and farm land is responsible for an extra 2.8 billion metric tons of CO_2 emission per year!

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) agriculture is responsible for 18% of the total release of greenhouse gases world-wide (this is more than the whole transportation sector). Cattle-breeding is taking a major factor for these greenhouse gas emissions according to FAO. Says Henning Steinfeld, Chief of FAO’s Livestock Information and Policy Branch and senior author of the report: “Livestock are one of the most significant contributors to today’s most serious environmental problems. Urgent action is required to remedy the situation.”

Livestock now use 30 percent of the earth’s entire land surface, mostly permanent pasture but also including 33 percent of the global arable land used to producing feed for livestock, the report notes. As forests are cleared to create new pastures, it is a major driver of deforestation, especially in Latin America where, for example, some 70 percent of former forests in the Amazon have been turned over to grazing.

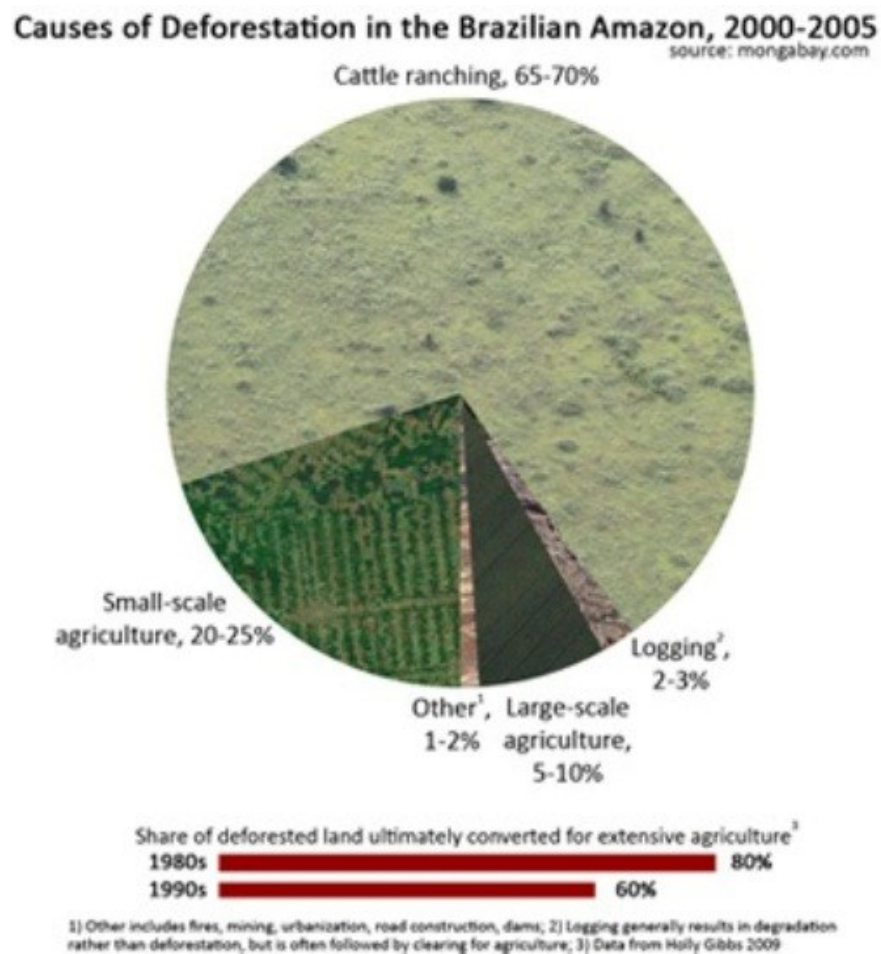


Figure 10.11: This figure shows the causes of Amazonian deforestation. The largest is beef production.

Dietary changes can help

You and I can help to save our common future by changing our diets, especially by cutting out beef. Not only does beef production produce methane and destroy rainforests, it also requires much more land per calorie than other forms of agriculture. By switching from beef to other protein-rich foods, we not only substantially reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but we also shorten the food chain, so that more grain will be available to feed the world's growing population. Furthermore a changed diet with less meat would improve our health, since animal fats have been linked with heart disease, circulatory problems and strokes.

10.7 Growing populations and forest loss

Deforestation is occurring at alarming rates, especially in countries that have high levels of population growth.⁴ The following table shows the forest loss in some countries where it is particularly high, together with their present and projected populations⁵. In the table, the annual rate of forest loss in the period 2000-2010, measured both in thousands of hectares and in percent. Populations in millions in 2010 are shown, together with projected populations in 2050.

country	forest loss	percent	pop. 2010	pop. 2050
Brazil	-2642	-0.49	194.9	222.8
Australia	-562	-0.37	22.3	31.4
Indonesia	-498	-0.51	239.9	293.5
Nigeria	-410	-3.67	158.4	389.6
Tanzania	-403	-1.13	44.8	138.3
Zimbabwe	-327	-1.88	12.6	20.6
Dem. Rep. Congo	.311	-0.20	66.0	148.5
Myanmar	-310	-0.93	47.9	55.3
Bolivia	-290	-0.49	9.9	16.8
Venezuela	-288	-0.60	28.0	41.8

The main mechanism through which rapid population growth is linked to forest loss is felling forests for the sake of agriculture.

Notice that Nigeria is losing 3.67% of its forests each year. The population of Nigeria is projected to more than double by 2050, but rising death rates from heat, famine and

⁴<http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2004/PopulationGrowthandDeforestationACriticalandComplexRelationship.aspx>

⁵Population Action International, *Why Population Matters to Forests*

conflicts may prevent this. In general, rising death rates from these causes may ultimately lead populations in the tropics to decrease rather than increase.

Population Action International points out that “Deforestation threatens the well-being and livelihoods of millions of people who heavily depend on forest resources. It is particularly devastating for women and children in poor rural communities.” The organization recommends that information and materials for family planning be made available to all through universal provision of primary health care.

10.8 Desertification and soil erosion

The Princeton University Dictionary defines *desertification* as “the process of fertile land transforming into desert typically as a result of deforestation, drought or improper/inappropriate agriculture”. It is estimated that approximately a billion people are under threat from further expansions of deserts.

Southward expansion of the Gobi desert

The Gobi desert is the fastest moving desert on earth. The rapid southward expansion of the Gobi is mainly due to human activities, such as overgrazing, deforestation and overuse of water. Dust storms from the Gobi desert are becoming more and more frequent. Sand dunes are reportedly forming only 70 km north of Beijing.

The Sahel

Another region in which the threat of desertification is extremely acute is the Sahel, which is the boundary between Africa’s Sahara desert to the north and a region of savanna to the south. The Sahel stretches between the Atlantic Ocean and the Red Sea. During the last 50 years, the Sahel has lost approximately 650,000 km² of fertile land to the desert, and the boundary of the Sahara has moved 250 km southward.

The southward expansion of the Sahara has been caused partly by climate change, and partly by human activities. Growing human populations have put pressure on the fragile arid environment by overgrazing, tree-cutting for firewood and inappropriate agriculture.

10.9 Forest drying and wildfires: a feedback loop

When climate change produces aridity in a forested region, wildfires produced by lightning, stray sparks from falling stones, or human carelessness become increasingly likely. Forest fires contribute to global warming by releasing CO₂ into the atmosphere and by destroying climate-friendly tree-covered areas. Thus a dangerous feedback loop can be formed, and as was discussed in Chapter 4, with every feedback loop there is an associated tipping point. In the case of forest drying and wildfires, passing the tipping point means that forest cover will be lost irrevocably. We must avoid passing wildfire tipping points through human

activities, such as the deliberate burning of rainforests for the sake of oil palm plantations.

10.10 Degraded forests are carbon emitters

According to an article published in the journal *Science* on 28 September, 2017⁶, degraded tropical forest throughout the world have stopped being carbon absorbers, and are now carbon emitters.

Reporting on the study, *The Guardian*,⁷ noted that “Researchers found that forest areas in South America, Africa and Asia - which have until recently played a key role in absorbing greenhouse gases - are now releasing 425 teragrams of carbon annually, which is more than all the traffic in the United States.

“The study went further than any of its predecessors in measuring the impact of disturbance and degradation - the thinning of tree density and the culling of biodiversity below an apparently protected canopy - usually as a result of selective logging, fire, drought and hunting.

“Overall, more carbon was lost to degradation and disturbance than deforestation. The researchers stressed this was an opportunity as well as a concern because it was now possible to identify which areas are being affected and to restore forests before they disappeared completely.”

10.11 Replanting forests

Around the world, people interested in replanting forests can take inspiration from the Green Belt Movement, which was founded in 1977 by Wangari Maathai.

The Green Belt Movement organizes women in rural Africa to combat deforestation by planting trees. In this way they restore their main source of fuel for cooking, generate income and stop soil erosion. Since its foundation in 1977, the movement has planted 51 million trees. Over 30,000 women have been trained in forestry, food processing, bee-keeping, and other trades. The movement emphasizes economic justice and empowerment of women. This work is particularly valuable in regions of water scarcity, because besides preventing soil erosion, forests prevent the rapid run-off of water.

In order to combat climate change and to prevent southward expansion of the Sahara, the African Union has initiated a project called the Great Green Wall. The project aims at creating a mosaic of green and productive landscapes stretching across Africa, the Sahel region to the Horn of Africa, a strip of forested land 15 km wide and 7,500 km long, stretching from Dakar to Djibouti.

⁶A. Baccini et al., *Tropical forests are a net carbon source based on aboveground measurements of gain and loss*, DOI: 10.1126/science.aam5962

⁷<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/sep/28/alarm-as-study-reveals-worlds-tropical-forests-are-huge-carbon-emission-source>



Figure 10.12: Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai (1940-2011).



Figure 10.13: Wangari Maathai speaks about deforestation.

In China, the Green Great Wall project aims at preventing the expansion of the Gobi desert by planting a 4,500-kilometer-long windbreaking line of forests. The project is expected to be completed by 2050.

Reforestation initiatives also exist in other countries, for example in India, Lebanon, Philippines, Japan, Germany, Canada and the United States.

10.12 Human ecology

By definition, “**Human Ecology is the study of the interactions between man and nature in different cultures. Human Ecology combines the ideas and methods from several disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, biology, economic history and archeology.**”

10.13 Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich

Education

Paul R. Ehrlich was born in 1932 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He studied zoology at the University of Pennsylvania, and later received a Ph.D. from the University of Kansas, where he specialized in the study of insects. In 1959, Ehrlich joined the staff of Stanford University, where he was appointed to the Bing Professorship in Zoology in 1977.

Involvement in the population debate

In 1967, a lecture on population that Ehrlich gave at the Commonwealth Club of California was broadcast on the radio. Because of the publicity that followed the radio broadcast, Ehrlich was invited by the Sierra Club and Ballantine Books to write a book on the dangers of a human population explosion. Paul R. Ehrlich and his wife, Anne H. Ehrlich together wrote a book entitled *The Population Bomb*, which was published in 1968. Although the book was a joint husband and wife production, the publisher insisted that only Paul’s name should appear as author. Although others had written about the dangers of overpopulation, it was this book that brought the problem to a wide audience.

Books by Paul R. Ehrlich

- *How to Know the Butterflies* (1960)
- *Process of Evolution* (1963)
- *Butterflies and Plants: A Study in Coevolution* (1964)
- *The Population Bomb* (1968, revised 1971, updated 1978, re-issued 1988, 1998, 2008 and 2018)
- *Population, Resources, Environments: Issues in Human Ecology* (1970)
- *How to Be a Survivor* (1971)

- *Man and the Ecosphere: Readings from Scientific American* (1971)
- *Population, Resources, Environments: Issues in Human Ecology* Second Edition (1972)
- *Human Ecology: Problems and Solutions* (1973)
- *Introductory Biology* (1973)
- *The End of Affluence* (1975)
- *Biology and Society* (1976)
- *Ecoscience: Population, Resources, Environment* (1978)
- *The Race Bomb* (1978)
- *Extinction* (1981)
- *The Golden Door: International Migration, Mexico, and the United States* (1981)
- *The Cold and the Dark: The World after Nuclear War* (1984, with Carl Sagan, Donald Kennedy, and Walter Orr Roberts)
- *The Machinery of Nature: The Living World Around Us and How it Works* (1986)
- *Earth* (1987, co-authored with Anne Ehrlich)
- *Science of Ecology* (1987, with Joan Roughgarden)
- *The Cassandra Conference: Resources and the Human Predicament* (1988)
- *The Birder's Handbook: A field Guide to the Natural History of North American Birds* (1988, with David S. Dobkin and Darryl Wheye)
- *New World, New Mind: Moving Towards Conscious Evolution* (1988, co-authored with Robert E. Ornstein)
- *The Population Explosion* (1990, with Anne Ehrlich)
- *Healing the Planet: Strategies for Resolving the Environmental Crisis* (1991, co-authored with Anne Ehrlich)
- *Birds in Jeopardy: The Imperiled and Extinct Birds of the United States and Canada, Including Hawaii and Puerto Rico* (1992, with David S. Dobkin and Darryl Wheye)
- *The Stork and the Plow : The Equity Answer to the Human Dilemma* (1995, with Anne Ehrlich and Gretchen C. Daily)
- *A World of Wounds: Ecologists and the Human Dilemma* (1997)
- *Betrayal of Science and Reason: How Anti-Environment Rhetoric Threatens Our Future* (1998, with Anne Ehrlich)
- *Wild Solutions: How Biodiversity is Money in the Bank* (2001, with Andrew Beattie)
- *Human Natures: Genes, Cultures, and the Human Prospect* (2002)
- *One With Nineveh: Politics, Consumption, and the Human Future* (2004, with Anne Ehrlich)
- *On the Wings of Checkerspots: A Model System for Population Biology* (2004, edited volume, co-edited with Ilkka Hanski)
- *The Dominant Animal: Human Evolution and the Environment* (2008, with Anne Ehrlich)
- *Humanity on a Tightrope: Thoughts on Empathy, Family, and Big Changes for a Viable Future* (2010, with Robert E. Ornstein)
- *Conservation Biology for All* (2010, edited volume, co-edited with Navjot S. Sodhi)
- *Hope on Earth: A Conversation* (2014, co-authored with Michael Charles Tobias)



Figure 10.14: **Paul R. Ehrlich in 1974.**

- *Killing the Koala and Poisoning the Prairie: Australia, America and the Environment* (2015, co-authored with Corey J. A. Bradshaw)
- *The Annihilation of Nature: Human Extinction of Birds and Mammals* (2015, with Anne Ehrlich and Gerardo Ceballos)



Figure 10.15: Ehrlich speaking in 2008.



Figure 10.16: Anne H. Ehrlich, Paul Ehrlich's wife, is the co-author of many of his books. I know her personally because of the many Pugwash Conferences that we both have attended. I also know John P. Holdren for the same reason,

10.14 John P. Holdren

Education

John P. Holdren was born in Pennsylvania in 1944, but grew to in California. He graduated from MIT with a B.Sc. degree in 1965, and was awarded a Ph.D. by Stanford University in 1970, having studied aeronautics, astronautics and plasma physics.

Professor of environmental science

Holdren taught for 13 years at Harvard, and later for more than 20 years at the University of California, Berkeley. His research interests centered on environmental questions. These included global environmental change, population stabilization, energy technologies and policies, ways to reduce the dangers from nuclear weapons and materials, and science and technology policy.

Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

John P. Holdren served as the Chairman of the Executive Committee of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs. The Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955 called for a meeting of scientists from both sides of the Cold War to try to minimize the danger of a thermonuclear conflict. The first meeting took place at the summer home of the Canadian philanthropist Cyrus Eaton at the small village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

From this small beginning, a series of conferences developed, in which scientists, especially physicists, attempted to work for peace, and tried to address urgent global problems related to science, and especially to reduce the danger of a thermonuclear war. In 1995, Pugwash Conferences, and its president, Sir Joseph Rotblat, shared the Nobel Peace Prize. John P. Holdren delivered the acceptance speech on behalf of the organization.

Some books and articles by John P. Holdren

Holdren has authored over 200 articles and papers and has co-authored and co-edited some 20 books and book-length reports including

- *Ecoscience : Population, Resources, Environment* by John P. Holdren, Paul R. Ehrlich, Ann H. Ehrlich
- *Global Ecology* by John P. Holdren and Paul R. Ehrlich
- *The Cassandra Conference : Resources and the Human Predicament* by John P. Holdren and Paul R. Ehrlich
- *Strategic Defense and the Future of the Arms Race : A Pugwash Symposium* by John P. Holdren
- *Energy* by John P. Holdren
- *Science in the White House*. Science, May 2009, 567.[
- *Policy for Energy Technology Innovation. Acting in Time on Energy Policy*, (with Laura Diaz Anadon, Max H. Bazerman, David T. Ellwood, Kelly Sims Gallagher, William H. Hogan, Henry Lee, and Daniel Schrag), Brookings Institution Press, 2009.
- *The Future of Climate Change Policy: The U.S.'s Last Chance to Lead*. Scientific American 2008 Earth 3.0 Supplement. October 13, 2008, 20-21.
- *Convincing the Climate Change Skeptics*. The Boston Globe, August 4, 2008.[
- *Ending the Energy Stalemate: A Bipartisan Strategy To Meet America's Energy Challenges*. Presentation at the National Academies 2008 Energy Summit, Washington, D.C., March 14, 2008.
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Figure 10.17: John P. Holdren held the position of Assistant to the President for Science and Technology between 2009 and 2017.



Figure 10.18: John P. Holdren with Barack Obama.



Figure 10.19: John P. Holdren: “Trump has no science policy to speak of”.

10.15 Barry Commoner

Early life and education

Barry Commoner (1917-2012) was born in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Jewish immigrants from Russia. After a B.Sc. from Columbia University, he received a doctoral degree in cell biology from Harvard. In 1947, he became a professor of plant physiology at Washington University, Sr. Louis. and he taught there for the next 34 years.

A pioneer of ecology

While teaching at Washington University, Barry Commoner established the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems to study “the science of the total environment”. During the late 1950’s, Commoner’s attention was drawn to health and environmental consequences of nuclear testing. His Baby Tooth Survey demonstrated that radioactive substances, such as Strontium 90, were being incorporated in the teeth of infants as a result of the testing of nuclear weapons. Commoner wrote: “The greatest single cause of environmental contamination of this planet is radioactivity from test explosions of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.”

Barry Commoner’s US presidential campaign

In 1980, Barry Commoner founded the Citizens Party, and he ran as the party’s candidate for the US presidency. Although he received only a very small percentage of the votes in the election, the campaign nevertheless made a wide public aware of the seriousness of ecological problems. During the last phase of his career, Commoner returned to New York as a professor at Queens College, part of the City University of New York. Although he stepped down from his professorship in 2000, he remained a senior scientist at Queens College until his death in 2012 at the age of 95.

Books and reports by Barry Commoner

- *Science and Survival* (1966), New York: Viking OCLC 225105 - on “the uses of science and technology in relation to environmental hazards”.
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- *Long-range Air Transport of Dioxin from North American Sources to Ecologically Vulnerable Receptors in Nunavut, Arctic Canada*, (2000), Commoner, Barry; Bartlett, Paul Woods; Eisl, Holger; Couchot, Kim; Center for the Biology of Natural Systems, Queens College, City University of New York, published by the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

A few things that Barry Commoner said or wrote

The proper use of science is not to conquer nature but to live in it.

Everything is connected to everything else. Everything must go somewhere. Nature knows best. There is no such thing as a free lunch.

If you ask what you are going to do about global warming, the only rational answer is to change the way in which we do transportation, energy production, agriculture and a good deal of manufacturing. The problem originates in human activity in the form of the production of goods.

The environmental crisis is somber evidence of an insidious fraud hidden in the vaunted productivity and wealth of modern, technology-based society. This wealth has been gained by rapid short-term exploitation of the environmental system, but it has blindly accumulated a debt to nature - a debt so large and so pervasive that in the next generation it may, if unpaid, wipe out most of the wealth it has gained us.

Our assaults on the ecosystem are so powerful, so numerous, so finely interconnected, that although the damage they do is clear, it is very difficult to discover how it was done. By which weapon? In whose hand? Are we driving the ecosphere to destruction simply by our growing numbers? By our greedy accumulation of wealth? Or are the machines which we have built to gain this wealth-the magnificent technology that now feeds us out of neat packages, that clothes us in man-made fibers, that surrounds us with new chemical creations-at fault?

The environmental crisis arises from a fundamental fault: our systems of production - in industry, agriculture, energy and transportation - essential as they are, make people sick and die.

Sooner or later, wittingly or unwittingly, we must pay for every intrusion on the natural environment.

Air pollution is not merely a nuisance and a threat to health. It is a reminder that our most celebrated technological achievements - the automobile, the jet plane, the power plant, industry in general, and indeed the modern city itself - are, in the environment, failures.

All of the clean technologies are known, it's a question of simply applying them.

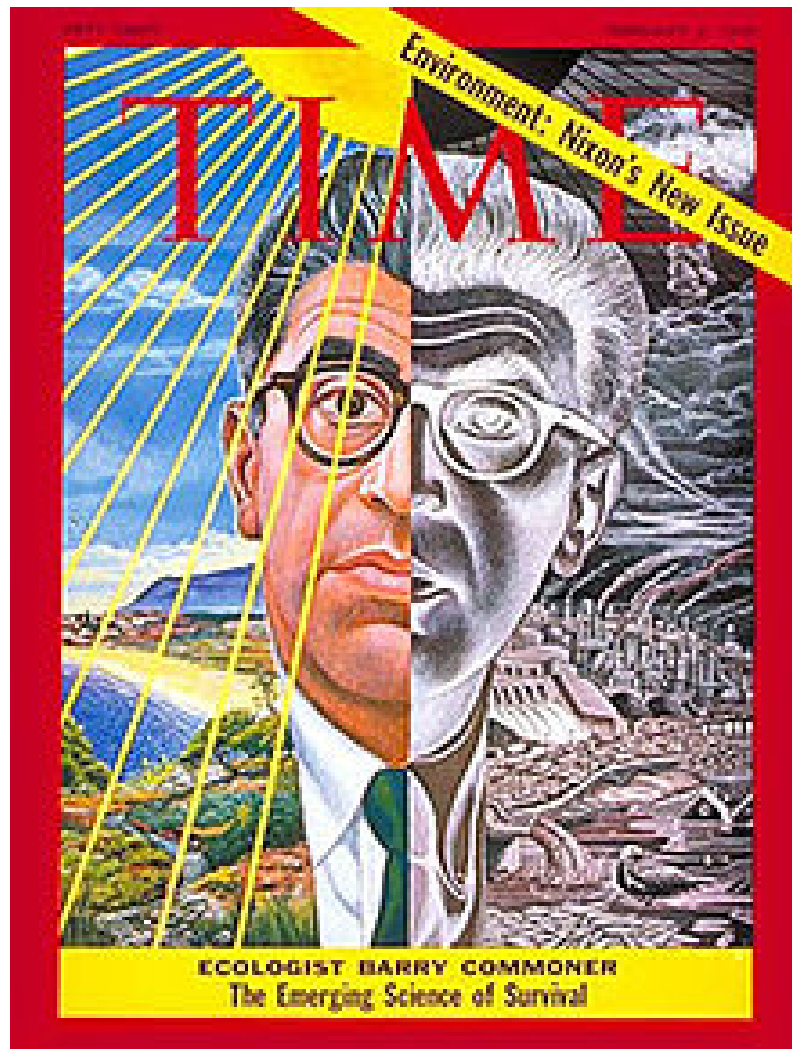


Figure 10.20: Time reported in its February 1970 issue that "the national concern over the environment has reached an unprecedented level of intensity." On the cover, the visage of Barry Commoner projected a powerful image of ecology, which took the stage for the first time in the public eye.

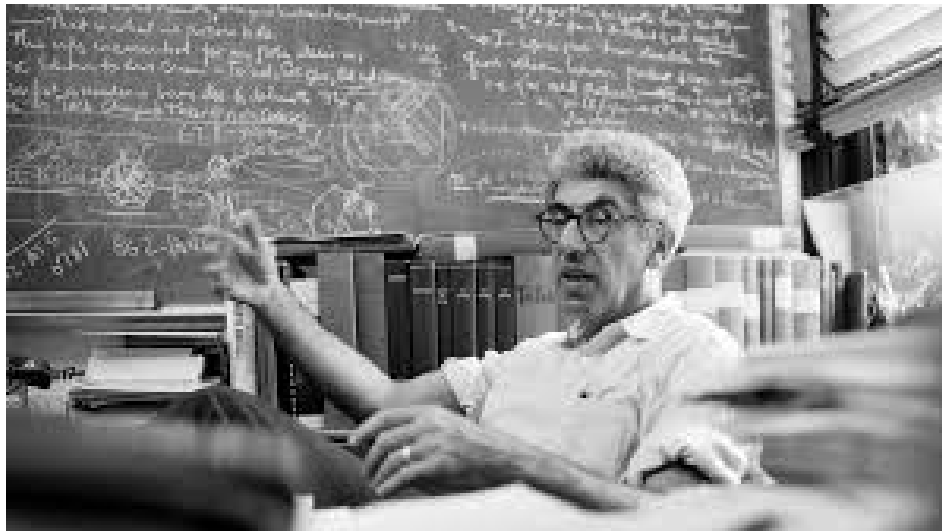
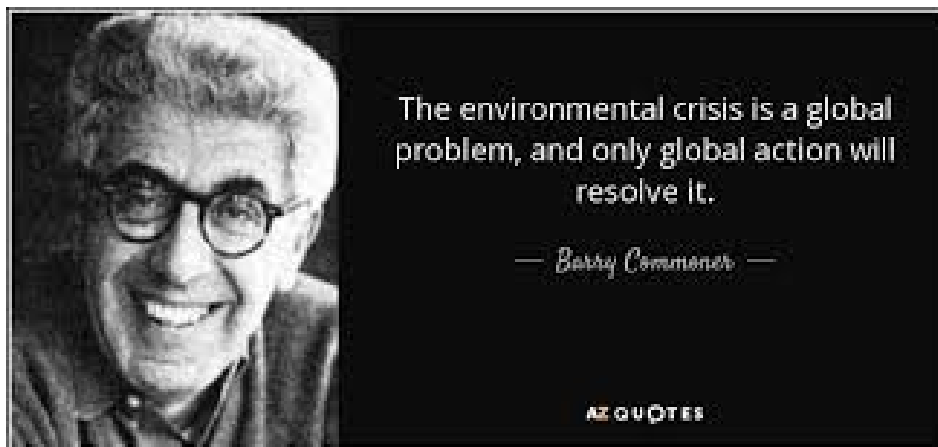
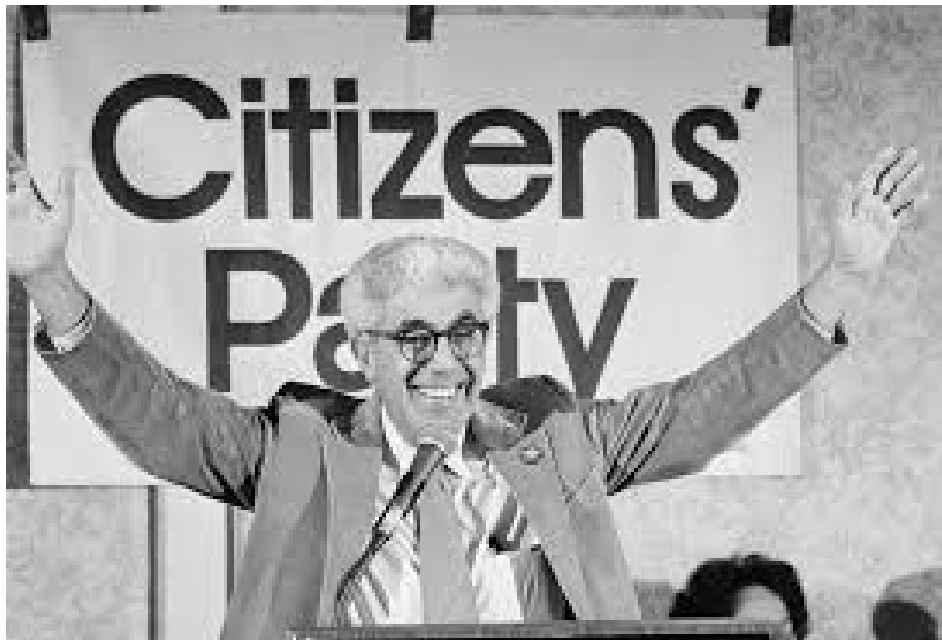


Figure 10.21: Barry Commoner died at the age of 95 in 2012.





The favorite statistic is that the U.S. contains 6 to 7% of the world population but consumes more than half the world's resources and is responsible for that fraction of the total environmental pollution. But this statistic hides another vital fact: that not everyone in the U.S. is so affluent.

Perhaps the simplest example is a synthetic plastic, which unlike natural materials, is not degraded by biological decay. It therefore persists as rubbish or is burned - in both cases causing pollution. In the same way, a substance such as DDT or lead, which plays no role in the chemistry of life and interferes with the actions of substances that do, is bound to cause ecological damage if sufficiently concentrated.

Because the global ecosystem is a connected whole, in which nothing can be gained or lost and which is not subject to over-all improvement, anything extracted from it by human effort must be replaced. Payment of this price cannot be avoided; it can only be delayed. The present environmental crisis is a warning that we have delayed nearly too long.

Despite the dazzling successes of modern technology and the unprecedented power of modern military systems, they suffer from a common and catastrophic fault. While providing us with a bountiful supply of food, with great industrial plants, with high-speed transportation, and with military weapons of unprecedented power, they threaten our very survival.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 11

TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

11.1 The Rights of Mother Earth

The World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth

This conference took place in Tiquipaya, just outside the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia, from April 19-22, 2010. The event was attended by around 30,000 people from over 100 countries. It was hosted by the Bolivian government, and the proceedings were transmitted online by the organizations OneClimate and Global Campaign for Climate Action.

One of the outstanding results of the conference was the drafting of a Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, modeled on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Both Declarations might be criticized for being unrealistic,¹ but both have great normative value. They define the goals towards which we ought to be striving.

Proposed Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth²

Preamble

We, the peoples and nations of Earth:

- *considering that we are all part of Mother Earth, an indivisible, living community of interrelated and interdependent beings with a common destiny;*
- *gratefully acknowledging that Mother Earth is the source of life, nourishment and learning and provides everything we need to live well;*

¹<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2012/12/human-rights-a-letter-to-santa-claus/>

²<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/apr/10/bolivia-enshrines-natural-worlds-rights>
<https://pwccc.wordpress.com>

- *recognizing that the capitalist system and all forms of depredation, exploitation, abuse and contamination have caused great destruction, degradation and disruption of Mother Earth, putting life as we know it today at risk through phenomena such as climate change;*
- *convinced that in an interdependent living community it is not possible to recognize the rights of only human beings without causing an imbalance within Mother Earth;*
- *affirming that to guarantee human rights it is necessary to recognize and defend the rights of Mother Earth and all beings in her and that there are existing cultures, practices and laws that do so;*
- *conscious of the urgency of taking decisive, collective action to transform structures and systems that cause climate change and other threats to Mother Earth;*
- *proclaim this Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, and call on the General Assembly of the United Nation to adopt it, as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations of the world, and to the end that every individual and institution takes responsibility for promoting through teaching, education, and consciousness raising, respect for the rights recognized in this Declaration and ensure through prompt and progressive measures and mechanisms, national and international, their universal and effective recognition and observance among all peoples and States in the world.*

Article 1: Mother Earth

- 1. Mother Earth is a living being.*
- 2. Mother Earth is a unique, indivisible, self-regulating community of interrelated beings that sustains, contains and reproduces all beings.*
- 3. Each being is defined by its relationships as an integral part of Mother Earth.*
- 4. The inherent rights of Mother Earth are inalienable in that they arise from the same source as existence.*
- 5. Mother Earth and all beings are entitled to all the inherent rights recognized in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as may be made between organic and inorganic beings, species, origin, use to human beings, or any other status.*
- 6. Just as human beings have human rights, all other beings also have rights which are specific to their species or kind and appropriate for their role and function within the communities within which they exist.*
- 7. The rights of each being are limited by the rights of other beings and any conflict between their rights must be resolved in a way that maintains the integrity, balance and health of Mother Earth.*

Article 2. Inherent Rights of Mother Earth

1. *Mother Earth and all beings of which she is composed have the following inherent rights:*
 - (a) *the right to life and to exist;*
 - (b) *the right to be respected;*
 - (c) *the right to regenerate its bio-capacity and to continue its vital cycles and processes free from human disruptions;*
 - (d) *the right to maintain its identity and integrity as a distinct, self-regulating and interrelated being;*
 - (e) *the right to water as a source of life;*
 - (f) *the right to clean air;*
 - (g) *the right to integral health;*
 - (h) *the right to be free from contamination, pollution and toxic or radioactive waste;*
 - (i) *the right to not have its genetic structure modified or disrupted in a manner that threatens its integrity or vital and healthy functioning;*
 - (j) *the right to full and prompt restoration the violation of the rights recognized in this Declaration caused by human activities;*
2. *Each being has the right to a place and to play its role in Mother Earth for her harmonious functioning.*
3. *Every being has the right to wellbeing and to live free from torture or cruel treatment by human beings.*

Article 3. Obligations of human beings to Mother Earth

1. *Every human being is responsible for respecting and living in harmony with Mother Earth.*
2. *Human beings, and all States guarantee peace and eliminate nuclear, chemical and biological weapons;*
 - (a) *act in accordance with the rights and obligations recognized in this Declaration;*
 - (b) *recognize and promote the full implementation and enforcement of the rights and obligations recognized in this Declaration;*
 - (c) *promote and participate in learning, analysis, interpretation and communication about how to live in harmony with Mother Earth in accordance with this Declaration;*



Figure 11.1: **The earth is our mother.**



Figure 11.2: Love and respect Mother Earth.

- (d) *ensure that the pursuit of human wellbeing contributes to the wellbeing of Mother Earth, now and in the future;*
- (e) *establish and apply effective norms and laws for the defense, protection and conservation of the rights of Mother Earth;*
- (f) *respect, protect, conserve and where necessary, restore the integrity, of the vital ecological cycles, processes and balances of Mother Earth;*
- (g) *guarantee that the damages caused by human violations of the inherent rights recognized in this Declaration are rectified and that those responsible are held accountable for restoring the integrity and health of Mother Earth;*
- (h) *empower human beings and institutions to defend the rights of Mother Earth and of all beings;*
- (i) *establish precautionary and restrictive measures to prevent human activities from causing species extinction, the destruction of ecosystems or the disruption of ecological cycles;*
- (j) *guarantee peace and eliminate nuclear, chemical and biological weapons;*
- (k) *promote and support practices of respect for Mother Earth and all beings, in accordance with their own cultures, traditions and customs;*
- (l) *promote economic systems that are in harmony with Mother Earth and in accordance with the rights recognized in this Declaration.*



Figure 11.3: **We need reverence for all life, and even reverence for inanimate nature. We need respect and love for Mother Earth. She will return out love.**

Article 4: Definitions

1. *The term “being” includes ecosystems, natural communities, species and all other natural entities which exist as part of Mother Earth.*
2. *Nothing in this Declaration restricts the recognition of other inherent rights of all beings or specified beings.*

11.2 Limits to growth

The Industrial Revolution marked the start of massive human use of fossil fuels. The stored energy from several hundred million years of plant growth began to be used at roughly a million times the rate at which it had been formed. The effect on human society was like that of a narcotic. There was a euphoric (and totally unsustainable) surge of growth of both population and industrial production. Meanwhile, the carbon released into the atmosphere from the burning of fossil fuels began to duplicate the conditions which led to the 5 geologically-observed mass extinctions, during each of which more than half of all living species disappeared forever.

Economists (with a few notable exceptions, such as Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, Herman Daly and Aurelio Peccei) have long behaved as though growth were synonymous with economic health. If the gross national product of a country increases steadily by 4% per year, most economists express approval and say that the economy is healthy. If the economy could be made to grow still faster (they maintain), it would be still more healthy. If



Figure 11.4: **Coalbrookdale by Night** by Philip James de Loutherbourg, painted 1801. This shows Madeley Wood (or Bedlam) Furnaces, which belonged to the Coalbrookdale Company from 1776 to 1796. Depicted place: Madeley Wood Furnaces, Coalbrookdale, Wikimedia Commons

the growth rate should fall, economic illness would be diagnosed.

However, it is obvious that on a finite Earth, neither population growth nor economic growth can continue indefinitely. A 4% rate of growth corresponds to an increase by a factor of 50 every century. No one can maintain that this is sustainable in the long run except by refusing to look more than a short distance into the future.

Of course, it is necessary to distinguish between industrial growth, and growth of culture and knowledge, which can and should continue to grow. Qualitative improvements in human society are possible and desirable, but resource-using and pollution-producing industrial growth is reaching its limits, both because of ecological constraints and because of the exhaustion of petroleum, natural gas and other non-renewable resources, such as metals. The threat of catastrophic climate change makes it imperative for us to stop using fossil fuels within very few decades.

Today, as economic growth falters, the defects and injustices of our banking system have come sharply into focus, and light has also been thrown onto the much-too-cozy relationship between banking and government. The collapse of banks during the sub-prime mortgage crisis of 2008 and their subsequent bailout by means of the taxpayer's money can give us an insight into both phenomena, the faults of our banking system and its infiltration into the halls of government. The same can be said of the present national debt crisis in the Euro zone and elsewhere.

One feature of banking that cries out for reform is "fractional reserve banking", i.e. the practice whereby private banks keep only a tiny fraction of the money entrusted to them by their depositors, and lend out all the remaining amount. By doing so, the banks are in effect coining their own money and putting it into circulation, a prerogative that ought

to be reserved for governments. Under the system of fractional reserve banking, profits from any expansion of the money supply go to private banks rather than being used by the government to provide social services. This is basically unjust; the banks are in effect issuing their own counterfeit money.

When the economy contracts instead of expanding, the effect of fractional reserve banking is still worse. In that case the depositors ask the banks for their money, which it is their right to do. But the banks do not have the money; they have lent it out, and thus they fail. However, the bankers have insured themselves against this eventuality by buying the votes of government officials. Thus the banks are bailed out and the taxpayers are left with the bill, as in the recent example in which the US Federal Reserve secretly gave 7.7 trillion of the taxpayers' dollars to bail out various banks.

In a later section (on entropy and economics) we will discuss in detail Frederick Soddy's criticisms of the fractional reserve banking system, and his proposals for monetary reform.

The fact that our fractional reserve banking system is stable when the economy is expanding, but collapses when the economy contracts explains, in part, the irrational and almost religious belief of governments and economists in perpetual growth. Also contributing to growth-worship are the unearned profits that investors reap when they own property in growing cities, or shares of growing businesses. But growth cannot continue forever. It is destroying the earth.

Pope Francis has called for economic reform. Our battered earth calls for it. The case of Greece shows clearly that our present economic system is not working; it is destroying nature and at the same time producing human misery. We need to replace our present economic system by one that has both an ecological conscience and a social conscience.³

The Club of Rome

In 1968 Aurelio Peccei, Thorkil Kristensen and others founded the Club of Rome, an organization of economists and scientists devoted to studying the predicament of human society. One of the first acts of the organization was to commission an MIT study of future trends using computer models. The result was a book entitled "Limits to Growth", published in 1972. From the outset the book was controversial, but it became a best-seller. It was translated into many languages and sold 30 million copies. The book made use of

³<http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-5/article/urgent-need-renewable-energy>
<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jul/08/exxon-climate-change-1981-climate-denier-funding>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/06/25/militarisms-hostages/>
<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/07/13/pope-calls-world-youth-rise-against-global-capitalism>
<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2015/07/tpp-ttip-tisa-a-tipping-edge-from-democracy/>
<http://dissidentvoice.org/2015/05/secret-and-democracy-are-incompatible/>
<http://www.countercurrents.org/roberts100715.htm>
<http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-6/article/institutional-and-cultural-inertia>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/07/04/will-the-real-issues-be-discussed-in-2016/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjZaFjXfLec>
<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/video/2012/oct/25/david-attenborough-climate-change-video>

an exponential index for resources, i.e. the number of years that a resource would last if used at an exponentially increasing rate.

Today the more accurate Hubbert Peak model is used instead to predict rate of use of a scarce resource as a function of time. Although the specific predictions of resource availability in “Limits to Growth” lacked accuracy, its basic thesis, that unlimited industrial growth on a finite planet is impossible, was indisputably correct. Nevertheless the book was greeted with anger and disbelief by the community of economists, and these emotions still surface when it is mentioned.

Economic activity is usually divided into two categories, 1) production of goods and 2) provision of services. It is the rate of production of goods that will be limited by the carrying capacity of the global environment. Services that have no environmental impact will not be constrained in this way. Thus a smooth transition to a sustainable economy will involve a shift of a large fraction the work force from the production of goods to the provision of services.

In his recent popular book “The Rise of the Creative Class” the economist Richard Florida points out that in a number of prosperous cities, for example Stockholm, a large fraction of the population is already engaged in what might be called creative work, a type of work that uses few resources, and produces few waste products, work which develops knowledge and culture rather than producing material goods. For example, producing computer software requires few resources and results in few waste products. Thus it is an activity with a very small ecological footprint.

Similarly, education, research, music, literature and art are all activities that do not weigh heavily on the carrying capacity of the global environment. Furthermore, cultural activities lead in a natural way to global cooperation and internationalism, since cultural achievements are shared by the people of the entire world. Indeed, the shared human inheritance of culture and knowledge is growing faster than ever before.

Florida sees this as a pattern for the future, and maintains that everyone is capable of creativity. He visualizes the transition to a sustainable future economy as one in which a large fraction of the work force moves from industrial jobs to information-related work. Meanwhile, as Florida acknowledges, industrial workers feel uneasy and threatened by such trends.⁴

Biological Carrying capacity and Economics

Classical economists pictured the world as largely empty of human activities. According to the empty-world picture of economics, the limiting factors in the production of food and goods are shortages of human capital and labor. The land, forests, fossil fuels, minerals, oceans filled with fish, and other natural resources upon which human labor and capital operate, are assumed to be present in such large quantities that they are not limiting

⁴<http://www.clubofrome.org/?p=326>

<http://www.donellameadows.org/wp-content/userfiles/Limits-to-Growth-digital-scan-version.pdf>
<http://www.donellameadows.org/archives/a-synopsis-limits-to-growth-the-30-year-update/>

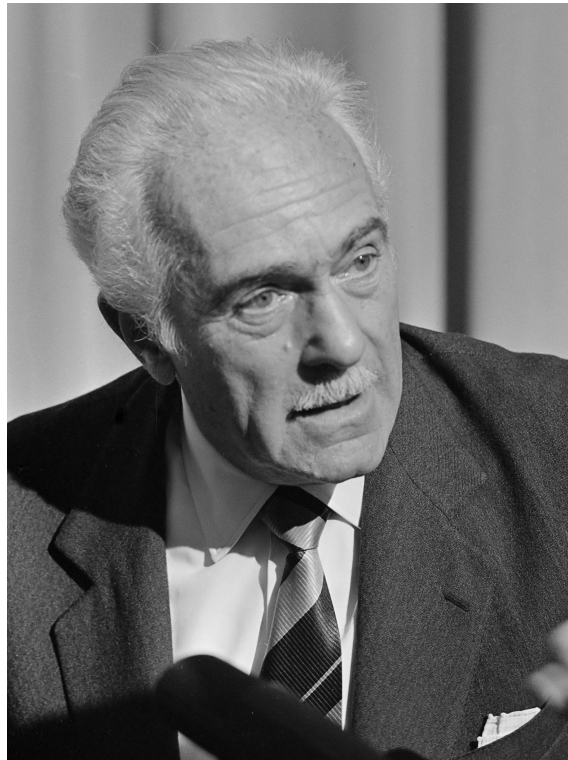


Figure 11.5: Aurelio Peccei (1908-1984), main founder of the Club of Rome. Concerning our present economic system, he wrote: “The only way we have devised to meet the surging waves of our rampant militarism and consumerism is to draw increasingly on the natural environment and to exploit, indiscriminately, the most accessible mineral and fuel deposits and all living resources we can lay our hands on. Such actions irreversibly impoverish our unique, irreplaceable, world, whose bounty and generosity are not infinite. Even if all the other adverse situations we find ourselves in today were to be alleviated, in itself, our high-handed treatment of Nature can bring about our doom.” Photograph by Koen Suyk/Anefo (Nationaal Archief), CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikimedia Commons



Figure 11.6: **When a forest is destroyed, topsoil is often lost to erosion. Source: United Nations.**

factors. In this picture, there is no naturally-determined upper limit to the total size of the human economy. It can continue to grow as long as new capital is accumulated, as long as new labor is provided by population growth, and as long as new technology replaces labor by automation.

Biology, on the other hand, presents us with a very different picture. Biologists remind us that if any species, including our own, makes demands on its environment which exceed the environment's carrying capacity, the result is a catastrophic collapse both of the environment and of the population which it supports. Only demands which are within the carrying capacity are sustainable. For example, there is a limit to regenerative powers of a forest.

It is possible to continue to cut trees in excess of this limit, but only at the cost of a loss of forest size, and ultimately the collapse and degradation of the forest. Similarly, cattle populations may for some time exceed the carrying capacity of grasslands, but the ultimate penalty for overgrazing will be degradation or desertification of the land. Thus, in biology, the concept of the carrying capacity of an environment is extremely important; but in economic theory this concept has not yet been given the weight which it deserves.

Exponential growth of human population and economic activity have brought us, in a surprisingly short time, from the empty-world situation to a full-world situation. In today's world, we are pressing against the absolute limits of the earth's carrying capacity, and further growth carries with it the danger of future collapse.

Full-world economics, the economics of the future, will no longer be able to rely on industrial growth to give profits to stockbrokers or to solve problems of unemployment or to alleviate poverty. In the long run, neither the growth of industry nor that of population is sustainable; and we have now reached or exceeded the sustainable limits.

The limiting factors in economics are no longer the supply of capital or human labor or even technology. The limiting factors are the rapidly vanishing supplies of petroleum



Figure 11.7: Our global food system is broken. Source: Oxfam

and metal ores, the forests damaged by acid rain, the diminishing catches from over-fished oceans, and the cropland degraded by erosion or salination, or lost to agriculture under a cover of asphalt.

Neoclassical economists have maintained that it is generally possible to substitute man-made capital for natural resources; but a closer examination shows that there are only very few cases where this is really practical. (See G.E. Tverberg, “Thoughts on why energy use and CO₂ emissions are rising as fast as GDP”, www.ourfinitemworld.com, November 30, 2011.)

The size of the human economy is, of course, the product of two factors the total number of humans, and the consumption per capita. If we are to achieve a sustainable global society in the future, a society whose demands are within the carrying capacity of of the global environment, then both these factors must be reduced.

The responsibility for achieving sustainability is thus evenly divided between the North and the South: Where there is excessively high consumption per capita, it must be reduced; and this is primarily the responsibility of the industrialized countries. High birth rates must also be reduced; and this is primarily the responsibility of the developing countries. Both of these somewhat painful changes are necessary for sustainability; but both will be extremely difficult to achieve because of the inertia of institutions, customs and ways of thought which are deeply embedded in society, in both the North and the South.

Population and food supply

Let us look first at the problem of high birth rates: The recent spread of modern medical techniques throughout the world has caused death rates to drop sharply; but since social customs and attitudes are slow to change, birth rates have remained high. As a result, between 1930 and 2011, the population of the world increased with explosive speed from

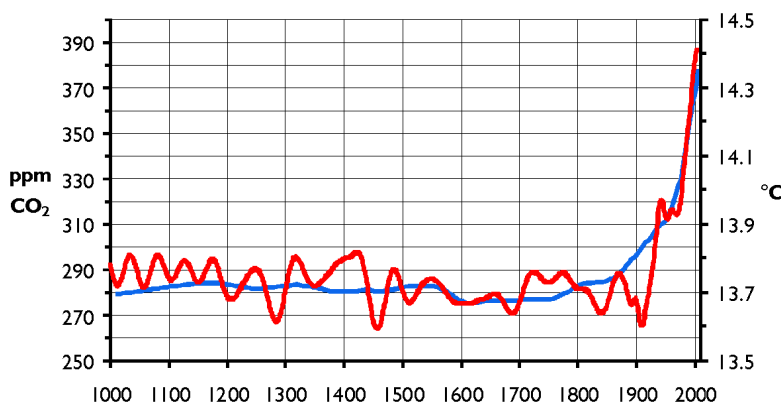


Figure 11.8: The Hanning graph used by the United Nations Climate Change Compendium 2009. Source: wattsupwiththat.com

two billion to seven billion.

During the last few decades, the number of food-deficit countries has lengthened; and it now reads almost like a United Nations roster. The food-importing nations are dependent, almost exclusively, on a single food-exporting region, the grain belt of North America. In the future, this region may be vulnerable to droughts produced by global warming.

An analysis of the global ratio of population to cropland shows that we probably already have exceeded the sustainable limit of population through our dependence on petroleum: Between 1950 and 1982, the use of cheap petroleum-derived fertilizers increased by a factor of 8, and much of our present agricultural output depends their use. Furthermore, petroleum-derived synthetic fibers have reduced the amount of cropland needed for growing natural fibers, and petroleum-driven tractors have replaced draft animals which required cropland for pasturage. Also, petroleum fuels have replaced fuelwood and other fuels derived for biomass. The reverse transition, from fossil fuels back to renewable energy sources, will require a considerable diversion of land from food production to energy production.

As population increases, the cropland per person will continue to fall, and we will be forced to make still heavier use of fertilizers to increase output per hectare. Also marginal land will be used in agriculture, with the probable result that much land will be degraded through erosion or salination.

Reserves of oil are likely to be exhausted by the middle of this century. Thus there is a danger that just as global population reaches the unprecedented level of 9 billion or more, the agricultural base for supporting it may suddenly collapse. The resulting catastrophe, possibly compounded by war and other disorders, could produce famine and death on a scale unprecedented in history, a disaster of unimaginable proportions, involving billions rather than millions of people. The present tragic famine in Africa is to this possible future disaster what Hiroshima is to the threat of thermonuclear war a tragedy of smaller scale, whose horrors should be sufficient, if we are wise, to make us take steps to avoid the larger catastrophe.

At present a child dies from starvation every six seconds. Five million children die from hunger every year. Over a billion people in today's world are chronically undernourished. There is a threat that unless prompt and well-informed action is taken by the international community, the tragic loss of life that is already being experienced will increase to unimaginable proportions.

As glaciers melt in the Himalayas, threatening the summer water supplies of India and China; as ocean levels rise, drowning the fertile rice-growing river deltas of Asia; as aridity begins to decrease the harvests of Africa, North America and Europe; as populations grow; as aquifers are overdrawn; as cropland is lost to desertification and urban growth; and as energy prices increase, the billion people who now are undernourished but still survive, might not survive. They might become the victims of a famine whose proportions could exceed anything that the world has previously experienced.

It is vital for the world to stabilize its population, not only because of the threat of a catastrophic future famine, but also because rapid population growth is closely linked with poverty. Today, a large fraction of the world's people live in near-poverty or absolute poverty, lacking safe water, sanitation, elementary education, primary health care and proper nutrition. Governments struggling to solve these problems, and to provide roads, schools, jobs and medical help for all their citizens, find themselves defeated by the rapid doubling times of populations. For example, in Liberia, the rate of population growth is 4% per year, which means that the population of Liberia doubles in size every eighteen years.

Under such circumstances, despite the most ambitious development programs, the infrastructure per capita decreases. Also, since new jobs must be found for the new millions added to the population, the introduction of efficient modern methods in industry and agriculture aggravates the already-serious problem of unemployment.

Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because in many countries these social reforms have proved to be strongly correlated with lower birth rates. Religious leaders who oppose programs for the education of women and for family planning on "ethical" grounds should think carefully about the scope and consequences of the catastrophic global famine which will undoubtedly occur within the next 50 years if population is allowed to increase unchecked.

One of the most important keys to controlling the global population explosion is giving women better education and equal rights. These goals are desirable for the sake of increased human happiness, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented point of view which women can give us; but in addition, education and improved status for women have shown themselves to be closely connected with lowered birth rates.

When women lack education and independent careers outside the home, they can be forced into the role of baby-producing machines by men who do not share in the drudgery of cooking, washing and cleaning; but when women have educational, legal, economic, social and political equality with men, experience has shown that they choose to limit their families to a moderate size.

Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out that the changes needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides



Figure 11.9: Child laborers. The changes needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor, and general economic development.

education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor and general economic development.⁵

Social Values and Levels of Consumption

Let us next turn to the problem of reducing the per-capita consumption in the industrialized countries. The whole structure of western society seems designed to push its citizens in the opposite direction, towards ever-increasing levels of consumption. The mass media hold before us continually the ideal of a personal utopia filled with material goods. Every young man in a modern industrial society feels that he is a failure unless he fights his way to the “top”; and in recent years, women too have been drawn into this competition.

Of course not everyone can reach the top; there would not be room for everyone; but society urges all us to try, and we feel a sense of failure if we do not reach the goal. Thus, modern life has become a struggle of all against all for power and possessions.

One of the central problems in reducing consumption is that in our present economic and social theory, consumption has no upper bound; there is no definition of what is enough; there is no concept of a state where all of the real needs of a person have been satisfied. In our growth-oriented present-day economics, it is assumed that, no matter how

⁵<http://www.poverties.org/famine-in-africa.html>



Figure 11.10: **FAO, IFAD and WFP joint project “Mainstreaming food loss reduction initiatives for smallholders in food deficit areas” aims to improve food security and income generation through reduction of food losses in food grains and pulses value chains. Photo: FAO/Alessandra Benedetti**

much a person earns, he or she is always driven by a desire for more.

The phrase “conspicuous consumption” was invented by the Norwegian-American economist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) in order to describe the way in which our society uses economic waste as a symbol of social status. In “The Theory of the Leisure Class”, first published in 1899, Veblen pointed out that it was wrong to believe that human economic behavior is rational, or that it can be understood in terms of classical economic theory. To understand it, Veblen maintained, one might better make use of insights gained from anthropology, psychology, sociology, and history.

The sensation caused by the publication of Veblen’s book, and the fact that his phrase, “conspicuous consumption”, has become part of our language, indicate that his theory did not completely miss its mark. In fact, modern advertisers seem to be following Veblen’s advice: Realizing that much of the output of our economy will be used for the purpose of establishing the social status of consumers, advertising agencies hire psychologists to appeal to the consumer’s longing for a higher social position.

When possessions are used for the purpose of social competition, demand has no natural upper limit; it is then limited only by the size of the human ego, which, as we know, is boundless. This would be all to the good if unlimited economic growth were desirable. But today, when further industrial growth implies future collapse, western society urgently needs to find new values to replace our worship of power, our restless chase after excitement, and our admiration of excessive consumption.

The values which we need, both to protect nature from civilization and to protect civilization from itself, are perhaps not new: Perhaps it would be more correct to say that we need to rediscover ethical values which once were part of human culture, but which were lost during the process of industrialization, when technology allowed us to break traditional environmental constraints.

Our ancestors were hunter-gatherers, living in close contact with nature, and respecting the laws and limitations of nature. There are many hunter-gatherer cultures existing today, from whose values and outlook we could learn much. Unfortunately, instead of learning from them, we often move in with our bulldozers and make it impossible for their way of life to continue. During the past several decades, for example, approximately one tribe of South American forest Indians has died out every year. Of the 6000 human languages now spoken, it is estimated that half will vanish during the next 50 years.

In some parts of Africa, before cutting down a tree, a man will offer a prayer of apology to the spirit of the tree, explaining why necessity has driven him to such an act. The attitude involved in this ritual is something which industrialized society needs to learn, or relearn. Older cultures have much to teach industrial society because they already have experience with full-world situation which we are fast approaching.

In a traditional culture, where change is extremely slow, population has an opportunity to expand to the limits which the traditional way of life allows, so that it reaches an equilibrium with the environment. For example, in a hunter-gatherer culture, population has expanded to the limits which can be supported without the introduction of agriculture. The density of population is, of course, extremely low, but nevertheless it is pressing against the limits of sustainability. Overhunting or overfishing would endanger the future. Respect for the environment is thus necessary for the survival of such a culture.

Similarly, in a stable, traditional agricultural society which has reached an equilibrium with its environment, population is pressing against the limits of sustainability. In such a culture, one can usually find expressed as a strong ethical principle the rule that the land must not be degraded, but must be left fertile for the use of future generations.

Today, the whole world seems to be adopting values, fashions, and standards of behavior presented in the mass media of western society. The unsustainable, power-worshipping, consumption-oriented values of western society are so strongly propagandized by television, films and advertising, that they overpower and sweep aside the wisdom of older societies. This is unfortunate, since besides showing us unsustainable levels of affluence and economic waste, the western mass media depict values and behavior patterns which are hardly worthy of imitation. We need to reverse this trend. The industrialized countries must learn from the values of older traditional cultures. The wisdom of our ancestors, their respect for nature and their hospitable traditions of sharing, can help us to create a new economic system founded on social and environmental ethics.⁶

⁶<http://www.learndev.org/dl/harmony8.pdf>
<http://dissidentvoice.org/2015/05/gandhi-as-an-economist/>
<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401804813.html>



Figure 11.11: Helena Norberg-Hodge (born in 1946) is the founder and director of Local Futures, which was previously named International Society for Ecology and Culture. She states that the organization is “dedicated to the revitalization of cultural and biological diversity, and the strengthening of local communities and economies worldwide”. In her important book, *Ancient Futures*, Norberg-Hodge says that modern industrial societies ought to learn from more sustainable traditional cultures, rather than the reverse.

11.3 Entropy and economics

We urgently need to shift quickly from fossil fuels to renewable energy if we are to avoid a tipping point after which human efforts to avoid catastrophic climate change will be futile because feedback loops will have taken over. The dangerous methane hydrate feedback loop is discussed in an excellent short video made by Thom Hartmann and the Leonardo DiCaprio Foundation.⁷

Celebrated author and activist Naomi Klein has emphasized the link between need for economic reform and our urgent duty to address climate change.⁸

Rebel economist Prof. Tim Jackson discusses the ways in which our present economic system has failed us, and the specific reforms that are needed. In one of his publications, he says: “The myth of growth has failed us. It has failed the two billion people who still live on 2 dollars a day. It has failed the fragile ecological systems on which we depend for survival. It has failed, spectacularly, in its own terms, to provide economic stability and secure people’s livelihood.”⁹

What is entropy?

Entropy is a quantity, originally defined in statistical mechanics and thermodynamics. It is a measure of the statistical probability of any state of a system: The greater the entropy, the greater the probability. The second law of thermodynamics asserts that entropy of the universe always increases with time. In other words, the universe as a whole is constantly moving towards states of greater and greater probability.

For any closed system, the same is true. Such systems move in time towards states of greater and greater probability. However, the earth, with its biosphere, is not a closed system. The earth constantly receives an enormous stream of light from the sun. The radiation which we receive from the sun brings us energy that can be used to perform work, and in physics this is called “free energy”. Because of this flood of incoming sunlight, plants, animals and humans are able to create structures which from a statistical point of view are highly unlikely.

The disorder and statistical probability of the universe is constantly increasing, but because the earth is not a closed system, we are able to create local order, and complex, statistically improbable structures, like the works of Shakespeare, the Mona Lisa and the Internet. The human economy is driven by the free energy which we receive as income from the sun. Money is, in fact, a symbol for free energy, and free energy might be thought of as “negative entropy”. There is also a link between free energy and information.¹⁰

⁷<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sRGVTK-AAvw>
<http://lasthours.org/>

⁸<http://thischangeseverything.org/naomi-klein/>
<http://www.theguardian.com/profile/naomiklein>

⁹<http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/rio-20-tim-jackson-leaders-green-economy?newsfeed=true>

<http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/consumerism-sustainability-short-termism>
¹⁰<http://www.amazon.com/Information-Theory-And-Evolution-Edition/dp/9814401234>

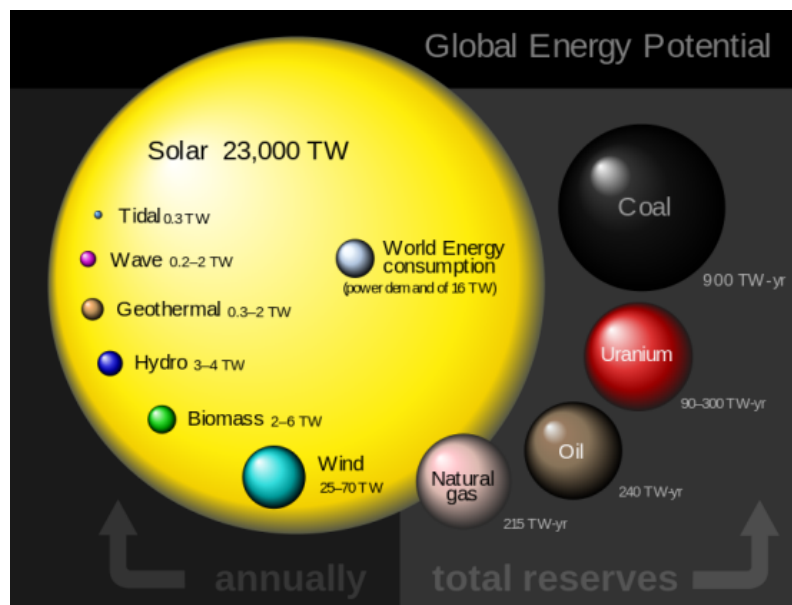


Figure 11.12: Global energy potential. Comparison of renewable and conventional planetary energy reserves and sources. While renewables display their power potential in terawatts (TW) with the corresponding annual amount of energy, conventional sources display their total recoverable energy reserves in terawatt-years (TW-yr). Author: Rfassbind, Wikimedia Commons

Human society as a superorganism, with the global economy as its digestive system

A completely isolated human being would find it as difficult to survive for a long period of time as would an isolated ant or bee or termite. Therefore it seems correct to regard human society as a superorganism. In the case of humans, the analog of the social insects' nest is the enormous and complex material structure of civilization. It is, in fact, what we call the human economy. It consists of functioning factories, farms, homes, transportation links, water supplies, electrical networks, computer networks and much more.

Almost all of the activities of modern humans take place through the medium of these external "exosomatic" parts of our social superorganism. The terms "exosomatic" and "endosomatic" were coined by the American scientist Alfred Lotka (1880-1949). A lobster's claw is endosomatic; it is part of the lobster's body. The hammer used by a human is exosomatic, like a detachable claw. Lotka spoke of "exosomatic evolution", including in this term not only cultural evolution but also the building up of the material structures of civilization.

The economy associated with the human superorganism "eats" resources and free energy. It uses these inputs to produce local order, and finally excretes them as heat and waste. The process is closely analogous to food passing through the alimentary canal of an individual organism. The free energy and resources that are the inputs of our economy drive it just as food drives the processes of our body, but in both cases, waste products are finally excreted in a degraded form.

Almost all of the free energy that drives the human economy came originally from the sun's radiation, the exceptions being geothermal energy which originates in the decay of radioactive substances inside the earth, and tidal energy, which has its origin in the slowing of the motions of the earth-moon system. However, since the start of the Industrial Revolution, our economy has been using the solar energy stored in of fossil fuels. These fossil fuels were formed over a period of several hundred million years. We are using them during a few hundred years, i.e., at a rate approximately a million times the rate at which they were formed.

The present rate of consumption of fossil fuels is more than 13 terawatts and, if used at the present rate, fossil fuels would last less than a century. However, because of the very serious threats posed by climate change, human society would be well advised to stop the consumption of coal, oil and natural gas well before that time.

The rate of growth of of new renewable energy sources is increasing rapidly. These sources include small hydro, modern biomass, solar, wind, geothermal, wave and tidal energy. There is an urgent need for governments to set high taxes on fossil fuel consumption and to shift subsidies from the petroleum and nuclear industries to renewables. These changes in economic policy are needed to make the prices of renewables more competitive.

The shock to the global economy that will be caused by the end of the fossil fuel era will be compounded by the scarcity of other non-renewable resources, such as metals. While it is true (as neoclassical economists emphasize) that "matter and energy can neither be created nor destroyed", free energy can be degraded into heat, and concentrated deposits of

minerals can be dispersed. Both the degradation of free energy into heat and the dispersal of minerals involve increases of entropy.

Frederick Soddy

One of the first people to call attention to the relationship between entropy and economics was the English radiochemist Frederick Soddy (1877-1956). Soddy won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1921 for his work with Ernest Rutherford demonstrating the transmutation of elements in radioactive decay processes. His concern for social problems then led him to a critical study of the assumptions of classical economics. Soddy believed that there is a close connection between free energy and wealth, but only a very tenuous connection between wealth and money.

Soddy was extremely critical of the system of “fractional reserve banking” whereby private banks keep only a small fraction of the money that is entrusted to them by their depositors and lend out the remaining amount. He pointed out that this system means that the money supply is controlled by the private banks rather than by the government, and also that profits made from any expansion of the money supply go to private corporations instead of being used to provide social services. Fractional reserve banking exists today, not only in England but also in many other countries. Soddy’s criticisms of this practice cast light on the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008 and the debt crisis of 2011.

As Soddy pointed out, real wealth is subject to the second law of thermodynamics. As entropy increases, real wealth decays. Soddy contrasted this with the behavior of debt at compound interest, which increases exponentially without any limit, and he remarked:

“You cannot permanently pit an absurd human convention, such as the spontaneous increment of debt [compound interest] against the natural law of the spontaneous decrement of wealth [entropy]”. Thus, in Soddy’s view, it is a fiction to maintain that being owed a large amount of money is a form of real wealth.

Frederick Soddy’s book, “Wealth, virtual wealth and debt: The solution of the economic paradox”, published in 1926 by Allen and Unwin, was received by the professional economists of the time as the quixotic work of an outsider. Today, however, Soddy’s common-sense economic analysis is increasingly valued for the light that it throws on the problems of our fractional reserve banking system, which becomes more and more vulnerable to failure as economic growth falters.¹¹

Currency reform, and nationalization of banks

Frederick Soddy was writing at a time when England’s currency was leaving the gold standard, and in order to replace this basis for the currency, he proposed an index system. Soddy’s index was to be based on a standard shopping basket containing household items, such as bread, milk, potatoes and so on. If the price of the items in the basket rose, more

¹¹www.fadedpage.com/link.php?file=20140873-a5.pdf
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/07/08/debt-slavery/>



Figure 11.13: **Prof. Muhammad Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank. The bank and its founder shared a Nobel Peace Prize for their work. Prof. Yunus continues to work with businesses which aim at fulfilling social needs rather than at profit for stockholders. Source: www.grameen-info.org**

currency would be issued by the nationalized central bank. If the price fell, currency would be withdrawn.

Nationalization of banks was proposed by Soddy as a means of avoiding the evils of the fractional reserve banking system. Today we see a revival of the idea of nationalized banks, or local user-owned cooperative banks. The Grameen Bank, founded by Prof. Muhammad Yunus, pioneered the idea of socially-motivated banks for the benefit poor people who would ordinarily be unable to obtain loans. The bank and its founder won a Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.¹²

Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen

The incorporation of the idea of entropy into economic thought also owes much to the mathematician and economist Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen (1906-1994), the son a Romanian army officer. Georgescu-Roegen's talents were soon recognized by the Romanian school system, and he was given an outstanding education in mathematics, which later

¹²<http://www.grameen-info.org/history/>
<http://www.ibtimes.com/greece-drawing-contingency-plans-nationalize-banks-bring-parallel-currency-report-1868830>
<http://www.quora.com/Why-were-banks-nationalized-in-India>
<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-01-28/greek-bank-investors-hammered-as-3-day-slump-wipes-12-billion>
<http://www.armstrongeconomics.com/archives/30531>
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalization>
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/23/beppe-grillo-calls-for-nationalisation-of-italian-banks-and-exit-from-euro>
<http://dissidentvoice.org/2015/07/whats-wrong-with-our-monetary-system-and-how-to-fix-it/>

contributed to his success and originality as an economist.

Between 1927 and 1930 the young Georgescu studied at the Institute de Statistique in Paris, where he completed an award-winning thesis: "On the problem of finding out the cyclical components of phenomena". He then worked in England with Karl Pearson from 1930 to 1932, and during this period his work attracted the attention of a group of economists who were working on a project called the Harvard Economic Barometer. He received a Rockefeller Fellowship to join this group, but when he arrived at Harvard, he found that the project had been disbanded.

In desperation, Georgescu-Roegen asked the economist Joseph Schumpeter for an appointment to his group. Schumpeter's group was in fact a remarkably active and interesting one, which included the future Nobel laureate Wassely Leontief; and there followed a period of intense intellectual activity during which Georgescu-Roegen became an economist.

Despite offers of a permanent position at Harvard, Georgescu-Roegen returned to his native Romania in the late 1930's and early 1940's in order to help his country. He served as a member of the Central Committee of the Romanian National Peasant Party. His experiences at this time led to his insight that economic activity involves entropy. He was also helped to this insight by Borel's monograph on Statistical Mechanics, which he had read during his Paris period.

Georgescu-Roegen later wrote: "The idea that the economic process is not a mechanical analogue, but an entropic, unidirectional transformation began to turn over in my mind long ago, as I witnessed the oil wells of the Ploesti field of both World Wars' fame becoming dry one by one, and as I grew aware of the Romanian peasants' struggle against the deterioration of their farming soil by continuous use and by rains as well. However it was the new representation of a process that enabled me to crystallize my thoughts in describing the economic process as the entropic transformation of valuable natural resources (low entropy) into valueless waste (high entropy)."

After making many technical contributions to economic theory, Georgescu-Roegen returned to this insight in his important 1971 book, "The Entropy Law and the Economic Process" (Harvard University Press), where he outlines his concept of bioeconomics. In a later book, "Energy and Economic Myths" (Pergamon Press, New York, 1976), he offered the following recommendations for moving towards a bioeconomic society:

1. The complete prohibition of weapons production, thereby releasing productive forces for more constructive purposes;
2. Immediate aid to underdeveloped countries;
3. Gradual decrease in population to a level that could be maintained only by organic agriculture;
4. Avoidance, and strict regulation if necessary, of wasteful energy use;
5. Abandon our attachment to "extravagant gadgetry";
6. "Get rid of fashion";
7. Make goods more durable and repairable; and
8. Cure ourselves of workaholic habits by re-balancing the time spent on work and leisure, a shift that will become incumbent as the effects of the other changes make themselves felt.

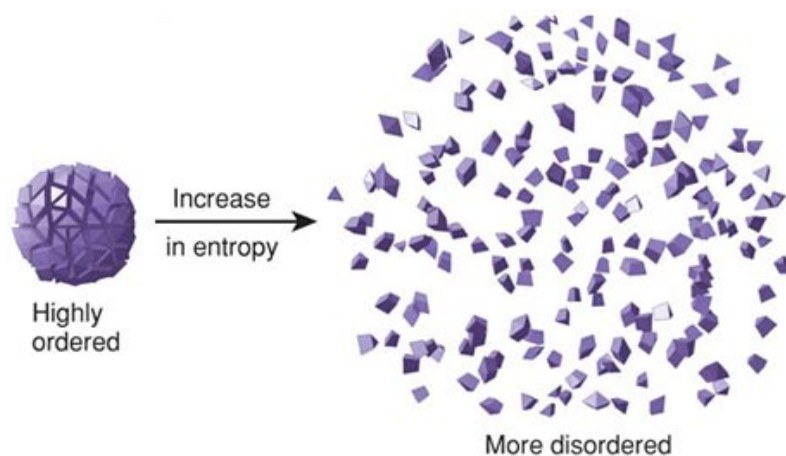


Figure 11.14: According to the second law of thermodynamics, the entropy of the universe constantly increases. Increase of entropy corresponds to increase of disorder, and also to increase of statistical probability. Living organisms on the earth are able to achieve a high degree of order and highly improbable structures because the earth is not a closed system. It constantly receives free energy (i.e. energy capable of doing work) from the sun, and this free energy can be thought of as carrying thermodynamic information, or “negative entropy”. Source: flowchainsensel.wordpress.co,

Georgescu-Roegen did not believe that his idealistic recommendations would be adopted, and he feared that human society is headed for a crash.

Limits to Growth: A steady-state economy

Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen’s influence continues to be felt today, not only through his own books and papers but also through those of his students, the distinguished economists Herman E. Daly and Kozo Mayumi, who for many years have been advocating a steady-state economy. As they point out in their books and papers, it is becoming increasingly apparent that unlimited economic growth on a finite planet is a logical impossibility. However, it is important to distinguish between knowledge, wisdom and culture, which can and should continue to grow, and growth in the sense of an increase in the volume of material goods produced. It is growth in the latter sense that is reaching its limits.

Daly describes our current situation as follows: “The most important change in recent times has been the growth of one subsystem of the Earth, namely the economy, relative to the total system, the ecosphere. This huge shift from an ‘empty’ to a ‘full’ world is truly ‘something new under the sun’... The closer the economy approaches the scale of the whole Earth, the more it will have to conform to the physical behavior mode of the Earth... The remaining natural world is no longer able to provide the sources and sinks for the metabolic throughput necessary to sustain the existing oversized economy, much less a growing one. Economists have focused too much on the economy’s circulatory system and



Figure 11.15: **Wind, solar, and biomass are three emerging renewable sources of energy. Wind turbines in a rapeseed field in Sandesneben, Germany. Author: J'urgen from Sandesneben, Germany, Wikimedia Commons**

have neglected to study its digestive tract.”¹³

In the future, the only way that we can avoid economic collapse is to build a steady-state economy. There exists much literature on how this can be achieved, and these writings ought to become a part of the education of all economists and politicians.

11.4 A new social contract

Our present situation is this:

The future looks extremely dark because of human folly, especially the long-term future. The greatest threats are catastrophic climate change and thermonuclear war, but a large-scale global famine also has to be considered.

We give our children loving care, but it makes no sense do so and at the same time to neglect to do all that is within our power to ensure that they and their descendants will inherit an earth in which they can survive. We also have a responsibility to all the other living organisms with which we share the gift of life.

Inaction is not an option. We have to act with courage and dedication, even if the odds are against success, because the stakes are so high. The mass media could mobilize us to action, but they have failed in their duty. Our educational system could also wake us up and make us act, but it too has failed us. The battle to save the earth from human greed and folly has to be fought in the alternative media.

¹³<http://dalynnews.org/learn/blog/>
<http://steadystate.org/category/herman-daly/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EN5esbvAt-w>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIR-VsXtM4Y>
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2015/car031315a.htm>



Figure 11.16: **Otro mundo es posible. Another world is possible.** Source: <http://dailytheology.org>

We need a new economic system, a new society, a new social contract, a new way of life. Here are the great tasks that history has given to our generation: We must achieve a steady-state economic system. We must restore democracy. We must decrease economic inequality. We must break the power of corporate greed. We must leave fossil fuels in the ground. We must stabilize and ultimately reduce the global population. We must eliminate the institution of war. And finally, we must develop a more mature ethical system to match our new technology.

We must achieve a steady-state economic system

A steady-state economic system is necessary because neither population growth nor economic growth can continue indefinitely on a finite earth. No one can maintain that exponential industrial growth is sustainable in the long run except by refusing to look more than a short distance into the future.

Of course, it is necessary to distinguish between industrial growth, and growth of culture and knowledge, which can and should continue to grow. Qualitative improvements in human society are possible and desirable, but resource-using and pollution-producing industrial growth is reaching its limits, both because of ecological constraints and because of the exhaustion of petroleum, natural gas and other non-renewable resources, such as metals. The threat of catastrophic climate change makes it imperative for us to stop using fossil fuels within very few decades.

We discussed Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen's reasons for viewing our present economic system as unidirectional and entropic: Low-entropy resources are converted into high-entropy waste, a unidirectional process. By contrast, to be sustainable in the long run, a process must be cyclic, like the growth and regeneration of a forest.

Georgescu-Roegen's list of desiderata remains valid today: We need drastic cuts in



Figure 11.17: **Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, a great pioneer of Ecological Economics. His writings cast much light on our present situation. Source: elcomercio.ep**

weapons production, thereby releasing productive forces for more constructive purposes. We need immediate aid to underdeveloped countries and gradual decrease in population to a level that can be maintained by organic agriculture. We also need avoidance, and strict regulation if necessary, of wasteful energy use. Finally, we need to abandon our attachment to extravagant gadgetry and fashion, and we must cure ourselves of workaholic habits by re-balancing the time spent on work and leisure.

Today, the distinguished economist Herman Daly (a student of Georgescu-Roegen) continues to write perceptive articles and books documenting the need for a steady-state economy. Among his books, the following are noteworthy: “Steady-State Economics” (1977); “For the Common Good” (1989, with John B. Cobb, Jr.); “Valuing the Earth” (1993, with Kenneth Townsend); “Beyond Growth” (1996); “Ecological Economics and the Ecology of Economics” (1999); “Local Politics of Global Sustainability” (2000, with Thomas Prugh and Robert Costanza), and “Ecological Economics: Principles and Applications” (2003, with Joshua Farley. Prof. Daly is a recipient of the Right Livelihood Award, which is sometimes called the Alternative Nobel Prize.¹⁴

We must restore democracy

It is obvious, almost by definition, that excessive governmental secrecy and true democracy are incompatible. If the people of a country have no idea what their government is doing, they cannot possibly have the influence on decisions that the word “democracy” implies.

Governmental secrecy is not something new. Secret diplomacy contributed to the outbreak of World War I, and the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement later contributed to the

¹⁴<http://steadystate.org/category/herman-daly/>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman_Daly
<http://grist.org/article/bank/>
<http://www.donellameadows.org/wp-content/userfiles/Limits-to-Growth-digital-scan-version.pdf>
<http://www.clubofrome.org/?p=326>



Figure 11.18: We must restore democracy in countries where it has been replaced by oligarchy.

bitterness of conflicts in the Middle East. However, in recent years, governmental secrecy has grown enormously.

The revelations of Edward Snowden have shown that the number of people involved in secret operations of the United States government is now as large as the entire population of Norway: roughly 5 million. The influence of this dark side of government has become so great that no president is able to resist it.

Many modern governments have become very expert in manipulating public opinion through mass media. They only allow the public to hear a version of the “news” that has been handed down by powerholders. Of course, people can turn to the alternative media that are available on the Internet. But on the whole, the vision of the world presented on television screens and in major newspapers is the “truth” that is accepted by the majority of the public, and it is this picture of events that influences political decisions. Censorship of the news by the power elite is a form of secrecy, since it withholds information that is needed for a democracy to function properly.

Snowden has already said most of what he has to say. Nevertheless, Washington was willing to break international law and the rules of diplomatic immunity by forcing its European allies to ground the plane of Bolivian President Evo Morales following a rumor that Snowden was on board. This was not done to prevent Snowden from saying more, but with the intention of making a gruesome example of him, as a warning to other whistleblowers.

In a democracy, the power of judging and controlling governmental policy is supposed to be in the hands of the people. It is completely clear that if the people do not know what their government is doing, then they cannot judge or control governmental policy, and democracy has been abolished. There has always been a glaring contradiction between democracy and secret branches of the government, such as the CIA, which conducts its assassinations and its dirty wars in South America and elsewhere without any public knowledge or control.

The gross, wholesale electronic spying on citizens revealed by Snowden seems to be specifically aimed at eliminating democracy. It is aimed at instilling universal fear and conformity, fear of blackmail and fear of being out of step, so that the public will not dare to oppose whatever the government does, no matter how criminal or unconstitutional.

We must restore democracy wherever it has been replaced by oligarchy. When we do so, we will free ourselves from many evils, including excessive economic inequality, violation of civil rights, and the suffering produced by perpetual wars.

We must decrease economic inequality

In his Apostolic Exhortation, “*Evangelii Gaudium*”, Pope Francis said:

“In our time humanity is experiencing a turning-point in its history, as we can see from the advances being made in so many fields. We can only praise the steps being taken to improve people’s welfare in areas such as health care, education and communications. At the same time we have to remember that the majority of our contemporaries are barely living from day to day, with dire consequences. A number of diseases are spreading. The hearts of many people are gripped by fear and desperation, even in the so-called rich



Figure 11.19: Edward Snowden, Author: Laura Poitras / Praxis Films, Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported license. Wikimedia Commons



Figure 11.20: Hong Kong rally to support Snowden, June 15, 2013, Author: See-ming Lee, Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license, Wikimedia Commons



Figure 11.21: Demonstration in support of Assange in front of Sydney Town Hall, 10 December 2010, Author: Elekhkh, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Wikimedia Commons

countries. The joy of living frequently fades, lack of respect for others and violence are on the rise, and inequality is increasingly evident. It is a struggle to live and, often, to live with precious little dignity.”

“This epochal change has been set in motion by the enormous qualitative, quantitative, rapid and cumulative advances occurring in the sciences and in technology, and by their instant application in different areas of nature and of life. We are in an age of knowledge and information, which has led to new and often anonymous kinds of power.”

“Just as the commandment ‘Thou shalt not kill’ sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life, today we also have to say ‘thou shalt not’ to an economy of exclusion and inequality. Such an economy kills. How can it be that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points? This is a case of exclusion. Can we continue to stand by when food is thrown away while people are starving? This is a case of inequality. Today everything comes under the laws of competition and the survival of the fittest, where the powerful feed upon the powerless. As a consequence, masses of people find themselves excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means of escape.”

“In this context, some people continue to defend trickle-down theories which assume that economic growth, encouraged by a free market, will inevitably succeed in bringing about greater justice and inclusiveness in the world. This opinion, which has never been confirmed by the facts, expresses a crude and naive trust in the goodness of those wielding economic power and in the sacralized workings of the prevailing economic system. Meanwhile, the excluded are still waiting.”

In a recent speech, Senator Bernie Sanders quoted Pope Francis extensively and added: “We have a situation today, Mr. President, incredible as it may sound, where the wealthiest 85 people in the world own more wealth than the bottom half of the world’s population.”¹⁵

The social epidemiologist Prof. Richard Wilkinson, has documented the ways in which societies with less economic inequality do better than more unequal societies in a number of areas, including increased rates of life expectancy, mathematical performance, literacy, trust, social mobility, together with decreased rates of infant mortality, homicides, imprisonment, teenage births, obesity and mental illness, including drug and alcohol addiction.¹⁶ We must also remember that according to the economist John A. Hobson, the basic problem that led to imperialism was an excessively unequal distribution of incomes in the industrialized countries. The result of this unequal distribution was that neither the rich nor the poor could buy back the total output of their society. The incomes of the poor were insufficient, and rich were too few in number.

¹⁵https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_LJpN893Vg
<https://www.oxfam.org/en/tags/inequality>
https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/cr-even-it-up-extreme-inequality-291014-en.pdf

¹⁶<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZ7LzE3u7Bw>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_G._Wilkinson



Figure 11.22: Greed: one of the seven deadly sins. Pecados Capitaes. Avaricia.
Author: Jesus Solana from Madrid, Spain, Wikimedia Commons

We must break the power of corporate greed

When the United Nations was established in 1945, the purpose of the organization was to abolish the institution of war. This goal was built into many of the articles of the UN Charter. Accordingly, throughout the world, many War Departments were renamed and became Departments of Defense. But the very name is a lie. In an age of nuclear threats and counter-threats, populations are by no means protected. Ordinary citizens are just hostages in a game for power and money. It is all about greed.

Why is war continually threatened? Why is Russia threatened? Why is war with Iran threatened? Why fan the flames of conflict with China? Is it to “protect” civilians? Absolutely not! In a thermonuclear war, hundreds of millions of civilians would die horribly everywhere in the world, also in neutral countries. What is really being protected are the profits of arms manufacturers. As long as there are tensions; as long as there is a threat of war, military budgets are safe; and the profits of arms makers are safe. The people in several “democracies”, for example the United States, do not rule at the moment. Greed rules.

As Institute Professor Noam Chomsky of MIT has pointed out, greed and lack of ethics are built into the structure of corporations. By law, the Chief Executive Officer of a corporation must be entirely motivated by the collective greed of the stockholders. He must maximize profits. If the CEO abandons this single-minded chase after corporate profits for ethical reasons, or for the sake of humanity or the biosphere or the future, he (or she) must, by law, be fired and replaced.

Occasionally, for the sake of their public image, corporations seem to do something for other motives than their own bottom line, but it is usually window dressing. For example, Shell claims to be supporting research on renewable energy. Perhaps there is indeed a small renewable energy laboratory somewhere in that vast corporation; but the real interest of the organization is somewhere else. Shell is sending equipment on a large scale to drill for more and more environment-destroying oil in the Arctic.¹⁷

We must leave fossil fuels in the ground

The threat of catastrophic climate change requires prompt and dedicated action by the global community. Unless we very quickly make the transition from fossil fuels to 100% renewable energy, we will reach a tipping point after which uncontrollable feedback loops could take over, leading to a human-caused 6th geological extinction event. This might even be comparable to the Permian-Triassic event, during which 96% of all marine species and 70% of terrestrial vertebrates became extinct.

New hope that such a catastrophe for human civilization and the biosphere can be avoided comes from two recently-released documents: The Encyclical “*Laudato Si*” by

¹⁷<http://www.countercurrents.org/avery170715.htm>
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/06/25/militarisms-hostages/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FJUA4cm0Rck>



Figure 11.23: Institute Professor Noam Chomsky of MIT has pointed out that greed and lack of ethics are built into the structure of corporations. If the CEO abandons the single-minded chase after corporate profits for ethical reasons, or for the sake of humanity or the biosphere or the future, he (or she) must, by law, be fired and replaced. Photo by Duncan Rawlinson. [CC BY 2.0], Wikimedia Commons



Figure 11.24: **Pope Francis among the people at St. Peter's Square - 12 May 2013.**

Pope Francis, and the statistics on the rate of growth of renewable energy newly released by the Earth Policy Institute.

Arctic sea-ice is melting at an increasingly rapid rate, because of several feedback loops. One of these feedback loops, called the albedo effect, is due to the fact that white snow-covered sea-ice in the Arctic reflects sunlight, while dark water absorbs it, raising the temperature and leading to more melting.

Another feedback loop is due to the fact that rising temperatures mean that more water is evaporated. The water vapor in the atmosphere acts like a greenhouse gas, and raises the temperature still further.

If we consider long-term effects, by far the most dangerous of the feedback loops is the melting of methane hydrate crystals and the release of methane into the atmosphere, where its effects as a greenhouse gas are roughly twenty times great as those of CO_2 .

When organic matter is carried into the oceans by rivers, it decays to form methane. The methane then combines with water to form hydrate crystals, which are stable at the temperatures which currently exist on ocean floors. However, if the temperature rises, the crystals become unstable, and methane gas bubbles up to the surface.

The worrying thing about methane hydrate deposits on ocean floors is the enormous amount of carbon involved: roughly 10,000 gigatons. To put this huge amount into perspective, we can remember that the total amount in world CO_2 emissions since 1751 has been only 337 gigatons.

Despite the worrying nature of the threats that we are facing, there are reasons for hope. One of the greatest of these is the beautiful, profound and powerful encyclical that

has just been released by Pope Francis.¹⁸

Pope Francis tells us that the dictates of today's economists are not sacred: In the future, if we are to survive, economics must be given both a social conscience and an ecological conscience. Nor are private property and profits sacred. They must be subordinated to the common good, and the preservation of our global commons. Less focus on material goods need not make us less happy. The quality of our lives can be increased, not decreased, if we give up our restless chase after power and wealth, and derive more of our pleasures from art, music and literature, and from conversations with our families and friends.

Another reason for hope can be found in the extremely high present rate of growth of renewable energy, and in the remarkable properties of exponential growth. According to figures recently released by the Earth Policy Institute,¹⁹ the global installed photovoltaic capacity is currently able to deliver 242,000 megawatts, and it is increasing at the rate of 27.8% per year. Wind energy can now deliver 370,000 megawatts, and it is increasing at the rate of roughly 20% per year.

Because of the astonishing properties of exponential growth, we can calculate that if these growth rates are maintained, renewable energy can give us 24.8 terawatts within only 15 years! This is far more than the world's present use of all forms of energy.

All of us must still work with dedication to provide the political will needed to avoid catastrophic climate change. However, the strong and friendly voice of Pope Francis, and the remarkable rate of growth of renewable energy can guide our work, and can give us hope and courage.

The award-winning author and activist Naomi Klein has emphasized that the climate crisis changes everything. Environmentalists and antiwar activists must unite! We need a new economic system! The people of the world don't want climate change; they want system change!²⁰

¹⁸http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html

¹⁹<http://www.earth-policy.org/books/tgt>

²⁰<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2015/03/naomi-klein-the-economic-system-we-have-created-global-warming/>
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Figure 11.25: The award-winning author and activist Naomi Klein has emphasized that the climate crisis changes everything. Environmentalists and antiwar activists must unite! We need a new economic system! The people of the world don't want climate change; they want system change! The photo shows Naomi Klein in Warsaw Nov.20 2008, by Mariusz Kubik, (own work). [CC BY 3.0], Wikimedia Commons

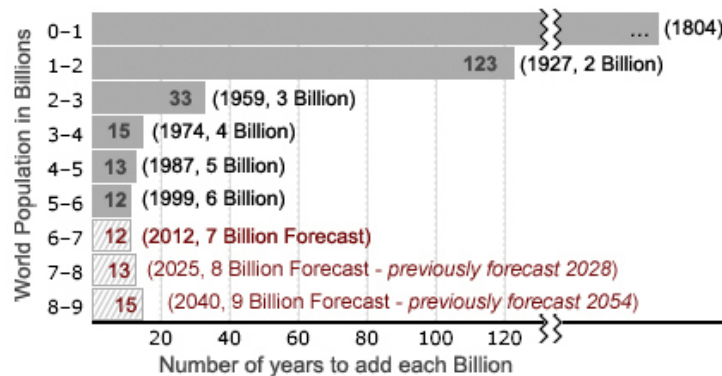


Figure 11.26: The years taken for every billion people to be added to the world's population, and the years that population was reached. (with future estimates). Updated from original version with improved annotation and all data (years) revised in light of currently known information published on World Population Milestones. Fully revised by BS based on original by User:ELT

We must stabilize and ultimately reduce the global population

According to the World Resources Institute and the United Nations Environment Programme, "It is estimated that since World War II, 1.2 billion hectares...[of agricultural land] has suffered at least moderate degradation as a result of human activity. This is a vast area, roughly the size of China and India combined." This area is 27% of the total area currently devoted to agriculture 5 . The report goes on to say that the degradation is greatest in Africa.

David Pimental and his associates at Cornell University pointed out in 1995 that "Because of erosion-associated loss of productivity and population growth, the per capita food supply has been reduced over the past 10 years and continues to fall. The Food and Agricultural Organization reports that the per capita production of grains which make up 80% of the world's food supply, has been declining since 1984."

Pimental et al. add that "Not only is the availability of cropland per capita decreasing as the world population grows, but arable land is being lost due to excessive pressure on the environment. For instance, during the past 40 years nearly one-third of the world's cropland (1.5 billion hectares) has been abandoned because of soil erosion and degradation. Most of the replacement has come from marginal land made available by removing forests. Agriculture accounts for 80% of the annual deforestation."

The phrase "developing countries" is more than a euphemism; it expresses the hope that with the help of a transfer of technology from the industrialized nations, all parts of the world can achieve prosperity. An important factor that prevents the achievement of worldwide prosperity is population growth.

In the words of Dr. Halfdan Mahler, former Director General of the World Health Organization, "Country after country has seen painfully achieved increases in total output, food production, health and educational facilities and employment opportunities reduced

or nullified by excessive population growth.”

The growth of population is linked to excessive urbanization, infrastructure failures and unemployment. In rural districts in the developing countries, family farms are often divided among a growing number of heirs until they can no longer be subdivided. Those family members who are no longer needed on the land have no alternative except migration to overcrowded cities, where the infrastructure is unable to cope so many new arrivals. Often the new migrants are forced to live in excrement-filled makeshift slums, where dysentery, hepatitis and typhoid are endemic, and where the conditions for human life sink to the lowest imaginable level. In Brazil, such shanty towns are called “favelas”.

If modern farming methods are introduced in rural areas while population growth continues, the exodus to cities is aggravated, since modern techniques are less labor-intensive and favor large farms. In cities, the development of adequate infrastructure requires time, and it becomes a hopeless task if populations are growing rapidly. Thus, population stabilization is a necessary first step for development.

It can be observed that birth rates fall as countries develop. However, development is sometimes blocked by the same high birth rates that economic progress might have prevented. In this situation (known as the “demographic trap”), economic gains disappear immediately because of the demands of an exploding population.

For countries caught in the demographic trap, government birth control programs are especially important, because one cannot rely on improved social conditions to slow birth rates. Since health and lowered birth rates should be linked, it is appropriate that family-planning should be an important part of programs for public health and economic development.

A recent study conducted by Robert F. Lapham of Demographic Health Surveys and W. Parker Maudlin of the Rockefeller Foundation has shown that the use of birth control is correlated both with socio-economic setting and with the existence of strong family-planning programs. The implication of this study is that even in the absence of increased living standards, family planning programs can be successful, provided they have strong government support.

Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because in many countries these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates. As Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out, the changes needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor and general economic development. The money required to make these desirable changes is a tiny fraction of the amount that is currently wasted on war.

In order to avoid a catastrophic future famine, it is vitally important that all of the countries of the world should quickly pass through a demographic transition from a situation characterized by high birth rates and high death rates to a new equilibrium, where low death rates are balanced by low birth rates.

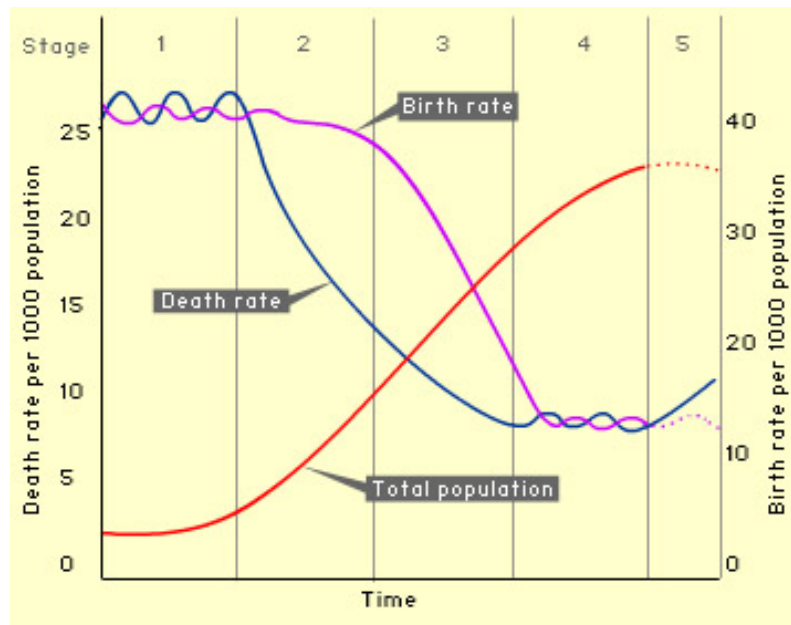


Figure 11.27: The demographic transition, from an equilibrium with high birth rates and high death rates to a new equilibrium where both birth and death rates are low. Author: en:User:Charmed88. Public domain, Wikimedia Commons

We must stop using material goods for social competition

In the future, population will continue to grow for some time. One hopes that the global population of humans population can be stabilized and graduly reduced instead of crashing catastrophically. In the meantime, in order to avoid an environmental megadisaster, we will have to reduce our consumption to what is actually necessary. It is important to recognize that many of the things that we buy are not actually needed to support life, but are used for social competition. The economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) recognized this fact, and he introduced the phrase “conspicuous consumption” to characterize the use of material goods for social competition. Modern advertisers agree with the correctness of Veblen’s insight, and they employ psychologists to compose advertisements that appeal specifically to the customer’s desire for higher social status.

The 19th century American writer, Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), pioneered the concept of a simple life, in harmony with nature. Today, his classic book, *Walden*, has become a symbol for the principles of ecology, simplicity, and respect for nature. “Most of the luxuries”, Thoreau wrote, “and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind. With respect to luxuries, the wisest have ever lived a more simple and meager life than the poor. The ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich in inward.”

It will be very difficult for humans to give up the use of material goods for social



Figure 11.28: Charles Darwin explained the evolution of the beautiful feathers of male peacocks by introducing sexual selection as a component of natural selection.

competition, since the tendency to do so is so much a part of our inherited emotional nature. Perhaps social competition (mating displays) can be shifted to non-material tests, such as the ability to make interesting and intelligent conversation, or ability in art or music.



Figure 11.29: The mating display of the superb bird of paradise



Figure 11.30: An expensive automobile can be viewed as a mating display.



Figure 11.31: Who has the biggest house? (Another form of social competition by means of material goods.)



Figure 11.32: An etching by Francisco Goya (1791-1818) from the series “The Disasters of War”. Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons

We must eliminate the institution of war

The problem of achieving internal peace over a large geographical area is not insoluble. It has already been solved. There exist today many nations or regions within each of which there is internal peace, and some of these are so large that they are almost worlds in themselves. One thinks of China, India, Brazil, Australia, the Russian Federation, the United States, and the European Union. Many of these enormous societies contain a variety of ethnic groups, a variety of religions and a variety of languages, as well as striking contrasts between wealth and poverty. If these great land areas have been forged into peaceful and cooperative societies, cannot the same methods of government be applied globally?

But what are the methods that nations use to achieve internal peace? Firstly, every true government needs to have the power to make and enforce laws that are binding on individual citizens. Secondly the power of taxation is a necessity. Thirdly, within their own territories, almost all nations have more military power than any of their subunits. For example, the US Army is more powerful than the State Militia of Illinois.

This unbalance of power contributes to the stability of the Federal Government of the United States. When the FBI wanted to arrest Al Capone, it did not have to bomb Chicago. Agents just went into the city and arrested the gangster. Even if Capone had been enormously popular in Illinois, the the government of the state would have realized in advance that it had no chance of resisting the US Federal Government, and it still would have allowed the “Feds” to make their arrest. Similar considerations hold for almost all nations within which there is internal peace. It is true that there are some nations within

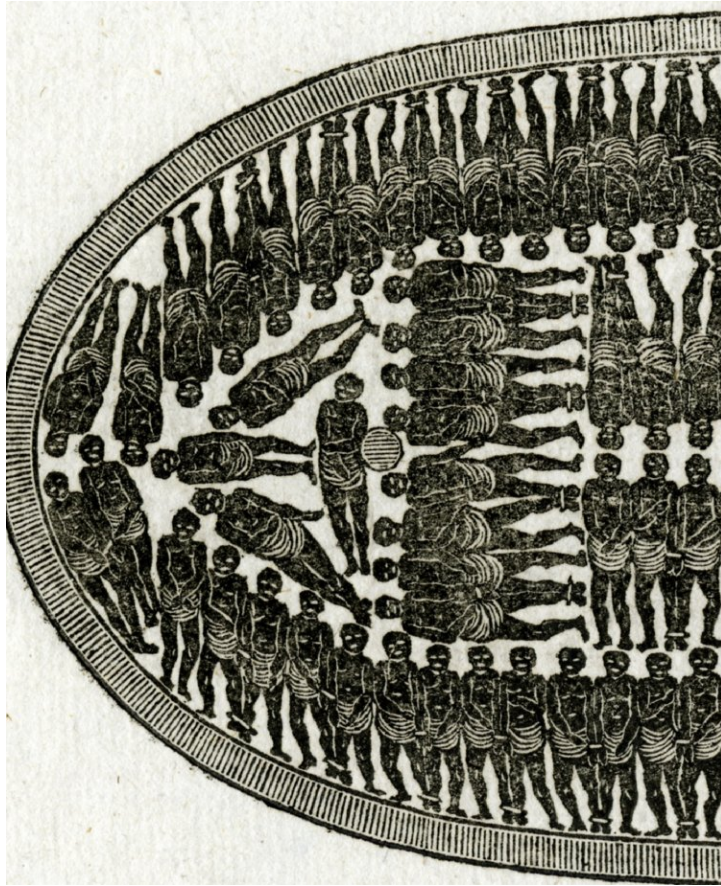


Figure 11.34: “Description of a slave ship”, by an anonymous artist, wood engraving. A model of the ship was used by William Wilberforce in the House of Commons. The example of the men and women who worked to rid the world of slavery can give us courage as we strive for a time when war will exist only as a dark memory fading into the past. Public domain, Wikimedia Commons

together like cord-wood, and we are amazed that such cruelty could have been possible. Can we not hope for a time when our descendants, reading descriptions of the wars of our own time, will be equally amazed that such cruelty and stupidity could have been possible? If we use them constructively, the vast resources now wasted on war can initiate a new era of happiness and prosperity for the family of man. It is within our power to let this happen. The example of the men and women who worked to rid the world of slavery can give us courage as we strive for a time when war will exist only as a dark memory fading into the past.

New ethics to match new technology

Modern science has, for the first time in history, offered humankind the possibility of a life of comfort, free from hunger and cold, and free from the constant threat of death through infectious disease. At the same time, science has given humans the power to obliterate their civilization with nuclear weapons, or to make the earth uninhabitable through overpopulation and pollution.

The question of which of these paths we choose is literally a matter of life or death for ourselves and our children. Will we use the discoveries of modern science constructively, and thus choose the path leading towards life? Or will we use science to produce more and more lethal weapons, which sooner or later, through a technical or human failure, may result in a catastrophic nuclear war? Will we thoughtlessly destroy our beautiful planet through unlimited growth of population and industry? The choice among these alternatives is ours to make. We live at a critical moment of history, a moment of crisis for civilization.

No one living today asked to be born at such a moment, but by an accident of birth, history has given us an enormous responsibility, and two daunting tasks: If civilization is to survive, we must not only stabilize the global population but also, even more importantly, we must eliminate the institution of war. We face these difficult tasks with an inherited emotional nature that has not changed much during the last 40,000 years. Furthermore, we face the challenges of the 21st century with an international political system based on the anachronistic concept of the absolutely sovereign nation-state. However, the human brain has shown itself to be capable of solving even the most profound and complex problems. The mind that has seen into the heart of the atom must not fail when confronted with paradoxes of the human heart.

We must replace the old world of international anarchy, chronic war and institutionalized injustice, by a new world of law. The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Criminal Court are steps in the right direction, but these institutions need to be greatly strengthened and reformed.²¹

²¹<http://www.countercurrents.org/zuesse050815.htm>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=16&v=hDsPWmioSHg>
<http://www.commondreams.org/views/2014/04/14/us-oligarchy-not-democracy-says-scientific-study>
<http://www.treehugger.com/renewable-energy/striking-chart-showing-solar-power-will-take-over-world.html>

We also need a new global ethic, where loyalty to one's family and nation is supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole. The Nobel laureate biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi once wrote:

"The story of man consists of two parts, divided by the appearance of modern science.... In the first period, man lived in the world in which his species was born and to which his senses were adapted. In the second, man stepped into a new, cosmic world to which he was a complete stranger.... The forces at man's disposal were no longer terrestrial forces, of human dimension, but were cosmic forces, the forces which shaped the universe. The few hundred Fahrenheit degrees of our flimsy terrestrial fires were exchanged for the ten million degrees of the atomic reactions which heat the sun."

"This is but a beginning, with endless possibilities in both directions; a building of a human life of undreamt of wealth and dignity, or a sudden end in utmost misery. Man lives in a new cosmic world for which he was not made. His survival depends on how well and how fast he can adapt himself to it, rebuilding all his ideas, all his social and political institutions."

"...Modern science has abolished time and distance as factors separating nations. On our shrunken globe today, there is room for one group only: the family of man."

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Chapter 12

ETHICS FOR THE FUTURE

Science investigates, religion interprets. Science gives man knowledge, which is power; religion gives man wisdom, which is control. Science deals mainly with facts; religion deals mainly with values. The two are not rivals. Martin Luther King Jr.

12.1 Some goals for the future

History has given all of us living today an enormous responsibility, and several daunting tasks: If civilization is to survive, we must not only stabilize the global population and avoid catastrophic climate, but also, even more importantly, we must eliminate the institution of war.

We face these difficult tasks with an inherited emotional nature that has not changed much during the last 40,000 years. Furthermore, we face the challenges of the 21st century with an international political system based on the anachronistic concept of the absolutely sovereign nation-state. However, the human brain has shown itself to be capable of solving even the most profound and complex problems. The mind that has seen into the heart of the atom must not fail when confronted with paradoxes of the human heart.

We must replace the old world of international anarchy, chronic war and institutionalized injustice, by a new world of law. The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Criminal Court are steps in the right direction, but these institutions need to be greatly strengthened and reformed.

We also need a new global ethic, where loyalty to one's family and nation will be supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole.

In the words of the great Hungarian-American biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi, "Man lives in a new cosmic world for which he was not made. His survival depends on how well and how fast he can adapt himself to it, rebuilding all his ideas, all his social and political institutions. ...Modern science has abolished time and distance as factors separating nations. On our shrunken globe today, there is room for one group only - the family of man."

The Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955, which led to the founding of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, contains the following words: "There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest."

Strengthening the United Nations

The problem of building a stable, just, and war-free world is difficult, but it is not impossible. The large regions of our present-day world within which war has been eliminated can serve as models. There are a number of large countries with heterogeneous populations within which it has been possible to achieve internal peace and social cohesion, and if this is possible within such extremely large regions, it must also be possible globally.

When we ask how very large and heterogeneous states achieve internal peace and security, we find that they do so by means of laws that act directly on individual citizens. Thus, the International Criminal Court is an extremely important first step towards the globalization of the methods of governance used by large states. The power to make and enforce laws which act directly on individuals is one of the key powers of successful federations.

An extremely important first step towards strengthening the United Nations would be to give the U.N. a greatly enlarged and reliable source of income. The amount of money available to the U.N., and its member organizations such as UNESCO, WHO and FAO, should be increased by a factor of at least 50. The beneficial services rendered by expanded agencies such as WHO would give the U.N. *de facto* power and prestige that could be used in situations where conflict resolution is needed.

Various sources of increased income have been proposed:

- Dues paid to the U.N. by member states. These should be compulsory in the sense that member states would lose their voting rights if they did not pay their dues.
- Revenues from resources belonging to the international community, for example seabed resources.
- A tax on multinational corporations for the service of regulating international agreements.
- The Tobin tax, i.e. a tax of between 0.1% and 1% on international currency transactions.

12 European countries favor the Tobin tax. These include France and Germany, although not the U.K.

Tobin taxes are in place in some of the world's fastest-growing financial centers - Hong Kong, Mumbai, Seoul, Johannesburg and Taipei - where they are said to collectively raise 12 billion U.K. pounds a year.

The volume of international currency transactions is so enormous that a universally imposed Tobin tax of only 0.5% would raise between \$100 billion and \$300 billion per year. In 2015 the total UN budget was only \$5.6 billion, an absurdly small sum, considering the enormous importance of global governance, or the fact that the world spends \$1.7 trillion each year on armaments..

12.2 The ethics of Mahatma Gandhi

If humans are ever to achieve a stable global society in the future, they will have to become much more modest in their economic behavior and much more peaceful in their politics. For both modesty and peace, Gandhi is a useful source of ideas. The problems with which he struggled during his lifetime are extremely relevant to us in the 21st Century, when both nuclear and ecological catastrophes threaten the world.

Avoiding escalation of conflicts

Today we read almost every day of killings that are part of escalating cycles of revenge and counter-revenge, for example in the Middle East. Gandhi's experiences both in South Africa and in India convinced him that such cycles could only be ended by unilateral acts of kindness and understanding from one of the parties in a conflict. He said, "An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind".

To the insidious argument that "the end justifies the means", Gandhi answered firmly: "They say that 'means are after all means'. I would say that 'means are after all everything'. As the means, so the end. Indeed, the Creator has given us limited power over means, none over end... The means may be likened to a seed, and the end to a tree; and there is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life."

Gandhi's advocacy of non-violence is closely connected to his attitude towards ends and means. He believed that violent methods for achieving a desired social result would inevitably result in an escalation of violence. The end achieved would always be contaminated by the methods used. He was influenced by Leo Tolstoy with whom he exchanged many letters, and he in turn influenced Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.

The power of truth

Gandhi was trained as a lawyer, and when he began to practice in South Africa, in his first case, he was able to solve a conflict by proposing a compromise that satisfied both parties. Of this result he said, "My joy was boundless. I had learnt the true practice of law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder." When Gandhi became involved with the struggle for civil rights of the Indian minority in South Africa, his background as a lawyer once more helped him. This time his jury was public



Figure 12.1: Mahatma Gandhi firmly rejected the insidious doctrine that “the end justifies the means”.

opinion in England. When Gandhi lead the struggle for reform, he insisted that the means of protest used by his followers should be non-violent, even though violence was frequently used against them. In this way they won their case in the court of public opinion. Gandhi called this method of protest “satyagraha”, a Sanskrit word meaning “the power of truth”. In today’s struggles for justice and peace, the moral force of truth and nonviolence can win victories in the court of world public opinion.

Harmony between religious groups

Gandhi believed that at their core, all religions are based on the concepts of truth, love, compassion, nonviolence and the Golden Rule. When asked whether he was a Hindu, Gandhi answered, “Yes I am. I am also a Christian, a Muslim, a Buddhist and a Jew.” When praying at his ashram, Gandhi made a point of including prayers from many religions. One of the most serious problems that he had to face in his efforts to free India from British rule was disunity and distrust, even hate, between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Each community felt that with the British gone, they might face violence and repression from the other. Gandhi made every effort to bridge the differences and to create unity and harmony. His struggles with this problem are highly relevant to us today, when the world is split by religious and ethnic differences.

Solidarity with the poor

Today's world is characterized by intolerable economic inequalities, both between nations and within nations. 8 million children die each year from poverty-related causes. 1.3 billion people live on less than 1.25 dollars a day. Gandhi's concern for the poor can serve as an example to us today, as we work to achieve a more equal world. He said, "There is enough for every man's need, but not for every man's greed."

Voluntary reduction of consumption

After Gandhi's death, someone took a photograph of all his worldly possessions. It was a tiny heap, consisting of his glasses, a pair of sandals, a homespun cloth (his only garment) and a watch. That was all. By reducing his own needs and possessions to an absolute minimum, Gandhi had tried to demonstrate that the commonly assumed connection between wealth and merit is false. This is relevant today, in a world where we face a crisis of diminishing resources. Not only fossil fuels, but also metals and arable land per capita will become scarce in the future. This will force a change in lifestyle, particularly in the industrialized countries, away from consumerism and towards simplicity. Gandhi's example can teach us that we must cease to use wealth and "conspicuous consumption" as a measure of merit.

Gandhian economics

In his autobiography, Mahatma Gandhi says: "Three moderns have left a deep impression on my life and captivated me: Raychandbhai (the Indian philosopher and poet) by his living contact; Tolstoy by his book 'The Kingdom of God is Within You'; and Ruskin by his book 'Unto This Last'." Ruskin's book, "Unto This Last", which Gandhi read in 1904, is a criticism of modern industrial society. Ruskin believed that friendships and warm interpersonal relationships are a form of wealth that economists have failed to consider. He felt that warm human contacts are most easily achieved in small agricultural communities, and that therefore the modern tendency towards centralization and industrialization may be a step backward in terms of human happiness. While still in South Africa, Gandhi founded two religious Utopian communities based on the ideas of Tolstoy and Ruskin, Phoenix Farm (1904) and Tolstoy Farm (1910).

Because of his growing fame as the leader of the Indian civil rights movement in South Africa, Gandhi was persuaded to return to India in 1914 and to take up the cause of Indian home rule. In order to re-acquaint himself with conditions in India, he travelled tirelessly, now always going third class as a matter of principle.

During the next few years, Gandhi worked to reshape the Congress Party into an organization which represented not only India's Anglicized upper middle class but also the millions of uneducated villagers who were suffering under an almost intolerable burden of

poverty and disease. In order to identify himself with the poorest of India's people, Gandhi began to wear only a white loincloth made of rough homespun cotton. He traveled to the remotest villages, recruiting new members for the Congress Party, preaching non-violence and "firmness in the truth", and becoming known for his voluntary poverty and humility. The villagers who flocked to see him began to call him "Mahatma" (Great Soul).

Disturbed by the spectacle of unemployment and poverty in the villages, Gandhi urged the people of India to stop buying imported goods, especially cloth, and to make their own. He advocated the re-introduction of the spinning wheel into village life, and he often spent some hours spinning himself. The spinning wheel became a symbol of the Indian independence movement, and was later incorporated into the Indian flag.

The movement for boycotting British goods was called the "Swadeshi movement". The word Swadeshi derives from two Sanskrit roots: Swa, meaning self, and Desh, meaning country. Gandhi described Swadeshi as "a call to the consumer to be aware of the violence he is causing by supporting those industries that result in poverty, harm to the workers and to humans or other creatures."

Gandhi tried to reconstruct the crafts and self-reliance of village life that he felt had been destroyed by the colonial system. "I would say that if the village perishes, India will perish too", he wrote, "India will be no more India. Her own mission in the world will get lost. The revival of the village is only possible when it is no more exploited. Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use. Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villagers using even the modern machines that they can make and can afford to use. Only they should not be used as a means of exploitation by others."

"You cannot build nonviolence on a factory civilization, but it can be built on self-contained villages... Rural economy as I have conceived it, eschews exploitation altogether, and exploitation is the essence of violence... We have to make a choice between India of the villages that are as ancient as herself and India of the cities which are a creation of foreign domination..."

"Machinery has its place; it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour. An improved plow is a good thing. But if by some chances, one man could plow up, by some mechanical invention of his, the whole of the land of India, and control all the agricultural produce, and if the millions had no other occupation, they would starve, and being idle, they would become dunces, as many have already become. There is hourly danger of many being reduced to that unenviable state."

In these passages we see Gandhi not merely as a pioneer of nonviolence; we see him also as an economist. Faced with misery and unemployment produced by machines, Gandhi tells us that social goals must take precedence over blind market mechanisms. If machines are causing unemployment, we can, if we wish, and use labor-intensive methods instead. With Gandhi, the free market is not sacred; we can do as we wish, and maximize human happiness, rather than maximizing production and profits.

Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu extremist on January 30, 1948. After

his death, someone collected and photographed all his worldly goods. These consisted of a pair of glasses, a pair of sandals, a pocket watch and a white homespun loincloth. Here, as in the Swadeshi movement, we see Gandhi as a pioneer of economics. He deliberately reduced his possessions to an absolute minimum in order to demonstrate that there is no connection between personal merit and material goods. Like Veblen, Mahatma Gandhi told us that we must stop using material goods as a means of social competition. We must start to judge people not by what they have, but by what they are.

12.3 The ethics of Albert Einstein

Besides being one of the greatest physicists of all time, Albert Einstein was a lifelong pacifist, and his thoughts on peace can speak eloquently to us today. We need his wisdom today, when the search for peace has become vital to our survival as a species.

Einstein's letter to Freud: Why war?

Because of his fame, Einstein was asked to make several speeches at the Reichstag. and in all these speeches he condemned violence and nationalism, urging that these be replaced by and international cooperation and law under an effective international authority. He also wrote many letters and articles pleading for peace and for the renunciation of militarism and violence.

Einstein believed that the production of armaments is damaging, not only economically, but also spiritually. In 1930 he signed a manifesto for world disarmament sponsored by the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom. In December of the same year, he made his famous statement in New York that if two percent of those called for military service were to refuse to fight, governments would become powerless, since they could not imprison that many people. He also argued strongly against compulsory military service and urged that conscientious objectors should be protected by the international community. He argued that peace, freedom of individuals, and security of societies could only be achieved through disarmament, the alternative being "slavery of the individual and annihilation of civilization".

In letters, and articles, Einstein wrote that the welfare of humanity as a whole must take precedence over the goals of individual nations, and that we cannot wait until leaders give up their preparations for war. Civil society, and especially public figures, must take the lead. He asked how decent and self-respecting people can wage war, knowing how many innocent people will be killed.

In 1931, the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation invited Albert Einstein to enter correspondence with a prominent person of his own choosing on a subject of importance to society. The Institute planned to publish a collection of such dialogues. Einstein accepted at once, and decided to write to Sigmund Freud to ask his opinion about

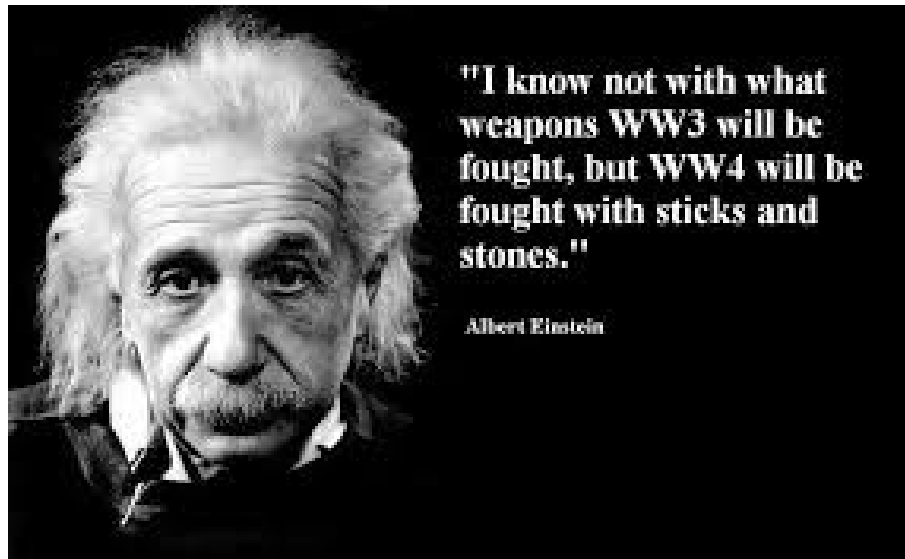


Figure 12.2:

how humanity could free itself from the curse of war. A translation from German of part of the long letter that he wrote to Freud is as follows:

“Dear Professor Freud, The proposal of the League of Nations and its International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris that I should invite a person to be chosen by myself to a frank exchange of views on any problem that I might select affords me a very welcome opportunity of conferring with you upon a question which, as things are now, seems the most important and insistent of all problems civilization has to face. This is the problem: Is there any way of delivering mankind from the menace of war? It is common knowledge that, with the advance of modern science, this issue has come to mean a matter of life or death to civilization as we know it; nevertheless, for all the zeal displayed, every attempt at its solution has ended in a lamentable breakdown.”

“I believe, moreover, that those whose duty it is to tackle the problem professionally and practically are growing only too aware of their impotence to deal with it, and have now a very lively desire to learn the views of men who, absorbed in the pursuit of science, can see world-problems in the perspective distance lends. As for me, the normal objective of my thoughts affords no insight into the dark places of human will and feeling. Thus in the enquiry now proposed, I can do little more than seek to clarify the question at issue and, clearing the ground of the more obvious solutions, enable you to bring the light of your far-reaching knowledge of man’s instinctive life upon the problem..”

“As one immune from nationalist bias, I personally see a simple way of dealing with the superficial (i.e. administrative) aspect of the problem: the setting up, by international consent, of a legislative and judicial body to settle every conflict arising between nations... But here, at the outset, I come up against a difficulty; a tribunal is a human institution which, in proportion as the power at its disposal is... prone to suffer these to be deflected by extrajudicial pressure...”

Freud replied with a long and thoughtful letter in which he said that a tendency towards conflict is an intrinsic part of human emotional nature, but that emotions can be overridden by rationality, and that rational behavior is the only hope for humankind.

The fateful letter to Roosevelt

Albert Einstein's famous relativistic formula, relating energy to mass, soon yielded an understanding of the enormous amounts of energy released in radioactive decay. Marie and Pierre Curie had noticed that radium maintains itself at a temperature higher than its surroundings. Their measurements and calculations showed that a gram of radium produces roughly 100 gram-calories of heat per hour. This did not seem like much energy until Rutherford found that radium has a half-life of about 1,000 years. In other words, after a thousand years, a gram of radium will still be producing heat, its radioactivity only reduced to one-half its original value. During a thousand years, a gram of radium produces about a million kilocalories, an enormous amount of energy in relation to the tiny size of its source! Where did this huge amount of energy come from? Conservation of energy was one of the most basic principles of physics. Would it have to be abandoned?

The source of the almost-unbelievable amounts of energy released in radioactive decay could be understood through Einstein's formula equating the energy of a system to its mass multiplied by the square of the velocity of light, and through accurate measurements of atomic weights. Einstein's formula asserted that mass and energy are equivalent. It was realized that in radioactive decay, neither mass nor energy is conserved, but only a quantity more general than both, of which mass and energy are particular forms. Scientists in several parts of the world realized that Einstein's discovery of the relationship between mass and energy, together with the discovery of fission of the heavy element uranium meant that it might be possible to construct a uranium-fission bomb of immense power.

Meanwhile night was falling on Europe. In 1929, an economic depression had begun in the United States and had spread to Europe. Without the influx of American capital, the postwar reconstruction of the German economy collapsed. The German middle class, which had been dealt a severe blow by the great inflation of 1923, now received a second heavy blow. The desperate economic chaos drove German voters into the hands of political extremists.

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor and leader of a coalition cabinet by President Hindenburg. Although Hitler was appointed legally to this post, he quickly consolidated his power by unconstitutional means: On May 2, Hitler's police seized the headquarters of all trade unions, and arrested labor leaders. The Communist and Socialist parties were also banned, their assets seized and their leaders arrested. Other political parties were also smashed. Acts were passed eliminating Jews from public service; and innocent Jewish citizens were boycotted, beaten and arrested. On March 11, 1938, Nazi troops entered Austria.

On March 16, 1939, the Italian physicist Enrico Fermi (who by then was a refugee in America) went to Washington to inform the Office of Naval Operations that it might be possible to construct an atomic bomb; and on the same day, German troops poured into

Czechoslovakia.

A few days later, a meeting of six German atomic physicists was held in Berlin to discuss the applications of uranium fission. Otto Hahn, the discoverer of fission, was not present, since it was known that he was opposed to the Nazi regime. He was even said to have exclaimed: "I only hope that you physicists will never construct a uranium bomb! If Hitler ever gets a weapon like that, I'll commit suicide."

The meeting of German atomic physicists was supposed to be secret; but one of the participants reported what had been said to Dr. S. Flügge, who wrote an article about uranium fission and about the possibility of a chain reaction. Flügge's article appeared in the July issue of *Naturwissenschaften*, and a popular version in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. These articles greatly increased the alarm of American atomic scientists, who reasoned that if the Nazis permitted so much to be printed, they must be far advanced on the road to building an atomic bomb.

In the summer of 1939, while Hitler was preparing to invade Poland, alarming news reached the physicists in the United States: A second meeting of German atomic scientists had been held in Berlin, this time under the auspices of the Research Division of the German Army Weapons Department. Furthermore, Germany had stopped the sale of uranium from mines in Czechoslovakia.

The world's most abundant supply of uranium, however, was not in Czechoslovakia, but in Belgian Congo. Leo Szilard, a refugee Hungarian physicist who had worked with Fermi to measure the number of neutrons produced in uranium fission, was deeply worried that the Nazis were about to construct atomic bombs; and it occurred to him that uranium from Belgian Congo should not be allowed to fall into their hands.

Szilard knew that his former teacher, Albert Einstein, was a personal friend of Elizabeth, the Belgian Queen Mother. Einstein had met Queen Elizabeth and King Albert of Belgium at the Solvay Conferences, and mutual love of music had cemented a friendship between them. When Hitler came to power in 1933, Einstein had moved to the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton; and Szilard decided to visit him there. Szilard reasoned that because of Einstein's great prestige, and because of his long-standing friendship with the Belgian Royal Family, he would be the proper person to warn the Belgians not to let their uranium fall into the hands of the Nazis. Einstein agreed to write to the Belgian king and queen.

On August 2, 1939, Szilard again visited Einstein, accompanied by Edward Teller and Eugene Wigner, who (like Szilard) were refugee Hungarian physicists. By this time, Szilard's plans had grown more ambitious; and he carried with him the draft of another letter, this time to the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Einstein made a few corrections, and then signed the fateful letter, which reads (in part) as follows:

"Some recent work of E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into an important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe, therefore, that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following.."

"It is conceivable that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded a port, might very well destroy

the whole port, together with some of the surrounding territory..”

The letter also called Roosevelt’s attention to the fact that Germany had already stopped the export of uranium from the Czech mines under German control. After making a few corrections, Einstein signed it. On October 11, 1939, three weeks after the defeat of Poland, Roosevelt’s economic adviser, Alexander Sachs, personally delivered the letter to the President. After discussing it with Sachs, the President commented, “This calls for action.” Later, when atomic bombs were dropped on civilian populations in an already virtually-defeated Japan, Einstein bitterly regretted having signed Szilard’s letter to Roosevelt. He said repeatedly that signing the letter was the greatest mistake of his life, and his remorse was extreme.

Throughout the remainder of his life, in addition to his scientific work, Einstein worked tirelessly for peace, international understanding and nuclear disarmament. His last public act, only a few days before his death in 1955, was to sign the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, warning humankind of the catastrophic consequences that would follow from a war with nuclear weapons.

A few more things that Einstein said about peace:

We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking that we used when we created them.

It has become appallingly obvious that our technology has exceeded our humanity.

Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding.

The world is a dangerous place to live; not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don’t do anything about it.

Insanity: doing the same thing over and over again and expecting to get different results.

Nothing will end war unless the people themselves refuse to go to war.

Past thinking and methods did not prevent world wars. Future thinking must prevent war.

You cannot simultaneously prevent and prepare for war.

Never do anything against conscience, even if the state demands it.

Taken as a whole, I would believe that Gandhi’s views were the most enlightened of all political men of our time.

Without ethical culture, there is no salvation for humanity.

War seems to me to be a mean, contemptible thing: I would rather be hacked in pieces than take part in such an abominable business. And yet so high, in spite of everything, is my opinion of the human race that I believe this bogey would have disappeared long ago, had the sound sense of the nations not been systematically corrupted by commercial and political interests acting through the schools and the Press.

12.4 The ethics of Saint Francis

The life of Saint Francis

Saint Francis of Assisi was born in 1181 in the Italian hilltop town of Assisi. His father, Pietro di Bernardone, was a prosperous silk merchant, and his mother Pica de Bourlemont, was a noblewoman from Provence. Saint Francis was originally called Giovanni, but his father later renamed him Francesco because of his successful business dealings in France and his admiration for all things French.

After leading the ordinary (somewhat dissolute) life of a wealthy young man of that period, Saint Francis underwent a religious conversion, following which he renounced his inheritance and embraced a life of poverty. Although not ordained as a priest, he began teaching what he believed to be the true Christian message. He soon acquired a small group of followers, and he traveled with them to Rome to ask Pope Innocent III for permission to found a new religious order. During his life, Saint Francis founded three religious orders.

Saint Francis continued to preach, and is even said to have preached to birds and animals, whom he regarded as his sisters and brothers. His attitude towards nature can be seen in his “Canticle of the Sun”:

Canticle of the Sun

*Most High, all powerful, good Lord,
Yours are the praises, the glory, the honor,
and all blessing.*

*To You alone, Most High, do they belong,
and no man is worthy to mention Your name.*

*Be praised, my Lord, through all your creatures,
especially through my lord Brother Sun,
who brings the day; and you give light through him.*



Figure 12.3: **Saint Francis**

*And he is beautiful and radiant in all his splendor!
Of you, Most High, he bears the likeness.*

*Praise be You, my Lord, through Sister Moon
and the stars, in heaven you formed them
clear and precious and beautiful.*

*Praised be You, my Lord, through Brother Wind,
and through the air, cloudy and serene,
and every kind of weather through which
You give sustenance to Your creatures.*

*Praised be You, my Lord, through Sister Water,
which is very useful and humble and precious and chaste.*

*Praised be You, my Lord, through Brother Fire,
through whom you light the night and he is beautiful
and playful and robust and strong.*

*Praised be You, my Lord, through Sister Mother Earth,
who sustains us and governs us and who produces
varied fruits with colored flowers and herbs.*

*Praised be You, my Lord,
through those who give pardon for Your love,
and bear infirmity and tribulation.*

*Blessed are those who endure in peace
for by You, Most High, they shall be crowned.*

*Praised be You, my Lord,
through our Sister Bodily Death,
from whom no living man can escape.*

*Woe to those who die in mortal sin.
Blessed are those whom death will
find in Your most holy will,
for the second death shall do them no harm.*

*Praise and bless my Lord,
and give Him thanks
and serve Him with great humility.*

Canonization

Pope Gregory IX canonized Francis on 16 July 1228. Along with Saint Catherine of Sienna, he was designated Patron Saint of Italy. He later became associated with patronage of animals and the natural environment, and it became customary for Catholic and Anglican churches to hold ceremonies blessing animals on his feast day of 4 October.

A prayer of Saint Francis

*Blessed is he who loves and does not therefore desire to be loved;
Blessed is he who fears and does not therefore desire to be feared;
Blessed is he who serves and does not therefore desire to be served;
Blessed is he who behaves well toward others and does not desire that others behave well toward him;*

12.5 The ethics of Pope Francis

Despite the worrying nature of the threats that we are facing, there are reasons for hope. One of the greatest of these is the beautiful, profound and powerful encyclical that has just been released by Pope Francis.

When he accepted the responsibility for leading the world's 1.2-billion-strong Catholic Church, Cardinal Bergoglio of Argentina adopted the name Francis, after the universally loved Saint Francis of Assisi, whose life of simplicity, love for the poor, and love of nature he chose as the model for his Papacy. The Pope's inspiring encyclical letter "Laudato Si'" takes its name from a canticle of Saint Francis, that begins with the words "Praise be to you, my Lord, through our sister, mother Earth, who sustains and governs us..."

We can remember that Saint Francis regarded birds and animals as his brothers and sisters. He even thought of the sun, moon, clouds, rain and water as brothers and sisters. Like his chosen namesake, Pope Francis stresses the unity of all of nature, and our kinship with all of creation. Francis appeals to love. We can be saved through love.

His encyclical is addressed not only to Catholics, but also to all men and women of good will, and almost all of its 102 pages appeal to moral sensibilities and rational arguments that can be shared by all of us. Pope Francis stresses that the natural world that sustains us is in grave danger from our ruthless exploitation and greed-driven destruction of all the beauty and life that it contains: animals, forests, soil, and air.

Pope Francis tells us that the dictates of today's economists are not sacred: In the future, if we are to survive, economics must be given both a social conscience and an ecological conscience. Nor are private property and profits sacred. They must be subordinated to the common good, and the preservation of our global commons.

Less focus on material goods need not make us less happy. The quality of our lives can be increased, not decreased, if we give up our restless chase after power and wealth, and derive more of our pleasures from art, music and literature, and from conversations with



Figure 12.4: Pope Francis reminds us that Christian ethics require both respect and care for the earth and elimination of the institution of war.

our families and friends, Please read this great encyclical in its entirety. It can give us hope and courage as we strive to make the changes that are needed to avert an ecological mega-catastrophe.

Don Joao Mamede Filho is the Bishop of the Diocese of Umuarama, commented: “‘*Laudato Si*’, considered by environmentalists all around the world as the Green Encyclical, has become a work read by Christians and non-Christians alike in all corners of the world. In it, Pope Francis calls on us all to take care of our ‘Common Home’ and all that exists in it.

“In his call, the Pope reaffirms that the planet is a common good that must be preserved and guarded. Therefore, it is our duty to refrain from any human activity that may degrade, pollute or pose any kind of threat or risk to our planet and those who inhabit it.

“‘*Laudato Si*’ also presents a strong and persisting plea for a shift towards a new energy and development model, leaving fossil fuels behind. Since these energy sources are responsible for the highest emissions of greenhouse gases, they pollute, render climate changes more intense, bring on diseases, and kill.

“It is important to remember that, at the beginning of Creation, an organic relationship between all living beings was established. All that exists is connected and coexists in a sustainable and wholesome manner. However, by choosing dirty energy sources such as fossil fuels, which leave trails of destruction behind them, we disconnect ourselves from our surroundings and ignore the harm they may cause us and to our fellow creatures.”



Figure 12.5: The message of Beethoven's Choral 9th: All humans are brothers and sisters! Not just some - All!

12.6 All humans are brothers and sisters!

Besides a humane, democratic and just framework of international law and governance, we urgently need a new global ethic, - an ethic where loyalty to family, community and nation will be supplemented by a strong sense of the brotherhood of all humans, regardless of race, religion or nationality. Schiller expressed this feeling in his "Ode to Joy", a part of which is the text of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Hearing Beethoven's music and Schiller's words, most of us experience an emotion of resonance and unity with the message: All humans are brothers and sisters - not just some - all! It is almost a national anthem of humanity. The feelings that the music and words provoke are similar to patriotism, but broader. It is this sense of a universal human family that we need to cultivate in education, in the mass media, and in religion. We already appreciate music, art and literature from the entire world, and scientific achievements are shared by all, regardless of their country of origin. We need to develop this principle of universal humanism so that it will become the cornerstone of a new ethic.

12.7 The ethics of Henry David Thoreau

In the distant future (and perhaps even in the not-so-distant future) industrial civilization will need to abandon its relentless pursuit of unnecessary material goods and economic growth. Modern society will need to re-establish a balanced and harmonious relationship with nature. In preindustrial societies harmony with nature is usually a part of the cultural tradition. In our own time, the same principle has become central to the ecological counter-culture while the main-stream culture thunders blindly ahead, addicted to wealth, power

and growth.

In the 19th century the American writer, Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), pioneered the concept of a simple life, in harmony with nature. Today, his classic book, *Walden*, has become a symbol for the principles of ecology, simplicity, and respect for nature.

Thoreau was born in Concord Massachusetts, and he attended Harvard from 1833 to 1837. After graduation, he returned home, worked in his family's pencil factory, did odd jobs, and for three years taught in a progressive school founded by himself and his older brother, John. When John died of lockjaw in 1842, Henry David was so saddened that he felt unable to continue the school alone.

Nonviolent civil disobedience

Thoreau refused to pay his poll tax because of his opposition to the Mexican War and to the institution of slavery. Because of his refusal to pay the tax (which was in fact a very small amount) he spent a night in prison. To Thoreau's irritation, his family paid the poll tax for him and he was released. He then wrote down his ideas on the subject in an essay entitled *The Duty of Civil Disobedience*, where he maintains that each person has a duty to follow his own individual conscience even when it conflicts with the orders of his government.

In his essay, Thoreau said: "A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?"

"Under a government that which imprisons any unjustly", Thoreau wrote, "the true place for a just man is in prison." Civil Disobedience influenced Tolstoy, Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and it anticipated the Nuremberg Principles.

Harmony with nature

Thoreau became the friend and companion of the transcendentalist writer Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who introduced him to a circle of New England writers and thinkers that included Ellery Channing, Margaret Fuller and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Nathaniel Hawthorne described Thoreau in the following words: "Mr. Thorow [sic] is a keen and delicate observer of nature, a genuine observer, which, I suspect, is almost as rare a character as even an original poet; and Nature, in return for his love, seems to adopt him as her especial child, and shows him secrets which few others are allowed to witness. He is familiar with beast, fish, fowl, and reptile, and has strange stories to tell of adventures, and friendly passages with these lower brethren of mortality. Herb and flower, likewise, wherever they grow, whether in garden, or wild wood, are his familiar friends. He is also



Figure 12.6: Thoreau, with his cabin at Walden Pond in the background.

on intimate terms with the clouds and can tell the portents of storms. It is a characteristic trait, that he has a great regard for the memory of the Indian tribes, whose wild life would have suited him so well; and strange to say, he seldom walks over a plowed field without picking up an arrow-point, a spear-head, or other relic of the red men, as if their spirits willed him to be the inheritor of their simple wealth.”

Walden, an experiment in simple living

At Emerson’s suggestion, Thoreau opened a journal, in which he recorded his observations concerning nature and his other thoughts. Ultimately the journal contained more than 2 million words. Thoreau drew on his journal when writing his books and essays, and in recent years, many previously unpublished parts of his journal have been printed.

From 1845 until 1847, Thoreau lived in a tiny cabin that he built with his own hands. The cabin was in a second-growth forest beside Walden Pond in Concord, on land that belonged to Emerson. Thoreau regarded his life there as an experiment in simple living. He described his life in the forest and his reasons for being there in his book *Walden*,

“Most of the luxuries”, Thoreau wrote, “and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind. With respect to luxuries, the wisest have ever lived a more simple and meager life than the poor. The ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich in inward.”

Elsewhere in “Walden”, Thoreau remarks, “It is never too late to give up your prejudices”, and he also says, “Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer.” Other favorite quotations from Thoreau include “Rather than love, than money, than fame, give me truth”, “Beware of all enterprises that require new clothes”, “Most men lead lives of quiet desperation” and “Men have become tools of their tools.”

Thoreau’s closeness to nature can be seen from the following passage, written by his friend Frederick Willis, who visited him at Walden Pond in 1847, together with the Alcott family: “He was talking to Mr. Alcott of the wild flowers in Walden woods when, suddenly stopping, he said: ‘Keep very still and I will show you my family.’ Stepping quickly outside

the cabin door, he gave a low and curious whistle; immediately a woodchuck came running towards him from a nearby burrow. With varying note, yet still low and strange, a pair of gray squirrels were summoned and approached him fearlessly. With still another note several birds, including two crows flew towards him, one of the crows nestling upon his shoulder. I remember that it was the crow resting close to his head that made the most vivid impression on me, knowing how fearful of man this bird is. He fed them all from his hand, taking food from his pocket, and petted them gently before our delighted gaze; and then dismissed them by different whistling, always strange and low and short, each wild thing departing instantly at hearing his special signal."

Thoreau's views on religion

Towards the end of his life, when he was very ill, someone asked Thoreau whether he had made his peace with God. "We never quarreled", he answered.

In an essay published by the Atlantic Monthly in 1853, Thoreau described a pine tree in Maine with the words: "It is as immortal as I am, and perchance will go to as high a heaven, there to tower above me still." However, the editor (James Russell Lowell) considered the sentence to be blasphemous, and removed it from Thoreau's essay.

In one of his essays, Thoreau wrote: "If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making the earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen."

A few more things that Thoreau said

It is the beauty within us that makes it possible for us to recognize the beauty around us. The question is not what you look at, but what you see.

Simplify your life. Don't waste the years struggling for things that are unimportant. Don't burden yourself with possessions. Keep your needs and wants simple and enjoy what you have. Don't destroy your peace of mind by looking back, worrying about the past. Live in the present. Simplify!

Go confidently in the direction of your dreams. Live the life you've imagined.

Happiness is like a butterfly; the more you chase it, the more it will elude you, but if you turn your attention to other things, it will come and sit softly on your shoulder.

Rather than love, than money, than fame, give me truth.

The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation.

You must live in the present, launch yourself on every wave, find your eternity in each moment. Fools stand on their island of opportunities and look toward another land. There is no other land; there is no other life but this

Be not simply good, be good for something,

Books are the treasured wealth of the world and the fit inheritance of generations and nations.

If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them.

If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music he hears, however measured or far away.

The greatest compliment that was ever paid me was when one asked me what I thought, and attended to my answer.

We need the tonic of wildness...At the same time that we are earnest to explore and learn all things, we require that all things be mysterious and unexplorable, that land and sea be indefinitely wild, unsurveyed and unfathomed by us because unfathomable. We can never have enough of nature.

12.8 The message of Bertha von Suttner

Early life and marriage

Baroness Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914) was born in Prague as Countess Kinsky. She was the posthumous daughter of a Field Marshall, and during the first part of her life, she accepted the military traditions of her family. Later she vigorously opposed militarism, and she became a leader of the peace movement. It was her arguments that persuaded Alfred Nobel to establish the Nobel Peace Prize, and in 1905 she became the first woman to receive the prize.

After serving as Alfred Nobel's secretary (and close friend) in Paris (1876), Bertha married Baron Arthur von Suttner. However, the von Suttner family was strongly opposed to the marriage, and the young couple left for the Caucasus where for nine years they earned a living by giving lessons in languages and music. During this period, Bertha von Suttner became a highly successful writer.



Figure 12.7: **Bertha von Suttner**

In 1885 the von Suttner family relented, and welcomed the couple back to Austria. Here Bertha von Suttner wrote most of her books, including her many novels. The couple's life was oriented almost solely toward the literary until, through a friend, they learned about the International Arbitration and Peace Association¹ in London and about similar groups on the Continent, organizations that had as an actual working objective what they had now both accepted as an ideal: arbitration and peace in place of armed force.

Bertha von Suttner immediately added material on this to her second serious book, *Das Maschinenzeitalter* (*The Machine Age*) which, when published early in 1889. Her book was much discussed and reviewed. It criticizing many aspects of the times, and it was among the first to foretell the results of exaggerated nationalism and armaments. Her novel *Lay Down Your Arms*, published in the same year, had a huge impact.

The 1905 Nobel Peace Prize

Here are some excerpts from Bertha von Suttner's acceptance speech:

One of the eternal truths is that happiness is created and developed in peace, and one of the eternal rights is the individual's right to live. The strongest of all instincts, that of self-preservation, is an assertion of this right, affirmed and sanctified by the ancient commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

It is unnecessary for me to point out how little this right and this commandment are respected in the present state of civilization. Up to the present time, the military organization of our society has been founded upon a denial of the possibility of peace, a contempt for the value of human life, and an acceptance of the urge to kill...

It is erroneous to believe that the future will of necessity continue the trends of the past and the present. The past and present move away from us in the stream of time like the passing landscape of the riverbanks, as the vessel carrying mankind is borne inexorably by the current toward new shores...

"If you keep me in touch with developments, and if I hear that the Peace Movement is moving along the road of practical activity, then I will help it on with money." These words were spoken by that eminent Scandinavian to whom I owe this opportunity of appearing before you today, Ladies and Gentlemen. Alfred Nobel said them when my husband and I visited with him in 1892 in Bern, where a peace congress was in progress...

..although the supporters of the existing structure of society, which accepts war, come to a peace conference prepared to modify the nature of war, they are basically trying to keep the present system intact. The advocates of pacifism, inside and outside the Conference, will, however, defend their objectives and press forward... to "bring nearer the time when the sword shall not be the arbiter among nations".

A few more things the Bertha von Suttner said about peace

Strange how blind people are! They are horrified by the torture chambers of the Middle Ages, but their arsenals fill them with pride!

After the verb 'to Love', 'to Help' is the most beautiful verb in the world.

12.9 Helen Keller's message

Childhood

Helen was a normal child until the age of 19 months, when she contracted an illness which may have been scarlet fever or meningitis. It left her both deaf and blind. When Helen was 6 years old, her parents followed the advice of Alexander Graham Bell and contacted the Perkins Institute for the Blind. The Perkins Institute recommended their recent graduate Annie Sullivan, who became Helen's teacher.

Annie Sullivan, who was 20 years old at that time and also blind, began to work with Helen, spelling out words on the palm of Helen's hand. This method was unsuccessful at



Figure 12.8: **Helen Keller:** Although blind, she could see injustice. Although deaf, she could hear the cries of the oppressed, and the voices of victims of war.

first, but one day, when Annie Sullivan was spelling out “water” on one of Helen’s hands while water was running over the other, Helen suddenly realized that the letters were a symbol for water. For the next many days, the child almost wore her teacher out by demanding the spelling of hundreds of other things within her experience. Annie Sullivan later became Helen’s lifelong friend and companion.

Victory over a triple handicap

Starting in 1888, Helen Keller began her formal education, at first at the Perkins Institute, then at a succession of other schools. Finally, at the age of 24, with financial help from a wealthy friend of Mark Twain. Helen graduated from Radcliffe College. She was the first blind and deaf person to obtain a BA degree. On the way to this triumph, Helen had taught herself to speak normally, and she could understand what other people were saying by placing her hand on their lips.

Helen Keller quickly developed into a popular lecturer and author. She spoke and wrote to advocate many social reforms, including woman’s suffrage, labour rights, socialism and antimilitarism.

The story of Helen Keller and Annie Sullivan, as told in Helen’s *Autobiography*, became known to a very wide public through the drama *The Miracle Worker*, which was first produced as a radio broadcast, then as a television drama, then as a Broadway play and finally as a succession of films.

Here is a newspaper account of one of Helen Keller’s lectures:

“The wonderful girl who has so brilliantly triumphed over the triple afflictions of blind-

ness, dumbness and deafness, gave a talk with her own lips on 'Happiness,' and it will be remembered always as a piece of inspired teaching by those who heard it.

"According to those who attended, Helen Keller spoke of the joy that life gave her. She was thankful for the faculties and abilities that she did possess and stated that the most productive pleasures she had were curiosity and imagination. Keller also spoke of the joy of service and the happiness that came from doing things for others ... Keller imparted that 'helping your fellow men is one's only excuse for being in this world and in the doing of things to help one's fellows lay the secret of lasting happiness.' She also told of the joys of loving work and accomplishment and the happiness of achievement. Although the entire lecture lasted only a little over an hour, the lecture had a profound impact on the audience."

A few things that Helen Keller said

Strike against war, for without you no battles can be fought! Strike against manufacturing shrapnel and gas bombs and all other tools of murder! Strike against preparedness that means death and misery to millions of human beings! Be not dumb, obedient slaves in an army of destruction! Be heroes in an army of construction.

The best and most beautiful things in the world cannot be seen or even touched - they must be felt with the heart.

Believe. No pessimist ever discovered the secrets of the stars or sailed to an uncharted land or opened a new heaven to the human spirit

Alone we can do so little. Together we can do so much!

It is for us to pray not for tasks equal to our powers, but for powers equal to our tasks, to go forward with a great desire forever beating at the door of our hearts as we travel toward our distant goal

When one door of happiness closes, another opens; but often we look so long at the closed door that we do not see the one which has been opened for us.

To keep our faces toward change, and behave like free spirits in the presence of fate, is strength undefeatable.

Self-pity is our worst enemy and if we yield to it, we can never do anything wise in the world.

Security is mostly a superstition. It does not exist in nature, nor do the children of men as a whole experience it. Avoiding danger is no safer in the long

run than outright exposure. Life is either a daring adventure or nothing

I do not want the peace that passeth understanding. I want the understanding which bringeth peace.

12.10 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 48 nations voted for adoption, while 8 nations abstained from voting. Not a single state voted against the Declaration. In addition, the General Assembly decided to continue work on the problem of implementing human rights. The preamble of the Declaration stated that it was intended “as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms.”

Articles 1 and 2 of the Declaration state that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and in rights”, and that everyone is entitled to the rights and freedoms mentioned in the Declaration without distinctions of any kind. Neither race color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property or social origin must make a difference.

The Declaration states that everyone has a right to life, liberty and security of person and property. Slavery and the slave trade are prohibited, as well as torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments. All people must be equal before the law, and no person must be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. In criminal proceedings an accused person must be presumed innocent until proven guilty by an impartial public hearing where all necessary provisions have been made for the defense of the accused.

No one shall be subjected to interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence. Attacks on an individual’s honor are also forbidden. Everyone has the right of freedom of movement and residence within the borders of a state, the right to leave any country, including his own, as well as the right to return to his own country. Every person has the right to a nationality and cannot be arbitrarily deprived of his or her nationality.

All people of full age have a right to marry and to establish a family. Men and women have equal rights within a marriage and at its dissolution, if this takes place. Marriage must require the full consent of both parties.

The Declaration also guarantees freedom of religion, of conscience, and of opinion and expression, as well as freedom of peaceful assembly and association. Everyone is entitled to participate in his or her own government, either directly or through democratically chosen representatives. Governments must be based on the will of the people, expressed in periodic and genuine elections with universal and equal suffrage. Voting must be secret.

Everyone has the right to the economic, social and cultural conditions needed for dignity and free development of personality. The right to work is affirmed. The job shall be of

a person's own choosing, with favorable conditions of work, and remuneration consistent with human dignity, supplemented if necessary with social support. All workers have the right to form and to join trade unions.

Article 25 of the Declaration states that everyone has the right to an adequate standard of living, including food, clothing, housing and medical care, together with social services. All people have the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood or old age. Expectant mothers are promised special care and assistance, and children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection. Everyone has the right to education, which shall be free in the elementary stages. Higher education shall be accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education must be directed towards the full development of the human personality and to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Education must promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups, and it must further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

A supplementary document, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on the 12th of December, 1989. Furthermore, in July 2010, the General Assembly passed a resolution affirming that everyone has the right to clean drinking water and proper sanitation.

Many provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for example Article 25, might be accused of being wishful thinking. In fact, Jean Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the UN, called the Declaration "a letter to Santa Claus". Nevertheless, like the Millennium Development Goals, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has great value in defining the norms towards which the world ought to be striving.

It is easy to find many examples of gross violations of basic human rights that have taken place in recent years. Apart from human rights violations connected with interventions of powerful industrial states in the internal affairs of third world countries, there are many cases where governmental forces in the less developed countries have violated the human rights of their own citizens. Often minority groups have been killed or driven off their land by those who coveted the land, as was the case in Guatemala in 1979, when 1.5 million poor Indian farmers were forced to abandon their villages and farms and to flee to the mountains of Mexico in order to escape murderous attacks by government soldiers. The blockade of Gaza and the use of drones to kill individuals illegally must also be regarded as gross human rights violations, and there are many recent examples of genocide.

Wars in general, and in particular, the use of nuclear weapons, must be regarded as gross violations of human rights. The most basic human right is the right to life; but this is right routinely violated in wars. Most of the victims of recent wars have been civilians, very often children and women. The use of nuclear weapons must be regarded as a form of genocide, since they kill people indiscriminately, babies, children, young adults in their prime, and old people, without any regard for guilt or innocence.

Furthermore, recent research shows that a war fought with nuclear weapons would be an ecological disaster. Smoke from burning cities would rise to the stratosphere, where it would spread globally and remain for a period of 10 years, blocking sunlight, destroying the ozone layer, and blocking the hydrological cycle. An all-out war with thermonuclear

weapons would essentially destroy all agriculture for such a long period that most humans would die from starvation. The damage to the biosphere would also be enormous. We may ask: by what right do the nuclear nations threaten the world with a disaster of these proportions? Would not a war fought with nuclear weapons be the greatest imaginable violation of human rights? We should remember that both war in general and the use of nuclear weapons in particular violate democratic principles: The vast majority of ordinary citizens prefer peace to war, and the vast majority also long for a world without nuclear weapons.

It is plain that if the almost unbelievable sums now wasted on armaments were used constructively, most of the pressing problems facing the world today could be solved; but today the world spends more than 20 times as much on armaments as it does on development.

Today's world is one in which roughly 10 million children die every year from diseases related to poverty. Besides this enormous waste of young lives through malnutrition and preventable disease, there is a huge waste of opportunities through inadequate education. The rate of illiteracy in the 25 least developed countries is 80 percent, and the total number of illiterates in the world is estimated to be 800 million. Meanwhile every 60 seconds the world spends roughly 3 million dollars on armaments. The millions who are starving have a right to food. The millions of illiterates have a right to education. By preferring armaments to development, we deny them these rights.

It is time for civil society to make its voice heard. Politicians are easily influenced by lobbies and by money, but in the last analysis they have to listen to the voice of the people. We have seen this recently in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain and Yemen. We should try to learn from the courage of the people of these countries who have defied guns and tanks to demand their human rights. No single person can achieve the changes that we need, but together we can do it: together we can build the world that we choose.

No one living today asked to be born in a time of crisis, but the global crisis of the 21st century has given each of us an enormous responsibility: We cannot merely leave things up to the politicians, as we have been doing. The future is in our own hands: the hands of the people, the hands of civil society. This is not a time for building private utopias or cultivating our own gardens. Today everyone has two jobs: Of course we have to earn a living, but in addition, all of us have the duty to work actively, to the best of our abilities, to save humanity's future and the biosphere.



Figure 12.9: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which she helped to draft.

12.11 The voice of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The son of a southern Baptist minister, Martin Luther King, Jr received his Ph.D. in theology from Boston University in 1955. During his studies, he had admired Thoreau's essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," and he had also been greatly moved by the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

Martin Luther King Jr. had been pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery Alabama for only a year when he was chosen to lead a boycott protesting segregation in the Montgomery buses. Suddenly thrust into this situation of intense conflict, he remembered both the Christian principle of loving one's enemies and Gandhi's methods of non-violent protest. In his first speech as President of the Montgomery Improvement Association (a speech which the rapid pace of events had forced him to prepare in only twenty minutes, five of which he spent in prayer), he said:

"Our method will be that of persuasion, not coercion. We will only say to people, 'Let your conscience be your guide'. Our actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith. Love must be our regulating ideal. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.' If we fail to do this, our protest will end up as a meaningless drama on the stage of history, and its memory will be shrouded by the ugly garments of shame. In spite of the mistreatment that we have confronted, we must not become bitter and end up by hating our white brothers. As Booker T. Washington said, 'Let no man pull you down so low as to make you hate him.'"

"If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people, a black people, who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.' This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility."

Victory in the court of public opinion

This speech, which Dr. King made in December 1955, set the tone of the black civil rights movement. Although the protesters against racism were often faced with brutality and violence; although many of them, including Dr. King were unjustly jailed; although the homes of the leaders were bombed; although they constantly received telephone calls threatening their lives; although many civil rights workers were severely beaten, and several of them killed, they never resorted to violence in their protests against racial discrimination. Because of this adherence to Christian ethics, public opinion shifted to the side of the civil rights movement, and the United States Supreme Court ruled bus segregation to be unconstitutional.

Welcomed to India by Nehru

In 1959, while recovering from an almost-fatal stabbing, Martin Luther King Jr. visited India at the invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. King and his wife Coretta

were warmly welcomed by Nehru, who changed his schedule in order to meet them. They had an opportunity to visit a religious community or “ashram” that Gandhi had founded, and they discussed non-violence with many of Gandhi’s disciples.

King is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize

In 1964, the change in public opinion produced by the non-violent black civil rights movement resulted in the passage of the civil rights act. In the same year, Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He accepted it, not as an individual, but on behalf of all civil rights workers; and he immediately gave all the prize money to the movement.

Opposition to the Viet Nam War

In 1967, a year before his assassination, Dr. King forcefully condemned the Viet Nam war in an address at a massive peace rally in New York City. He felt that opposition to war followed naturally from his advocacy of non-violence. Speaking against the Viet Nam War, Dr. King said: “We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs ... primarily women and children and the aged watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals. So far we may have killed a million of them, [in Vietnam by 1967] mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.”

Opposition to nuclear weapons

In his book, “Strength to Love”, Dr. King wrote, “Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served a negative good by preventing the spread of an evil force, but the power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good. If we assume that life is worth living, and that man has a right to survival, then we must find an alternative to war ... I am convinced that the Church cannot be silent while mankind faces the threat of nuclear annihilation. If the church is true to her mission, she must call for an end to the nuclear arms race.”

Assassination

On April 4, 1968, Dr. King was shot and killed. A number of people, including members of his own family, believe that he was killed because of his opposition to the Viet Nam



Figure 12.10: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks in Washington: “I have a dream!”

War. This conclusion is supported by the result of a 1999 trial initiated by members of the King family. Summing up the arguments to the jury, the family’s lawyer said “We are dealing in conspiracy with agents of the City of Memphis and the governments of the State of Tennessee and the United States of America. We ask that you find that a conspiracy existed.” After two and a half hour’s deliberation, the jury found that Lloyd Jowers and “others, including governmental agencies, were parties to this conspiracy”. The verdict of the jury remains judicially valid today, and it has never been overturned in a court of law, although massive efforts have been made to discredit it.

Redemptive love

Concerning the Christian principle of loving one’s enemies, Dr. King wrote: “Why should we love our enemies? Returning hate for hate multiplies hate, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate. Only love can do that ... Love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend. We never get rid of an enemy by meeting hate with hate; we get rid of an enemy by getting rid of enmity... It is this attitude that made it possible for Lincoln to speak a kind word about the South during the Civil War, when feeling was most bitter. Asked by a shocked bystander how he could do this, Lincoln said, ‘Madam, do I not destroy my enemies when I make them my friends?’ This is the power of redemptive love.”

To a large extent, the black civil rights movement of the ’50’s and ’60’s succeeded in ending legalized racial discrimination in America. If the methods used had been violent, the movement could easily have degenerated into a nightmare of interracial hatred; but by remembering the Christian message, “Love your enemy; do good to them that despitefully

use you”, Martin Luther King Jr. raised the ethical level of the civil rights movement; and the final result was harmony and understanding between the black and white communities. Later the nonviolent methods of Gandhi and King were successfully applied to the South African struggle against Apartheid by Nelson Mandela and his followers.

Here are a few more things that Martin Luther King said

I have decided to stick to love...Hate is too great a burden to bear

Faith is taking the first step even when you can't see the whole staircase.

Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter.

In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.

If you can't fly then run, if you can't run then walk, if you can't walk then crawl, but whatever you do you have to keep moving forward.

Only in the darkness can you see the stars.

There comes a time when a person must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must take it because conscience tells him it is right.

Everybody can be great...because anybody can serve. You don't have to have a college degree to serve. You don't have to make your subject and verb agree to serve. You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love.

Forgiveness is not an occasional act, it is a constant attitude.

We must accept finite disappointment, but never lose infinite hope.

There is some good in the worst of us and some evil in the best of us. When we discover this, we are less prone to hate our enemies.

We must live together as brothers or perish together as fools.

Intelligence plus character - that is the goal of true education

True peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice.

Science investigates; religion interprets. Science gives man knowledge, which is power; religion gives man wisdom, which is control. Science deals mainly with facts; religion deals mainly with values. The two are not rivals.

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed.

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.

The time is always right to do what is right.

For when people get caught up with that which is right and they are willing to sacrifice for it, there is no stopping point short of victory.

All we say to America is, 'Be true to what you said on paper.' If I lived in... any totalitarian country, maybe I could understand the denial of certain basic First Amendment privileges, because they hadn't committed themselves to that over there. But somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech. Somewhere I read of the freedom of the press. Somewhere I read that the greatness of America is the right to protest for right.

We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now because I've been to the mountaintop . . . I've looked over and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land.

12.12 ICAN wins the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize

What is ICAN?

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, abbreviated ICAN, is a coalition of 468 NGO's in 101 countries. The purpose of ICAN is to change the focus in the disarmament debate to “the the humanitarian threat posed by nuclear weapons, drawing attention to their unique destructive capacity, their catastrophic health and environmental consequences, their indiscriminate targeting, the debilitating impact of a detonation on medical infrastructure and relief measures, and the long-lasting effects of radiation on the surrounding area.”

ICAN was founded in 2007 by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, an organization which itself received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1985. IPPNW was inspired by the success of the campaign that achieved the Ottawa Treaty in 1997, a treaty which banned antipersonnel land-mines against bitter opposition from the worst offenders. Thus, from the start. ICAN envisioned a treaty passed and without the participation or signatures of the nuclear weapons states. ICAN believed that such a treaty would have the great value of unambiguously underlining the illegality, immorality and omnicidal nature of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons states would eventually be forced to yield to the will of the vast majority of humankind.

On July 7, 2017, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was adopted by an overwhelming majority, 122 to 1, by the United Nations General Assembly. The adoption of the treaty, a milestone in humanity's efforts to rid itself of nuclear insanity, was to a large extent due to the efforts of ICAN's participating organizations.

On December 10, 2017 ICAN's efforts were recognized by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize. Part of the motivation for the award was the fact that the threat of a thermonuclear global catastrophe is higher today than it has been at any time since the Cuban Missile Crisis. Because of the belligerent attitudes and mental instability of Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un, the end of human civilization and much of the biosphere is, in the words of Beatrice Fihn, “only a tantrum away”.



Figure 12.11: From left to right: Berit Reiss-Andersen, Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Setsuko Thurlow, an 85-year-old survivor of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and ICAN Executive Director Beatrice Fihn.

12.13 Compassion versus greed

Humans are capable of great compassion and unselfishness. Mothers and fathers make many sacrifices for the sake of their families. Kind teachers help us through childhood, and show us the right path. Doctors and nurses devote themselves to the welfare of their patients.

Sadly there is another, side to human nature, a darker side. Human history is stained with the blood of wars and genocides. Today, this dark, aggressive side of human nature threatens to plunge our civilization into an all-destroying thermonuclear war.

Humans often exhibit kindness to those who are closest to themselves, to their families and friends, to their own social group or nation. By contrast, the terrible aggression seen in wars and genocides is directed towards outsiders. Human nature seems to exhibit what might be called “tribalism”: altruism towards one’s own group; aggression towards outsiders. Today this tendency towards tribalism threatens both human civilization and the biosphere.

Greed, in particular the greed of corporations and billionaire oligarchs, is driving human civilization and the biosphere towards disaster.

The greed of giant fossil fuel corporations is driving us towards a tipping point after which human efforts to control climate change will be futile because feedback loops will have taken over. The greed of the military industrial complex is driving us towards a Third

World War that might develop into a catastrophic thermonuclear war. The greed of our financial institutions is also driving us towards economic collapse, as we see in the case of Greece.

Until the start of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries, human society maintained a more or less sustainable relationship with nature. However, with the beginning of the industrial era, traditional ways of life, containing elements of both social and environmental ethics, were replaced by the money-centered, growth-oriented life of today, from which these vital elements are missing.

According to the followers of Adam Smith (1723-1790), self-interest (even greed) is a sufficient guide to human economic actions. The passage of time has shown that Smith was right in many respects. The free market, which he advocated, has turned out to be the optimum prescription for economic growth. However, history has also shown that there is something horribly wrong or incomplete about the idea that self-interest alone, uninfluenced by ethical and ecological considerations, and totally free from governmental intervention, can be the main motivating force of a happy and just society. There has also proved to be something terribly wrong with the concept of unlimited economic growth.

The Industrial Revolution marked the start of massive human use of fossil fuels. The stored energy from several hundred million years of plant growth began to be used at roughly a million times the rate at which it had been formed. The effect on human society was like that of a narcotic. There was a euphoric (and totally unsustainable) surge of growth of both population and industrial production. Meanwhile, the carbon released into the atmosphere from the burning of fossil fuels began to duplicate the conditions which led to the 5 geologically-observed mass extinctions, during each of which more than half of all living species disappeared forever.

The Stern Review Discussion Paper of 2006 stated that “Melting of permafrost in the Arctic could lead to the release of huge quantities of methane. Dieback of the Amazon forest could mean that the region starts to emit rather than to absorb greenhouse gases. These feedbacks could lead to warming that is at least twice as fast as current high-emission projections, leading to temperatures higher than seen in the last 50 million years.”

The greed of giant fossil fuel corporations has recently led them to conduct large-scale advertising campaigns to convince the public that anthropogenic climate change is not real. These corporations own vast oil, coal and gas reserves that must be kept in the ground if we are to avoid catastrophic global warming. It does not seem to bother the fossil fuel giants that if the earth is made uninhabitable, future generations of both humans and animals will perish.

When the United Nations was established in 1945, the purpose of the organization was to abolish the institution of war. This goal was built into many of the articles of the UN Charter. Accordingly, throughout the world, many War Departments were renamed and became Departments of Defense. But the very name is a lie. In an age of nuclear threats and counter-threats, populations are by no means protected. Ordinary citizens are just hostages in a game for power and money. It is all about greed.

Why is war continually threatened? Why is Russia threatened? Why is war with Iran threatened? Why fan the flames of conflict with China? Is it to “protect” civilians?

Absolutely not! In a thermonuclear war, hundreds of millions of civilians would die horribly everywhere in the world, also in neutral countries. What is really being protected are the profits of arms manufacturers. As long as there are tensions; as long as there is a threat of war, military budgets are safe; and the profits of arms makers are safe. The people in several “democracies”, for example the United States, do not rule at the moment. Greed rules.

Greed and lack of ethics are built into the structure of corporations. By law, the Chief Executive Officer of a corporation must be entirely motivated by the collective greed of the stockholders. He must maximize profits. Nothing must count except the bottom line. If the CEO abandons this single-minded chase after corporate profits for ethical reasons, or for the sake of humanity or the biosphere or the future, he (or she) must, by law, be fired and replaced.

Occasionally, for the sake of their public image, corporations seem to do something for other motives than their own bottom line, but it is usually window dressing. For example, Shell claims to be supporting research on renewable energy. Perhaps there is indeed a small renewable energy laboratory somewhere in that vast corporation; but the real interest of the organization is somewhere else. Shell is sending equipment on a large scale to drill for more and more environment-destroying oil in the Arctic.

What does Christianity say about greed? Wikipedia states that “The seven deadly sins, also known as capital vices or cardinal sins, is a classification of vices (part of Christian ethics) that has been used since early Christian times to educate and instruct Christians concerning fallen humanity’s tendency to sin. In the currently recognized version, the sins are usually given as wrath, greed, sloth, pride, lust, envy and gluttony. Each is a form of Idolatry-of-Self wherein the subjective reigns over the objective.”

Saint Thomas Aquinas wrote: “Greed is a sin against God, just as all mortal sins, in as much as man condemns things eternal for the sake of temporal things”.

In the New Testament, we can find many passages condemning greed, for example:

“For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.” Timothy 6:10

“Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.” Mathew 6:19

In his encyclical *Laudato Si’*, and on his recent visit to South America, Pope Francis has spoken strongly against economic activity that lacks both social and environmental ethics.

Much depends on whether we are able to break the power that corporations and extremely rich oligarchs now hold over our governments and our mass media. Pope Francis has shown by example what a world leader of courage and honesty can do. Most of us are not in such a position, but each person can do his or her best to restore democracy where it has been lost to corporate money and greed. If the mass media have sold themselves to the highest bidder, we can make our own media. If most politicians are corrupt, we can make our own political movements. As Shelly said, “We are many, they are few”.

We need your voice today

Saint Francis said:

“Blessed is he who loves and does not therefore desire to be loved;
Blessed is he who fears and does not therefore desire to be feared;
Blessed is he who serves and does not therefore desire to be served;
Blessed is he who behaves well toward others and does not desire that others
behave well toward him.”

William Blake said:

“Every Night & every Morn
Some to Misery are Born
Every Morn and every Night
Some are Born to sweet delight
Some are Born to sweet delight
Some are Born to Endless Night.”

Thomas Paine said:

“It is a perversion of terms to say that a charter gives rights. It operates by a contrary effect: that of taking rights away. Rights are inherently in all the inhabitants; but charters, by annulling those rights, in the majority, leave the right, by exclusion, in the hands of a few... They... consequently are instruments of injustice ... The fact, therefore, must be that the individuals, themselves, each, in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a contract with each other to produce a government: and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.”

Thomas Jefferson said:

“I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion.”

Mary Wollstonecraft said:

“I entreat (men) to assist to emancipate their companion, to make her a help meet for them! Would men but generously snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more

observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers: in a word, better citizens.”

William Godwin said:

“To whom does any article, suppose a loaf of bread, justly belong? I have an hundred loaves in my possession, and in the next street there is a poor man expiring with hunger, to whom one of these loaves would be a means of preserving his life. If I withhold this loaf from him, am I not unjust? If I impart it, am I not complying with what justice demands?”

The Marquis de Condorcet said:

“Any person who has contributed to the progress of mankind to the best of his ability becomes immune to personal disaster and suffering. He knows that human progress is inevitable and can take comfort and courage from his inner picture of the epic march of mankind, through history, towards a better future.”

Thomas Robert Malthus said:

“That population cannot increase without the means of subsistence is a proposition so evident that it needs no illustration. That population does invariably increase, where there are means of subsistence, the history of every people who have ever existed will abundantly prove. And that the superior power cannot be checked without producing misery and vice, the ample portion of these two bitter ingredients in the cup of human life, and the continuance of the physical causes that seem to have produced them, bear too convincing a testimony. (He later modified this opinion and made it less pessimistic by allowing for the effect of preventive checks such as late marriage. Malthus considered birth control to be a form of vice, but today it is accepted as the most humane method of avoiding the grim Malthusian forces, famine, disease and war.”)

Percy Bysshe Shelley said:

“Rise, like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number!
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you:
Ye are many, they are few!”

Robert Owen said:

“I know that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without

poverty, with health greatly improved, with little, if any, misery. and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundredfold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment except ignorance to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal.”

John Stuart Mill said:

“The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others.”

Henry David Thoreau said:

“Simplify your life. Don’t waste the years struggling for things that are unimportant. Don’t burden yourself with possessions. Keep your needs and wants simple and enjoy what you have. Don’t destroy your peace of mind by looking back, worrying about the past. Live in the present. Simplify!”

Count Leo Tolstoy said:

“The sharpest of all contradictions can be seen between the government’s professed faith in the Christian law of the brotherhood of all humankind, and the military laws of the state, which force each young man to prepare himself for enmity and murder.”

Mahatma Gandhi said:

“They say that ‘means are after all means’. I would say that ‘means are after all everything’. As the means, so the end. Indeed, the Creator has given us limited power over means, none over end... The means may be likened to a seed, and the end to a tree; and there is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life.”

Martin Luther King said:

“Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served a negative good by preventing the spread of an evil force, but the power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good. If we assume that life is worth living, and that man has a right to survival, then we must find an alternative to war ... I am convinced that the Church cannot be silent while mankind faces the threat of nuclear annihilation. If the church is true to her mission, she must call for an end to the nuclear arms race.”

Wilfred Owen said:

“If in some smothering dream, you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil’s sick of sin,
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori”.

Albert Einstein said:

“The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking, and thus we drift towards unparalleled catastrophes.”

Edna St. Vincent Millay said:

“Man, doughty Man, what power has brought you low,
That heaven itself in arms could not persuade
To lay aside the lever and the spade
And be as dust among the dusts that blow?
Whence, whence the broadside? Whose the heavy blade?...
Strive not to speak, poor scattered mouth; I know.”

Bertha von Suttner said:

“Strange how blind people are! They are horrified by the torture chambers of the Middle Ages, but their arsenals fill them with pride!”

George Orwell said:

“In a time of deceit telling the truth is a revolutionary act.”

Helen Keller said:

“Strike against war, for without you no battles can be fought! Strike against manufacturing shrapnel and gas bombs and all other tools of murder! Strike

against preparedness that means death and misery to millions of human beings! Be not dumb, obedient slaves in an army of destruction! Be heroes in an army of construction.”

Today, human civilization and the biosphere are facing a crisis. Here are the tasks which history has given to our generation:

- We must abolish the institution of war before modern weapons destroy us.
- We must replace institutionalized violence by a just, democratic and enforceable system of global governance and international law.
- We must stabilize and ultimately reduce global population to a level that can be supported by sustainable agriculture.
- We must leave fossil fuels in the ground.
- We must avoid the large-scale global famine which threatens us because of the combined effects of climate change, population growth and the end of the fossil fuel era.
- We must achieve a steady-state economic system. Limitless growth on a finite planet is a logical absurdity.
- We must decrease economic inequality, both between nations and within nations,
- We must strive for governments that are true democracies rather than oligarchies.
- And finally, we must develop a mature ethical system to match our new technology.

These are difficult tasks, but together we can overcome the difficulties. As Helen Keller said, *Alone we can do so little! Together we can do so much!*

At a time of crisis, with the future at stake, please don't be silent. We urgently need your voice today!

12.14 The fragility of our complex civilization

The rapid growth of knowledge

Cultural evolution depends on the non-genetic storage, transmission, diffusion and utilization of information. The development of human speech, the invention of writing, the development of paper and printing, and finally, in modern times, mass media, computers and the Internet: all these have been crucial steps in society's explosive accumulation of information and knowledge. Human cultural evolution proceeds at a constantly-accelerating speed, so great in fact that it threatens to shake society to pieces.

In many respects, our cultural evolution can be regarded as an enormous success. However, at the start of the 21st century, most thoughtful observers agree that civilization is entering a period of crisis. As all curves move exponentially upward, population, production, consumption, rates of scientific discovery, and so on, one can observe signs of increasing environmental stress, while the continued existence and spread of nuclear weapons threaten civilization with destruction. Thus, while the explosive growth of knowledge has brought many benefits, the problem of achieving a stable, peaceful and sustainable world remains serious, challenging and unsolved.

Our modern civilization has been built up by means of a worldwide exchange of ideas and inventions. It is built on the achievements of many ancient cultures. China, Japan, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, the Islamic world, Christian Europe, and the Jewish intellectual traditions, all have contributed. Potatoes, corn, squash, vanilla, chocolate, chili peppers, and quinine are gifts from the American Indians.

The sharing of scientific and technological knowledge is essential to modern civilization. The great power of science is derived from an enormous concentration of attention and resources on the understanding of a tiny fragment of nature. It would make no sense to proceed in this way if knowledge were not permanent, and if it were not shared by the entire world.

Science is not competitive. It is cooperative. It is a great monument built by many thousands of hands, each adding a stone to the cairn. This is true not only of scientific knowledge but also of every aspect of our culture, history, art and literature, as well as the skills that produce everyday objects upon which our lives depend. Civilization is cooperative. It is not competitive.

Our cultural heritage is not only immensely valuable; it is also so great that no individual comprehends all of it. We are all specialists, who understand only a tiny fragment of the enormous edifice. No scientist understands all of science. Perhaps Leonardo da Vinci could come close in his day, but today it is impossible. Nor do the vast majority people who use cell phones, personal computers and television sets every day understand in detail how they work. Our health is preserved by medicines, which are made by processes that most of us do not understand, and we travel to work in automobiles and buses that we would be completely unable to construct.

The fragility of modern society

As our civilization has become more and more complex, it has become increasingly vulnerable to disasters. We see this whenever there are power cuts or transportation failures due to severe storms. If electricity should fail for a very long period of time, our complex society would cease to function. The population of the world is now so large that it is completely dependent on the high efficiency of modern agriculture. We are also very dependent on the stability of our economic system.

The fragility of modern society is particularly worrying, because, with a little thought, we can predict several future threats which will stress our civilization very severely. We will need much wisdom and solidarity to get safely through the difficulties that now loom



Figure 12.12: The earth at night, seen from space: The thin layer of atmosphere covering the earth is vulnerable to the greenhouse gases that can cause catastrophic climate change. At night we can see the massive energy use that produces these greenhouse gases.

ahead of us.

We can already see the the problem of famine in vulnerable parts of the world. Climate change will make this problem more severe by bringing aridity to parts of the world that are now large producers of grain, for example the Middle West of the United States. Climate change has caused the melting of glaciers in the Himalayas and the Andes. When these glaciers are completely melted, China, India and several countries in South America will be deprived of their summer water supply. Water for irrigation will also become increasingly problematic because of falling water tables. Rising sea levels will drown many rice-growing areas in South-East Asia. Finally, modern agriculture is very dependent on fossil fuels for the production of fertilizer and for driving farm machinery. In the future, high-yield agriculture will be dealt a severe blow by the rising price of fossil fuels.

Economic collapse is another threat that we will have to face in the future. Our present fractional reserve banking system is dependent on economic growth. But perpetual growth of industry on a finite planet is a logical impossibility. Thus we are faced with a period of stress, where reform of our growth-based economic system and great changes of lifestyle will both become necessary.

How will we get through the difficult period ahead? I believe that solutions to the difficult problems of the future are possible, but only if we face the problems honestly and make the adjustments which they demand. Above all, we must maintain our human solidarity.

12.15 Looking towards the future

Tensions created by the rapidity of technological change

In human cultural evolution, information transfer and storage through the language of molecular complementarity is supplemented by new forms of biological information flow and conservation - spoken language, writing, printing, and more recently electronic communication. The result has been a shift into a much higher evolutionary gear.

Because of new, self-reinforcing mechanisms of information flow and accumulation, the rate of evolutionary change has increased enormously: It took 3 billion years for the first autocatalytic systems to develop into multicellular organisms. Five hundred million years were required for multicellular organisms to rise from the level of sponges and slime molds to the degree of complexity and organization that characterizes primates and other mammals; but when a branch of the primate family developed a tool-using culture, spoken language, and an enlarged brain, only 40,000 years were required for our ancestors to change from animal-like hunter-gatherers into engineers, poets and astronomers.

During the initial stages of human cultural evolution, the rate of change was slow enough for genetic adaptation to keep pace. The co-evolution of speech, tool use, and an enlarged brain in hominids took place over a period of several million years, and there was ample time for genetic adaptation. The prolonged childhood which characterizes our species, and the behavior patterns of familial and tribal solidarity, were built into the genomes of our ancestors during the era of slow change, when cultural and genetic evolution moved together in equilibrium. However, as the pace of cultural information accumulation quickened, genetic change could no longer keep up.

Genetically we are almost identical with our neolithic ancestors; but their world has been replaced by a world of quantum theory, relativity, supercomputers, antibiotics, genetic engineering and space telescopes - unfortunately also a world of nuclear weapons and nerve gas. Because of the slowness of genetic evolution in comparison to the rapid and constantly-accelerating rate of cultural change, our bodies and minds are not perfectly adapted to our new way of life. They reflect more accurately the way of life of our hunter-gatherer ancestors.

In addition to the contrast between the slow pace of genetic evolution when compared with the rapid and constantly-accelerating rate of cultural evolution, we can also notice a contrast between rapidly- and slowly-moving aspects of cultural change: Social institutions and structures seem to change slowly when compared with the lightning-like pace of scientific and technological innovation. Thus, tensions and instability characterize information-driven society, not only because science and technology change so much more rapidly than institutions, laws, and attitudes, but also because human nature is not completely appropriate to our present way of life. In particular, human nature seems to contain an element of what might be called "tribalism", because our emotions evolved during an era when our ancestors lived in small, mutually hostile tribes, competing with one another for territory on the grasslands of Africa.

Looking towards the future, what can we predict? Detailed predictions are very diffi-

cult, but it seems likely that information technology and biotechnology will for some time continue to be the most rapidly-developing branches of science, and that these two fields will merge. We can guess with reasonable certainty that much progress will be made in understanding the mechanism of the brain, and in duplicating its functions artificially. Scientists of the future will undoubtedly achieve greatly increased control over the process of evolution. Thus it seems probable that the rapidity of scientific and technological change will produce ethical dilemmas and social tensions even more acute than those which we experience today. It is likely that the fate of our species (and the fate of the biosphere) will be made precarious by the astonishing speed of scientific and technological change unless this progress is matched by the achievement of far greater ethical and political maturity than we have yet attained.

Science has proved to be double-edged - capable of great good, but also of great harm. Information-driven human cultural evolution is a spectacular success - but can it become stable? Terrestrial life can look back on almost four billion years of unbroken evolutionary progress. Can we say with confidence that an equal period stretches ahead of us?

Can information-driven society achieve stability?

“We are living in a very special time”, Murray Gell-Mann¹ remarked in a recent interview, “Historians hate to hear this, because they have heard it so many times before, but we *are* living in a very special time. One symptom of this is the fact that human population has for a long time been increasing according to a hyperbolic curve - a constant divided by 2020 minus the year.”

The hyperbola has the form $P = C/(2020 - y)$, P being the population, y , the year, and C a constant. This form is at first surprising. One might have expected it to be an exponential, if the rate of increase were proportional to the population already present. The fact that the curve is instead a hyperbola can be understood in terms of the accumulation of cultural information. New techniques (for example the initial invention of agriculture, the importation of potatoes to Europe, or the introduction of high-yield wheat and rice varieties) make population growth possible. In the absence of new techniques, population is usually held in check by the painful Malthusian forces - famine, disease, and war.

Gell Mann’s curve shows an explosive growth of human population, driven by an equally explosive growth of stored cultural information - especially agricultural and medical information, and the information needed for opening new land to agriculture. As Gell-Mann remarks, population cannot continue to increase in this way, because we are rapidly approaching the limits of the earth’s carrying capacity. Will human numbers overshoot these limits and afterwards crash disastrously? There is certainly a danger that this will happen.

Besides the challenge of stabilizing global population, the information-driven human society of the future will face another daunting task: Because of the enormously destructive weapons that have already been produced through the misuse of science, and because of

¹ Gell-Mann is an American physicist who was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1969 for his contributions to the theory of elementary particles.

the even worse weapons that may be invented in the future, the long-term survival of civilization can only be insured if society is able to eliminate the institution of war. This task will be made more difficult by the fact that human nature seems to contain an element of tribalism.

Humans tend to show great kindness towards close relatives and members of their own group, and are even willing to sacrifice their lives in battle in defense of their own family, tribe or nation. This tribal altruism is often accompanied by inter-tribal aggression - great cruelty towards the "enemy", i.e. towards members of a foreign group which is perceived to be threatening ones own. The fact that human nature seems to contain a genetically-programmed tendency towards tribalism is the reason why we find football matches entertaining, and the reason why Arthur Koestler once remarked: "We can control the movements of a space-craft orbiting about a distant planet, but we cannot control the situation in Northern Ireland."

How could evolutionary forces have acted to make the pattern of tribal altruism and inter-tribal aggression a part of human nature? To put the same question differently, how could our ancestors have increased the chances for survival of their own genes by dying in battle? The statistician R.A. Fisher and the evolutionary biologist J.B.S. Haldane considered this question in the 1920's.² Their solution was the concept of population genetics, in which the genetically homogeneous group as a whole - now sometimes called the "deme" - is taken to be the unit upon which evolutionary forces act.

Haldane and Fisher postulated that the small tribes in which our ancestors lived were genetically homogeneous, since marriage within the tribe was more probable than marriage outside it. This being the case, a patriotic individual who died for the tribe, killing many members of a competing tribe in the process, increased the chance of survival for his or her own genes, which were carried into the future by the surviving members of the hero's group. The tribe as a whole either lived or died; and those with the best "team spirit" survived most frequently.

Because of the extraordinarily bitter and cruel conflicts between ethnic groups which can be found in both ancient and modern history, it is necessary to take the ideas of Haldane and Fischer seriously. This does not mean that the elimination of the institution of war is impossible, but it means that the task will require the full resources and full cooperation of the world's educational systems, religions, and mass media. It will be necessary to educate children throughout the world in such a way that they will think of humanity as a single group - a large family to which all humans belong, and to which they owe their ultimate loyalty.

In addition to educational reform, and reform of the images presented by the mass media, the elimination of war will require the construction of a democratic, just, and humane system of international governance, whose laws will act on individuals rather than on states. The problems involved are very difficult, but they must be solved if the information-driven society of the future is to achieve stability.

² More recently the evolution of tribal altruism and inter-tribal aggression has also been discussed by W.D. Hamilton and Richard Dawkins.

Respect for natural evolution

The avalanche of new techniques in biotechnology and information technology will soon give scientists so much power over evolution that evolutionary ethical problems will become much more acute than they are today. It is already possible to produce chimeras, i.e. transgenic animals and plants incorporating genetic information from two or more species. Will we soon produce hybrids which are partly machines and partly living organisms? What about artificial life? Will humans make themselves obsolete by allowing far more intelligent beings to evolve in cyberspace, as Thomas Ray proposes? What about modification and improvement of our own species? Is there a limit beyond which we ought not to go in constructing new organisms to suit human purposes?

Perhaps one answer to these questions can be found by thinking of the way in which evolution has operated to produce the biosphere. Driven by the flood of Gibbs free energy which the earth receives from the sun, living organisms are generated and tested by life. New generations are randomly modified by the genetic lottery, sometimes for the worse, and sometimes for the better; and the instances of improvement are kept. It would be hard to overestimate the value of this mechanism of design by random modification and empirical testing, with the preservation of what works. The organisms which are living today are all champions! They are distillations of vast quantities of experience, end products of four billion years of solar energy income.

The beautiful and complex living organisms of our planet are exquisitely adapted to survive, to live with each other, and to form harmonious ecological systems. Whatever we do in biotechnology ought to be guided by caution and by profound respect for what evolution has already achieved. We need a sense of evolutionary responsibility, and a non-anthropocentric component in our system of ethics.

Construction versus destruction

It is often said that ethical principles cannot be derived from science - that they must come from somewhere else. Nevertheless, when nature is viewed through the eyes of modern science, we obtain some insights which seem almost ethical in character. Biology at the molecular level has shown us the complexity and beauty of even the most humble living organisms, and the interrelatedness of all life on earth. Looking through the eyes of contemporary biochemistry, we can see that even the single cell of an amoeba is a structure of miraculous complexity and precision, worthy of our respect and wonder.

Knowledge of the second law of thermodynamics - the statistical law favoring disorder over order - reminds us that life is always balanced like a tight-rope walker over an abyss of chaos and destruction. Living organisms distill their order and complexity from the flood of thermodynamic information which reaches the earth from the sun. In this way, they create local order; but life remains a fugitive from the second law of thermodynamics. Disorder, chaos, and destruction remain statistically favored over order, construction, and complexity.

It is easier to burn down a house than to build one, easier to kill a human than to raise

and educate one, easier to force a species into extinction than to replace it once it is gone, easier to burn the Great Library of Alexandria than to accumulate the knowledge that once filled it, and easier to destroy a civilization in a thermonuclear war than to rebuild it from the radioactive ashes. Knowing this, scientists can form an almost ethical insight: To be on the side of order, construction, and complexity, is to be on the side of life. To be on the side of destruction, disorder, chaos and war is to be against life, a traitor to life, an ally of death. Knowing the precariousness of life - knowing the statistical laws that favor disorder and chaos, we should resolve to be loyal to the principle of long continued construction upon which life depends.

What kind of future world do we want?

Our political and educational systems must reflect the kind of world that we want for the future - and what kind of world do we want? We want a world where war is abolished as an institution, and where the enormous resources now wasted on war are used constructively. We want a world where a stable population of moderate size lives in comfort and security, free from fear of hunger or unemployment. We want a world where peoples of all countries have equal access to resources, and an equal quality of life. We want a world with a new economic system, not designed to produce unlimited growth, but aiming instead at meeting the real needs of the human community in equilibrium with the global environment. We want a world of changed values, where extravagance and waste are regarded as morally wrong; where kindness, wisdom and beauty are admired; and where the survival of other species than our own is regarded as an end in itself, not just a means to our own ends.

In our reverence for the intricate beauty and majesty of nature, and our respect for the dignity and rights of other humans, we can feel united with the great religious and philosophical traditions of mankind, and with the traditional wisdom of our ancestors.

Pictures sent back by the astronauts show the earth as it really is - a small, fragile, beautiful planet, drifting on through the dark immensity of space - our home, where we must learn to live in harmony with nature and with each other.

12.16 Chaplin's speech: Hope

At the end of his 1940 film, **The Great Dictator**, Charlie Chaplin suddenly abandons satire and speaks to us directly with his own voice, his own idealism. In the film, the speech is given by a small Jewish barber, who looks very much like the dictator, Adenoid Henkel (Adolf Hitler). Mistaken for Henkel, the barber must address a huge expectant crowd. Here is the speech:

Hynkel: I'm sorry, but I don't want to be an Emperor - that's not my business. I don't want to rule or conquer anyone. I should like to help everyone, if possible - Jew, gentile, black man, white. We all want to help one another; human beings are like that. We want to live by each other's happiness, not by each other's misery. We don't want to hate and

despise one another. In this world there's room for everyone and the good earth is rich and can provide for everyone.

The way of life can be free and beautiful.

But we have lost the way.

Greed has poisoned men's souls, has barricaded the world with hate, has goose-stepped us into misery and bloodshed. We have developed speed but we have shut ourselves in. Machinery that gives abundance has left us in want. Our knowledge has made us cynical, our cleverness hard and unkind. We think too much and feel too little. More than machinery, we need humanity. More than cleverness, we need kindness and gentleness. Without these qualities, life will be violent and all will be lost.

The aeroplane and the radio have brought us closer together. The very nature of these inventions cries out for the goodness in men, cries out for universal brotherhood for the unity of us all. Even now my voice is reaching millions throughout the world, millions of despairing men, women, and little children, victims of a system that makes men torture and imprison innocent people.

To those who can hear me I say, "Do not despair." The misery that is now upon us is but the passing of greed, the bitterness of men who fear the way of human progress. The hate of men will pass and dictators die; and the power they took from the people will return to the people and so long as men die, liberty will never perish.

Soldiers: Don't give yourselves to brutes, men who despise you, enslave you, who regiment your lives, tell you what to do, what to think and what to feel; who drill you, diet you, treat you like cattle, use you as cannon fodder. Don't give yourselves to these unnatural men, machine men, with machine minds and machine hearts! You are not machines! You are not cattle! You are men! You have the love of humanity in your hearts. You don't hate; only the unloved hate, the unloved and the unnatural.

Soldiers: Don't fight for slavery! Fight for liberty! In the seventeenth chapter of Saint Luke it is written, "the kingdom of God is within man" - not one man, nor a group of men, but in all men, in you, you the people have the power, the power to create machines, the power to create happiness. You the people have the power to make this life free and beautiful, to make this life a wonderful adventure.

Then, in the name of democracy, let us use that power! Let us all unite!! Let us fight for a new world, a decent world that will give men a chance to work, that will give you the future and old age a security. By the promise of these things, brutes have risen to power, but they lie! They do not fulfill their promise; they never will. Dictators free themselves, but they enslave the people!! Now, let us fight to fulfill that promise!! Let us fight to free the world, to do away with national barriers, to do away with greed, with hate and intolerance. Let us fight for a world of reason, a world where science and progress will lead to all men's happiness.

Soldiers: In the name of democracy, let us all unite!!!

In Chaplin's film, Hannah is the sweetheart of the Jewish barber, and she is listening (as he hopes) to a radio broadcast of the speech. He continues his speech, talking to her:



Figure 12.13: **Look up, Hannah!**



Figure 12.14: **Alone we can do so little; together, we can do so much!**

Hannah, can you hear me? Wherever you are, look up, Hannah. The clouds are lifting. The sun is breaking through. We are coming out of the darkness into the light. We are coming into a new world, a kindlier world, where men will rise above their hate, their greed and brutality.

Look up, Hannah. The soul of man has been given wings, and at last he is beginning to fly. He is flying into the rainbow – into the light of hope, into the future, the glorious future that belongs to you, to me, and to all of us.

Look up, Hannah. Look up!

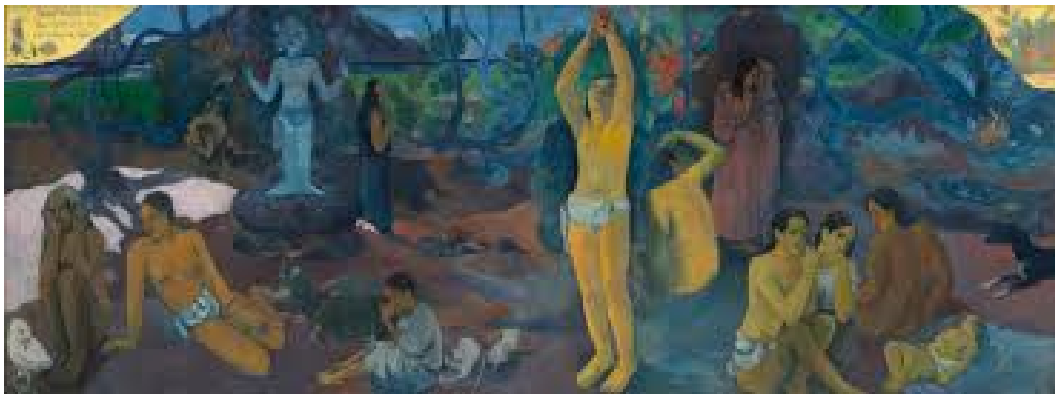


Figure 12.15: Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?

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