

OUR KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION¹

Cooperation in groups of animals and human groups

The social behavior of groups of animals, flocks of birds and communities of social insects involves cooperation as well as rudimentary forms of language. Various forms of language, including chemical signals, postures and vocal signals, are important tools for orchestrating cooperative behavior.

The highly developed language of humans made possible an entirely new form of evolution. In cultural evolution (as opposed to genetic evolution), information is passed between generations not in the form of a genetic code, but in the form of linguistic symbols. With the invention of writing, and later the invention of printing, the speed of human cultural evolution greatly increased. Cooperation is central to this new form of evolution. Cultural advances can be shared by all humans.

Trading in primitive societies

Although primitive societies engaged in frequent wars, they also cooperated through trade. Peter Watson, an English historian of ideas, believes that long-distance trade took place as early as 150,000 before the present. There is evidence that extensive trade in obsidian and flint took place during the stone age. Evidence for wide ranging prehistoric obsidian and flint trading networks has been found in North America. Ancient burial sites in Southeast Asia show that there too, prehistoric trading took place across very large distances. Analysis of jade jewelry from the Phillipines, Thailand, Maylasia and Viet Nam shows that the jade originated in Taiwan.

The invention of writing was prompted by the necessities of trade. In prehistoric Mesopotamia, clay tokens marked with simple symbols were used for accounting as early as 8,000 BC. Often these tokens were kept in clay jars, and symbols on the outside of the jars indicated the contents. About 3,500 BC, the use of such tokens and markings led to the development of pictographic writing in Mesopotamia, and this was soon followed by the cuneiform script, still using soft clay as a medium. The clay tablets were later dried and baked to ensure permanency. The invention of writing led

¹This book makes use of articles and book chapters that I have previously written, but new material has been added.

to a great acceleration of human cultural evolution. Since ideas could now be exchanged and preserved with great ease through writing, new advances in technique could be shared by an ever larger cooperating community of humans. Our species became more and more successful as its genius for cooperation developed.

Early religions tended to be centered on particular tribes, and the ethics associated with them were usually tribal in nature. However, the more cosmopolitan societies that began to form after the Neolithic agricultural revolution required a more universal code of ethics. It is interesting to notice that many of the great ethical teachers of human history, for example Moses, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Lao Tzu, Confucius, Buddha, and Jesus, lived at the time when the change to larger social units was taking place. Tribalism was no longer appropriate. A wider ethic was needed.

Today the size of the social unit is again being enlarged, this time enlarged to include the entire world. Narrow loyalties have become inappropriate and there is an urgent need for a new ethic a global ethic. Loyalty to ones nation needs to be supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole.

Interdependence in modern human society

The enormous success of humans as a species is due to their genius for cooperation. The success of humans is a success of cultural evolution, a new form of evolution in which information is passed between generations, not in the form of DNA sequences but in the form of speech, writing, printing and finally electronic signals. Cultural evolution is built on cooperation, and has reached great heights of success as the cooperating community has become larger and larger, ultimately including the entire world.

Without large-scale cooperation, modern science would never have evolved. It developed as a consequence of the invention of printing, which allowed painfully gained detailed knowledge to be widely shared. Science derives its great power from concentration. Attention and resources are brought to bear on a limited problem until all aspects of it are understood. It would make no sense to proceed in this way if knowledge were not permanent, and if the results of scientific research were not widely shared. But today the printed word and the electronic word spread the results of research freely to the entire world. The whole human community is the repository of shared knowledge.

The achievements of modern society are achievements of cooperation. We can fly, but no one builds an airplane alone. We can cure diseases, but only

through the cooperative efforts of researchers, doctors and medicinal firms. We can photograph and understand distant galaxies, but the ability to do so is built on the efforts of many cooperating individuals.

The comfort and well-being that we experience depends on far-away friendly hands and minds, since trade is global, and the exchange of ideas is also global.

Two sides of human nature

Looking at human nature, both from the standpoint of evolution and from that of everyday experience, we see the two faces of Janus; one face shines radiantly; the other is dark and menacing. Two souls occupy the human breast, one warm and friendly, the other murderous. Humans have developed a genius for cooperation, the basis for culture and civilization; but they are also capable of genocide; they were capable of massacres during the Crusades, capable of genocidal wars against the Amerinds, capable of the Holocaust, of Hiroshima, of the killing-fields of Cambodia, of Rwanda, and of Darfur.

As an example of the two sides of human nature, we can think of Scandinavia. The Vikings were once feared throughout Europe. The Book of Common Prayer in England contains the phrase Protect us from the fury of the Northmen!. Today the same people are so peaceful and law-abiding that they can be taken as an example for how we would like a future world to look. Human nature has the possibility for both kinds of behavior depending on the circumstances. This being so, there are strong reasons to enlist the help of education and religion to make the bright side of human nature win over the dark side.

Today, the mass media are an important component of education, and thus the mass media have a great responsibility for encouraging the cooperative and constructive side of human nature rather than the dark and destructive side.

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Chapter 1

A HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE

1.1 Accelerating cultural evolution

An acceleration of human cultural development seems to have begun approximately 40,000 years ago. The first art objects date from that period, as do migrations which 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,¹ 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.

In the caves of Spain and southern France are the remains of vigorous hunting cultures which flourished between 30,000 and 10,000 years ago. The people of these upper Paleolithic cultures lived on the abundant cold-weather game which roamed the southern edge of the ice sheets during the Wurm glacial period: huge herds of reindeer, horses and wild cattle, as well as mammoths and woolly rhinos. The paintings found in the Dordogne region of France, for example, combine decorative and representational elements in a manner which contemporary artists might envy. Sometimes among the paintings are stylized symbols which can be thought of as the first steps towards writing.

In this period, not only painting, but also tool-making and weapon-making were highly developed arts. For example, the Solutrian culture, which flourished in Spain and southern France about 20,000 years ago, produced beautifully worked stone lance points in the shape of laurel leaves and willow leaves. The appeal of these exquisitely pressure-flaked blades must have been aesthetic as well as functional. The people of the Solutrian culture had fine bone needles with eyes, bone and ivory pendants, beads and bracelets, and long bone pins with notches for arranging the hair. They also had red, yellow and black pigments

¹ A shaman is a special member of a hunting society who, while in a trance, is thought to be able to pass between the upper world, the present world, and the lower world, to cure illnesses, and to insure the success of a hunt.



Figure 1.1: **A cave painting showing a domesticated dog.**

for painting their bodies. The Solutrian culture lasted for 4,000 years. It ended in about 17,000 B.C. when it was succeeded by the Magdalenian culture. Whether the Solutrian people were conquered by another migrating group of hunters, or whether they themselves developed the Magdalenian culture we do not know.

Wikipedia states that “The dog diverged from a now-extinct population of wolves immediately before the Last Glacial Maximum, when much of Eurasia was a cold, dry mammoth steppe biome.... The archaeological record shows the first undisputed dog remains buried beside humans 14,700 years ago, with disputed remains occurring 36,000 years ago. These dates imply that the earliest dogs arose in the time of human hunter-gatherers and not agriculturalists. The dog was the first species to be domesticated.”

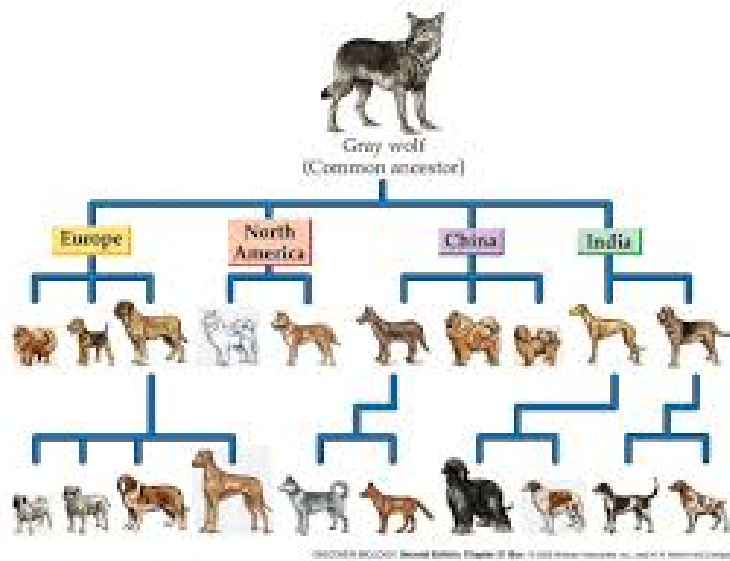


Figure 1.2: The family tree of dogs, showing their descent from the grey wolf.



Figure 1.3: Neolithic humans hunting a mammoth with the help of dogs.

1.2 Early agriculture in the Middle East

Beginning about 10,000 B.C., the way of life of the hunters was swept aside by a great cultural revolution: the invention of agriculture. The earth had entered a period of unusual climatic stability, and this may have helped to make agriculture possible. The first agricultural villages date from this time, as well as the earliest examples of pottery. Dogs and reindeer were domesticated, and later, sheep and goats. Radio-carbon dating shows that by 8,500 B.C., people living in the caves of Shanidar in the foothills of the Zagros mountains in Iran had domesticated sheep. By 7,000 B.C., the village farming community at Jarmo in Iraq had domesticated goats, together with barley and two different kinds of wheat.

Starting about 8000 B.C., rice came under cultivation in East Asia. This may represent an independent invention of agriculture, and agriculture may also have been invented independently in the western hemisphere, made possible by the earth's unusually stable climate during this period. At Jericho, in the Dead Sea valley, excavations have revealed a prepottery neolithic settlement surrounded by an impressive stone wall, six feet wide and twelve feet high. Radiocarbon dating shows that the defenses of the town were built about 7,000 B.C. Probably they represent the attempts of a settled agricultural people to defend themselves from the plundering raids of less advanced nomadic tribes.

Starting in western Asia, the neolithic agricultural revolution swept westward into Europe, and eastward into the regions that are now Iran and India. By 4,300 B.C., the agricultural revolution had spread southwest to the Nile valley, where excavations along the shore of Lake Fayum have revealed the remains of grain bins and silos. The Nile carried farming and stock-breeding techniques slowly southward, and wherever they arrived, they swept away the hunting and food-gathering cultures. By 3,200 B.C. the agricultural revolution had reached the Hyrax Hill site in Kenya. At this point the southward movement of agriculture was stopped by the swamps at the headwaters of the Nile. Meanwhile, the Mediterranean Sea and the Danube carried the revolution westward into Europe. Between 4,500 and 2,000 B.C. it spread across Europe as far as the British Isles and Scandinavia.

However, western Asia was only one of the places where the agricultural revolution took place. Wikipedia states that "Agriculture began independently in different parts of the globe, and included a diverse range of taxa. At least eleven separate regions of the Old and New World were involved as independent centers of origin.

"Wild grains were collected and eaten from at least 20,000 BC. From around 9,500 BC, the eight Neolithic founder crops - emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, hulled barley, peas, lentils, bitter vetch, chick peas, and flax - were cultivated in the Levant. Rice was domesticated in China between 11,500 and 6,200 BC, followed by mung, soy and azuki beans. Pigs were domesticated in Mesopotamia around 11,000 BC, followed by sheep between 11,000 and 9,000 BC. Cattle were domesticated from the wild aurochs in the areas of modern Turkey and Pakistan around 8,500 BC. Sugarcane and some root vegetables were domesticated in New Guinea around 7,000 BC. Sorghum was domesticated in the Sahel region of Africa by 5,000 BC. In the Andes of South America, the potato was domesticated between 8,000 and 5,000 BC, along with beans, coca, llamas, alpacas, and guinea pigs. Bananas were

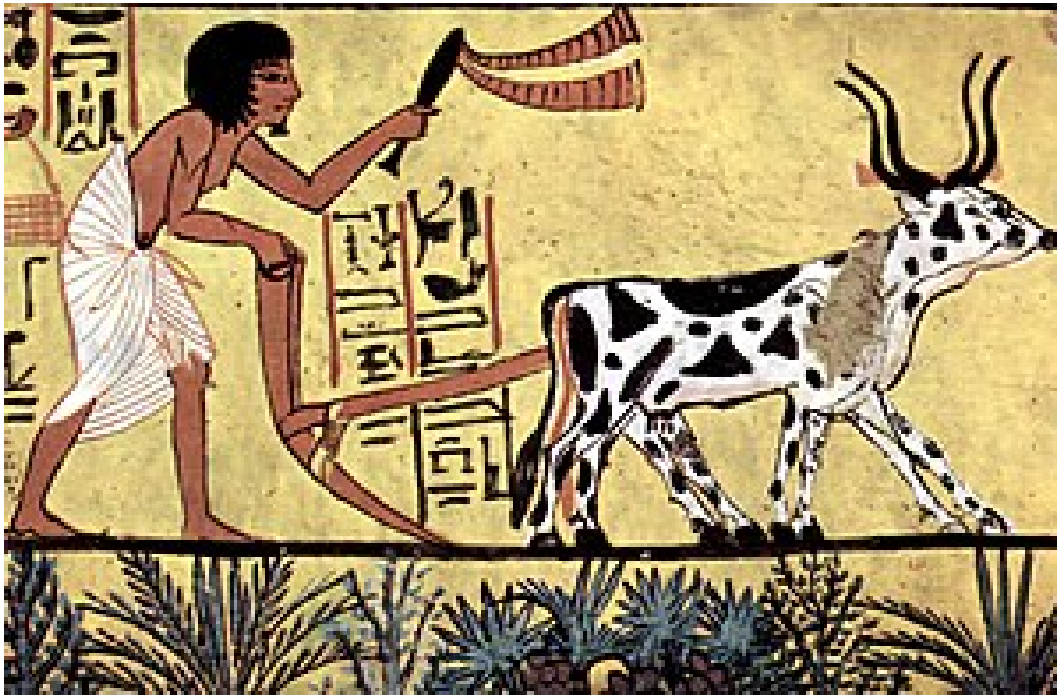


Figure 1.4: Early agriculture in Egypt: Plowing



Figure 1.5: Early agriculture in Egypt: Threshing



Figure 1.6: **Pigs were domesticated in Mesopotamia around 11,000 BC.**

cultivated and hybridized in the same period in Papua New Guinea. In Mesoamerica, wild teosinte was domesticated to maize by 4,000 BC. Cotton was domesticated in Peru by 3,600 BC. Camels were domesticated late, perhaps around 3,000 BC.”



Figure 1.7: Domestication of sheep.

1.3 Rice cultivation in Asia

Wikipedia states that “Excavations at Kuahuqiao, the earliest known Neolithic site in eastern China, have documented rice cultivation 7,700 years ago. Approximately half of the plant remains belonged to domesticated japonica species, whilst the other half were wild types of rice. It is possible that the people at Kuahuqiao also cultivated the wild type. Finds at sites of the Hemudu Culture (c.5500-3300 BCE) in Yuyao and Banpo near Xi’an include millet and spade-like tools made of stone and bone. Evidence of settled rice agriculture has been found at the Hemudu site of Tianluoshan (5000-4500 BCE), with rice becoming the backbone of the agricultural economy by the Majiabang culture in southern China.”

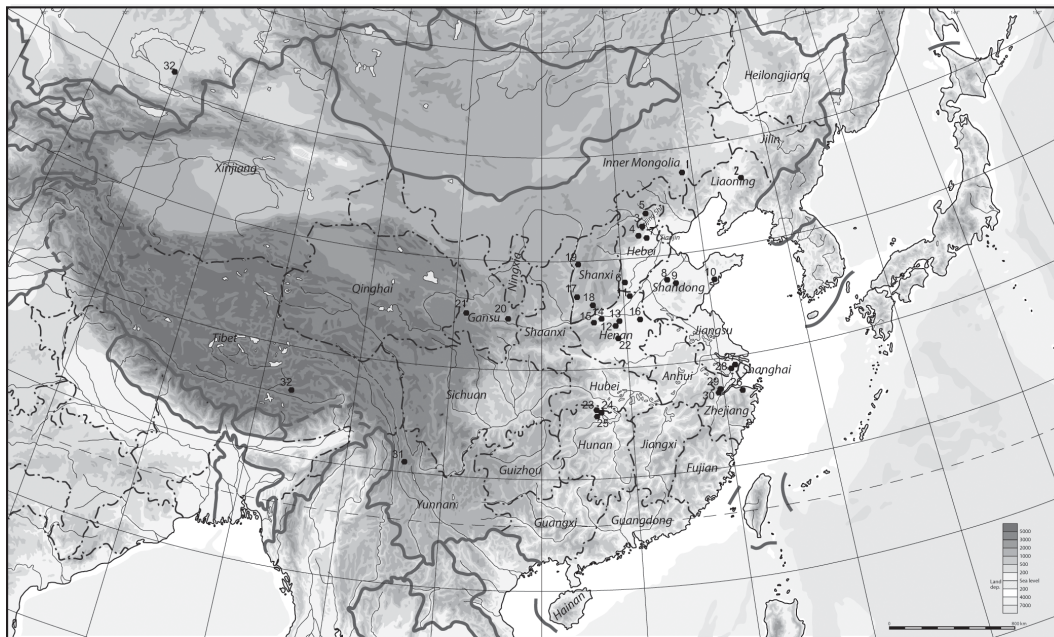


Figure 1.8: A map showing sites of early rice-growing in China.



Figure 1.9: Ancient rice terraces in Yuanyang, Yunnan, a province in southern China.

1.4 Agriculture in the western hemisphere

During a glacial period between 20,000 and 10,000 years before the present, there was a land bridge across the Bering Strait. There is evidence that humans crossed this land bridge from Siberia and followed a coastal route past the glaciated regions of what is now Canada, finally reaching South America. Humans were able to build boats at that time, as evidenced by traces of very early settlements on islands off the coast of South America.

In a May 24, 2017 article in *Science*, Lizzie Wade wrote:

“About 600 kilometers north of Lima, an imposing earthen mound looms over the sea. People began building the ceremonial structure, called Huaca Prieta, about 7800 years ago. But according to a new study, the true surprise lies buried deep beneath the 30-meter-tall mound: stone tools, animal bones, and plant remains left behind by some of the earliest known Americans nearly 15,000 years ago. That makes Huaca Prieta one of the oldest archaeological sites in the Americas and suggests that the region’s first migrants may have moved surprisingly slowly down the coast.

“The evidence of early human occupation stunned Tom Dillehay, an archaeologist at Vanderbilt University in Nashville who led the new study. Initially, he was interested in examining the mound itself. But geologists on his team wanted to study the landform under the mound, so ‘we just kept going down,’ he says. The deepest pit, which took 5 years to excavate, reached down 31 meters. Shockingly, those deep layers contained telltale signs of human occupation, Dillehay’s team reports today in *Science Advances*: evidence of hearth fires, animal bones, plant remains, and simple but unmistakable stone tools. Radiocarbon dates from charcoal place the earliest human occupation at nearly 15,000 years ago.

“That’s made some researchers say Huaca Prieta should join the small but growing list of pre-14,000-year-old sites that have revolutionized scientists’ vision of the earliest Americans. Archaeologists used to think that people walked from Siberia through an ice-free passage down Alaska and Canada, reaching the interior of the United States about 13,000 years ago. In recent years, however, well documented earlier sites like Chile’s Monte Verde have convinced most archaeologists that humans made it deep into the Americas by 14,500 years ago, meaning that they would have had to cross Canada long before an ice-free corridor existed. That would have left them with one logical route into the Americas: down the Pacific coast. But direct evidence for such a migration is lacking.”

Another site that shows evidence of early human presence is Piki Mach’ay cave in Peru. Radiocarbon dates from this cave give a human presence ranging from 22,200 to 14,700 years ago, but this evidence has been disputed. Wikipedia states that “Piki Mach’ay yielded some of the oldest plant remains in Peru, including an 11,000 year old bottle gourd. Strata from later periods at the site revealed fishtail points, manos, and metates. Plant remains indicate that, before 3,000 years BCE, amaranth, cotton, gourds, lucuma, quinoa, and squash were cultivated in the Ayacucho Basin before 3,000 years BCE. By 4,000 years BCE corn (*Zea mays*) and common beans were grown. Chili remains date from 5,500 to 4,300 years BCE. The large amounts of guinea pig bones suggest possible

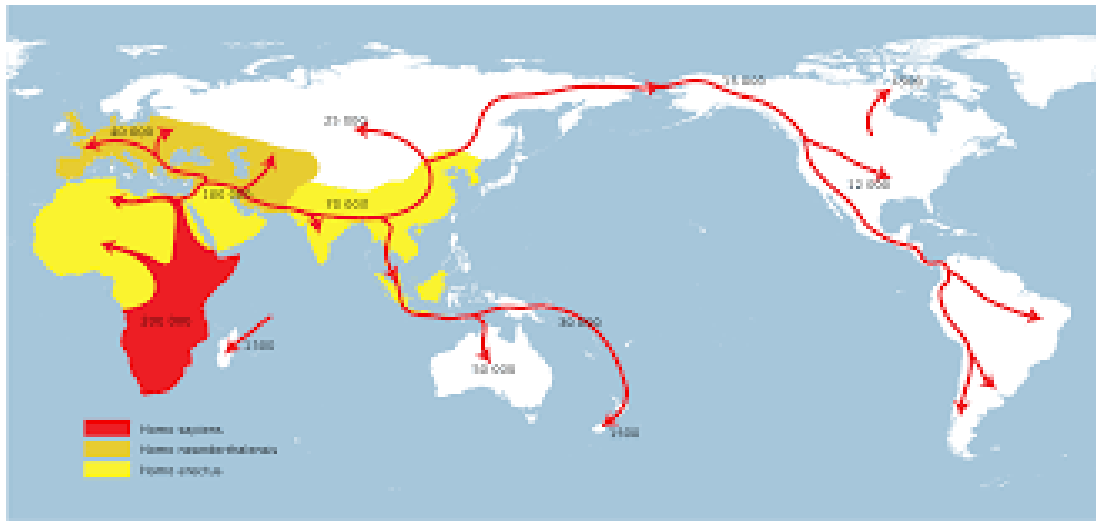


Figure 1.10: Modern humans crossed the Bering Straits during a glacial period between 20,000 and 10,000 years before the present.

domestication, and llamas may have been domesticated by 4,300 to 2,800 years BCE.”



Figure 1.11: The “three sisters”, maize, squash and beans, traditionally grown by tribes of the first people in North America.

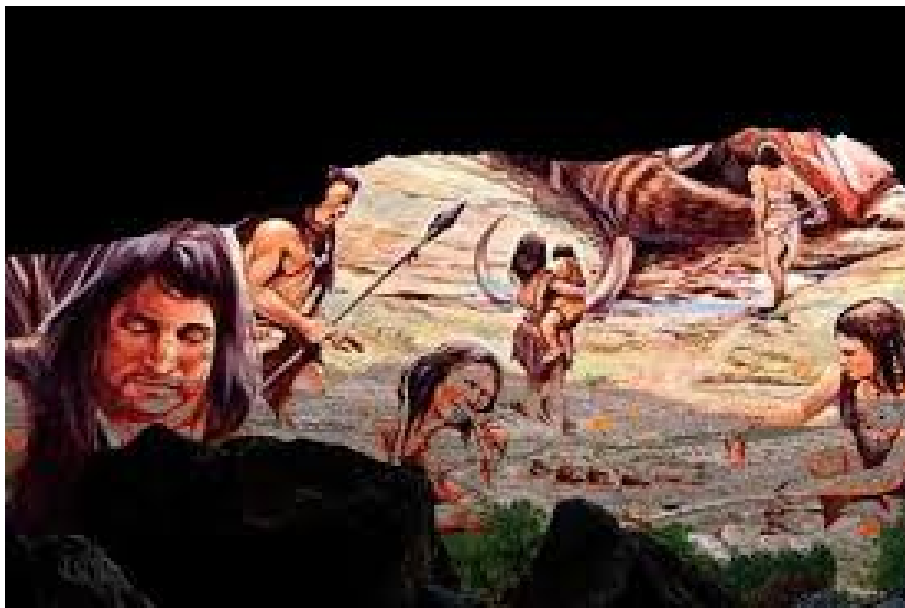


Figure 1.12: An artist's guess at what the inhabitants of Piki Mach'ay cave in Peru might have looked like.

1.5 Peru gives potatoes to the world

Wikipedia states that “Cultivation of potatoes in South America may go back 10,000 years, yet the tubers do not preserve well in archaeological record, and there are problems with exact identification of those that are found... In the Altiplano, potatoes provided the principal energy source for the Inca Empire, its predecessors, and its Spanish successor... Potato was the staple food of most Pre-Columbian Mapuches², ‘specially in the southern and coastal [Mapuche] territories where maize did not reach maturity”

²The Mapuche are a group of indigenous inhabitants of south-central Chile and southwestern Argentina, including parts of present-day Patagonia.



Figure 1.13: In the mountainous regions of Peru, the ancient Incas built terraces for the cultivation of potatoes.



Figure 1.14: Sir Walter Raleigh presented potatoes to Queen Elizabeth I.



Figure 1.15: The Irish potato famine.



Figure 1.16: Vincent Van Gogh's painting, "The Potato Eaters".

1.6 The threat of widespread 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

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.

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.



Figure 1.17: Today, glaciers are melting rapidly many places in the world. The summer water supplies of both India and China are threatened.

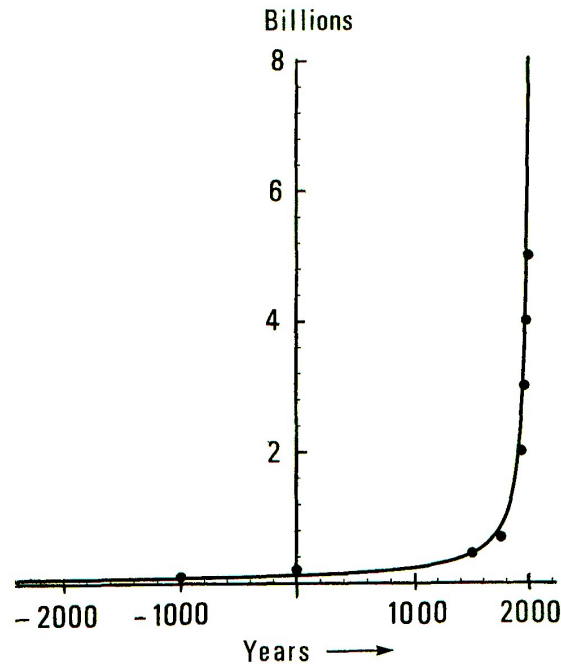


Figure 1.18: Starting with the neolithic agricultural revolution and the invention of writing, human culture began to develop with explosive speed. This figure shows the estimated human population as a function of time during the last 4,000 years. The dots are population estimates in billions, while the solid curve is the hyperbola $p = c/(2020 - y)$, where p is the global human population y is the year, and $c = 234000$. The curve reflects an explosively accelerating accumulation of information. Culturally transmitted techniques of agriculture allowed a much greater density of population than was possible for hunter-gatherers. The growth of population was further accelerated by the invention of printing and by the industrial and scientific developments which followed from this invention.

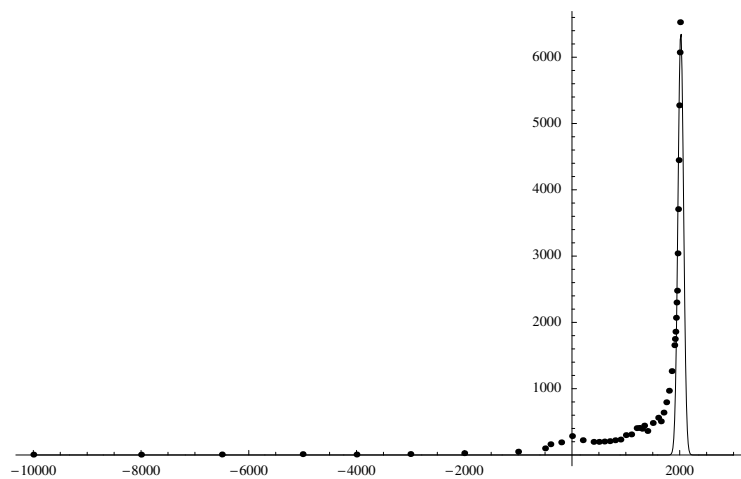


Figure 1.19: Population growth and fossil fuel use, seen on a time-scale of several thousand years. The dots are population estimates in millions from the US Census Bureau. Fossil fuel use appears as a spike-like curve, rising from almost nothing to a high value, and then falling again to almost nothing 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)

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.”³

Dennis Meadows, one of the authors of *Limits to Growth*, stated recently (in a private conversation) that the sustainable human population in the distant future may be about 2 billion people.

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 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.

³John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy, With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, (1848).

1.7 Population growth and the Green Revolution

Limitations on cropland

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 Cerrado⁴, 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."

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 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

⁴ The Cerrado is a large savanna region of Brazil.



Figure 1.20: **Professor M.S. Swaminathan, father of the Green Revolution in India.** (Open and Shut7)



Figure 1.21: **Norman Borlaug and agronomist George Harrer in 1943.** (Human Wrongs Watch)

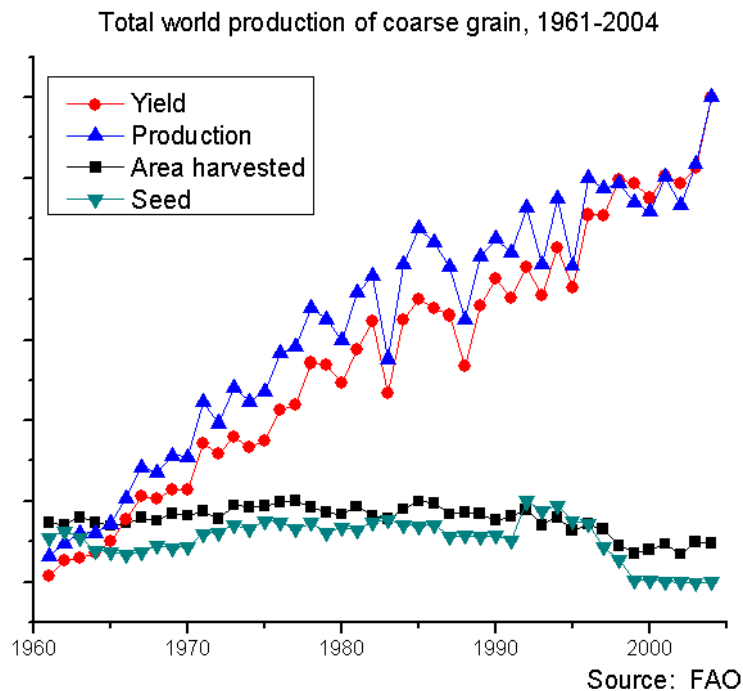


Figure 1.22: This graph shows the total world production of coarse grain between 1960 and 2004. Because of high-yield varieties, the yield of grain increased greatly. Notice, however, that the land under cultivation remained almost constant. High-yield agriculture depends on large inputs of fossil fuel energy and irrigation, and may be difficult to maintain in the future. (FAO)

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 are large producers of grain⁵.

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.

1.8 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 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

⁵See the discussion of the Stern Report in Chapter 7.

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 ⁶ 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 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

⁶ 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.

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.

1.9 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.

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.



Figure 1.23: **Whitechuck Glacier in the North Cascades National Park in 1973.**
(Nicholas College)



Figure 1.24: **The same glacier in 2006** (Nicholas College)

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 ⁷. The report goes on to say that

⁷The 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.

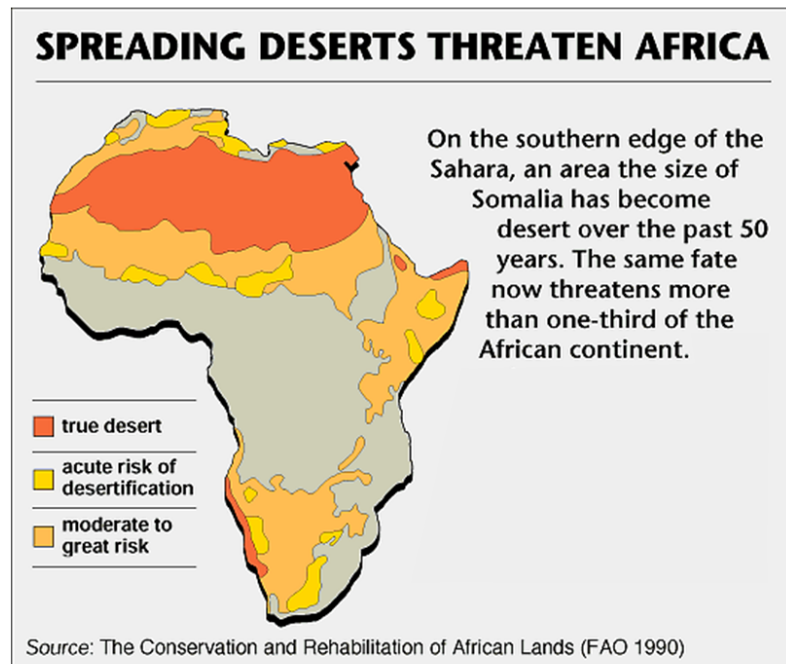


Figure 1.25: Desert regions of the Africa that are in danger of spreading. (FAO)

1.10 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.⁸

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

⁸<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.

1.11 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 1.26: **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 1.27: 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 Report⁹, 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.

1.12 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."

⁹<http://wcr.unhabitat.org/>

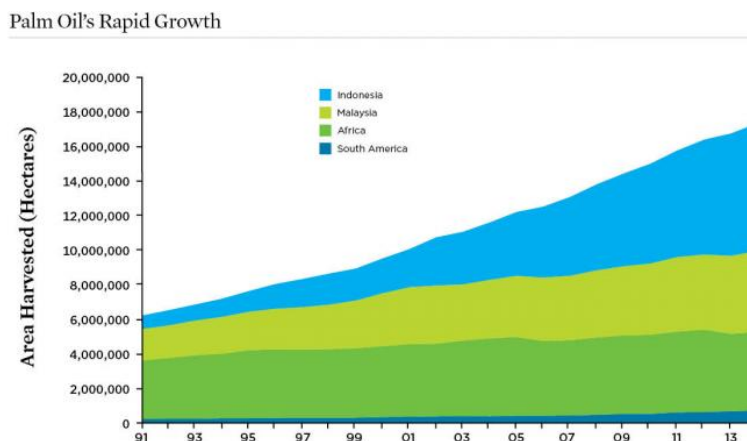


Figure 1.28: **The growth of palm oil cultivation between 1993 and 2013. The dark area at the top of the graph indicates the dramatic growth of palm oil production in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia.**

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 article¹⁰ 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<https://news.vice.com/article/indonesia-is-killing-the-planet-for-palm-oil>

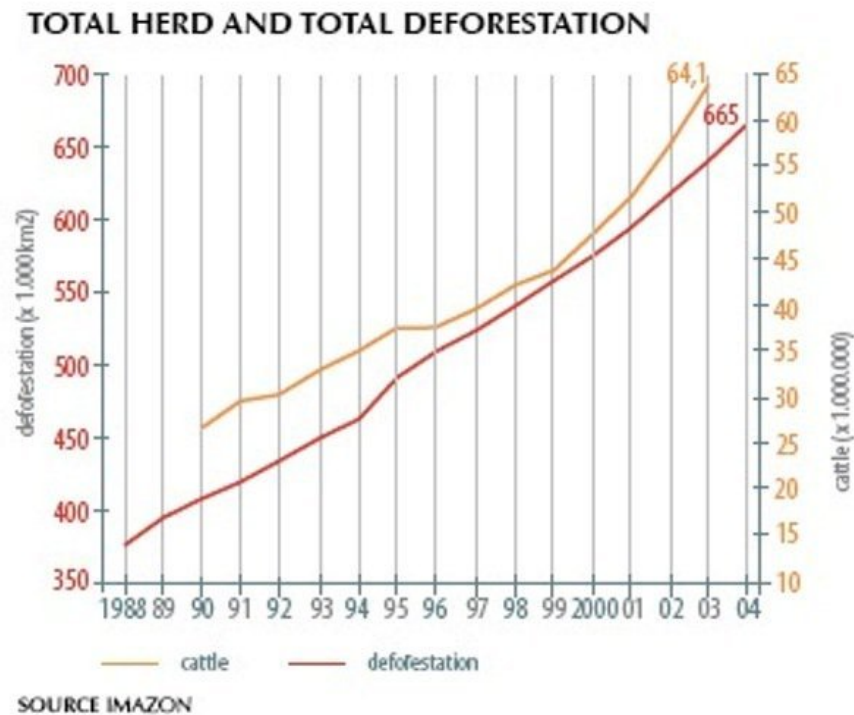


Figure 1.29: Total cattle herds and total deforestation in Amazonia between 1988 and 2004. Deforestation is measured in thousands of square kilometers, while herd size is measured in millions.

1.13 The beef industry in South America

Beef is killing the rainforest

Beef Production is Killing the Amazon Rainforest. That is the title of an article published by onegreenplanet.org¹¹. Here are some excerpts from the article

“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

¹¹<http://www.onegreenplanet.org/animalsandnature/beef-production-is-killing-the-amazon-rainforest/>

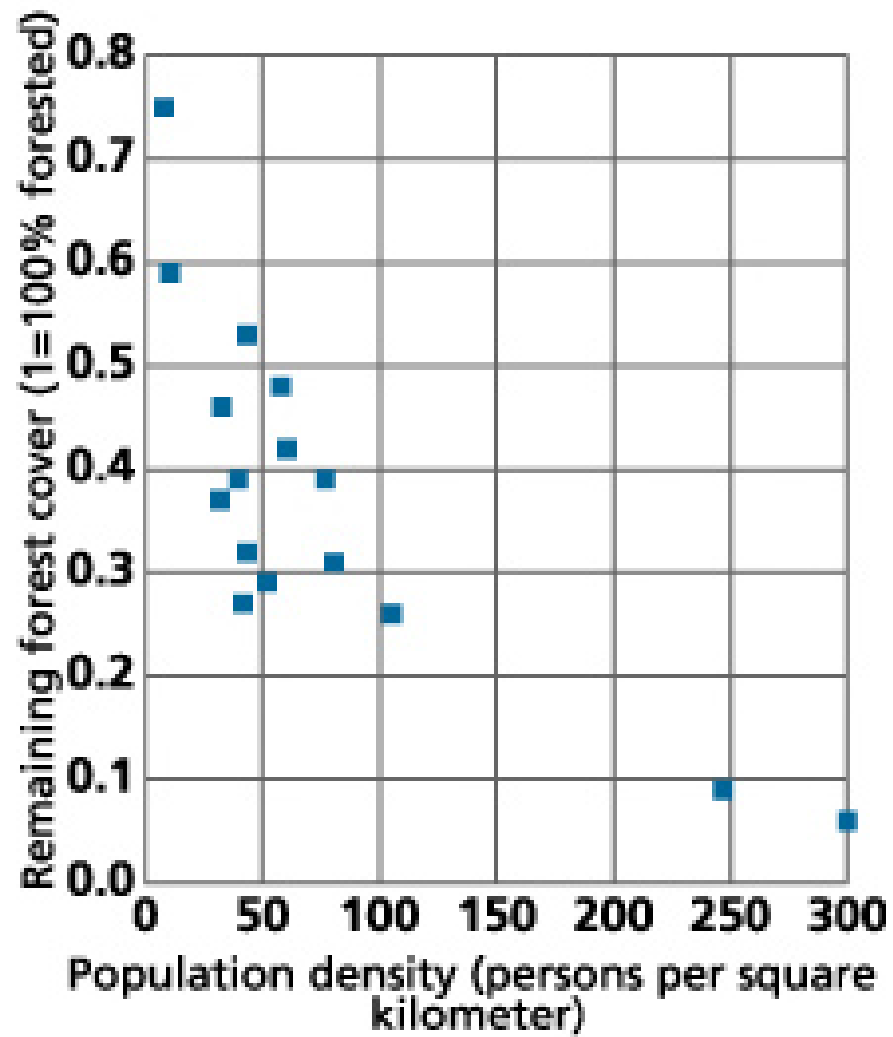


Figure 1.30: Population density and forest size.

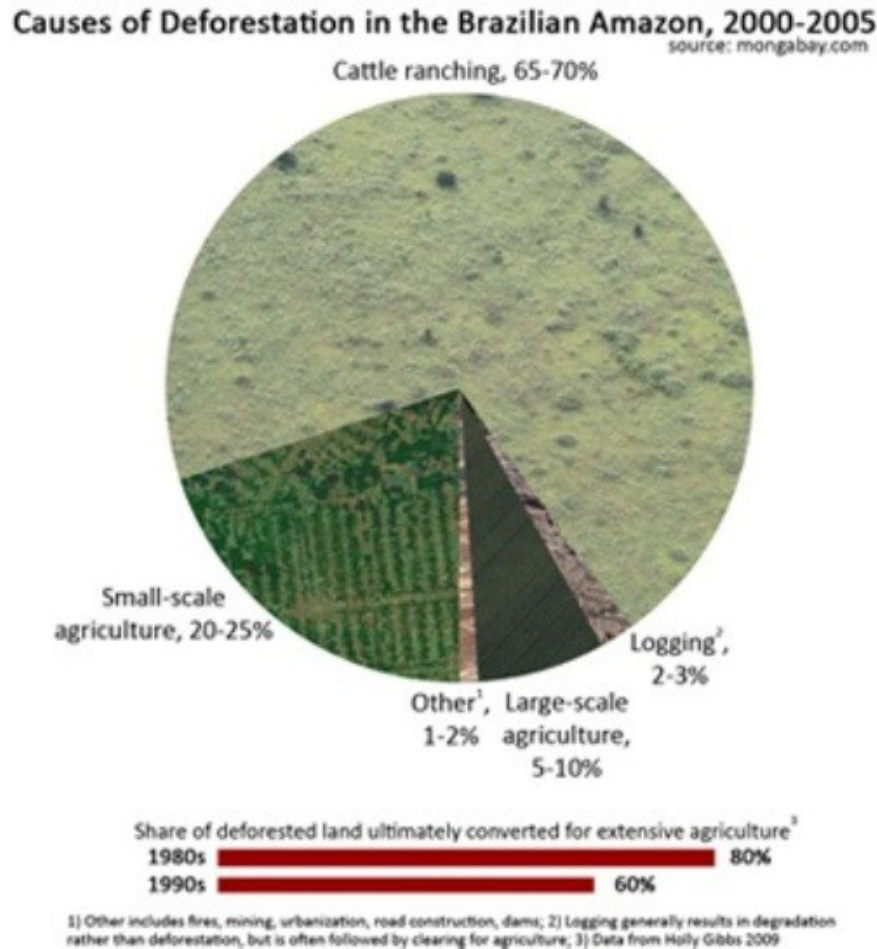


Figure 1.31: This figure shows the causes of Amazonian deforestation. The largest is beef production.

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 CO₂ 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 CO₂, 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 CO₂ 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.

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.

1.14 Growing populations and forest loss

Deforestation is occurring at alarming rates, especially in countries that have high levels of population growth.¹² The following table shows the forest loss in some countries where it is particularly high, together with there present and projected populations¹³. 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.

¹²<http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2004/PopulationGrowthandDeforestationACriticalandComplexRelationship.aspx>
¹³Population Action International, *Why Population Matters to Forests*

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 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.

1.15 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.

1.16 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.

1.17 Degraded forests are carbon emitters

According to an article published in the journal *Science* on 28 September, 2017¹⁴, degraded tropical forest throughout the world have stopped being carbon absorbers, and are now carbon emitters.

Reporting on the study, *The Guardian*,¹⁵ 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

¹⁴A. Baccini et al., *Tropical forests are a net carbon source based on aboveground measurements of gain and loss*, DOI: 10.1126/science.aam5962

¹⁵<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/sep/28/alarm-as-study-reveals-worlds-tropical-forests-are-huge-carbon-emission-source>

to identify which areas are being affected and to restore forests before they disappeared completely.”

1.18 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.

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.



Figure 1.32: Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai (1940-2011).

1.19 Algae as a source of food

The amount of fresh water needed to produce food by conventional methods is very large, and limitations on the world's supply of fresh water may also limit our efforts to expand global food production unless new methods are found. One such method is the use of algae as a food source.¹⁶

Algae can be grown in desert areas in closed waterfilled containers, supplied with carbon dioxide. No water evaporates because the containers are closed, and the conversion of CO_2 into organic matter is an additional benefit. Protein-rich algae are already in baking mixes, cookies, milk, nondairy creamers, vegan eggs, salad dressing, ice-cream, smoothies, and protein powders, to name a few.

¹⁶See *Algae as a Potential Source of Food and Energy in the Developing Countries*, edited by Alvise Perosa, Guido Bordinon, Giampietro Ravagnan, and Sergey Zinoviev. The pdf file of this book is available for free downloading.

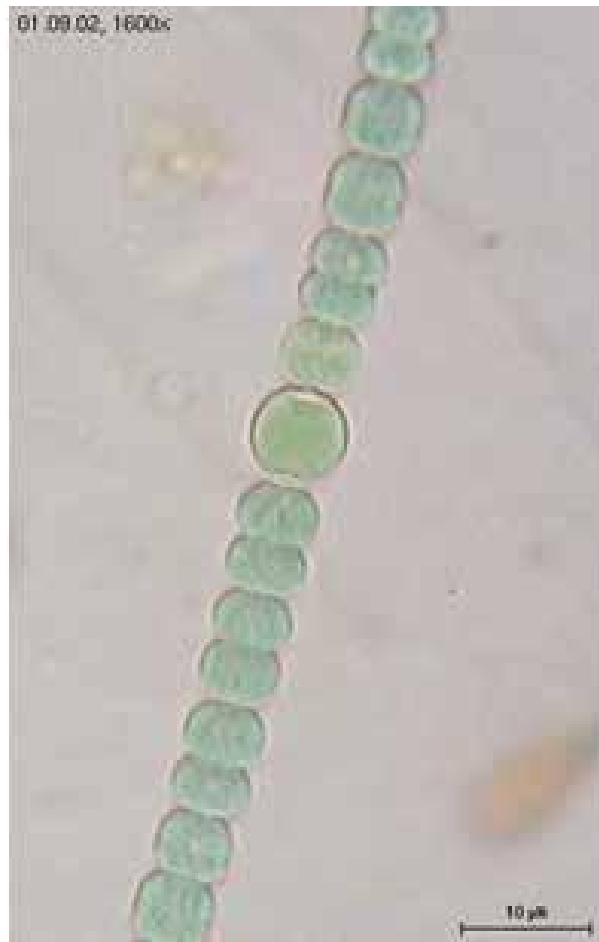


Figure 1.33: Cyanobacteria (blue-green alga) *Anabaena spherica*.



Figure 1.34: Red alga *Polysiphonia* spp.

1.20 Farming the seas

A second way in which the shortage of fresh water for global agriculture can be circumvented is to farm the seas and oceans with crops and other edible species that thrive in salt water. A study by Frank Asche of the University of Stvanger¹⁷ points out that:

- In 1970 aquaculture contributed 5% of the total supply of seafood. In 2005 aquaculture's share was 40% with a production of 62.9 million tonnes.
- Although aquaculture is old, a revolution occurred in the 1970s.
- New technologies and better feeding has led to an enormous increase in production.
- Increasing control with the production process, and semiintensive and intensive farming allow productivity growth and market development.
- Aquaculture is increasingly becoming more like any other crop, and one is Farming the Sea.
- The farming practice varies from highly extensive and very close to hunting and gathering (fisheries) to highly intensive and industrialized.
- It is intensive industrialized farming that allows us to produce much more, and that makes aquaculture a significant source of food.
- This development is still in the early beginning, and there is still a substantial scope for innovation.
- Compared to agriculture, there is still a long way to go.
- Aquaculture is in many ways still in its infancy. There are still only a few species with closed production cycles and selective breeding. There are even fewer species that primarily are sold as fresh packed beside the chicken fillet. There are no farmers that specialize in producing feed for the food crops.
- One can still only observe the first crude attempts to farm the sea.
- We will therefore see a tremendous development during the next decades.
- Aquaculture is likely to be like any other crop or livestock in the future, because one has the same type of control with the production process. There will be a large range of practices but the large volume producers will be the most intensive.
- Local environmental issues are a management problem and can be solved.

¹⁷<http://www.umb.no/statisk/ior/refsnas/asche.pdf>

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Chapter 2

WRITING. PAPER AND PRINTING

2.1 Mesopotamia

In Mesopotamia (which in Greek means “between the rivers”), the settled agricultural people of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys evolved a form of writing. Among the earliest Mesopotamian writings are a set of clay tablets found at Tepe Yahya in southern Iran, the site of an ancient Elamite trading community halfway between Mesopotamia and India.

The Elamite trade supplied the Sumarian civilization of Mesopotamia with silver, copper, tin, lead, precious gems, horses, timber, obsidian, alabaster and soapstone. The practical Sumerians and Elamites probably invented writing as a means of keeping accounts.

The tablets found at Tepe Yahya are inscribed in proto-Elamite, and radio-carbon dating of organic remains associated with the tablets shows them to be from about 3,600 B.C.. The inscriptions on these tablets were made by pressing the blunt and sharp ends of a stylus into soft clay. Similar tablets have been found at the Sumerian city of Susa at the head of the Tigris River.

In about 3,100 B.C. the cuneiform script was developed, and later Mesopotamian tablets are written in cuneiform, which is a phonetic script where the symbols stand for syllables.



Figure 2.1: **Sumerian writing**

2.2 Egypt

The Egyptian hieroglyphic (priest writing) system began its development in about 4,000 B.C.. At that time, it was pictorial rather than phonetic. However, the Egyptians were in contact with the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia, and when the Sumerians developed a phonetic system of writing in about 3,100 B.C., the Egyptians were quick to adopt the idea. In the cuneiform writing of the Sumerians, a character stood for a syllable. In the Egyptian adaptation of this idea, most of the symbols stood for combinations of two consonants, and there were no symbols for vowels. However, a few symbols were purely alphabetic, i.e. they stood for sounds which we would now represent by a single letter. This was important from the standpoint of cultural history, since it suggested to the Phoenicians the idea of an alphabet of the modern type.

In Sumer, the pictorial quality of the symbols was lost at a very early stage, so that in the cuneiform script the symbols are completely abstract. By contrast, the Egyptian system of writing was designed to decorate monuments and to be impressive even to an illiterate viewer; and this purpose was best served by retaining the elaborate pictographic form of the symbols.



Figure 2.2: The Phoenician alphabet



Figure 2.3: Hieroglyphics

2.3 China

Writing was developed at a very early stage in Chinese history, but the system remained a pictographic system, with a different character for each word. A phonetic system of writing was never developed.

The failure to develop a phonetic system of writing had its roots in the Chinese imperial system of government. The Chinese empire formed a vast area in which many different languages were spoken. It was necessary to have a universal language of some kind in order to govern such an empire. The Chinese written language solved this problem admirably.

Suppose that the emperor sent identical letters to two officials in different districts. Reading the letters aloud, the officials might use entirely different words, although the characters in the letters were the same. Thus the Chinese written language was a sort of “Esperanto” which allowed communication between various language groups, and its usefulness as such prevented its replacement by a phonetic system.

The disadvantages of the Chinese system of writing were twofold: First, it was difficult to learn to read and write; and therefore literacy was confined to a small social class whose members could afford a prolonged education. The system of civil-service examinations made participation in the government dependant on a high degree of literacy; and hence the old, established scholar-gentry families maintained a long-term monopoly on power, wealth and education. Social mobility was possible in theory, since the civil service examinations were open to all, but in practice, it was nearly unattainable.

The second great disadvantage of the Chinese system of writing was that it was unsuitable for printing with movable type. An “information explosion” occurred in the west following the introduction of printing with movable type, but this never occurred in China. It is ironical that although both paper and printing were invented by the Chinese, the full effect of these immensely important inventions bypassed China and instead revolutionized the west.



Figure 2.4: Very early Chinese writing on a bone



Figure 2.5: Chinese writing in a later form

2.4 The Americas

The Mayan system of writing is thought to have been invented in about 700 B.C., and this invention is believed to be entirely independent of the invention of writing elsewhere. Some of the Mayan glyphs represented entire words, but they could also represent syllables.

Knotted string systems of keeping records were used by the Andean peoples of South America, especially by the Inca civilization. In the Incan language collections of knotted strings were known as *quipus* or talking knots. Quipus could have only a few, or as many as 2000 knotted strings.

Belts made from shell beads (*wampum*) were used by the native peoples of North America, both as currency and as a means of recording events.



Figure 2.6: Mayan writing.

2.5 The invention of paper

The ancient Egyptians were the first to make books. As early as 4,000 B.C., they began to make books in the form of scrolls by cutting papyrus reeds into thin strips and pasting them into sheets of double thickness. The sheets were glued together end to end, so that they formed a long roll. The rolls were sometimes very long indeed. For example, one roll, which is now in the British Museum, is 17 inches wide and 135 feet long.

(Paper of the type which we use today was not invented until 105 A.D.. This enormously important invention was made by a Chinese eunuch named Tsai Lun. The kind of paper invented by Tsai Lun could be made from many things: for example, bark, wood, hemp, rags, etc.. The starting material was made into a pulp, mixed together with water and binder, spread out on a cloth to partially dry, and finally heated and pressed into thin sheets. The art of paper-making spread slowly westward from China, reaching Baghdad in 800 A.D.. It was brought to Europe by the crusaders returning from the Middle East. Thus paper reached Europe just in time to join with Gutenberg's printing press to form the basis for the information explosion which has had such a decisive effect on human history.)

Many centers of paper production were established throughout the Muslim world, and their techniques were eventually transmitted to Christian Europe. Not only was paper convenient to use, transport, and store, it was, most importantly, considerably cheaper than papyrus and parchment, probably partly because of the use of recycled rags as raw material in its manufacture. Whereas an early Qur'an copy on parchment is reckoned to have required the skins of about 300 sheep, an equivalent amount of paper could be produced much more rapidly, in much greater quantities, and at much lower cost. This transformed the economics of book production, and made possible a greatly increased production of manuscript books, on a scale which was unprecedented and unmatched in Europe at that time.

The career of Leonardo da Vinci illustrates the first phase of the "information explosion" which has produced the modern world: During Leonardo's lifetime, inexpensive paper was being manufactured in Europe, and it formed the medium for Leonardo's thousands of pages of notes. His notes and sketches would never have been possible if he had been forced to use expensive parchment as a medium. On the other hand, the full force of Leonardo's genius and diligence was never felt because his notes were not printed.

Copernicus, who was a younger contemporary of Leonardo, had a much greater effect on the history of ideas, because his work was published. Thus, while paper alone made a large contribution to the information explosion, it was printing combined with paper which had an absolutely decisive and revolutionary impact: The modern scientific era began with the introduction of printing.



Figure 2.7: **Papyrus**



Figure 2.8: **Paper is a Chinese invention**



Figure 2.9: Italian paper-mill, probably from the 16th century.



Figure 2.10: The impact of Leonardo da Vinci's genius would have been far greater if his thousands of pages of notes had been printed.

2.6 Printing

It was during the T'ang period that the Chinese made an invention of immense importance to the cultural evolution of mankind. This was the invention of printing. Together with writing, printing is one of the key inventions which form the basis of human cultural evolution.

Printing was invented in China in the 8th or 9th century A.D., probably by Buddhist monks who were interested in producing many copies of the sacred texts which they had translated from Sanskrit. The act of reproducing prayers was also considered to be meritorious by the Buddhists.

The Chinese had for a long time followed the custom of brushing engraved official seals with ink and using them to stamp documents. The type of ink which they used was made from lamp-black, water and binder. In fact, it was what we now call "India ink". However, in spite of its name, India ink is a Chinese invention, which later spread to India, and from there to Europe.

We mentioned that paper of the type which we now use was invented in China in the first century A.D.. Thus, the Buddhist monks of China had all the elements which they needed to make printing practical: They had good ink, cheap, smooth paper, and the tradition of stamping documents with ink-covered engraved seals. The first block prints which they produced date from the 8th century A.D.. They were made by carving a block of wood the size of a printed page so that raised characters remained, brushing ink onto the block, and pressing this onto a sheet of paper.

The oldest known printed book, the "Diamond Sutra", is dated 868 A.D., and it consists of only six printed pages. It was discovered in 1907 by an English scholar who obtained permission from Buddhist monks in Chinese Turkestan to open some walled-up monastery rooms, which were said to have been sealed for 900 years. The rooms were found to contain a library of about 15,000 manuscripts, among which was the Diamond Sutra.

Block printing spread quickly throughout China, and also reached Japan, where wood-block printing ultimately reached great heights in the work of such artists as Hiroshige and Hokusai. The Chinese made some early experiments with movable type, but movable type never became popular in China, because the Chinese written language contains 10,000 characters. However, printing with movable type was highly successful in Korea as early as the 15th century A.D..

The unsuitability of the Chinese written language for the use of movable type was the greatest tragedy of the Chinese civilization. Writing had been developed at a very early stage in Chinese history, but the system remained a pictographic system, with a different character for each word. A phonetic system of writing was never developed.

The failure to develop a phonetic system of writing had its roots in the Chinese imperial system of government. The Chinese empire formed a vast area in which many different languages were spoken. It was necessary to have a universal language of some kind in order to govern such an empire. The Chinese written language solved this problem admirably.

Suppose that the emperor sent identical letters to two officials in different districts.



Figure 2.11: The Diamond Sutra, 868 A.D., is the first known printed book.

Reading the letters aloud, the officials might use entirely different words, although the characters in the letters were the same. Thus the Chinese written language was a sort of “Esperanto” which allowed communication between various language groups, and its usefulness as such prevented its replacement by a phonetic system.

The invention of block printing during the T’ang dynasty had an enormously stimulating effect on literature, and the T’ang period is regarded as the golden age of Chinese lyric poetry. A collection of T’ang poetry, compiled in the 18th century, contains 48,900 poems by more than 2,000 poets.

2.7 Islamic civilization and printing

Some Islamic contributions to civilization

In the 5th century A.D., there was a split in the Christian church of Byzantium; and the Nestorian church, separated from the official Byzantine church. The Nestorians were bitterly persecuted by the Byzantines, and therefore they migrated, first to Mesopotamia, and later to south-west Persia. (Some Nestorians migrated as far as China.)

During the early part of the middle ages, the Nestorian capital at Gondisapur was a great center of intellectual activity. The works of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, Hero and Galen were translated into Syriac by Nestorian scholars, who had brought these books with them from Byzantium.

Among the most distinguished of the Nestorian translators were the members of a family called Bukht-Yishu (meaning "Jesus hath delivered"), which produced seven generations of outstanding scholars. Members of this family were fluent not only in Greek and Syriac, but also in Arabic and Persian.

In the 7th century A.D., the Islamic religion suddenly emerged as a conquering and proselytizing force. Inspired by the teachings of Mohammad (570 A.D. - 632 A.D.), the Arabs and their converts rapidly conquered western Asia, northern Africa, and Spain. During the initial stages of the conquest, the Islamic religion inspired a fanaticism in its followers which was often hostile to learning. However, this initial fanaticism quickly changed to an appreciation of the ancient cultures of the conquered territories; and during the middle ages, the Islamic world reached a very high level of culture and civilization.

Thus, while the century from 750 to 850 was primarily a period of translation from Greek to Syriac, the century from 850 to 950 was a period of translation from Syriac to Arabic. It was during this latter century that Yuhanna Ibn Masawiah (a member of the Bukht-Yishu family, and medical advisor to Caliph Harun al-Rashid) produced many important translations into Arabic.

The skill of the physicians of the Bukht-Yishu family convinced the Caliphs of the value of Greek learning; and in this way the family played an extremely important role in the preservation of the western cultural heritage. Caliph al-Mamun, the son of Harun al-Rashid, established at Baghdad a library and a school for translation, and soon Baghdad replaced Gondisapur as a center of learning.

The English word "chemistry" is derived from the Arabic words "*al-chimia*", which mean "the changing". The earliest alchemical writer in Arabic was Jabir (760-815), a friend of Harun al-Rashid. Much of his writing deals with the occult, but mixed with this is a certain amount of real chemical knowledge. For example, in his *Book of Properties*, Jabir gives the following recipe for making what we now call lead hydroxycarbonate (white lead), which is used in painting and pottery glazes: "Take a pound of litharge, powder it well and heat it gently with four pounds of vinegar until the latter is reduced to half its original volume. Then take a pound of soda and heat it with four pounds of fresh water until the volume of the latter is halved. Filter the two solutions until they are quite clear, and then gradually add the solution of soda to that of the litharge. A white substance is formed, which settles to the bottom. Pour off the supernatant water, and leave the residue to dry. It will become a salt as white as snow."

Another important alchemical writer was Rahzes (c. 860 - c. 950). He was born in the ancient city of Ray, near Teheran, and his name means "the man from Ray". Rahzes studied medicine in Baghdad, and he became chief physician at the hospital there. He wrote the first accurate descriptions of smallpox and measles, and his medical writings include methods for setting broken bones with casts made from plaster of Paris. Rahzes was the first person to classify substances into vegetable, animal and mineral. The word "*al-kali*", which appears in his writings, means "the calcined" in Arabic. It is the source of our word "alkali", as well as of the symbol K for potassium.

The greatest physician of the middle ages, Avicenna, (Abu-Ali al Hussein Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina, 980-1037), was also a Persian, like Rahzes. More than a hundred books are at-

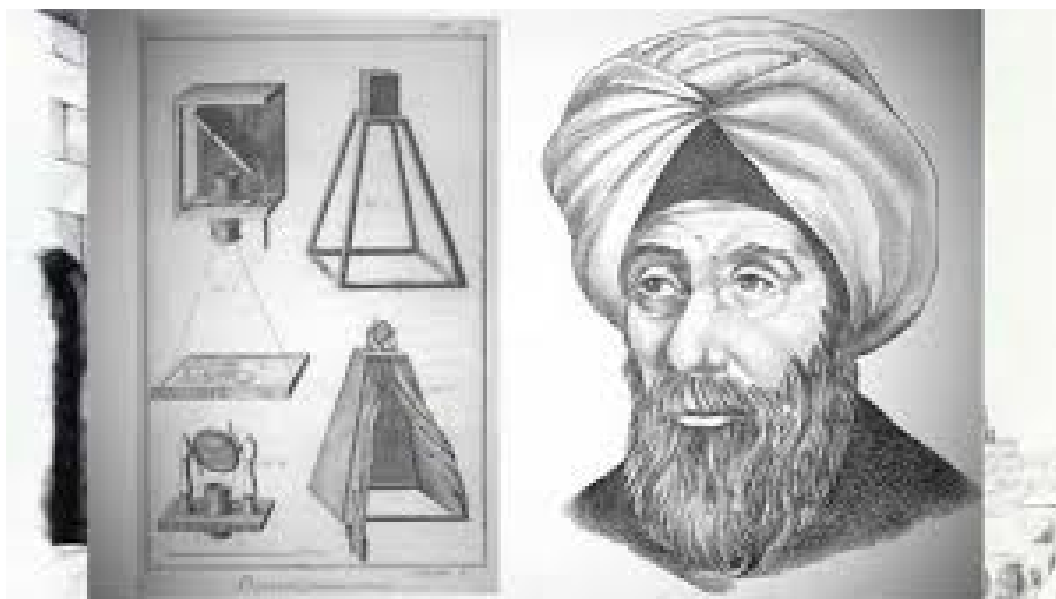


Figure 2.12: **Al-Hazen invented the camera-obscura during the years 1012-1021. It was a forerunner of the modern camera.**

tributed to him. They were translated into Latin in the 12th century, and they were among the most important medical books used in Europe until the time of Harvey. Avicenna also wrote on alchemy, and he is important for having denied the possibility of transmutation of elements.

In mathematics, one of the most outstanding Arabic writers was al-Khwarizmi (c. 780 - c. 850). The title of his book, *Ilm al-jabr wa'd muqabalah*, is the source of the English word “algebra”. In Arabic *al-jabr* means “the equating”. Al-Khwarizmi’s name has also become an English word, “algorism”, the old word for arithmetic. Al-Khwarizmi drew from both Greek and Hindu sources, and through his writings the decimal system and the use of zero were transmitted to the west.

One of the outstanding Arabic physicists was al-Hazen (965-1038). He made the mistake of claiming to be able to construct a machine which could regulate the flooding of the Nile. This claim won him a position in the service of the Egyptian Caliph, al-Hakim. However, as al-Hazen observed Caliph al-Hakim in action, he began to realize that if he did not construct his machine immediately, he was likely to pay with his life! This led al-Hazen to the rather desperate measure of pretending to be insane, a ruse which he kept up for many years. Meanwhile he did excellent work in optics, and in this field he went far beyond anything done by the Greeks.

Al-Hazen studied the reflection of light by the atmosphere, an effect which makes the stars appear displaced from their true positions when they are near the horizon; and he calculated the height of the atmospheric layer above the earth to be about ten miles. He also studied the rainbow, the halo, and the reflection of light from spherical and parabolic mirrors. In his book, *On the Burning Sphere*, he shows a deep understanding of the

properties of convex lenses. Al-Hazen also used a dark room with a pin-hole opening to study the image of the sun during an eclipses. This is the first mention of the *camera obscura*, and it is perhaps correct to attribute the invention of the *camera obscura* to al-Hazen.

Another Islamic philosopher who had great influence on western thought was Averröes, who lived in Spain from 1126 to 1198. His writings took the form of thoughtful commentaries on the works of Aristotle. He shocked both his Moslem and his Christian readers by maintaining that the world was not created at a definite instant, but that it instead evolved over a long period of time, and is still evolving.

Like Aristotle, Averröes seems to have been groping towards the ideas of evolution which were later developed in geology by Steno, Hutton and Lyell and in biology by Darwin and Wallace. Much of the scholastic philosophy which developed at the University of Paris during the 13th century was aimed at refuting the doctrines of Averröes; but nevertheless, his ideas survived and helped to shape the modern picture of the world.

Muslims in Egypt and probably elsewhere were using printing to mass-produce texts as early as the 10th century. Dozens of examples of their output are preserved in museums and libraries, but have, until recently, been overlooked and neglected by scholars. This phenomenon is yet another example of the 1000-year missing history of science and technology.

It is, however, true that Muslims did not use printing to produce books, nor extended texts in any form, until the 18th century. This challenge was taken up by Europeans from the 15th century onwards, and it would not have been possible there, without the availability of another gift from the Muslims, paper, which had earlier reached Europe from the Muslim world, via Spain and Italy.



Figure 2.13: A handwritten Islamic manuscript: Qazwini, 'Ajaib al-makhlukat, MS probably from Mosul, ca.1305. British Library.

2.8 Gutenberg

Johannes Gensfleisch zur Laden zum Gutenberg (c.1400-1468) was born in the German city of Mainz. He was the youngest son of an upper-class merchant, Friele Gensfleisch zur Laden, whose long-established family traced its roots back to the 13th century.

Johannes Gutenberg was educated as a goldsmith and blacksmith, and may also have attended the University of Erfurt. In 1440, while he was living in Strassburg, he is said to have perfected and unveiled his system of printing with movable type.

By 1448, he was back in Mainz, where he took a loan from his brother-on-law to meet the expenses of setting up a printing press. In 1450, the press was in operation, and Gutenberg took a further loan, 800 guilders, from the moneylender Johann Fust. Peter Schöffer, who became Fust's son-in-law also joined the enterprise, and is believed to have designed the type faces.

Among the many technical innovations introduced by Gutenberg are the invention of a process for mass-producing movable type; the use of oil-based ink for printing books; adjustable molds; mechanical movable type; and the use of a wooden printing press similar to the agricultural screw presses of the period. The alloy which he used was a mixture of lead, tin, and antimony that melted at a relatively low temperature for faster and more economical casting, cast well, and created a durable type. The combination of all these elements made the mass production of books both practical and economically feasible.

Gutenberg's greatest artistic achievement was his printed Bible, but this project also cost so much that it left him with debts of more than 20,000 guilders. A court order gave Fust control of the Bible printing project, and half of the printed Bibles.

Although he had suffered bankruptcy, the aging Gutenberg's greatness was acknowledged in 1465. He was given the title "Hofmann" (Gentleman of the Court) and awarded a yearly stipend, as well as 2,180 liters of grain and 2,000 liters of wine tax-free. He died in 1468, having enjoyed this official recognition for only three years.

Printing quickly affected both religion and science in Europe. By 1517, when Martin Luther posted his Ninety-Five Theses on the door of All Saint's Church in Wittenburg, many cities had printing presses. The theses were quickly reprinted and translated, and they spread throughout Europe. This initiated a pamphlet war, in which both sides used printing to spread their views. The impact of Luther's German translation of the Bible was greatly increased by the fact that inexpensive printed copies were widely available.

Science was similarly revolutionized. Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) had a far greater impact on the history of science than his near contemporary Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) because of printing. Leonardo's thousands of pages of notes and his innovations in virtually all the fields of human knowledge have only recently become available in printed form. By contrast, the publication Copernicus' great book, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres) initiated a sequence of discoveries by Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Johannes Kepler and Isaac Newton, discoveries upon which the modern world is built.



Figure 2.14: Gutenberg is credited with introducing printing with movable type into Europe, with many improvements of technique. His inventions were a turning point in European history, and ushered in the modern era, the Reformation, the Age of Reason and the Industrial Revolution.



Figure 2.15: Gutenberg's printing press



Figure 2.16: Gutenberg's bible

2.9 The Enlightenment

Political philosophy of the Enlightenment

The 16th, 17th and 18th centuries have been called the “Age of Discovery”, and the “Age of Reason”, but they might equally well be called the “Age of Observation”. On every side, new worlds were opening up to the human mind. The great voyages of discovery had revealed new continents, whose peoples demonstrated alternative ways of life. The telescopic exploration of the heavens revealed enormous depths of space, containing myriads of previously unknown stars; and explorations with the microscope revealed a new and marvelously intricate world of the infinitesimally small.

In the science of this period, the emphasis was on careful observation. This same emphasis on observation can be seen in the Dutch and English painters of the period. The great Dutch masters, such as Jan Vermeer (1632-1675), Frans Hals (1580-1666), Pieter de Hooch (1629-1678) and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), achieved a careful realism in their paintings and drawings which was the artistic counterpart of the observations of the pioneers of microscopy, Anton van Leeuwenhoek and Robert Hooke. These artists were supported by the patronage of the middle class, which had become prominent and powerful both in England and in the Netherlands because of the extensive world trade in which these two nations were engaged.

Members of the commercial middle class needed a clear and realistic view of the world in order to succeed with their enterprises. (An aristocrat of the period, on the other hand, might have been more comfortable with a somewhat romanticized and out-of-focus vision, which would allow him to overlook the suffering and injustice upon which his privileges were based.) The rise of the commercial middle class, with its virtues of industriousness, common sense and realism, went hand in hand with the rise of experimental science, which required the same virtues for its success.

In England, the House of Commons (which reflected the interests of the middle class), had achieved political power, and had demonstrated (in the Puritan Rebellion of 1640 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688) that Parliament could execute or depose any monarch who tried to rule without its consent. In France, however, the situation was very different.

After passing through a period of disorder and civil war, the French tried to achieve order and stability by making their monarchy more absolute. The movement towards absolute monarchy in France culminated in the long reign of Louis XIV, who became king in 1643 and who ruled until he died in 1715.

The historical scene which we have just sketched was the background against which the news of Newton’s scientific triumph was received. The news was received by a Europe which was tired of religious wars; and in France, it was received by a middle class which was searching for an ideology in its struggle against the *ancien régime*.

To the intellectuals of the 18th century, the orderly Newtonian cosmos, with its planets circling the sun in obedience to natural law, became an imaginative symbol representing rationality. In their search for a society more in accordance with human nature, 18th

century Europeans were greatly encouraged by the triumphs of science. Reason had shown itself to be an adequate guide in natural philosophy. Could not reason and natural law also be made the basis of moral and political philosophy? In attempting to carry out this program, the philosophers of the Enlightenment laid the foundations of psychology, anthropology, social science, political science and economics.

One of the earliest and most influential of these philosophers was John Locke (1632-1705), a contemporary and friend of Newton. In his *Second Treatise on Government*, published in 1690, John Locke's aim was to refute the doctrine that kings rule by divine right, and to replace that doctrine by an alternative theory of government, derived by reason from the laws of nature. According to Locke's theory, men originally lived together without formal government:

"Men living together according to reason," he wrote, "without a common superior on earth with authority to judge between them, is properly the state of nature... A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature and the use of the same facilities, should also be equal amongst one another without subordination or subjection..."

"But though this be a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of licence... The state of nature has a law to govern it, which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions."

In Locke's view, a government is set up by means of a social contract. The government is given its powers by the consent of the citizens in return for the services which it renders to them, such as the protection of their lives and property. If a government fails to render these services, or if it becomes tyrannical, then the contract has been broken, and the citizens must set up a new government.

Locke's influence on 18th century thought was very great. His influence can be seen, for example, in the wording of the American Declaration of Independence. In England, Locke's political philosophy was accepted by almost everyone. In fact, he was only codifying ideas which were already in wide circulation and justifying a revolution which had already occurred. In France, on the other hand, Locke's writings had a revolutionary impact.

Credit for bringing the ideas of both Newton and Locke to France, and making them fashionable, belongs to Francois Marie Arouet (1694-1778), better known as "Voltaire". Besides persuading his mistress, Madame de Chatelet, to translate Newton's *Principia* into French, Voltaire wrote an extremely readable commentary on the book; and as a result, Newton's ideas became highly fashionable among French intellectuals. Voltaire lived with Madame du Chatelet until she died, producing the books which established him as the leading writer of Europe, a prophet of the Age of Reason, and an enemy of injustice, feudalism and superstition.

The Enlightenment in France is considered to have begun with Voltaire's return from England in 1729; and it reached its high point with the publication of the *Encyclopedia* between 1751 and 1780. Many authors contributed to the *Encyclopedia*, which was an enormous work, designed to sum up the state of human knowledge.

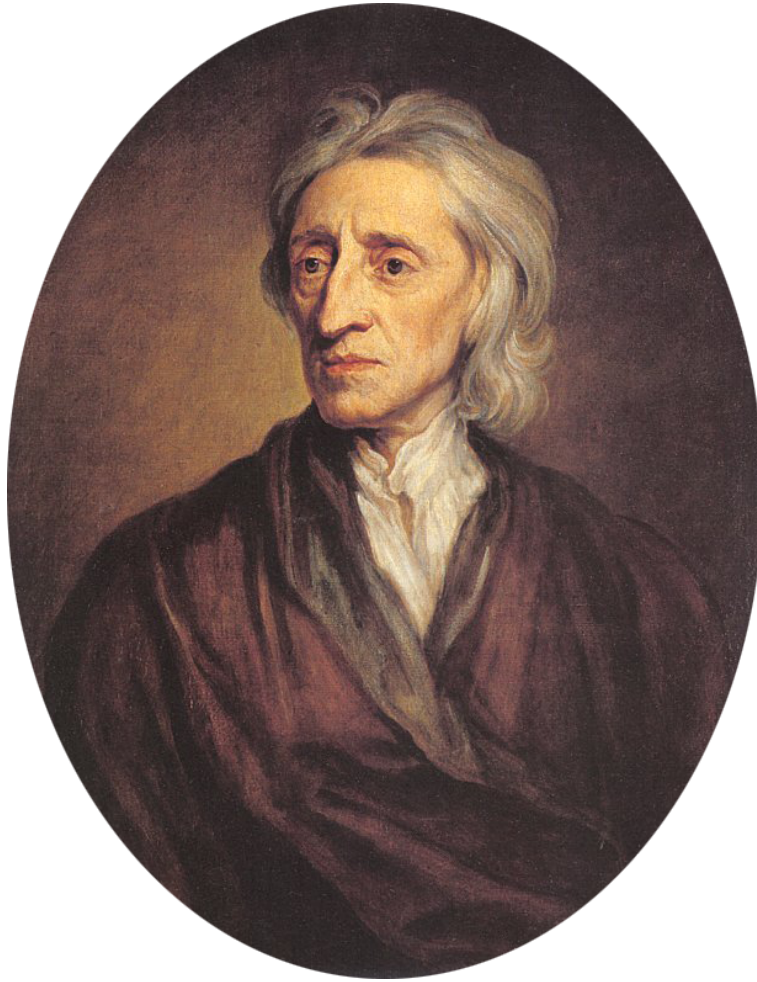


Figure 2.17: John Locke (1632-1705): “Men living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth with authority to judge between them, is properly the state of nature... A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature and the use of the same facilities, should also be equal amongst one another without subordination or subjugation...”

Turgot and Montesquieu wrote on politics and history; Rousseau wrote on music, and Buffon on natural history; Quesnay contributed articles on agriculture, while the Baron d'Holbach discussed chemistry. Other articles were contributed by Condorcet, Voltaire and d'Alembert. The whole enterprise was directed and inspired by the passionate faith of Denis Diderot (1713-1784). The men who took part in this movement called themselves "*philosophes*". Their creed was a faith in reason, and an optimistic belief in the perfectibility of human nature and society by means of education, political reforms, and the scientific method.

The *philosophes* of the Enlightenment visualized history as a long progression towards the discovery of the scientific method. Once discovered, this method could never be lost; and it would lead inevitably (they believed) to both the material and moral improvement of society. The *philosophes* believed that science, reason, and education, together with the principles of political liberty and equality, would inevitably lead humanity forward to a new era of happiness. These ideas were the faith of the Enlightenment; they influenced the French and American revolutions; and they are still the basis of liberal political belief.

Voltaire and Rousseau

Voltaire (1694-1778)

Francois-Marie Arouet, who later changed his name to Voltaire, was born in Paris. His father was a lawyer and a minor treasury official, while his mother's family was on the lowest rank of the French nobility. He was educated by Jesuits at Collège Louis-le-Grand, where he learned Latin theology and rhetoric. He later became fluent in Italian, Spanish and English.

Despite his father's efforts to make him study law, the young Voltaire was determined to become a writer. He eventually became the author of more than 2,000 books and pamphlets and more than 20,000 letters. His works include many forms of writing, including plays, poems, novels, essays and historical and scientific works. His writings advocated civil liberties, and he used his satirical and witty style of writing to criticize intolerance, religious dogma and absolute monarchy. Because of the intolerance and censorship of his day, he was frequently in trouble and sometimes imprisoned. Nevertheless, his works were very popular, and he eventually became extremely rich, partly through clever investment of money gained through part ownership of a lottery.

During a period of forced exile in England, Voltaire mixed with the English aristocracy, meeting Alexander Pope, John Gay, Jonathan Swift, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and many other members of the nobility and royalty. He admired the English system of constitutional monarchy, which he considered to be far superior to the absolutism then prevailing in France. In 1733, he published a book entitled *Letters concerning the English Nation*, in London. When French translation was published in 1734, Voltaire was again in deep trouble. In order to avoid arrest, he stayed in the country château belonging to Émilie du Châtelet and her husband, the Marquis du Châtelet.

As a result, Madame du Châtelet became his mistress and the relationship lasted for

16 years. Her tolerant husband, the Marquis, who shared their intellectual and scientific interests, often lived together with them. Voltaire paid for improvements to the château, and together, the Marquis and Voltaire collected more than 21,000 books, and enormous number for that time. Madame du Châtelet translated Isaac Newton's great book, *Principia Mathematica*, into French, and her translation was destined to be the standard one until modern times. Meanwhile, Voltaire wrote a French explanation of the ideas of the *Principia*, which made these ideas accessible to a wide public in France. Together, the Marquis, his wife and Voltaire also performed many scientific experiments, for example experiments designed to study the nature of fire.

Voltaire's vast literary output is available today in approximately 200 volumes, published by the University of Oxford, where the Voltaire Foundation is now established as a research department.

Rousseau (1712-1778)

In 1754 Rousseau wrote: "The first man who, having fenced in a piece of land, said 'This is mine', and found people naïve enough to believe him, that man was the true founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars, and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows: Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody."

Later, he began his influential book *The Social Contract*, published in 1752, with the dramatic words: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. Those who think themselves the masters of others are indeed greater slaves than they." Rousseau concludes Chapter 3 of this book with the words: "Let us then admit that force does not create right, and that we are obliged to obey only legitimate powers". In other words, the ability to coerce is not a legitimate power, and there is no rightful duty to submit to it. A state has no right to enslave a conquered people.

These ideas, and those of John Locke, were reaffirmed in 1776 by the American Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal. That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that to pursue these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Today, in an era of government tyranny and subversion of democracy, we need to remember that the just powers of any government are not derived from the government's ability to use of force, but exclusively from the consent of the governed.



Figure 2.18: Voltaire used his satirical and witty style of writing to criticize intolerance, religious dogma and absolute monarchy. He wrote more than 2,000 books and pamphlets and more than 20,000 letters. His writings made a significant contribution to the Enlightenment, and paved the way for revolutions both in France and America.



Figure 2.19: The frontpiece of Voltaire's book popularizing Newton's ideas for French readers. Madame du Châtelet appears as a muse, reflecting Newton's thoughts down to Voltaire.

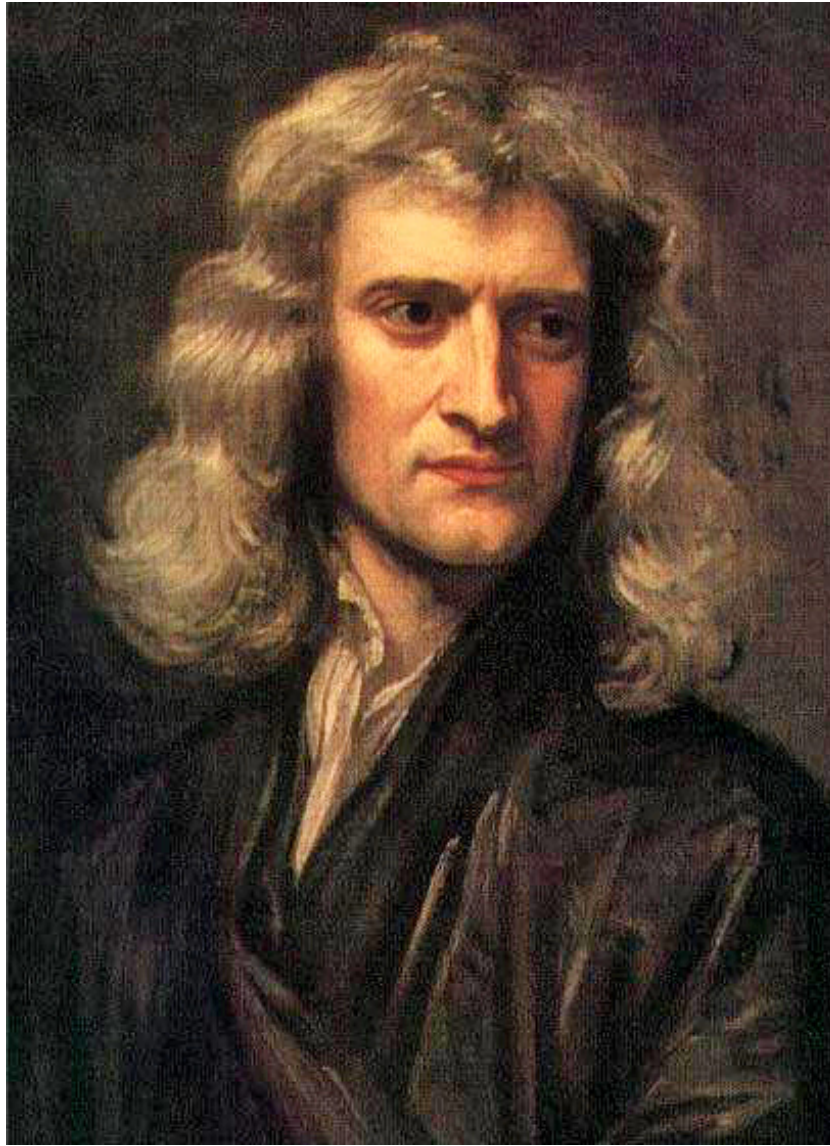


Figure 2.20: The work of Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1726) illustrates a key aspect of human cultural evolution: Because of the introduction of printing in Europe, Newton was able to build on the work of his predecessors, Copernicus, Brahe, Galileo and Kepler. He could never have achieved his great synthesis alone. During the Enlightenment, Newton became a symbol of rationality and reason. Alexander Pope wrote: “Nature, and nature’s laws, lay hid in night. God said ‘Let Newton be’, and all was light!”

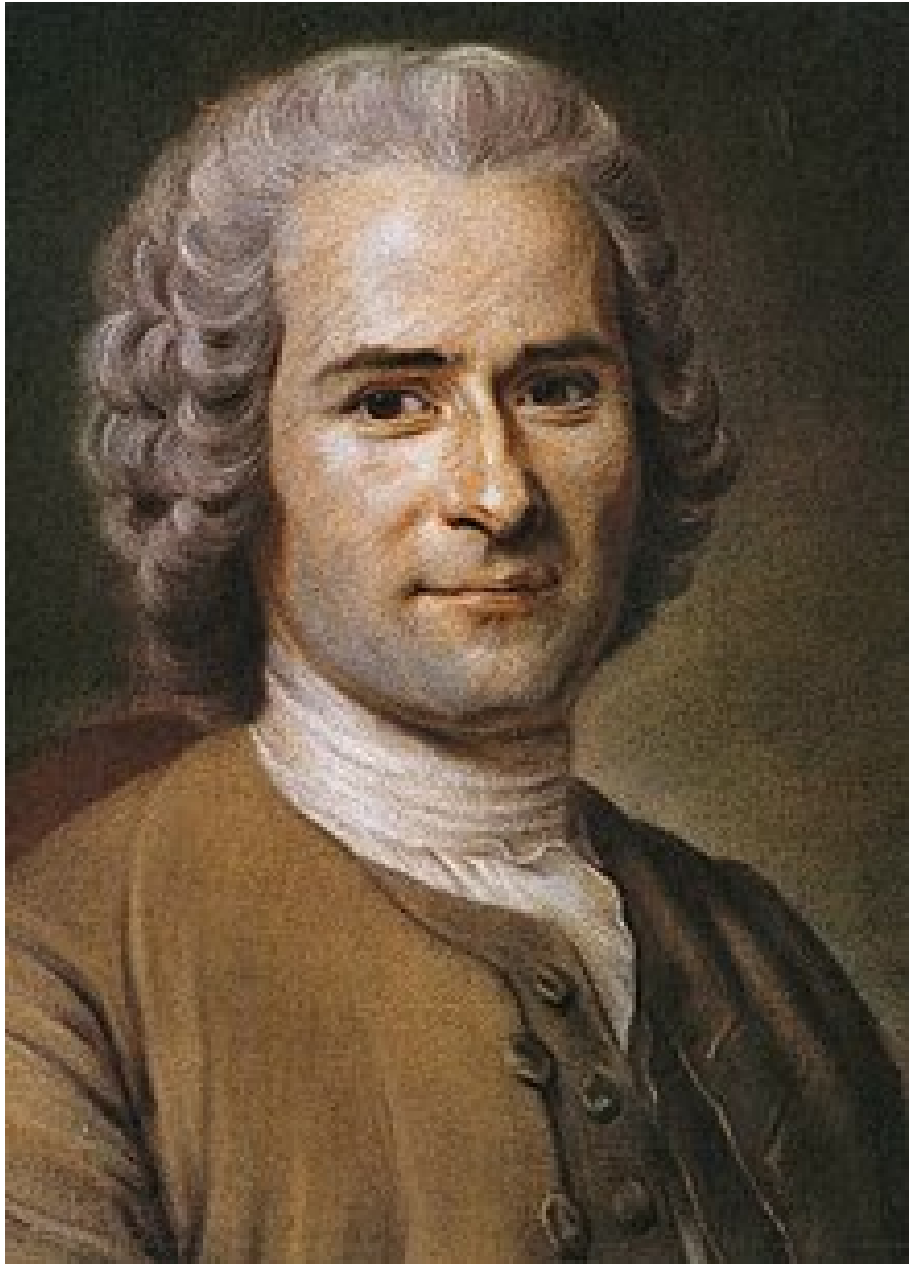


Figure 2.21: Unlike Voltaire, Rousseau was not an advocate of science, but instead believed in the importance of emotions. He believed that civilization has corrupted humans rather than making them better. Rousseau was a pioneer of the romantic movement. His book, *The Social Contract*, remains influential today.



Figure 2.22: The printer and publisher Joseph Johnson (1738-1809).

The printer and publisher Joseph Johnson

As an example of the influence of printing on the liberation of ideas, we can consider the circle of important authors that formed around the English printer and publisher Joseph Johnson (1738-1809). His weekly dinners for authors were famous. Among the many great thinkers, artists, scientists, writers and religious dissenters who attended these dinners, or whose works he published, were William Cowper, Erasmus Darwin, William Blake, Henry Fuselli, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Thomas Robert Malthus, Thomas Paine, Pricilla Wakefield, Gilbert Wakefield, Benjamin Franklin, Richard Price and Joseph Priestly.

Throughout her career, the pioneering feminist writer Mary Wollstonecraft was aided by Johnson. As she wrote to her sister, she had decided to become the first of a new genus: a professional female writer. Having learned French and German, she translated Necker's *Of the Importance of Religious Opinions* and Saltzman's *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children*. Mary was helped in her new career by the liberal publisher, Joseph Johnson, who was also the publisher of Thomas Paine and William Godwin. Mary met these already famous authors at Johnson's dinner parties, and conversations with them helped to expand her knowledge and ambitions. Joseph Johnson was a very brave man. By publishing the works of radical authors, he was risking arrest by England's repressive government. In her letters, Mary described Johnson as "a father and brother".

At Johnson's parties Mary met, for the second time, the famous novelist and philosopher William Godwin. This time, they both formed a higher opinion of each other than at their first meeting. A passionate love affair developed between them, and when Mary became pregnant, they were married. Tragically, Mary Wollstonecraft died in childbirth. Her daughter Mary would later become the wife of Godwin's admirer, the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, and Mary Shelly created the enduring masterpiece *Frankenstein*.



Figure 2.23: Mary Wollstonecraft in a painting by John Opie. She called Joseph Johnson “my father and brother”.



Figure 2.24: The famous scientist and dissenter, Joseph Priestly, in a portrait by Henry Fuselli, commissioned by Joseph Johnson. Priestly and Fuselli were among Johnson's closest friends.

2.10 Universal education

Today, there is some form of compulsory education in most countries. However, regional differences are still very great, as shown in the maps below.

The percentage of the global population without any schooling decreased from 36% in 1960 to 25% in 2000. In the developed countries, illiteracy rates and the number of children without schooling both were approximately halved between 1970 and 2000. However, illiteracy in the less developed countries exceeded that of the developed ones by a factor of ten in 1970. By 2000, this factor had increased to approximately 20.

As economies become more and more knowledge-based, high and higher educational levels of education are required. For many modern professions, students may be 30 years old before they complete their doctoral and post-doctoral educations. For this reason high educational levels are linked with lower fertility rates. Teenagers are biologically ready to have children, but in modern societies, they are not yet sufficiently educated to obtain well-paid work.

The Human Development Report

Since 1990, the Human Development Report has been published annually by the United Nations. It was launched jointly by the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and Indian Nobel laureate Amartya Sen. The purpose of the report has been to place people rather than material goods at the center of evaluations of economic progress. As Mahbub ul Haq put it, “People are the real wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. This may appear to be a simple truth. But it is often forgotten in the immediate concern with the accumulation of commodities and financial wealth.”

Among the Human Development Index indicators used by the report is based on life expectancy, education and per-capita income. In 2010, the Human Development Report also introduced a Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI).

In a recent ranking of countries according to their Human Development Indices, the highest ranked countries were Norway, Australia, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Singapore, Netherlands, Ireland, Iceland, Canada, Hong Kong, United States, New Zealand, Sweden, Lichtenstein, United Kingdom, Japan, South Korea, Israel, Luxembourg, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia and Italy in that order.

The lowest ranked countries were Swaziland, Syria, Angola, Tanzania, Nigeria, Cameroon, Papua New Guinea, Zimbabwe, Solomon Islands, Mauritania, Madagascar, Rwanda, Comoros, Lethoso, Senegal, Haiti, Uganda, Sudan, Togo, Benin and Yemen, with Yemen having the lowest human development index of all the world’s countries. In fact Yemen is currently experiencing a humanitarian crisis of huge proportions, and immediate international help is urgently needed.

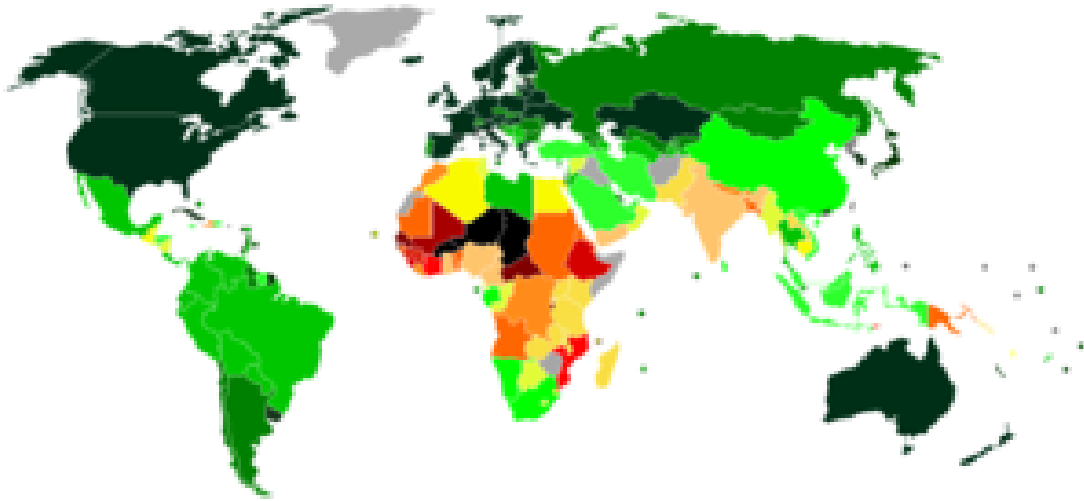


Figure 2.25: A map showing global educational indices based on data from 2006 and 2007. Progressively darker shades of green indicate very high indices, while yellow, orange and red represent the low indices, red being the lowest.

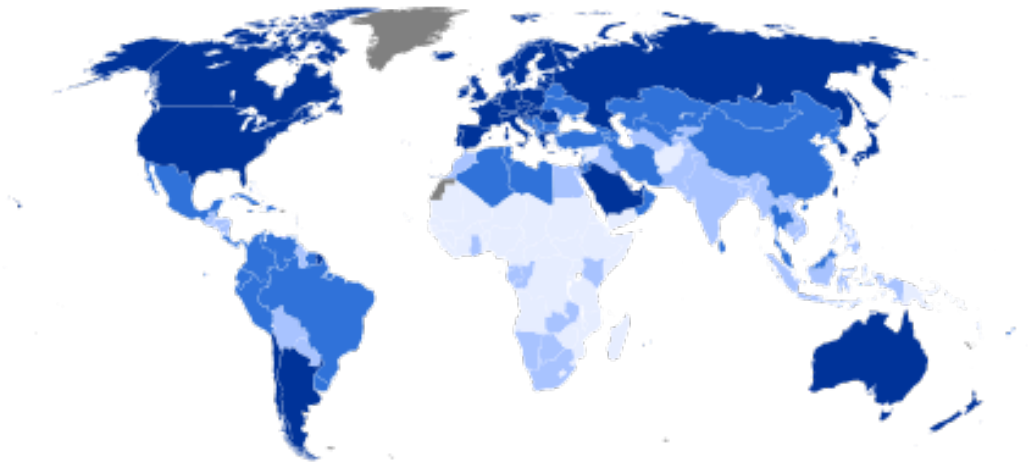


Figure 2.26: A map showing the Human Development Index based on data from 2015 and 2016. The dark shades of blue indicate a very high index, while white indicates very low values. Grey indicates that data were not available.

2.11 The importance of education for women

Maria Montessori and modern educational methods

Dr. Maria Montessori (1870-1952) was an Italian physician and educator who pioneered modern non-authoritarian methods of education. Her father was an official in the Italian Ministry of Finance, while her mother belonged to a family that greatly valued education. Encouraged by her mother, the young Maria first studied to become an engineer, at that time an unusual profession for a woman, and then changed to the even more unusual study of medicine.

After passing examinations in botany, zoology, experimental physics, histology, anatomy, and general and organic chemistry at the University of Rome, she was finally accepted as a medical student. Because she was a woman, Montessori encountered discrimination and opposition from both the students and staff of Rome's medical school. She was forced to perform anatomy dissections alone at night, because it was considered improper for a woman to view naked bodies in the company of men. Nevertheless, Maria Montessori graduated with distinction, having specialized in pediatrics and psychology during her last two years.

Dr. Montessori then became interested in the problem of educating retarded children. The experimental methods which she introduced were built on the natural tendencies of all children to explore their environments and to learn new skills. She gave her students the materials that they needed to be creative, and let them use these materials in their own spontaneous way. Her results were astonishingly successful, and most of her students, despite having been classified as retarded, were able to pass normal examinations. Encouraged by this success, Montessori tried the same methods on normal students. Again the results were remarkable. The normal children became super-good students. Her astonishingly good results made Maria Montessori internationally famous. She later studied anthropology and added this discipline to medicine, pediatrics and psychology as a background for her educational work.

Some quotations from Dr. Maria Montessori's many books

"And so we discovered that education is not something which the teacher does, but that it is a natural process which develops spontaneously in the human being. It is not acquired by listening to words, but in virtue of experiences in which the child acts on his environment. The teacher's task is not to talk, but to prepare and arrange a series of motives for cultural activity in a special environment made for the child" (from *The Absorbent Mind*).

"...the task of the educator lies in seeing that the child does not confound good with immobility, and evil with activity, as often happens in old-time discipline... A room in which all the children move about usefully, intelligently, and voluntarily, without committing any rough or rude act, would seem to me a classroom very well disciplined indeed." (from *The Montessori Method*)

“The instructions of the teacher consist then merely in a hint, a touch - enough to give a start to the child. The rest develops of itself.” (from *Dr. Montessori's Own Handbook*)

“Today, however, those things which occupy us in the field of education are the interests of humanity at large and of civilization, and before such great forces we can recognize only one country - the entire world.” (from *The Montessori Method*)

“How can we speak of Democracy or Freedom when from the very beginning of life we mould the child to undergo tyranny, to obey a dictator? How can we expect democracy when we have reared slaves? Real freedom begins at the beginning of life, not at the adult stage. These people who have been diminished in their powers, made short-sighted, devitalized by mental fatigue, whose bodies have become distorted, whose wills have been broken by elders who say: ‘your will must disappear and mine prevail!’ - how can we expect them, when school-life is finished, to accept and use the rights of freedom?” (from *Education for a New World*)

“Nowadays nobody's life is safe. An absurd war may be declared in which all men - young and old, women and children - are in mortal danger. Civilians are bombed and people have to take refuge in underground shelters just as primitive men took refuge in caves to defend themselves against wild beasts. The supply of food may be cut off and millions may die of famine and plague. Do we not see men in rags or even naked, freezing to death, families separated and torn apart, children abandoned and roaming about in wild hordes?

“This we see, not only among those vanquished in war, but everywhere. Humanity itself is vanquished and enslaved - but why enslaved? Because all men are slaves, the victors as well as the vanquished, insecure, frightened, suspicious and hostile, compelled to defend themselves by means of spying and brigandage, using and fostering immorality as a means of defense...”

“It may seem that we have drifted rather far from our original subject - Education. This digression, however, must open up the new road along which we now have to go. In the same way in which we help the patients in a hospital to recover their health and continue to live so we must now help humanity to save itself. We must be nurses in a hospital, as vast as the world itself.” (from *The Formation of Man*).



Figure 2.27: **Dr. Maria Montessori (1870-1952).**

Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*

Mary Wollstonecraft, whom we mentioned above in connection with the publisher Joseph Johnson, published a book in 1792 entitled *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. In it she said:

“My main argument is built on this simple principle, that if [woman] be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue; for truth must be common to all”.

Wollstonecraft contends that society will degenerate without educated women, particularly because mothers are the primary educators of young children. She attributes the problem of uneducated women to men and to “...a false system of education, gathered from the books written on this subject by men who [consider] females rather as women than human creatures”

“Taught from their infancy that beauty is woman’s scepter, the mind shapes itself to the body, and, roaming round its gilt cage, only seeks to adorn its prison.

“I then would fain convince reasonable men of the importance of some of my remarks; and prevail on them to weigh dispassionately the whole tenor of my observations. I appeal to their understandings; and, as a fellow-creature, claim, in the name of my sex, some interest in their hearts. I entreat them 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.

Malala Yousafzai

Malala Yousafzai was born in 1997 in the beautiful Swat Valley of Pakistan. Her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, is a poet, educational activist, and school owner. In 2008, he was contacted by a representative of the BBC’s Urdu service and asked to recommend a girl from one of his schools to write a continuing blog about what life was like under the Taliban. When all of the girls whom Ziauddin asked were too frightened, he finally recommended his own daughter, Malala. Her blog was aired anonymously by the BBC Urdu service.

After the BBC diary ended, Malala Yousafzai and her father were approached by a New York Times reporter about filming a documentary. Wikipedia states that “Following the documentary, Yousafzai was interviewed on the national Pashto-language station AVT Khyber, the Urdu-language Daily Aaj, and Canada’s Toronto Star.[34] She made a second appearance on Capital Talk on 19 August 2009. Her BBC blogging identity was being revealed in articles by December 2009. She also began appearing on television to publicly advocate for female education. From 2009 to 2010 she was the chair of the District Child Assembly of the Khpal Kor Foundation through 2009 and 2010.”

“In October 2011, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a South African activist, nominated Yousafzai for the International Children’s Peace Prize of the Dutch international children’s advocacy group KidsRights Foundation. She was the first Pakistani girl to be nominated

for the award. The announcement said, ‘Malala dared to stand up for herself and other girls and used national and international media to let the world know girls should also have the right to go to school.’ The award was won by Michaela Mycroft of South Africa.

“Her public profile rose even further when she was awarded Pakistan’s first National Youth Peace Prize two months later in December. On 19 December 2011, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani awarded her the National Peace Award for Youth. At the proceedings in her honor, Yousafzai stated that she was not a member of any political party, but hoped to found a national party of her own to promote education. The prime minister directed the authorities to set up an IT campus in the Swat Degree College for Women at Yousafzai’s request, and a secondary school was renamed in her honor. By 2012, Yousafzai was planning to organize the Malala Education Foundation, which would help poor girls go to school

“As Yousafzai became more recognized, the dangers facing her increased. Death threats against her were published in newspapers and slipped under her door. On Facebook, where she was an active user, she began to receive threats and fake profiles were created under her name. Eventually, a Taliban spokesman said they were ‘forced’ to act. In a meeting held in the summer of 2012, Taliban leaders unanimously agreed to kill her.

“On 9 October 2012, a Taliban gunman shot Yousafzai as she rode home on a bus after taking an exam in Pakistan’s Swat Valley. Yousafzai was 15 years old at the time. According to reports, a masked gunman shouted “Which one of you is Malala? Speak up, otherwise I will shoot you all”, and, on upon her being identified, shot her. She was hit with one bullet, which went through her head, neck, and ended in her shoulder. Two other girls were also wounded in the shooting.”

Malala did not die, however. The shooting resulted in an enormous international wave of sympathy for her, and outrage at Taliban’s murder attempt. She became the world’s most famous teenager. She met Queen Elizabeth II and Barak Obama, and spoke at the Oxford Union, Harvard University and the Canadian Parliament. In 2014, she shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Kailash Satyarthi, a children’s rights activist from India. Here are some excerpts from her Nobel Address:

“We had a thirst for education, we had a thirst for education because our future was right there in that classroom. We would sit and learn and read together. We loved to wear neat and tidy school uniforms and we would sit there with big dreams in our eyes. We wanted to make our parents proud and prove that we could also excel in our studies and achieve those goals, which some people think only boys can.

“But things did not remain the same. When I was in Swat, which was a place of tourism and beauty, suddenly it changed into a place of terrorism. I was just ten when more than 400 schools were destroyed. Women were flogged. People were killed. And our beautiful dreams turned into nightmares.

“Education went from being a right to being a crime. Girls were stopped from going to school. When my world suddenly changed, my priorities changed too. I had two options. One was to remain silent and wait to be killed. And the second was to speak up and then be killed. I chose the second one. I decided to speak up.

“We could not just stand by and see those injustices of the terrorists denying our rights, ruthlessly killing people and misusing the name of Islam. We decided to raise our voice and tell them: Have you not learnt, have you not learnt that in the Holy Quran Allah says: if you kill one person it is as if you kill the whole humanity?

“...I tell my story, not because it is unique, but because it is not. It is the story of many girls. Today, I tell their stories too. I have brought with me some of my sisters from Pakistan, from Nigeria and from Syria, who share this story. My brave sisters Shazia and Kainat who were also shot that day on our school bus. But they have not stopped learning. And my brave sister Kainat Soomro who went through severe abuse and extreme violence, even her brother was killed, but she did not succumb.

“Also my sisters here, whom I have met during my Malala Fund campaign. My 16-year-old courageous sister, Mezon from Syria, who now lives in Jordan as refugee and goes from tent to tent encouraging girls and boys to learn. And my sister Amina, from the North of Nigeria, where Boko Haram threatens, and stops girls and even kidnaps girls, just for wanting to go to school.

“I am Malala. But I am also Shazia. I am Kainat. I am Kainat Soomro. I am Mezon. I am Amina. I am those 66 million girls who are deprived of education. And today I am not raising my voice, it is the voice of those 66 million girls.

“...Dear sisters and brothers, today, in half of the world, we see rapid progress and development. However, there are many countries where millions still suffer from the very old problems of war, poverty, and injustice.

“We still see conflicts in which innocent people lose their lives and children become orphans. We see many people becoming refugees in Syria, Gaza and Iraq. In Afghanistan, we see families being killed in suicide attacks and bomb blasts.

“Many children in Africa do not have access to education because of poverty. And as I said, we still see, we still see girls who have no freedom to go to school in the north of Nigeria.

“Many children in countries like Pakistan and India, as Kailash Satyarthi mentioned, many children, especially in India and Pakistan are deprived of their right to education because of social taboos, or they have been forced into child marriage or into child labour.

“...Dear sisters and brothers, dear fellow children, we must work - not wait. Not just the politicians and the world leaders, we all need to contribute. Me. You. We. It is our duty.

“Let us become the first generation to decide to be the last, let us become the first generation that decides to be the last that sees empty classrooms, lost childhoods, and wasted potentials. Let this be the last time that a girl or a boy spends their childhood in a factory. Let this be the last time that a girl is forced into early child marriage. Let this be the last time that a child loses life in war. Let this be the last time that we see a child out of school. Let this end with us. Let's begin this ending ... together ... today ... right here, right now. Let's begin this ending now.”

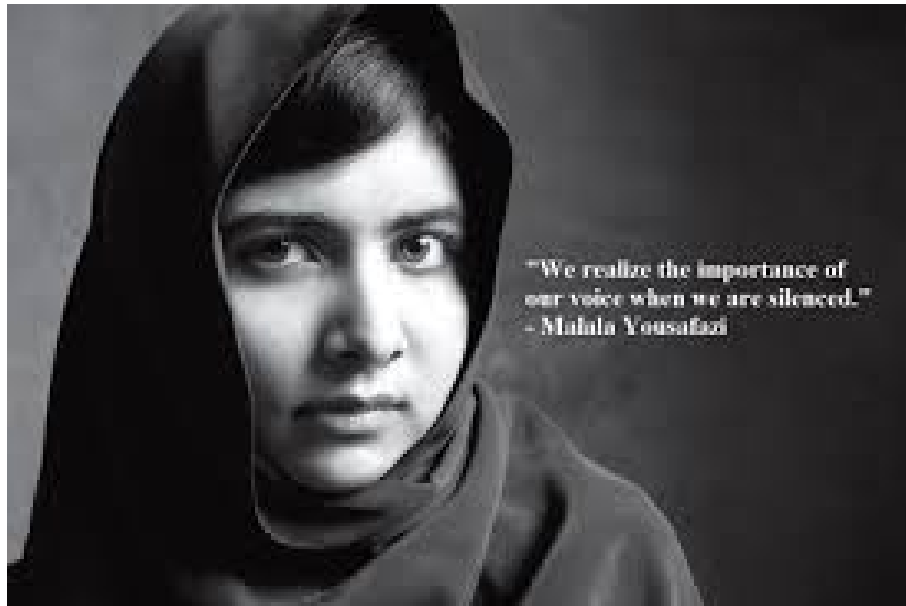


Figure 2.28: Malala Yousafzai: “We realize the importance of our voice when we are silenced”.



Figure 2.29: Women are the intellectual equals of men.



Figure 2.30: When he was Sweden's Prime Minister, Olof Palme declared that his administration's goal was that "neither in education, nor in opportunities for employment, nor in law, nor in social custom, should there be any difference whatever between men and women".



Figure 2.31: Experts agree that educational and legal equality for women are vitally important steps towards stabilizing, and ultimately reducing, global population. These reforms are also extremely important for their own sake, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented insights that women can give to the world.

2.12 Printing and the rise of nationalism

Printing, the Reformation and nationalism

We saw above how the introduction of printing in Europe led to the Protestant Reformation. The resulting changes were not only religious, but also political. The Catholic Church, like the Roman Empire, had given Europe some degree of political unity, but individual rulers, such as Henry VIII in England, wished to have complete power within their own countries. Thus the Reformation, aided by printing, resulted in the fragmentation of Europe into totally independent nation-states.

From tribalism to nationalism

A hundred thousand years ago, our hunter-gatherer ancestors lived in tribes, competing with each other for territory on the grasslands of Africa. Loyalty to the tribe was natural for our ancestors, as was collective work on tribal projects. Since marriage within a tribe was more frequent than marriage outside it, the tribe was a genetically homogeneous unit, on which Darwinian forces acted. In competition between tribes, loyalty and cooperation within the tribe combined with aggression towards outsiders were characteristics that led to survival of the tribe as a whole. This explains how tribalism may have been produced in the evolution of inherited human nature. Today, at the start of the 21st century, we live in nation-states to which we feel emotions of loyalty very similar to the tribal emotions of our ancestors.

The enlargement of the fundamental political and social unit from tribe to nation-state has been made necessary and possible by improved transportation and communication, and by changes in the techniques of warfare. Printing allowed larger groups of people to read the same books and newspapers, and thus to experience the same emotions. Therefore the size of the geographical unit over which it was possible to establish social and political cohesion became enlarged.

The tragedy of our present situation is that the same forces that made the nation-state replace the tribe as the fundamental political and social unit have continued to operate with constantly increasing intensity. For this reason, the totally sovereign nation-state has become a dangerous anachronism. Although the world now functions as a single unit because of modern technology, its political structure is based on fragments, on absolutely sovereign nation-states - large compared to tribes, but too small for present-day technology, since they do not include all of mankind. Gross injustices mar today's global economic interdependence, and because of the development of thermonuclear weapons, the continued existence of civilization is threatened by the anarchy that exists today at the international level.

“You supply the pictures and I’ll supply the war.”

There is a true story about the powerful newspaper owner William Randolph Hearst that illustrates the relationship between the mass media and the institution of war: When an explosion sank the American warship USS Maine in the harbor of Havana, Hearst anticipated (and desired) that the incident would lead to war between the United States and Spain. He therefore sent his best illustrator, Fredrick Remington, to Havana to produce drawings of the scene. After a few days in Havana, Remington cabled to Hearst, “All’s quiet here. There will be no war.” Hearst cabled back, “You supply the pictures. I’ll supply the war.” Hearst was true to his words. His newspapers inflamed American public opinion to such an extent that the Spanish-American War became inevitable. During the course of the war, Hearst sold many newspapers, and Remington many drawings. From this story one might almost conclude that newspapers thrive on war, while war thrives on newspapers.

Printing and newspapers made it possible for nationalist movements to grow in Europe. Before the advent of widely-read newspapers, European wars tended to be fought by mercenary soldiers, recruited from the lowest ranks of society, and motivated by financial considerations. The emotions of the population were not aroused by such limited and decorous wars. However, the French Revolution and the power of newspapers changed this situation, and war became a total phenomenon that involved emotions. The media were able to mobilize on a huge scale the communal defense mechanism that Konrad Lorenz called “militant enthusiasm” - self-sacrifice for the defense of the tribe.

The media as a battleground

Throughout history, art was commissioned by rulers to communicate, and exaggerate, their power, glory, absolute rightness etc, to the populace. The pyramids gave visual support to the power of the Pharaoh; portraits of rulers are a traditional form of propaganda supporting monarchies; and palaces were built as symbols of power.

Modern powerholders are also aware of the importance of propaganda. Thus the media are a battleground where reformers struggle for attention, but are defeated with great regularity by the wealth and power of the establishment. This is a tragedy because today there is an urgent need to make public opinion aware of the serious problems facing civilization, and the steps that are needed to solve these problems. The mass media could potentially be a great force for public education, but often their role is not only unhelpful - it is negative.



Figure 2.32: Remington cabled to Hearst, “All’s quiet here. There will be no war.” Hearst cabled back, “You supply the pictures. I’ll supply the war.” Hearst was true to his words. His newspapers inflamed American public opinion to such an extent that the Spanish-American War became inevitable.

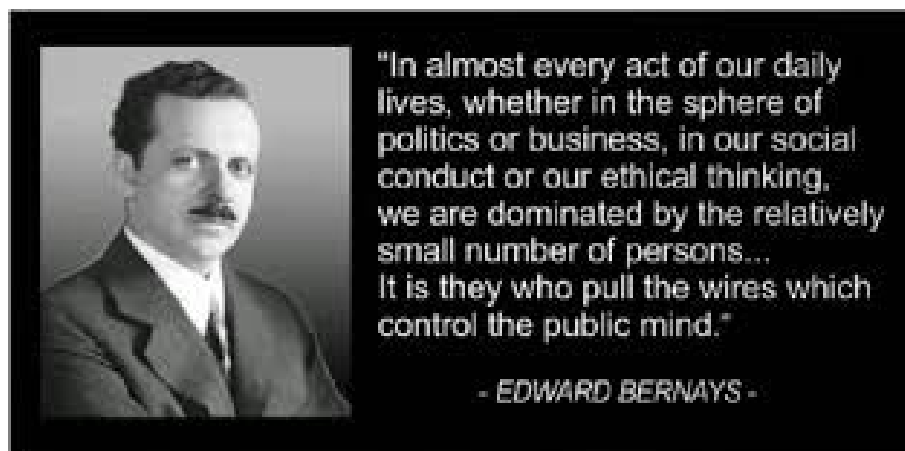


Figure 2.33: Sigmund Freud’s “double-nephew”, Edward Bernays (1891-1995) is considered to be the father of modern propaganda methods. Among his best-known campaigns was a 1929 effort to promote female smoking by calling cigarettes “Torches of Freedom”.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 3

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

We have seen how the development of printing in Europe produced a brilliant, chainlike series of scientific discoveries. During the 17th century, the rate of scientific progress gathered momentum, and in the 18th and 19th centuries, the practical applications of scientific knowledge revolutionized the methods of production in agriculture and industry.

During the Industrial Revolution, feudal society, with its patterns of village life and its traditional social obligations, was suddenly replaced by a money-dominated society whose rules were purely economic, and in which labor was regarded as a commodity. The changes produced by the industrial revolution at first resulted in social chaos - enormous wealth in some classes of society, and great suffering in other classes; but later, after the appropriate social and political adjustments had been made, the improved methods of production benefited all parts of society in a more even way.

3.1 Development of the steam engine

The discovery of atmospheric pressure

Early steam engines made use of the pressure of the atmosphere, and in fact it was the discovery of atmospheric pressure that led to the invention of the steam engine. Aristotle had maintained “nature abhors a vacuum”, but this doctrine was questioned by the Italian physicist Evangelesta Torricelli (1608-1647), who invented the barometer in 1643.

Pump makers working for the Grand Duke of Tuscany had found that suction pumps were unable to raise water to heights greater than 10 meters (in today’s units). Attempting to understand why this should be the case, Torricelli filled an approximately 1-meter-long glass tube with mercury, which is 14 times denser than water. The tube was sealed at one end, and open at the other. He then immersed the open end in a dish of mercury, and raised the sealed end, so that the tube was in a vertical position. Part of the mercury flowed out of the tube into the dish, leaving a 76-centimeter-high column of mercury, and 24 centimeters of empty space at the top. The empty space contained what we now call a Torricellian vacuum.

This experiment enabled Torricelli to understand why the Grand Duke's suction pumps were unable to raise water to a height greater than 10 meters. Torricelli realized that both the 10 meter column of water (the maximum that could be achieved), and the (equally heavy) 76 centimeter column of mercury, were held in place by the weight of the atmosphere, which they exactly balanced. Later experiments soon demonstrated that the height of the column of mercury in Torricelli's barometer depended on the weather, and on height above sea level. Summarizing his experiments, Torricelli wrote: "We live submerged at the bottom of an ocean of elementary air, which is known by incontestable experiments to have weight."

Torricelli's experiments marked the start of period where, throughout Europe, much interest was focused on experiments with gases. In 1650 Otto von Guericke, the Mayor of Magdeburg Germany, invented the first vacuum pump. In a dramatic experiment, performed in 1663 in the presence of Frederick Wilhelm I of Brandenburg, von Guericke's assistants fitted two large copper hemispheres together, after the joining surfaces had been carefully greased to make the junction airtight. Von Guericke's pump was then used to evacuate the volume within the hemispheres. To the amazement of the watching crowd, a team of 24 horses, 12 on each side, strained at the hemispheres but failed to separate them. Von Guericke explained that it was the pressure of the atmosphere that held the hemispheres so tightly together, and he demonstrated that when air was allowed to enter the interior volume, the hemispheres could be separated without effort.

Steam engines using atmospheric pressure

Continuing the vogue for experiments with gases and pumps that was sweeping across Europe, Edward Somerset, the 2nd Marquess of Worcester, designed steam-powered pumps to bring water from wells to fountains. He published the designs for his engines in 1663, and he may have installed pumps built according to these designs at Vauxhall House in London. In the 1680's a number of steam-powered pumps were constructed for Louis XIV of France by Sir Samuel Morland (1625-1695), who lived in Vauxhall and may have been influenced by Somerset's ideas.

Meanwhile, in France, the physicist Denis Papin (1647-1712) had become interested in the motive force of steam. Together with Gottfried Leibniz he invented the pressure cooker, and he also invented designs for steam engines. Some of Papin's steam engine designs were presented to the Royal Society between 1707 and 1712, without acknowledgment or payment, and this caused Papin to complain bitterly. He died soon afterward.

In 1698, the English inventor Thomas Savery (1650-1715) patented a steam engine for pumping water. It had no piston, but used condensing steam and atmospheric pressure to bring up the water by means of a siphon principle. It was therefore useless for pumping water from very deep mines, although Savery described it as the "Miner's Friend". Savery's design was so similar to Somerset's that it was probably a direct copy.

The ironmonger Thomas Newcomen's "atmospheric-engine" of 1712 proved to be much more practical for pumping water from the deep mines of Cornwall. Newcomen was forced to go into a partnership with Savery because of the latter's patent, and he also used some

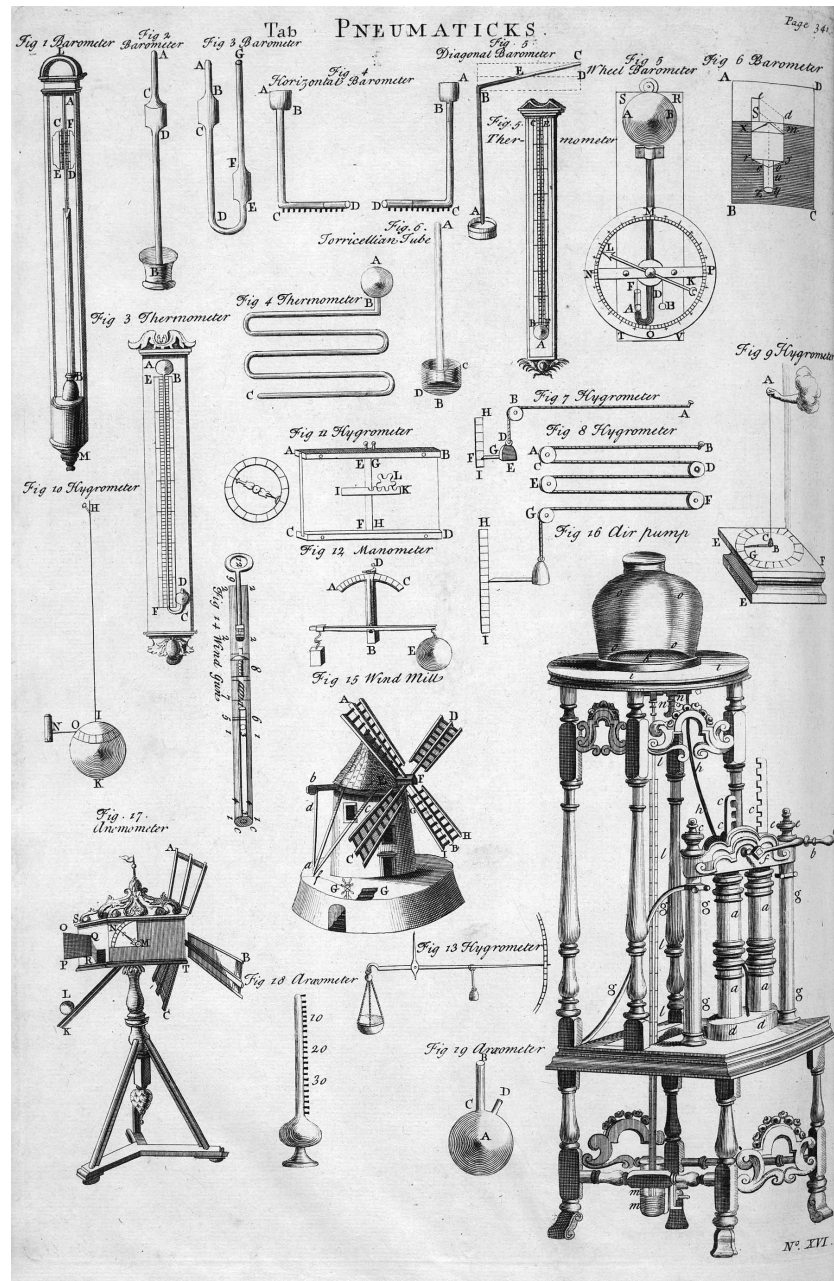


Figure 3.1: "Table of Pneumaticks" (1728).

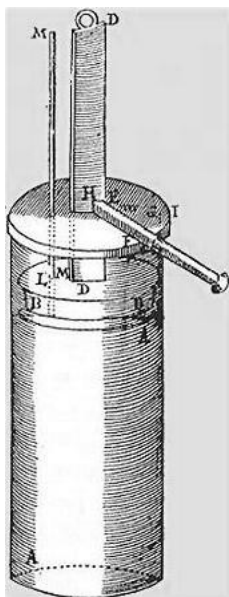


Figure 3.2: **The French physicist Papin's design for a steam engine (1690).**

of Papin's ideas. An important feature of Newcomen's engine was a beam that transmitted power from the working piston to a pump at the base of the mineshaft. In Newcomen's engine, steam entered the cylinder, driving the piston upward. A jet of water was then sprayed into the interior of the cylinder, condensing the steam and allowing atmospheric pressure to drive the piston down. Early models of the engine operated slowly, and the valves were opened and closed by hand. Later, the opening and closing of the valves was performed automatically by means of the "potter cord". According to legend this device is named after a boy, Humphrey Potter, who in 1713 had been given the job of opening and closing the valves. Wishing to play with his friends, he invented the automatic mechanism.

The main problem with Newcomen's engine was that its fuel use was enormously wasteful. This was because, with every cycle, the cylinder was cooled by water, and then heated again by steam.

At Glasgow University, where Adam Smith was Professor of Moral Philosophy, there was a shop where scientific instruments were made and sold. The owner of the shop was a young man named James Watt (1736-1819), who came from a family of ship builders and teachers of mathematics and navigation. Besides being an extremely competent instrument maker, Watt was a self-taught scientist of great ability, and his shop became a meeting place for scientifically inclined students.

James Watt tried to repair the university's small-scale model of the Newcomen engine, but he failed to make it work well. He could see that it was extraordinarily inefficient in its use of fuel, and he began making experiments to find out why it was so wasteful. James Watt quickly found the answer: The engine was inefficient because of the large amounts of energy needed to heat the iron cylinder. In 1765, Watt designed an improved engine with a separate condenser. The working cylinder could then be kept continuously hot.

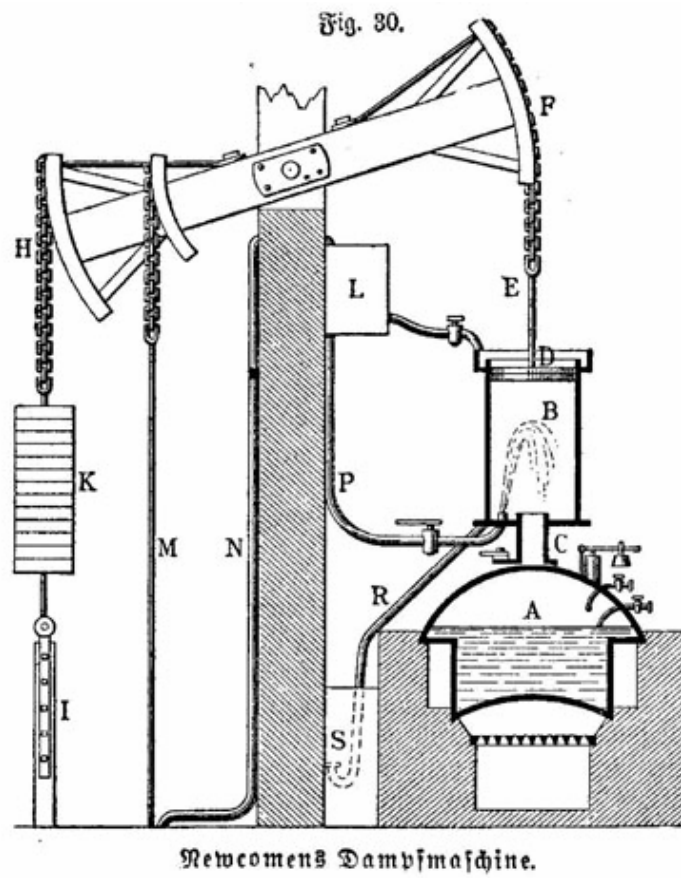


Figure 3.3: Newcomen's steam engine.

To have an idea for a new, energy-saving engine was one thing, however, and to make the machine practical was another. James Watt had experience as an instrument maker, but no experience in large-scale engineering. However, Watt formed a partnership with Mathew Boulton, who was the most talented and progressive manufacturer in England.

Boulton was more interested in applying art and science to manufacturing than he was in simply making money. His idea was to bring together under one roof the various parts of the manufacturing process which had been scattered among many small workshops by the introduction of division of labor. He believed that improved working conditions would result in an improved quality of products.

With these ideas in mind, Matthew Boulton built a large mansion-like house on his property at Soho, outside Birmingham, and installed in it all the machinery necessary for the complete production of a variety of small steel products. Because of his personal charm, and because of the comfortable working conditions at the Soho Manufactory, Boulton was able to attract the best and most skillful craftsmen in the region; and by 1765, the number of the staff at Soho had reached 600.

At this point, Erasmus Darwin (the grandfather of Charles Darwin) introduced James Watt to Matthew Boulton, and they formed a partnership for the development of the steam engine. The high quality of craftsmanship and engineering skill which Matthew Boulton was able to put at Watt's disposal allowed the young inventor to turn his great idea into a reality. However, progress was slow, and the original patent was running out.

Boulton skillfully lobbied in Parliament for an extension of the patent and, as James Watt put it, "Mr. Boulton's amiable and friendly character, together with his fame as an ingenious and active manufacturer procured me many and very active friends in both houses of Parliament".

In 1775, the firm of Boulton and Watt was granted an extension of the master steam engine patent until 1800. From a legal and financial standpoint, the way was now clear for the development of the engine; and a major technical difficulty was overcome when the Birmingham ironmaster and cannon-maker, John Wilkinson, invented a method for boring large cylinders accurately by fixing the cutting tool to a very heavy and stable boring shaft.

By 1780, Boulton and Watt had erected 40 engines, about half of which pumped water from the deep Cornish tin mines. Even their early models were at least four times as efficient as the Newcomen engine, and Watt continually improved the design. At Boulton's urging, James Watt designed rotary engines, which could be used for driving mills; and he also invented a governor to regulate the speed of his engines, thus becoming a pioneer of automation. By the time its patent of the separate condenser had run out in 1800, the firm of Boulton and Watt had made 500 engines. After 1800, the rate of production of steam engines became exponential, and when James Watt died in 1819, his inventions had given employment, directly or indirectly, to an estimated two million people.

The Soho manufactory became an almost obligatory stop on any distinguished person's tour of England. Samuel Johnson, for example, wrote that he was received at Soho with great civility; and Boswell, who visited Soho on another occasion, was impressed by "the vastness and contrivance" of the machinery. He wrote that he would never forget Matthew Boulton's words to him as they walked together through the manufactory: "I sell here, Sir,

what all the world desires to have - Power!"

3.2 Working conditions

Both Matthew Boulton and James Watt were model employers as well as pioneers of the factory system. Boulton had a pension scheme for his men, and he made every effort to insure that they worked under comfortable conditions. However, when he died in 1809, the firm of Boulton and Watt was taken over by his son, Matthew Robinson Boulton, in partnership with James Watt Jr. The two sons did not have their fathers' sense of social responsibility; and although they ran the firm very efficiently, they seemed to be more interested in profit-making than in the welfare of their workers.

A still worse employer was Richard Arkwright (1732-1792), who held patents on a series of machines for carding, drawing and spinning silk, cotton, flax and wool. He was a rough, uneducated man, who rose from humble origins to become a multimillionaire by driving himself almost as hard as he drove his workers. Arkwright perfected machines (invented by others) which could make extremely cheap and strong cotton thread; and as a result, a huge cotton manufacturing industry grew up within the space of a few years. The growth of the cotton industry was especially rapid after Arkwright's patent expired in 1785.

Crowds of workers, thrown off the land by the Enclosure Acts and by the Clearances in Scotland, flocked to the towns, seeking work in the new factories¹. Wages fell to a near-starvation level, hours of work increased, and working conditions deteriorated. 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 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

¹During the Highland Clearances, families that had farmed the land for generations were violently forced to leave their houses, which were then burned to prevent return. The land was afterward used as pasturage for sheep, which had been found to be more profitable. Donald McLeod, a crofter (small farmer) in Sutherland, has left the following account of the Clearances in his district: "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 and 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 six days, until the whole of the dwellings were reduced to ashes or smoking ruins."



Figure 3.4: **Manchester in the 1840's.**

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."

"Most of these houses have cellars beneath them, occupied - if it is possible to find a lower class - by a still lower class than those living above them."

The following extract from John Fielden's book, *The Curse of the Factory System* (1836), describes the condition of young children working in the cotton industry:

"It is well known that Arkwright's (so called at least) inventions took manufactures out of the cottages and farmhouses of England... and assembled them in the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and more particularly, in Lancashire, where the newly-invented machinery was used in large factories built on the side of streams capable of turning the water wheel. Thousands of hands were suddenly required in these places,



Figure 3.5: London during the industrial revolution.



Figure 3.6: A child working in a South Carolina mill in 1908.

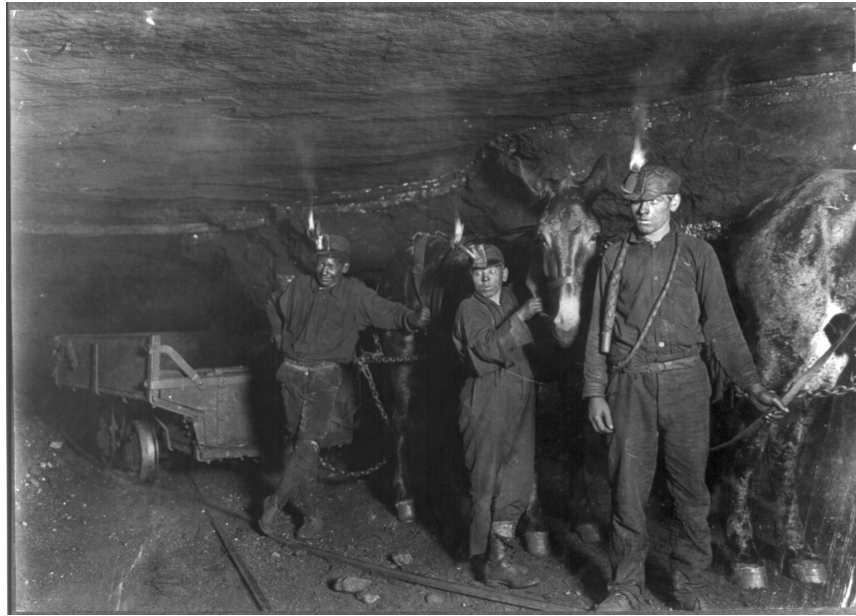


Figure 3.7: **Child coal miners in Gary, West Virginia.**

remote from towns.”

“The small and 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 work which 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 refinement of cruelty, that they were, in many cases, starved to the bone while flogged to their work, and that even in some instances they were driven to commit suicide... The profits of manufacture were enormous; but this only whetted the appetite it should have satisfied.”

The misery of factory workers in England during the early phases of the Industrial Revolution prompted the writings of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895). Engels’ book, *The condition of the Working Class in England*, was published in 1844. *The Communist Manifesto*, (*Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*), on which Marx and Engels collaborated, was published in 1848, while Marx’s large book, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* was printed in 1867.

One of the arguments which was used to justify the abuse of labor was that the alternative was starvation. The population of Europe had begun to grow rapidly for a variety of reasons: - because of the application of scientific knowledge to the prevention of disease; because the potato had been introduced into the diet of the poor; and because bubonic

plague had become less frequent after the black rat had been replaced by the brown rat, accidentally imported from Asia.

It was argued that the excess population could not be supported unless workers were employed in the mills and factories to produce manufactured goods, which could be exchanged for imported food. In order for the manufactured goods to be competitive, the labor which produced them had to be cheap: hence the abuses. (At least, this is what was argued).

3.3 The slow acceptance of birth control in England

Industrialization benefited England, but in a very uneven way, producing great wealth for some parts of society, but also extreme misery in other social classes. For many, technical progress by no means led to an increase of happiness. The persistence of terrible poverty in 19th-century England, and the combined pessimism of Ricardo and Malthus, caused Thomas Carlyle to call economics “the Dismal Science”.

Fortunately, Ricardo’s “Iron Law of Wages” seems to have rusted over the years. Apparently it was not an eternal law, but only a description of a passing phase of industrialism, before the appropriate social and legislative adjustments had been made. Among the changes which were needed to insure that the effects of technical progress became beneficial rather than harmful, the most important were the abolition of child labor, the development of unions, the minimum wage law, and the introduction of birth control.

Francis Place (1771-1854), a close friend of William Godwin and James Mill, was one of the earliest and most courageous pioneers of these needed changes. Place had known extreme poverty as a child, but he had risen to become a successful businessman and a leader of the trade union movement.

Place and Mill were Utilitarians, and like other members of this movement they accepted the demographic studies of Malthus while disagreeing with Malthus’ rejection of birth control. They reasoned that since abortion and infanticide were already widely used by the poor to limit the size of their families, it was an indication that reliable and humane methods of birth control would be welcome. If marriage could be freed from the miseries which resulted from excessive numbers of children, the Utilitarians believed, prostitution would become less common, and the health and happiness of women would be improved.

Francis Place and James Mill decided that educational efforts would be needed to make the available methods of birth control more widely known and accepted. In 1818, Mill cautiously wrote “The great problem of a real check to population growth has been miserably evaded by all those who have meddled with the subject... And yet, if the superstitions of the nursery were discarded, and the principle of utility kept steadily in view, a solution might not be very difficult to be found.”

A few years later, Mill dared to be slightly more explicit: “The result to be aimed at”, he wrote in his *Elements of Political Economy* (1821), “is to secure to the great body of the people all the happiness which is capable of being derived from the matrimonial union, (while) preventing the evils which the too rapid increase of their numbers would entail.

The progress of legislation, the improvement of the education of the people, and the decay of superstition will, in time, it may be hoped, accomplish the difficult task of reconciling these important objects.”

In 1822, Francis Place took the considerable risk of publishing a four-page pamphlet entitled *To the Married of Both Sexes of the Working People*, which contained the following passages:

“It is a great truth, often told and never denied, that when there are too many working people in any trade or manufacture, they are worse paid than they ought to be paid, and are compelled to work more hours than they ought to work. When the number of working people in any trade or manufacture has for some years been too great, wages are reduced very low, and the working people become little better than slaves.”

“When wages have thus been reduced to a very small sum, working people can no longer maintain their children as all good and respectable people wish to maintain their children, but are compelled to neglect them; - to send them to different employments; - to Mills and Manufactories, at a very early age. The miseries of these poor children cannot be described, and need not be described to you, who witness them and deplore them every day of your lives.”

“The sickness of yourselves and your children, the privation and pain and premature death of those you love but cannot cherish as you wish, need only be alluded to. You know all these evils too well.”

“And what, you will ask, is the remedy? How are we to avoid these miseries? The answer is short and plain: the means are easy. Do as other people do, to avoid having more children than they wish to have, and can easily maintain.”

“What is to be done is this. A piece of soft sponge is tied by a bobbin or penny ribbon, and inserted just before the sexual intercourse takes place, and is withdrawn again as soon as it has taken place. Many tie a sponge to each end of the ribbon, and they take care not to use the same sponge again until it has been washed. If the sponge be large enough, that is, as large as a green walnut, or a small apple, it will prevent conception... without diminishing the pleasures of married life...”

“You cannot fail to see that this address is intended solely for your good. It is quite impossible that those who address you can receive any benefit from it, beyond the satisfaction which every benevolent person and true Christian, must feel, at seeing you comfortable, healthy and happy.”

The publication of Place’s pamphlet in 1822 was a landmark in the battle for the acceptance of birth control in England. Another important step was taken in 1832, when a small book entitled *The Fruits of Philosophy or, the Private Companion of Young Married People* was published by a Boston physician named Dr. Charles Knowlton. The book contained simple contraceptive advice. It reviewed the various methods of birth control available at the time. In order for the sponge method to be reliable, Knowlton’s book pointed out, use of a saline douching solution was necessary.

For a number of years, a reprinted edition of Knowlton’s book was sold openly in London. However, in 1876 a new law against obscene publications was passed, and a bookseller was sentenced to two year’s imprisonment for selling *The Fruits of Philosophy*.



Figure 3.8: **Annie Besant (1847-1933).**

Charles Bradlaugh, a liberal politician and editor, and his friend, the feminist author Mrs. Annie Besant, then decided to sell the book themselves in order to provoke a new trial. The Chief Clerk of the Magistrates, the Detective Department, and to the City Solicitor, were all politely informed of the time and place where Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant intended to sell Knowlton's book, and the two reformers asked to be arrested.

In the historic trial that followed, the arguments of Malthus were used, not only by Charles Bradlaugh, who conducted his own defense, but also by the Lord Chief Justice, who instructed the jury to acquit the defendants. In the end, the jury ruled that the motives of Besant and Bradley were above reproach. However, the issue was made less clear when the jury also ruled Knowlton's book to be obscene. The enormous publicity that accompanied the trial certainly did not harm the sales of the book!

As birth control was gradually accepted in England, the average number of children per marriage fell from 6.16 in the 1860's to 4.13 in the 1890's. By 1915 the figure had fallen to 2.43. At the same time, trade unions developed, and improved social legislation was enacted. For all of these reasons, conditions improved for the English workers.

3.4 The Industrial Revolution

The development of printing in Europe produced a brilliant, chainlike series of scientific discoveries. During the 17th century, the rate of scientific progress gathered momentum, and in the 18th and 19th centuries, the practical applications of scientific knowledge revolutionized the methods of production in agriculture and industry.

The changes produced by the Industrial Revolution at first resulted in social chaos - enormous wealth in some classes of society, and great suffering in other classes; but later, after the appropriate social and political adjustments had been made, the improved methods of production benefited all parts of society in a more even way.

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.



Figure 3.9: And was Jerusalem builded here, among these dark Satanic mills?

3.5 Technical change

We have just seen how the development of printing in Europe produced a brilliant, chainlike series of scientific discoveries. During the 17th century, the rate of scientific progress gathered momentum, and in the 18th and 19th centuries, the practical applications of scientific knowledge revolutionized the methods of production in agriculture and industry.

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There is, in fact, a general pattern which we can notice in the social impact of technology: Technical changes usually occur rapidly, while social and political adjustments take more time. The result is an initial period of social disruption following a technical change, which continues until the structure of society has had time to adjust. Thus, for example, the introduction of a money-based economy into a society which has previously been based on a pattern of traditional social duties always creates an initial period of painful disruption.

In the case of the Industrial Revolution, feudal society, with its patterns of village life and its traditional social obligations, was suddenly replaced by an industrial society whose rules were purely economic, and in which labor was regarded as a commodity. At first, the change produced severe social disruption and suffering; but now, after two centuries of social and political adjustment, the industrialized countries are generally considered to

have benefited from the change.

Cullen, Black and Watt

The two driving forces behind the Industrial Revolution were world trade and scientific discovery. During the 18th century, both these forces were especially strongly felt in Scotland and in the north-western part of England. The distilling industry in Scotland grew enormously because of world trade; and the resulting interest in what happens when liquids are vaporized and condensed produced one of the major scientific and technical developments of the Industrial Revolution.

The first step in this development was taken by William Cullen, a professor of medicine at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. In a paper entitled *Of the Cold Produced by Evaporation* (1749), Cullen wrote that he had noticed that "...water and some other liquids, in evaporating, produce some degree of cold".

Cullen therefore began to make experiments in which he dipped a thermometer in and out of a liquid and observed the drop in temperature. He noticed that the effect was increased by "...moving the thermometer very nimbly to and fro in the air; or if, while the ball was wet with spirit of wine, it was blown upon with a pair of bellows". In this way, Cullen achieved a temperature 44 degrees below the freezing point of water. He next tried producing vacuums above various liquids with the help of an air pump:

"We set the vessel containing the ether", Cullen wrote, "In another a little larger, containing water. Upon exhausting the receiver and the vessel's remaining a few minutes *in vacuo*, we found the most part of the water frozen, and the vessel containing the ether surrounded with a thick crust of ice."

One of Cullen's favorite students at Edinburgh was Joseph Black (1728-1799). He became Cullen's scientific assistant, and later, in 1756, he was elected to the Chair of Medicine at Glasgow University. Continuing Cullen's work on the cold produced by evaporating liquids, Black discovered and studied quantitatively the phenomenon of latent heats, e.g., the very large quantities of heat which are necessary to convert ice into water, or to convert water into steam.

Black was led to his discovery of latent heats not only by Cullen's work, but also by his own observations on Scottish weather. Writing of the discovery, one of Black's friends at Glasgow recorded that "...since a fine winter day of sunshine did not at once clear the hills of snow, nor a frosty night suddenly cover the ponds with ice, Dr. Black was already convinced that much heat was absorbed and fixed in the water which slowly trickled from the wreaths of snow; and on the other hand, that much heat emerged from it while it was slowly changing into ice. For, during a thaw, a thermometer will always sink when removed from the air into melting snow; and during a severe frost it will rise when plunged into freezing water. Therefore in the first case, the snow is receiving heat, and in the last, the water is allowing it to emerge again."

At Glasgow University, where Joseph Black was Professor of Medicine, there was a shop where scientific instruments were made and sold. The owner of the shop was a young man

named James Watt (1736-1819), who came from a family of ship builders and teachers of mathematics and navigation. Besides being an extremely competent instrument maker, Watt was a self-taught scientist of great ability, and his shop became a meeting place for scientifically inclined students. Dr. Black was also a frequent visitor to Watt's shop, and a strong friendship formed between the professor and the highly intelligent young instrument maker.

In 1763, Glasgow University asked James Watt to repair a model of a Newcomen steam engine. This type of steam engine had been used for several years to pump water out of mines. It had a single cylinder which filled with steam so that the piston was driven to one end. Then water was sprayed into the cylinder, condensing the steam; and the vacuum drew the piston back to the other end of the cylinder, thus completing the cycle.

James Watt tried to repair the university's small-scale model of the Newcomen engine, but he failed to make it work well. He could see that it was extraordinarily inefficient in its use of fuel, and he began making experiments to find out why it was so wasteful. Because of James Watt's friendship with Joseph Black, he quickly found the answer in the phenomena of latent heats and specific heats: The engine was inefficient because of the large amounts of energy needed to convert water into steam and to heat the iron cylinder.

In 1765, Watt designed an improved engine with a separate condenser. The working cylinder could then be kept continuously hot, and the condensing steam could be returned through the boiler, so that its latent heat could be used to preheat the incoming water. To have an idea for a new, energy-saving engine was one thing, however, and to make the machine practical was another. James Watt had experience as instrument maker, but no experience in large-scale engineering.

In 1767, Watt was engaged to make a survey for a canal which was to join the Forth and the Clyde through Loch Lomond. Because of this work, he had to make a trip to London to explain the canal project to a parliamentary committee; and on the return trip he met Dr. Erasmus Darwin in Birmingham. Darwin, who was interested in steam engines, quickly recognized Watt's talent and the merit of his idea.

Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802) was the most famous physician of the period, but his interests were by no means confined to medicine. He anticipated his grandson, Charles Darwin, by developing the first reasonably well thought-out theory of evolution; and, at the time when he met James Watt he was enthusiastically trying to design a steam locomotive. His collaborators in this project were Benjamin Franklin and the pioneering Birmingham industrialist, Matthew Boulton.

In August, 1767, Erasmus Darwin wrote to Watt: "The plan of your steam improvements I have religiously kept secret, but begin to see myself some difficulties in your execution, which did not strike me when you were here. I have got another and another hobby horse since I saw you. I wish that the Lord would send you to pass a week with me, and Mrs. Watt with you; - a week, a month, a year!"

Dr. Darwin introduced James Watt to Matthew Boulton, and a famous partnership was formed. The partnership of Boulton and Watt was destined to make the steam engine practical, and thus to create a new age - an age in which humans would rely for power neither on their own muscles nor on the muscles of slaves, but would instead control

almost unlimited power through their engines.

James Watt was lucky to meet Erasmus Darwin and to be introduced to Matthew Boulton, since Boulton was the most talented and progressive manufacturer in England - the best possible man to understand the significance of Watt's great invention and to help in its development.

Boulton

Matthew Boulton was the son of a Birmingham manufacturer, and at the age of seventeen, he had invented a type of metal buckle inlaid with glass, which proved to be extremely popular and profitable. By the time that he was twenty-one, his father had made him manager of the business. At twenty-eight, Matthew Boulton married an heiress, receiving a very large dowry. When his wife died four years later, Boulton married her younger sister, and he was given a second large fortune.

Instead of retiring from manufacturing and becoming a country gentleman, as most of his contemporaries would have done, Boulton used his wealth to try out new ideas. He tried especially to improve the quality of the goods manufactures in Birmingham. Since he was already an extremely rich man, he was more interested in applying art and science to manufacturing than he was in simply making money.

Boulton's idea was to bring together under one roof the various parts of the manufacturing process which had been scattered among many small workshops by the introduction of division of labor. He believed that improved working conditions would result in an improved quality of products.

With these ideas in mind, Matthew Boulton built a large mansion-like house on his property at Soho, outside Birmingham, and installed in it all the machinery necessary for the complete production of a variety of small steel products. Because of his personal charm, and because of the comfortable working conditions at the Soho Manufactory, Boulton was able to attract the best and most skillful craftsmen in the region; and by 1765, the number of the staff at Soho had reached 600.

Boulton continued to manufacture utilitarian goods, on which he made a profit, but he also introduced a line of goods of high artistic merit on which he gained prestige but lost money. He made fine gilt brass candelabra for both George III and Catherine the Great; and he was friendly with George III, who consulted him on technical questions.

At this point, Erasmus Darwin introduced James Watt to Matthew Boulton, and they formed a partnership for the development of the steam engine. The high quality of craftsmanship and engineering skill which Matthew Boulton was able to put at Watt's disposal allowed the young inventor to turn his great idea into a reality. However, progress was slow, and the original patent was running out.

Boulton skillfully lobbied in Parliament for an extension of the patent and, as James Watt put it, "Mr. Boulton's amiable and friendly character, together with his fame as an ingenious and active manufacturer procured me many and very active friends in both houses of Parliament".

In 1775, the firm of Boulton and Watt was granted an extension of the master steam engine patent until 1800. From a legal and financial standpoint, the way was now clear for the development of the engine; and a major technical difficulty was overcome when the Birmingham ironmaster and cannon-maker, John Wilkinson, invented a method for boring large cylinders accurately by fixing the cutting tool to a very heavy and stable boring shaft.

By 1780, Boulton and Watt had erected 40 engines, about half of which pumped water from the deep Cornish tin mines. Even their early models were at least four times as efficient as the Newcomen engine, and Watt continually improved the design. At Boulton's urging, James Watt designed rotary engines, which could be used for driving mills; and he also invented a governor to regulate the speed of his engines, thus becoming a pioneer of automation. By the time its patent of the separate condenser had run out in 1800, the firm of Boulton and Watt had made 500 engines. After 1800, the rate of production of steam engines became exponential, and when James Watt died in 1819, his inventions had given employment, directly or indirectly, to an estimated two million people.

The Soho manufactory became an almost obligatory stop on any distinguished person's tour of England. Samuel Johnson, for example, wrote that he was received at Soho with great civility; and Boswell, who visited Soho on another occasion, was impressed by "the vastness and contrivance" of the machinery. He wrote that he would never forget Matthew Boulton's words to him as they walked together through the manufactory: "I sell here, Sir, what all the world desires to have - Power!"

3.6 The Lunar Society

Matthew Boulton loved to entertain; and he began to invite his friends in science and industry to regular dinners at his home. At these dinners, it was understood by all the guests that science and philosophy were to be the topics of the conversation. This group of friends began to call themselves the "Lunar Society", because of their habit of meeting on nights when the moon was full so that they could find their way home easily afterwards.

During the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, the Lunar Society of Birmingham played a role in the development of scientific ideas which was almost as important as the role played by the Royal Society of London at the time of Isaac Newton. Among the members of this group of friends, besides Erasmus Darwin and James Watt, were the inventive and artistic pottery manufacturer, Josiah Wedgwood (the other grandfather of Charles Darwin), and the author, chemist and Unitarian minister, Joseph Priestley (1733-1804).

Joseph Priestley's interests were typical of the period: The center of scientific attention had shifted from astronomy to the newly-discovered phenomena of electricity, heat and chemistry, and to the relationship between them. Priestley, who was a prolific and popular author of books on many topics, decided to write a *History of Electricity*. He not only collected all the results of previous workers in an organized form, but also, while repeating their experiments, he made a number of original discoveries. For example, Joseph Priestley was the first to discover the inverse square law of attraction and repulsion between electrical charges, a law which was later verified by the precise experiments of Henry Cavendish

(1731-1810) and Charles Coulomb (1736-1806).

The chemistry of gases was also very much in vogue during this period. Joseph Black's medical thesis at Edinburgh University had opened the field with an elegant quantitative treatment of chemical reactions involving carbon dioxide. Black had shown that when chalk (calcium carbonate) is heated, it is changed into a caustic residue (calcium oxide) and a gas (carbon dioxide).

Black had carefully measured the weight lost by the solid residue when the gas was driven off, and he had shown that precisely the same weight was regained by the caustic residue when it was exposed to the atmosphere and reconverted to chalk. His work suggested not only that weight is conserved in chemical reactions, but also that carbon dioxide is present in the atmosphere. Black's work had initiated the use of precise weighing in chemistry, a technique which later was brought to perfection by the great French chemist, Anton Lavoisier (1743-1794).

Joseph Priestley, (who had been supplied with a large burning-glass by his brother-in-law, the wealthy ironmaster, John Wilkinson), carried out an experiment similar to Black's. He used the glass to focus the rays of the sun on a sample of what we now call red oxide of mercury. He collected the gas which was driven off, and tested its properties, recording that "...what surprized me more than I can well express was that a candle burned in this air with a remarkably vigorous flame". He also found that a mouse could live much longer in the new gas than in ordinary air.

On a trip to France, Priestley communicated these results to Anton Lavoisier, who named the gas "oxygen" and established fully its connection with combustion and respiration. At almost the same time, the Swedish chemist, Karl Wilhelm Scheele (1742-1786), discovered oxygen independently.

Joseph Priestley isolated and studied nine other new gases; and he invented the technique of collecting gases over mercury. This was much better than collecting them over water, since the gases did not dissolve in mercury. He extended Joseph Black's studies of carbon dioxide, and he invented a method for dissolving carbon dioxide in beverages under pressure, thus becoming the father of the modern soft drink industry!

The tremendous vogue for gas chemistry in the late 18th century can also be seen in the work of the eccentric multimillionaire scientist, Henry Cavendish, who discovered hydrogen by dissolving metals in acids, and then showed that when hydrogen is burned in oxygen, the resulting compound is pure water. Cavendish also combined the nitrogen in the atmosphere with oxygen by means of electrical sparks. The remaining bubble of atmospheric gas, which stubbornly refused to combine with oxygen, was later shown to be a new element - argon.

The great interest in gas chemistry shown by intelligent people of the period can be seen in Josiah Wedgwood's suggestions to the painter, George Stubbs, who was commissioned to make a portrait of Wedgwood's children:

"The two family pieces I have hinted at, I mean to contain the children only, and grouped perhaps in some such manner as this - Sukey playing upon her harpsichord with Kitty singing to her, as she often does, and Sally and Mary Ann upon the carpet in some employment suitable to their ages. This to be one picture. The pendant to be Jack

standing at a table making fixable air with the glass apparatus etc., and his two brothers accompanying him, Tom jumping up and clapping his hands in joy, and surprized at seeing the stream of bubbles rise up just as Jack has put a little chalk to the acid. Jos with the chemical dictionary before him in a thoughtful mood; which actions will be exactly descriptive of their respective characters.”

The force of feudal traditions was still so strong, however, that in spite of Josiah Wedgwood’s suggestions, George Stubbs painted the children on horseback, looking precisely like the children of a traditional landlord. The “fixable air” which Wedgwood mentions was the contemporary word for carbon dioxide. Josiah Wedgwood’s daughter, Sukey (Susannah), was destined to become the mother of the greatest biologist of all time, Charles Darwin.

3.7 Adam Smith

One of Joseph Black’s best friends at Glasgow University was the Professor of Moral Philosophy, Adam Smith. In 1759, Smith published a book entitled *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which was subtitled: *An Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men naturally judge concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbors, and afterwards of themselves.*

In this book, Adam Smith pointed out that people can easily judge the conduct of their neighbors. They certainly know when their neighbors are treating them well, or badly. Having learned to judge their neighbors, they can, by analogy, judge their own conduct. They can tell when they are mistreating their neighbor or being kind by asking themselves: “Would I want him to do this to me?” As Adam Smith put it:

“Our continual observations upon the conduct of others insensibly lead us to form to ourselves certain general rules concerning what is fit and proper to be done or avoided... It is thus the general rules of morality are formed.”

When we are kind to our neighbors, they maintain friendly relations with us; and to secure the benefits of their friendship, we are anxious to behave well towards other people. Thus, according to Adam Smith, enlightened self-interest leads men and women to moral behaviour.

In 1776, Adam Smith published another equally optimistic book, with a similar theme: *The Wealth of Nations*. In this book, he examined the reasons why some nations are more prosperous than others. Adam Smith concluded that the two main factors in prosperity are division of labor and economic freedom.

As an example of the benefits of division of labor, he cited the example of a pin factory, where ten men, each a specialist in a particular manufacturing operation, could produce 48,000 pins per day. One man drew the wire, another straightened it, a third pointed the pins, a fourth put on the heads, and so on. If each man had worked separately, doing all the operations himself, the total output would be far less. The more complicated the manufacturing process (Smith maintained), the more it could be helped by division of labor. In the most complex civilizations, division of labor has the greatest utility.

Adam Smith believed that the second factor in economic prosperity is economic free-

dom, and in particular, freedom from mercantilist government regulations. He believed that natural economic forces tend to produce an optimum situation, in which each locality specializes in the economic operation for which it is best suited.

Smith believed that when each individual aims at his own personal prosperity, the result is the prosperity of the community. A baker does not consciously set out to serve society by baking bread - he only intends to make money for himself; but natural economic forces lead him to perform a public service, since if he were not doing something useful, people would not pay him for it. Adam Smith expressed this idea in the following way:

“As every individual, therefore, endeavours 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 the 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 which 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 Adam Smith’s optimistic view, an “invisible hand” guides individuals to promote the public good, while they consciously seek only their own gain. This vision was enthusiastically adopted by the vigorously growing industrial nations of the west. It is the basis of much of modern history; but there proved to be shortcomings in Smith’s theory. A collection of individuals, almost entirely free from governmental regulation, each guided only by his or her desire for personal gain - this proved to be a formula for maximum economic growth; but certain modifications were needed before it could lead to widely shared happiness and social justice.

The dark, Satanic mills

Both Matthew Boulton and Josiah Wedgwood were model employers as well as pioneers of the factory system. Matthew Boulton had a pension scheme for his men, and he made every effort to insure that they worked under comfortable conditions. However, when he died in 1809, the firm of Boulton and Watt was taken over by his son, Matthew Robinson Boulton, in partnership with James Watt Jr.. The two sons did not have their fathers’ sense of social responsibility; and although they ran the firm very efficiently, they seemed to be more interested in profit-making than in the welfare of their workers.

A still worse employer was Richard Arkwright (1732-1792), who held patents on a series of machines for carding, drawing and spinning silk, cotton, flax and wool. He was a rough, uneducated man, who rose from humble origins to become a multimillionaire by driving himself almost as hard as he drove his workers. Arkwright perfected machines (invented

by others) which could make extremely cheap and strong cotton thread; and as a result, a huge cotton manufacturing industry grew up within the space of a few years. The growth of the cotton industry was especially rapid after Arkwright's patent expired in 1785.

Crowds of workers, thrown off the land by the Enclosure Acts, flocked to the towns, seeking work in the new factories. Wages fell to a near-starvation level, hours of work increased, and working conditions deteriorated. 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 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."

"Most of these houses have cellars beneath them, occupied - if it is possible to find a lower class - by a still lower class than those living above them."

The abuse of child labor was one of the worst features of early industrialism in England. Sometimes small children, starting at the age of six or seven, were forced to work, because wages were so low that the family would otherwise starve; and sometimes the children were orphans, taken from parish workhouses. The following extract from John Fielden's book, *The Curse of the Factory System* (1836), describes the condition of young children working

in the cotton industry:

“It is well known that Arkwright’s (so called at least) inventions took manufactures out of the cottages and farmhouses of England... and assembled them in the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and more particularly, in Lancashire, where the newly-invented machinery was used in large factories built on the side of streams capable of turning the water wheel. Thousands of hands were suddenly required in these places, remote from towns.”

“The small and 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 work which 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 refinement of cruelty, that they were, in many cases, starved to the bone while flogged to their work, and that even in some instances they were driven to commit suicide... The profits of manufacture were enormous; but this only whetted the appetite it should have satisfied.”

One of the arguments which was used to justify the abuse of labor was that the alternative was starvation. The population of Europe had begun to grow rapidly for a variety of reasons: - because of the application of scientific knowledge to the prevention of disease; because the potato had been introduced into the diet of the poor; and because bubonic plague had become less frequent after the black rat had been replaced by the brown rat, accidentally imported from Asia.

It was argued that the excess population could not be supported unless workers were employed in the mills and factories to produce manufactured goods, which could be exchanged for imported food. In order for the manufactured goods to be competitive, the labor which produced them had to be cheap: hence the abuses. (At least, this is what was argued).

Overpopulation

When the facts about the abuse of industrial workers in England became known, there were various attempts to explain what had gone wrong with the optimistic expectations of the Enlightenment. Among the writers who discussed this problem was the economist David Ricardo (1772-1823). In his book, *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817), Ricardo proposed his “iron law of wages”.

According to Ricardo, labor is a commodity, and wages are determined by the law of supply and demand: When wages fall below the starvation level, the workers’ children die. Labor then becomes a scarce commodity, and the wages rise. On the other hand, when wages rise above the starvation level, the working population multiplies rapidly, labor

becomes a plentiful commodity, and wages fall again. Thus, according to Ricardo, there is an “iron law” which holds wages at the minimum level at which life can be supported.

Ricardo’s reasoning assumes industrialists to be completely without social conscience or governmental regulation; it fails to anticipate the development of trade unionism; and it assumes that the working population will multiply without restraint as soon as their wages rise above the starvation level. This was an accurate description of what was happening in England during Ricardo’s lifetime, but it obviously does not hold for all times and all places.

A more general and complete description of the situation was given by Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834). Malthus came from an intellectual family: His father, Daniel Malthus, was a friend of Rousseau, Hume and Goodwin. The famous book on population by the younger Malthus grew out of his conversations with his father.

Daniel Malthus was an enthusiastic believer in the optimistic philosophy of the Enlightenment. Like Goodwin, Condorcet and Voltaire, he believed that the application of scientific progress to agriculture and industry would inevitably lead humanity forward to a golden age. His son, Robert, was more pessimistic. He pointed out that the benefits of scientific progress would probably be eaten up by a growing population.

At his father’s urging, Robert Malthus developed his ideas into a book, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, which he published anonymously in 1798. In this famous book, Malthus pointed out that under optimum conditions, every biological population, including that of humans, is capable of increasing exponentially. For humans under optimum conditions, the population can double every twenty-five years, quadruple every fifty years and increase by a factor of 8 every seventy-five years. It can grow by a factor of 16 every century, and by a factor of 256 every two centuries, and so on.

Obviously, human populations cannot increase at this rate for very long, since if they did, the earth would be completely choked with people in a very few centuries. Therefore, Malthus pointed out, various forces must be operating to hold the population in check. Malthus listed first the “positive checks” to population growth - disease, famine and war - which we now call the “Malthusian forces”. In addition, he listed checks of another kind - birth control (which he called “Vice”), late marriage, and “Moral Restraint”. Being a clergyman, Malthus naturally favored moral restraint.

According to Malthus, a population need not outrun its food supply, provided that late marriage, birth control or moral restraint are practiced; but without these less painful checks, the population will quickly grow to the point where the grim Malthusian forces - famine, disease and war - begin to act.

Curiously, it was France, a Catholic country, which led the way in the development of birth control. Robert Owen (who was an enlightened English industrialist, and the founder of the cooperative movement), wished to advise his workers about birth control; and so he went to France to learn about the techniques practiced there. In 1825, an article (by Richard Carlile) appeared in *The Republican*. The article described the importation of birth control from France to England as follows:

“...It was suggested to Mr. Owen that, in his new establishments, the healthy state of the inhabitants would tend to breed an excess of children. The matter was illustrated and

explained to him, so that he felt the force of it. He was told that on the Continent, the women used some means of preventing conception which were uniformly successful. Mr. Owen set out for Paris to discover the process. He consulted the most eminent physicians, and assured himself of what was the common practice among their women."

"...A piece of soft sponge is tied by a bobbin or penny ribbon, and inserted before sexual intercourse takes place, and is withdrawn again as soon as it has taken place... If the sponge be large enough, that is, as large as a green walnut or a small apple, it will prevent conception, without diminishing the pleasures of married life."

Carlile goes on to say:

"...When the number of working people in any trade or manufacture has for some years been too great, wages are reduced very low, and the working people become little better than slaves... By limiting the number of children, the wages of both children and grown persons will rise; and the hours of working will be no more than they ought to be."

Birth control and late marriage have (until now) kept the grim predictions of Ricardo and Malthus from being fulfilled in the developed industrial nations of the modern world. Most of these nations have gone through a process known as the "demographic transition" - the shift from an equilibrium where population growth is held in check by the 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. 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 the population explosion is leveling off in Europe, Russia, North America and Japan, where the demographic transition is almost complete. However, the population of the rest of the world is still increasing at a breakneck speed; and it cannot continue to expand at this rate for very much longer without producing widespread famine.

3.8 Colonialism

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the continually accelerating development of science and science-based industry began to affect the whole world. As the factories of Europe poured out cheap manufactured goods, a change took place in the patterns of world trade: Before the Industrial Revolution, trade routes to Asia had brought Asian spices, textiles and luxury goods to Europe. For example, cotton cloth and fine textiles, woven in India, were imported to England. With the invention of spinning and weaving machines, the trade was reversed. Cheap cotton cloth, manufactured in England, began to be sold in India, and the Indian textile industry withered.

The rapid development of technology in the west also opened an enormous gap in military strength between the industrialized nations and the rest of the world. Taking advantage of their superior weaponry, the advanced industrial nations rapidly carved the remainder of the world into colonies, which acted as sources of raw materials and food, and as markets for manufactured goods.

In North America, the native Indian population had proved vulnerable to European diseases, such as smallpox, and large numbers of them had died. The remaining Indians were driven westward by streams of immigrants arriving from Europe. In Central and South America, European diseases proved equally fatal to the Indians.

Often the industrialized nations made their will felt by means of naval bombardements: In 1854, Commodore Perry and an American fleet forced Japan to accept foreign traders by threatening to bombard Tokyo. In 1856, British warships bombarded Canton in China to punish acts of violence against Europeans living in the city. In 1864, a force of European and American warships bombarded Choshu in Japan, causing a revolution. In 1882, Alexandria was bombarded, and in 1896, Zanzibar.

Between 1800 and 1875, the percentage of the earth's surface under European rule increased from 35 percent to 67 percent. In the period between 1875 and 1914, there was a new wave of colonial expansion, and the fraction of the earth's surface under the domination of colonial powers (Europe, the United States and Japan) increased to 85 percent, if former colonies are included.

During the period between 1880 and 1914, English industrial and colonial dominance began to be challenged. Industrialism had spread from England to Belgium, Germany and the United States, and, to a lesser extent, to France, Italy, Russia and Japan. By 1914, Germany was producing twice as much steel as Britain, and the United States was producing four times as much.

New techniques in weaponry were introduced, and a naval armaments race began among the major industrial powers. The English found that their old navy was obsolete, and they had to rebuild. Thus, the period of colonial expansion between 1880 and 1914 was filled with tensions, as the industrial powers raced to arm themselves in competition with each other, and raced to seize as much as possible of the rest of the world.

Much that was beautiful and valuable was lost, as mature traditional cultures collapsed, overcome by the power and temptations of modern industrial civilization. For the Europeans and Americans of the late 19th century and early 20th century, progress was a religion, and imperialism was its crusade. The cruelties of the crusade were justified, in the eyes of the westerners, by their mission to “civilize” and Christianize the rest of the world. To a certain extent, the industrial countries were right in feeling that they had something of value to offer to the rest of the world; and among the people whom they sent out were educators and medical workers who often accepted lives of extreme discomfort and danger in order to be of service.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the world was divided into parts: China was a world in itself; India was a separate world; Africa south of the Sahara was another enclosed world; and the Islamic world was also self-contained, as was the west. By 1900, there was only one world, bound together by constantly-growing ties of trade and communication.

3.9 Trade Unions and minimum wage laws

Robert Owen and social reform

During the early phases of the Industrial Revolution in England, the workers suffered greatly. Enormous fortunes were made by mill and mine owners, while workers, including young children, were paid starvation wages for cruelly long working days. However, trade unions, child labor laws, and the gradual acceptance of birth control finally produced a more even distribution of the benefits of industrialization.

One of the most interesting pioneers of these social reforms was Robert Owen (1771-1858), who is generally considered to have been the father of the Cooperative Movement. Although in his later years not all of his projects developed as he wished, his life started as an amazing success story. Owen’s life is not only fascinating in itself; it also illustrates some of the reforms that occurred between 1815 and 1850.

Robert Owen was born in Wales, the youngest son of a family of iron-mongers and saddle-makers. He was a very intelligent boy, and did well at school, but at the age of 9, he was apprenticed to a draper, at first in Wales. Later, at the age of 11, he was moved to London, where he was obliged to work eighteen hours a day, six days a week, with only short pauses for meals. Understandably, Robert Owen found this intolerable, and he moved again, this time to Manchester, where he again worked for a draper.

While in Manchester, Robert Owen became interested in the machines that were beginning to be used for spinning and weaving. He borrowed a hundred pounds from his brother, and entered (as a partner) a small business that made these machines. After two years of

moderate success as a small-scale industrialist, Owen saw the newspaper advertisement of a position for manager of a large spinning mill, owned by a Mr. Drinkwater.

“I put on my hat”, Owen wrote later, “and proceeded straight to Mr. Drinkwater’s counting house. ‘How old are you?’ ‘Twenty this May’, was my reply. ‘How often do you get drunk in the week?’... ‘I was never’, I said, ‘drunk in my life.’ blushing scarlet at this unexpected question. ‘What salary do you ask?’ ‘Three hundred a year’, was my reply. ‘What?’, Mr. Drinkwater said with some surprise, repeating the words, ‘Three hundred pounds! I have had this morning I know not how many seeking the situation and I do not think that all of their askings would amount to what you require.’ ‘I cannot be governed by what others seek’, said I, ‘and I cannot take less.’

Apparently impressed by Robert Owen’s success as a small-scale industrialist, and perhaps also impressed by his courage, Mr. Drinkwater hired him. Thus, at the age of 19, Owen became the manager of a large factory. Mr. Drinkwater had no cause to regret his decision, since his new manager quickly became the boy wonder of Manchester’s textile community. Within six months, Drinkwater offered Owen a quarter interest in his business.

After several highly successful years in his new job, Robert Owen heard of several mills that were for sale in the village of New Lanark, near to Glasgow. The owner, Mr. Dale, happened to be the father of the girl with whom Robert Owen had fallen in love. Instead of directly asking Dale for permission to marry his daughter, Owen (together with some business partners) first purchased the mills, after which he won the hand of the daughter.

Ownership of the New Lanark mills gave Robert Owen the chance to put into practice the ideas of social reform that he had been developing throughout his life. Instead of driving his workers by threats of punishment, and instead of subjecting them to cruelly long working hours (such as he himself had experienced as a draper’s apprentice in London), Owen made the life of his workers at New Lanark as pleasant as he possibly could. He established a creche for the infants of working mothers, free medical care, concerts, dancing, music-making, and comprehensive education, including evening classes. Instead of the usual squalid one-room houses for workers, neat two-room houses were built. Garbage was collected regularly instead of being thrown into the street. New Lanark also featured pleasant landscaped areas.

Instead of leading to bankruptcy, as many of his friends predicted, Robert Owen’s reforms led to economic success. Owen’s belief that a better environment would lead to better work was vindicated. The village, with its model houses, schools and mills, became internationally famous as a demonstration that industrialism need not involve oppression of the workers. Crowds of visitors made the journey over narrow roads from Glasgow to learn from New Lanark and its visionary proprietor. Among the twenty thousand visitors who signed the guest-book between 1815 and 1825 were the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia (who later became Czar Nicholas I), and Princes John and Maximilian of Austria.

Robert Owen’s ideas of social reform can be seen in the following extract from an “Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark”, which he presented on New Year’s Day, 1816: “What ideas individuals may attach to the term ‘Millennium’ I know not; but 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



Figure 3.10: **New Lanark World Heritage village in Scotland. A view of the school.**

increased a hundredfold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment except ignorance to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal.”

Robert Owen believed that these principles could be applied not only in New Lanark but also in the wider world. He was soon given a chance to express this belief. During the years from 1816 to 1820, apart from a single year, business conditions in England were very bad, perhaps as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, which had just ended. Pauperism and social unrest were widespread, and threatened to erupt into violence. A committee to deal with the crisis was formed under the leadership of the Dukes of Kent and York.

Because of Owen’s reputation, he was asked for his opinion, but the committee was hardly expecting the answer that they received from him. Robert Owen handed the two Dukes and the other committee members a detailed plan for getting rid of pauperism by making paupers productive. They were to be settled in self-governing Villages of Cooperation, each with between 800 and 1,200 inhabitants. Each family was to have a private apartment, but there were to be common sitting rooms, reading rooms and kitchens. Near to the houses, there were to be gardens tended by the children, and farther out, fields to be cultivated by the adults. Still farther from the houses, there was to be a small factory.

Owen’s idea for governmentally-planned paupers’ collectives was at first rejected out of hand. The early 19th century was, after all, a period of unbridled *laissez-faire* economics. Owen then bombarded the Parliament with pamphlets advocating his scheme. Finally a committee was formed to try to raise the money to establish one Village of Cooperation as an experiment; but the money was never raised.

Unwilling to accept defeat, Robert Owen sold his interest in New Lanark and sailed

for America, where he believed that his social experiment would have a better chance of success. He bought the town of Harmonie and 30,000 acres of land on the banks of the Wabash River in Indiana. There he established a Village of Cooperation which he named “New Harmony”. He dedicated it on the 4th of July, 1826. It remained a collective for only two years, after which individualism reasserted itself. Owen’s four sons and one of his daughters made their homes in New Harmony, and it also became the home of numerous scientists, writers and artists.

Owen’s son, Robert Dale Owen, became a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, where he introduced the bill establishing the Smithsonian Institution. In 1862 he wrote an eloquent letter to Abraham Lincoln urging emancipation of the slaves. Three days later, probably influenced by Owen’s letter, Lincoln read the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet. Another son, Richard Owen, served as President of the University of Indiana, and was later elected as the first President of Purdue University.

When Robert Owen returned to England shortly after dedicating New Harmony, he found that he had become a hero of the working classes. They had read his writings avidly, and had begun to establish cooperatives, following his principles. There were both producer’s cooperatives and consumer’s cooperatives. In England, the producer’s cooperatives failed, but in Denmark they succeeded².

One of the early consumer’s cooperatives in England was called the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers. It was founded by 28 weavers and other artisans, who were being forced into poverty by mechanization. They opened a small cooperative store selling butter, sugar, flour, oatmeal and candles. After a few months, they also included tobacco and tea. From this small beginning, the Cooperative Movement grew, finally becoming one of the main pillars of the British Labour Party.

Robert Owen’s attention now turned from cooperatives to the embryonic trade union movement, which was struggling to establish itself in the face of fierce governmental opposition. He assembled the leaders of the working class movement and proposed the formation of the “Grand National Moral Union of Productive and Useful Classes”. The name was soon shortened to “The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union” or simply the “Grand National”.

Owen’s Grand National was launched in 1833, and its membership quickly grew to half a million. It was the forerunner of modern nationwide trade unions, but it lasted only two years. Factory-owners saw the Grand National as a threat, and they persuaded the government to prosecute it under anti-union laws. Meanwhile, internal conflicts helped to destroy the Grand National. Owen was accused of atheism by the working class leaders, and he accused them of fermenting class hatred.

Robert Owen’s influence helped to give raw *laissez faire* capitalism a more human face, and helped to spread the benefits of industrialization more widely. Through the work of other reformers like Owen, local trade unions succeeded, both in England and elsewhere; and in the end, successful national unions were finally established. The worst features of the

²The success of Danish agricultural producer’s cooperatives was helped by the People’s High School movement, founded by N.F.S. Grundvig (1783-1872).



Figure 3.11: Robert Owen, (1771-1858), founder of the Cooperative Movement.

early Industrial Revolution were moderated by the growth of the trade union movement, by child labor laws, by birth control and by minimum wage laws.

Rusting of the Iron Law

David Ricardo's Iron Law of Wages maintained that workers must necessarily live at the starvation level: Their wages are determined by the law of supply and demand, Ricardo said. If the wages should increase above the starvation level, more workers' children would survive, the supply of workers would increase, and the wages would fall again. This gloomy pronouncement was enthusiastically endorsed by members of the early 19th century Establishment, since it absolved them from responsibility for the miseries of the poor. However, the passage of time demonstrated that the Iron Law of Wages held only under the assumption of an economy totally free from governmental intervention.

Both the growth of the political power of industrial workers, and the gradual acceptance of birth control were important in eroding Ricardo's Iron Law. Birth control is especially important in countering the argument used to justify child labor under harsh conditions. The argument (still used in many parts of the world) is that child labor is necessary in order to save the children from starvation, while the harsh conditions are needed because if a business provided working conditions better than its competitors, it would go out of business. However, with a stable population and appropriate social legislation prohibiting both child labor and harsh working conditions, the Iron Law argument fails.

3.10 Rising standards of living

Since the year 1000, world population has risen 22-fold, global per capita Gross Domestic Product 13-fold, and world GDP nearly 300-fold. These data come from Angus Maddison's recent book, *World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2003*. More detailed data, from a report that Prof. Maddison presented to the British House of Lords, are shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

During the period between 1820 and 2001, the average years of education per person employed increased from 2.00 years to 15.45 years in the United Kingdom, from 1.75 years to 20.21 years in the United States, and from 1.50 years to 16.61 years in Japan. This increased education in the highly industrialized countries was necessary because of the complexity of modern machines and modern life.

Today, most citizens of the industrialized countries have lives of greatly-increased pleasure and freedom compared with the lives of their great-grandparents. Furthermore, their lives are also remarkably easy and pleasant compared with the remainder of the world. In later chapters we will try to discuss to what extent this privileged life-style is sustainable.

Table 3.1: GDP per capita (1990 int. \$). Data from Maddison.

	1900	1950	1990	2001
W. Europe	2,893	4,579	15,966	19,256
USA	4,091	9,561	23,201	27,948
Ca.,Au.,NZ	3,435	7,424	17,902	21,718
Japan	1,180	1,921	18,789	20,683
E. Europe	1,438	2,111	5,450	6,207
fUSSR	1,237	2,841	6,878	4,626
L. America	1,109	2,506	5,053	5,811
China	545	439	1,858	3,583
India	599	619	1,309	1,957
Other Asia	802	919	3,084	3,997
Africa	601	894	1,444	1,489
World	1,262	2,111	5,157	6,049

Table 3.2: Gross stock of machinery and equipment per capita (1990 \$). Data from Maddison. These figures are a measure of the degree of industrialization of the countries shown. Similar increases occurred in the gross stock of non-residential structures per capita. For example, in the USA the value of these structures increased from \$1,094 (1990 \$) in 1820 to \$36,330 in 2001. In Japan there was a dramatic increase during the 20th century, from \$852 per capita in 1913 to \$57,415 in 2001.

	UK	USA	Japan
1820	92	87	na
1870	334	489	94
1913	878	2,749	329
1950	2,122	6,110	1,381
1973	6,203	10,762	6,431
2001	16,082	30,600	32,929

3.11 Robber barons and philanthropists

“Hain’t I got the power?”

We can experience some of the flavor of early American industrial growth by looking at the life of Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794-1877). In those days, the United States was a place where a man with luck, intelligence and energy, could start with nothing and become a multimillionaire. That is exactly what Vanderbilt did.

Vanderbilt was born into a poor New York family. He quit school at 11 to help his father, and later remarked, “If I had learned education, I wouldn’t have had time to learn anything else.” At 16 he started his first business, using \$100 borrowed from his mother - a small ferry boat between New York and Staten Island, charging 18 cents per trip. The business succeeded because of the fair price that he charged and because of his prodigious work. Within a year, he was able to give his mother \$1,000 in return for her loan.

During the War of 1812, Vanderbilt had a government contract to sail supplies to forts in the New York area. He was by then operating a small fleet of sailing schooners, and as a consequence he received the nickname, “Commodore”.

Cornelius Vanderbilt then became interested in steamships, but Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston had been granted a 30-year monopoly on the steamboat trade. This did not stop Vanderbilt. He started a competing steam line, and his boat evaded capture. Finally a Supreme Court decision broke the Fulton-Livingston monopoly. By the 1840’s, Vanderbilt was operating about 100 steamships, and his business had the most employees of any in the United States.

Turning his attention to railways, Vanderbilt bought several lines, including the New York and Harlem Railroad, the Hudson River Railroad, and the New York Central Railroad. He extended his lines as far as Chicago, and attempted to acquire the Erie Railroad. This brought him into conflict with the unscrupulous financier Jim Fisk. Vanderbilt’s methods were equally rough, so it was a fight with no holds barred. (Cornelius Vanderbilt once remarked, “What do I care about the law? Hain’t I got the power?”)

At the time of his death, Cornelius Vanderbilt was one of the richest men in the United States, with a fortune of over \$100,000,000. He left most of this amount to his son William³, but gave one million to Central University, which then became Vanderbilt University.

Carnegie’s philanthropies

We can contrast Vanderbilt’s relatively small interest in philanthropy with Andrew Carnegie’s large-scale efforts for public improvement. Like Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) was a self-made multimillionaire, but after making a fortune in oil wells, steel, iron ore and railways, he gave almost all of his money away. Early in his career, he wrote:

“I propose to take an income no greater than \$50,000 per annum! Beyond this I need never earn, make no effort to increase my fortune, but spend the surplus each year for benevolent purposes! Let us cast aside business forever, except for others. Let us settle in

³William Vanderbilt is best remembered for his remark, “The public be damned!”



Figure 3.12: Cornelius “Commodore” Vanderbilt.



Figure 3.13: Andrew Carnegie circa 1878.

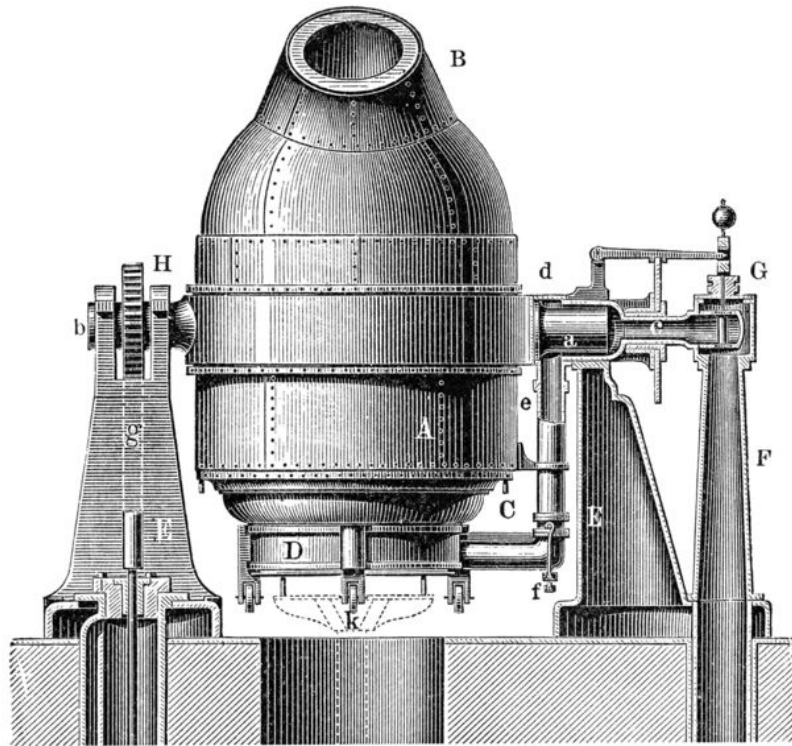


Figure 3.14: **A Bessemer converter, used in making steel.**

Oxford, and I shall get a thorough education, making the acquaintance of literary men... To continue much longer overwhelmed by business cares and with most of my thoughts wholly upon the way to make more money in the shortest time, must degrade me beyond hope of permanent recovery.”

When he sold his share of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901, Andrew Carnegie became one of the wealthiest men in the world. He devoted the remainder of his life to educational projects and to philanthropy. He established a large number of public libraries, not only in the United Kingdom and in the United States, but also in Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the West Indies and Fiji. In all, Carnegie established 3,000 libraries. In addition, he founded the Carnegie Institution in Washington D.C. and the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, which later became the Carnegie Mellon University.

In Scotland, his birthplace, where he lived for part of each year, Andrew Carnegie established a trust to assist in university education. In recognition of this generous gift (and perhaps also in recognition of his authorship of a number of books and articles), Andrew Carnegie was elected Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews. Carnegie also gave a large amount of money to Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute. He established generous pension funds for his former employees, and also for American university professors. As if all this were not enough, he paid for the construction of 7,000 church organs,

contributed to the erection of the Peace Palace at the Hague, and established the Carnegie Foundation, which continues to perform good works, especially in the field of education.

In the lives of Cornelius Vanderbilt and Andrew Carnegie we see exemplified some of the features of the age in which they lived, when ruthless business behavior was often balanced by splendid acts of public generosity.

3.12 The conflict between capitalism and communism

The Russian Revolution

Industrialism in Russia started more slowly than in Europe and the United States. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 by Czar Alexander II was incompletely carried out in practice, and Russia remained, to a large extent, in the grip of feudal absolutism. Dissatisfaction with the slowness of reform led to a series of protests. On January 22, 1905 (Bloody Sunday), a group of marchers in St. Petersburg brought a petition to the Winter Palace, hoping to hand it to the Czar. The petition called for improvement of working conditions, democratic elections, and establishment of a constituent assembly. Without the Tzar's knowledge (he was not in St. Petersburg at the time), government troops fired on the marchers, and about 1,000 were killed.

Between 1905 and 1908, strikes and peasant disorders occurred throughout Russia. The revolt of sailors on the Battleship Potemkin, upon which Sergei Eisenstein based his famous film, also occurred at this time.

In 1914, Russia entered the First World War on the side of England and France. The Russian troops were badly supplied, and suffered heavy casualties. With the soldiers absent from their fields, some of the larger Russian cities were threatened with famine.

By February, 1917, dissatisfaction had reached such a level that a total general strike occurred in St Petersburg. Instead of putting down this strike, weary Russian soldiers supported it, handing over their weapons to members of the angry crowds. These events lead to the abdication of Czar Nicholas II, who handed over power to the Kerensky Provisional Government. In October, 1917, the Bolsheviks under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, gained power. Lenin had been in exile in Switzerland before returning to lead the October Revolution, and he was a follower of the communist economist, Karl Marx.

The First Red Scare; McCarthyism; the Cold War

There were two distinct periods of violent anti-communism in the United States. The "First Red Scare" occurred between 1917 and 1920, while "McCarthyism" began in the late 1940's and lasted until the late 1950's.

The "First Red Scare" was largely inspired by the fear that the 1917 revolution in Russia would spread to the United States. In 1919, a bomb plot was uncovered; bombs were to be sent through the post to 36 prominent Americans, including John Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. The year 1919 was also

characterized by hundreds of strikes throughout the United States. Newspapers described the strikes as communist plots, and the FBI arrested several thousand suspected agitators.

The McCarthy era occurred after World War II. The United States emerged from the war as the only major industrial power whose infrastructure had not been destroyed by the war. Thus the US found itself thrust somewhat reluctantly and nervously into a position of global leadership. Meanwhile a communist revolution had occurred in China, and this added to US nervousness, as did the Soviet development of nuclear weapons.

Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957), and the House Un-American Activities Committee lead an aggressive populist hunt for communists and “communist sympathizers”. About 500 Hollywood actors, actresses and screenwriters were blacklisted.

The end of World War II also marked the start of the “Cold War” between capitalist and communist countries. The most dangerous feature of the Cold War was a nuclear arms race that resulted in a truly insane number of nuclear weapons. At the height of this arms race there were over 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world, with a total explosive power roughly a million times greater than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima in 1945. Put another way, the bombs had an explosive power equivalent to 4 tons of TNT for every person on the planet. The world came close to thermonuclear war on several occasions, for example during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October, 1962. Although the Cold War has now ended, about 27,000 nuclear weapons still exist, many of them on hair-trigger alert. Because of the dangers of accidental nuclear war, nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, these weapons continue to cast a very dark shadow over the future of humankind.

Capitalism triumphant

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, capitalism spread to much of what had been the communist block of nations. Even China, although remaining officially a communist state, adopted capitalist methods on an experimental basis. Adam Smith, the prophet of the free market and of economic growth, was triumphant. We should notice that despite their differences regarding ownership of the means of production, capitalists and communists are united in their admiration of economic growth.

3.13 Globalization

In Chapter 3, we mentioned the exploitation of factory workers during the early phases of the Industrial Revolution. In the present chapter, we discussed how the growth of trade unions, the enactment of minimum wage laws, and laws preventing child labor, together with the gradual acceptance of birth control, led to a more widely-distributed prosperity, where workers shared the benefits of industrialization.

Today, economic globalization aims at increased trade throughout the world. At first sight, this seems to be a benefit. However, laws preventing the exploitation of labor are not universal. Industrialization of some developing countries has repeated the the abuses that

were discussed in Chapter 3, so that in many developing countries, it involves slave-like working conditions. Workers in the developed countries can find themselves competing with grossly underpaid labor in developing nations. The cure, of course, is to demand universal laws protecting workers from exploitation. Such laws must be a precondition for free trade.

3.14 Say's Law

Suburbia

The private automobile is the flagship of industrialism. In 2002, there were more than half a billion automobiles in the world. Of these, 140 million were in the United States (roughly one for every two people).

Reliance on private automobiles for transportation has affected the geography of cities, producing vast highway systems, urban sprawl and suburban life. For example, the Los Angeles metropolitan area spreads over 4,850 square miles (12,400 km²). Because of the availability of inexpensive motor fuel, public transportation is almost non-existent in Los Angeles. It is not uncommon for a citizen of the city to drive several hundred kilometers during a normal day. Many other cities in the world have a similar dependence on private automobiles.

A recent Canadian documentary film, *The End of Suburbia*, explores the history and probable future of cities built around the availability of inexpensive gasoline. The subtitle of the film is *Oil Depletion and the Collapse of the American Dream*.

Keeping up appearances

Of course, if we live in suburbia, we have to keep up with the neighbors. This is hard to do, because the neighbors keep getting new things - bigger automobiles, motorboats, swimming pools, and so on. Not only must we keep up with our actual neighbors, we must also compete with the glamorous lives that we see in films and television.

According to Say's Law, and according to advertisers and economists, human desires have no upper limit; there is no limit to growth. Television advertising and billboards constantly tell us that to be happy, or even respectable, we need to buy more. Thus mainstream industrial culture thunders ahead, worshiping power, material goods, wealth, growth and progress. There is, however, a counterculture, which we will look at in the next chapter.

3.15 Veblen; economics as anthropology

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 is 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 preferably make use of insights gained from anthropology, psychology, sociology, and history.

Thorstein Veblen was born into a large Norwegian immigrant family living on a farm in Wisconsin. His first language was Norwegian, and in fact he did not learn English well until he was in his teens. He was a strange boy, precociously addicted to reading, but negligent about doing his chores on the farm. His family recognized that he was unusually intelligent and decided to send him to Carlton College, where he obtained a B.A. in 1880. Later he did graduate work at Johns Hopkins University and finally obtained a Ph.D. from Yale in 1884.

Despite the Ph.D., he failed to obtain an academic position. His iconoclastic views and non-conformist attitudes undoubtedly contributed to this joblessness. Returning to the family farm, Thorstein Veblen continued his voracious reading and his neglect of farm duties for six years. As one of his brothers wrote, "He was lucky enough to come out of a race and family who made family loyalty a religion... He was the only loafer in a highly respectable community... He read and loafed, and the next day he loafed and read."

An interesting fact about this strange man is that, for some reason, women found him very attractive. In 1888, Thorstein Veblen married Ellen Rolfe, the niece of the president of Carlton College. His wife was to leave him many times, partly because of his many infidelities, and partly because of his aloofness and detachment. He was like a visitor from another planet.

In part, the marriage to Ellen was motivated by Veblen's search for a job. He hoped to obtain work as an economist for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, of which her uncle was president. However, the railway was in financial difficulties, and it was taken over by bankers, after which the position disappeared.

Finally a family council was held on the Veblen farm, and it was decided that Thorstein should once again attempt to enter the academic world. In 1891, wearing corduroy trousers and a coonskin hat, he walked into the office of the conservative economist J.L. Laughlan and introduced himself. Although taken aback by Veblen's appearance, Laughlan began to talk with him, and he soon recognized Veblen's genius. A year later, when he moved to the University of Chicago, Laughlan brought Veblen with him at a salary of \$520 per year.

At the University of Chicago, Veblen soon established a reputation both for eccentricity and for enormous erudition. His socks were held up by safety pins, but he was reputed to be fluent in twenty-six languages. He gained attention also by publishing a series of brilliant essays.

In 1899, Veblen "fluttered the doves of the East" by publishing a book entitled *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. It was part economics, part anthropology, and part social satire. Nothing of the kind had ever been seen in the field of economics. Until that moment it had been universally assumed that human economic behavior is rational. Veblen's detached and surgically sharp intelligence exposed it as being very largely irrational.

According to Thorstein Veblen, ancient tribal instincts and attitudes motivate us today, just as they motivated our primitive ancestors. Veblen speaks of a predatory phase of

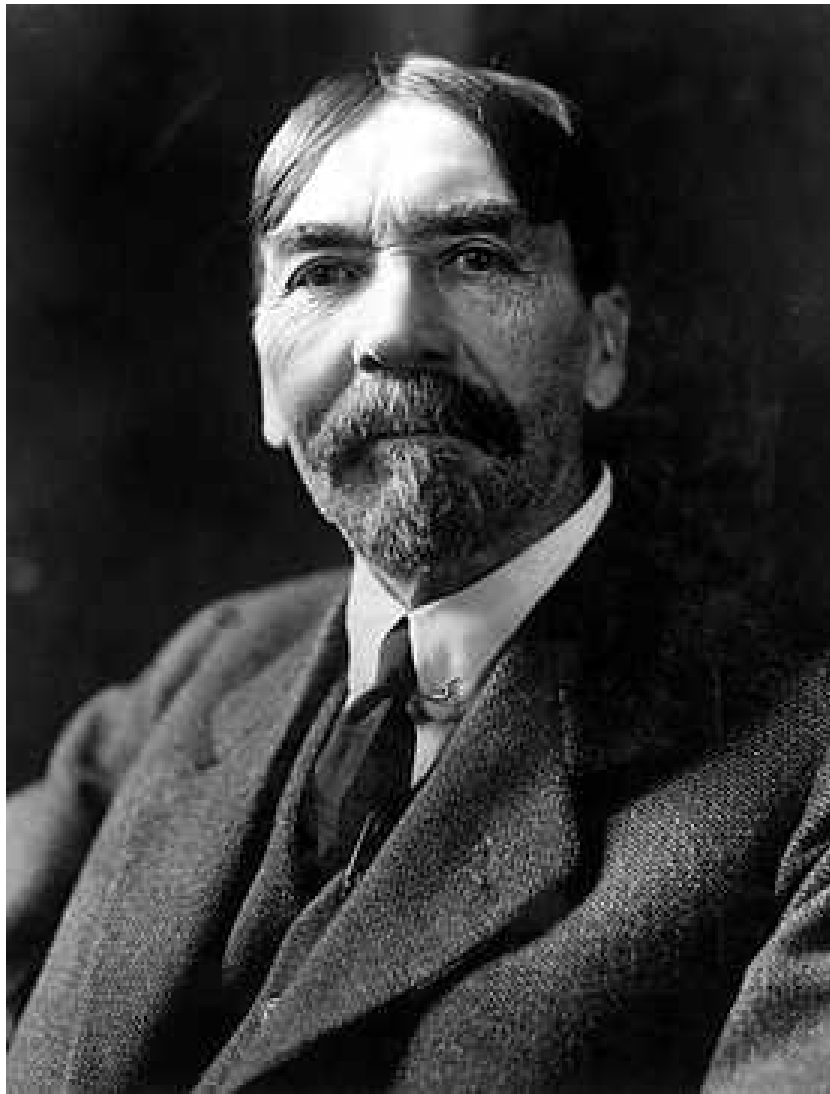


Figure 3.15: **Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929).**

primitive society where the strongest fighters were able to subjugate others. This primitive class structure was based on violence, and, according to Veblen, the attitudes associated with it persist today.

For example, Veblen noted that male members of the leisure class liked to go about with walking sticks. Why? Because, answers Veblen, it is “an advertisement that the bearer’s hands are employed otherwise than in useful effort.” Also, a walking stick is a weapon: “The handling of so tangible and primitive a means of offense is very comforting to anyone who is gifted with even a moderate share of ferocity”.

Even in modern society, Veblen says, we have an admiration for those who succeed in obtaining power and money through predatory means, and this admiration makes honest and useful work seem degraded. “During the predatory culture”, Veblen wrote, “labour comes to be associated in men’s habits of thought with weakness and subjugation to a master. It is therefore a mark of inferiority, and therefore comes to be accounted to be unworthy of man in his best estate. By virtue of this tradition, labour is felt to be debasing, and this tradition has never died out. On the contrary, with the advance of social differentiation it has acquired the axiomatic force of ancient and unquestioned prescription.”

“In order to gain and hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence. It is felt by all persons of refined taste that a spiritual contamination is inseparable from certain offices that are conventionally required of servants. Vulgar surroundings, mean (that is to say, inexpensive) habitations, and vulgarly productive occupations are unhesitatingly condemned and avoided. They are incompatible with life on a satisfactory spiritual plane - with ‘high thinking’.”

“...The performance of labour has been accepted as a conventional evidence of inferior force, therefore it comes by itself, by a mental shortcut, to be regarded as intrinsically base.”

“The normal and characteristic occupations of the [leisure] class are... government, war, sports, and devout observances... At this as at any other cultural stage, government and war are, at least in part, carried out for the pecuniary gain of those who engage in them, but it is gain obtained by the honourable method of seizure and conversion.”

Veblen also remarks that “It is true of dress even in a higher degree than of most items of consumption, that people will undergo a very considerable degree of privation in the comforts or the necessities of life in order to afford what is considered a decent amount of wasteful consumption; so that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence, in an inclement climate, for people to go ill clad in order to appear well dressed.”

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 growth implies future collapse, industrial society urgently needs to find new values to replace our worship of power, our restless chase after excitement, and our admiration of excessive consumption.

3.16 Gandhi as an economist

If humans are to achieve a stable society in the distant future, it will be necessary for them to become modest in their economic behavior and peaceful in their politics. For both modesty and peace, Gandhi is useful as a source of ideas.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar, India. His family belonged to the Hindu caste of shopkeepers. (In Gujarati “Gandhi” means “grocer”.) However, the family had risen in status, and Gandhi’s father, grandfather, and uncle had all served as prime ministers of small principalities in western India.

In 1888, Gandhi sailed for England, where he spent three years studying law at the Inner Temple in London. Before he left India, his mother had made him take a solemn oath not to touch women, wine, or meat. He thus came into contact with the English vegetarians, who included Sir Edward Arnold (translator of the Bhagavad Gita), the Theosophists Madame Blavatski and Annie Besant, and the Fabians. Contact with this idealistic group of social critics and experimenters helped to cure Gandhi of his painful shyness, and it also developed his taste for social reform and experimentation.

Gandhi’s exceptionally sweet and honest character won him many friends in England, and he encountered no racial prejudice at all. However, when he traveled to Pretoria in South Africa a few years later, he experienced racism in its worst form. Although he was meticulously well dressed in an English frock coat, and in possession of a first-class ticket, Gandhi was given the choice between traveling third class or being thrown off the train. (He chose the second alternative.) Later in the journey he was beaten by a coach driver because he insisted on his right to sit as a passenger rather than taking a humiliating position on the footboard of the coach.

The legal case which had brought Gandhi to South Africa was a dispute between a wealthy Indian merchant, Dada Abdullah Seth, and his relative, Seth Tyeb (who had refused to pay a debt of 40,000 pounds, in those days a huge sum). Gandhi succeeded in reconciling these two relatives, and he persuaded them to settle their differences out of court. Later he wrote about this experience:

“Both were happy with this result, and both rose in public estimation. 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. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during my twenty years of practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby - not even money, certainly not my soul.”

Gandhi was about to return to India after the settlement of the case, but at a farewell

party given by Abdullah Seth, he learned of a bill before the legislature which would deprive Indians in South Africa of their right to vote. He decided to stay and fight against the bill.

Gandhi spent the next twenty years in South Africa, becoming the leader of a struggle for the civil rights of the Indian community. In this struggle he tried "...to find the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts." Gandhi's stay in England had given him a glimpse of English liberalism and English faith in just laws. He felt confident that if the general public in England could be made aware of gross injustices in any part of the British Empire, reform would follow. He therefore organized non-violent protests in which the protesters sacrificed themselves so as to show as vividly as possible the injustice of an existing law. For example, when the government ruled that Hindu, Muslim and Parsi marriages had no legal standing, Gandhi and his followers voluntarily went to prison for ignoring the ruling.

Gandhi used two words to describe this form of protest: "satyagraha" (the force of truth) and "ahimsa" (non-violence). Of these he later wrote: "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills. All that I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could. In so doing, I sometimes erred and learnt by my errors. Life and its problems have thus become to me so many experiments in the practice of truth and non-violence."

In his autobiography, 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). At this time he also took an oath of chastity ("bramacharya"), partly because his wife was unwell and he wished to protect her from further pregnancies, and partly in order to devote himself more completely to the struggle for civil rights.

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 reacquaint himself with conditions in India, he traveled 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.



Figure 3.16: **Gandhi and his wife Kasturbhai in 1902.**

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 reintroduction 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

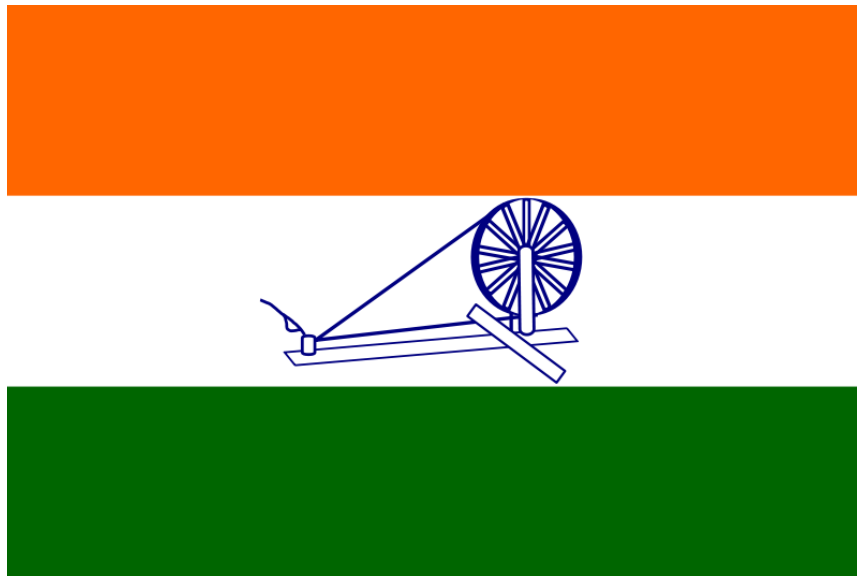


Figure 3.17: Gandhi's spinning wheel was incorporated into the flag of the Congress Party and later into the national flag of an independent India.

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.

Gandhi also organized many demonstrations whose purpose was to show the British public that although the British raj gave India many benefits, the toll exacted was too high, not only in terms of money, but also in terms of India's self-respect and self-sufficiency. All of Gandhi's demonstrations were designed to underline this fact. For example, in 1930 Gandhi organized a civil-disobedience campaign against the salt laws. The salt laws gave the Imperial government a monopoly and prevented Indians from making their own salt by evaporating sea water. The majority of Indians were poor farmers who worked long hours in extreme heat, and salt was as much a necessity to them as bread. The tax on salt was essentially a tax on the sweat of the farmers.

Before launching his campaign, Gandhi sent a polite letter to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin,

explaining his reasons for believing that the salt laws were unjust, and announcing his intention of disregarding them unless they were repealed. Then, on March 12 1930, Gandhi and many of his followers, accompanied by several press correspondents, started on a march to the sea to carry out their intention of turning themselves into criminals by making salt. Every day, Gandhi led the procession about 12 miles, stopping at villages in the evenings to hold prayer meetings. Many of the villagers joined the march, while others cast flower petals in Gandhi's path or sprinkled water on his path to settle the dust.

On April 5 the marchers arrived at the sea, where they spent the night in prayer on the beach. In the morning they began to make salt by wading into the sea, filling pans with water, and letting it evaporate in the sun. Not much salt was made in this way, but Gandhi's action had a strong symbolic power. A wave of non-violent civil disobedience demonstrations swept over India, so extensive and widespread that the Imperial government, in danger of losing control of the country, decided to arrest as many of the demonstrators as possible. By midsummer, Gandhi and a hundred thousand of his followers were in prison, but nevertheless the civil disobedience demonstrations continued.

In January, 1931, Gandhi was released from prison and invited to the Viceroy's palace to talk with Lord Irwin. They reached a compromise agreement: Gandhi was to call off the demonstrations and would attend a Round Table Conference in London to discuss Indian home rule, while Lord Irwin agreed to release the prisoners and would change the salt laws so that Indians living near to the coast could make their own salt.

The salt march was typical of Gandhi's non-violent methods. Throughout the demonstrations he tried to maintain a friendly attitude towards his opponents, avoiding escalation of the conflict. Thus at the end of the demonstrations, the atmosphere was one in which a fair compromise solution could be reached. Whenever he was in prison, Gandhi regarded his jailers as his hosts. Once, when he was imprisoned in South Africa, he used the time to make a pair of sandals, which he sent to General Smuts, the leader of the South African government. Thus Gandhi put into practice the Christian principle, "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you."

Gandhi's importance lies in the fact that he was a major political leader who sincerely tried to put into practice the ethical principles of religion. In his autobiography Gandhi says: "I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet with all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

Gandhi believed that human nature is essentially good, and that it is our task to find and encourage whatever is good in the character of others. During the period when he practiced as a lawyer, Gandhi's aim was "to unite parties riven asunder," and this was also his aim as a politician. In order for reconciliation to be possible in politics, it is necessary to avoid escalation of conflicts. Therefore Gandhi used non-violent methods, relying only on the force of truth. "It is my firm conviction," he wrote, "that nothing can be built on violence."

To the insidious argument that "the end justifies the means," Gandhi answered firmly: "They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means, so the end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that very limited) 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.” In other words, a dirty method produces a dirty result; killing produces more killing; hate leads to more hate. But there are positive feedback loops as well as negative ones. A kind act produces a kind response; a generous gesture is returned; hospitality results in reflected hospitality. Hindus and Buddhists call this principle “the law of karma”.

Gandhi believed that the use of violent means must inevitably contaminate the end achieved. Because Gandhi’s methods were based on love, understanding, forgiveness and reconciliation, the non-violent revolution which he led left very little enmity in its wake. When India finally achieved its independence from England, the two countries parted company without excessive bitterness. India retained many of the good ideas which the English had brought - for example the tradition of parliamentary democracy - and the two countries continued to have close cultural and economic ties.

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 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.

3.17 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 pre-industrial 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.

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. "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 Nüremberg Principles.

Thoreau became the friend and companion of the transcendentalist writer Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who introduced him to a circle of 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 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."

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*, which was published in 1854. The book is arranged according to seasons, so that the two-year sojourn appears compressed into a single year.

"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."



Figure 3.18: Henry David Thoreau, 1817-1862.

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.

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.”

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 before publication.

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.”

3.18 The counter-culture

In Chapter 2, we mentioned Say’s Law (“Supply creates its own demand”). Jean-Baptiste Say’s basis for this proposition was the assumption that a consumer’s desire for goods is infinite. He combined this assumption with the observation that the wages paid for the production of goods will provide money enough to buy back the goods, even if the amount involved increases without limit. Comforted by Say’s “law”, and by the observation that people in industrial societies do indeed consume far more than they actually need, economists continue to pursue economic growth as though it were the Holy Grail. We do indeed devote much of our efforts to “making the earth bald before her time”.

As things are today, the advertising industry, which is part of the mainstream culture, whips demand towards ever higher levels by exploiting our tendency to use material goods for the purpose of social competition. Meanwhile, a small but significant counter-culture has realized that unlimited economic growth will lead to ecological disaster unless we stop in time.

In the 1960’s, a counter-culture developed in the United States, partly as a reaction against the Vietnam War and partly as a reaction against consumerism. It seemed to young people that they were being offered a possession-centered way of life that they did

not want, and that they were being asked to participate in a war that they thought was immoral.

In 1964, a free speech movement began on the campus of the University of California in Berkeley. Students demanded that the university administration should lift a ban that it had imposed on on-campus political activities. Student movements elsewhere in the United States and in Europe echoed the Berkeley protests throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Mario Savo, one of the leaders of the Berkeley free speech movement, compared the Establishment to an enormous anti-human machine: "There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all."

The Greening of America, by Charles Reich, describes the youth-centered counter-culture: "Industrialism produced a new man...", Reich wrote, "one adapted to the demands of the machine. In contrast, today's emerging consciousness seeks a new knowledge of what it means to be human, in order that the machine, having been built, may now be turned to human ends; in order that man once more can become a creative force, renewing and creating his own life and thus giving life back to society."

3.19 The Brundtland Report

In 1972, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment took place in Stockholm. In a 1983 follow-up to the Stockholm conference, the General Assembly of the UN adopted a resolution (A/38/161) establishing the World Commission on Environment and Development. It is usually known as the Brundtland Commission after the name of its Chair, Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, who was at the time the Prime Minister of Norway. The report of the Brundtland Commission, entitled *Our Common Future*, was submitted to the United Nations in 1987.

In the words of Dr. Brundtland, the goal of the report was "to help define shared perceptions of long-term environmental issues and the appropriate efforts needed to deal successfully with the problems of protecting and enhancing the environment, a long-term agenda for action during the coming decades..."

One of the key concepts of the Brundtland Report was "sustainable development". The Report offered the following definition: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

The Brundtland Commission's key concepts for sustainability were as follows:

1. Today's needs should not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their needs.



Figure 3.19: **Gro Harlem Brundtland**

2. A direct link exists between the economy and the environment.
3. The needs of the poor in all nations must be met.
4. In order for the environment to be protected, the economic conditions of the world's poor must be improved.
5. In all our actions, we must consider the impact upon future generations.

The Brundtland Commission's report examines the question of whether the earth can support a population of 10 billion people without the collapse of the ecological systems on which all life depends. The report states that the data "suggest that meeting the food requirements of an ultimate world population of around 10 billion would require some changes in food habits, as well as greatly improving the efficiency of traditional agriculture."

3.20 The Earth Summit at Rio

The Brundtland Report served as a preparation for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which took place from the 3rd to the 14th of June, 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. The conference, informally called the "Earth Summit", was unprecedented in its size and significance. 172 governments participated, including 108 heads of state or government. 17,000 people attended the Earth Summit, including 2,400 representatives of NGO's. An estimated 10,000 journalists covered the conference.

The Earth Summit at Rio ought to have been a turning point in the relationship between humans and the global environment. However, despite the size and importance of the conference, and despite the hopes of most of the participants, the the Earth Summit

did not result in the changes in laws and lifestyles that will be needed to establish long-term sustainability.

Two basic problems are leading to the destruction of the global environment - excessive population growth in the developing South, and excessive economic growth and overconsumption in the industrial North. Political and religious pressures prevented overpopulation from being named at Rio as one of the root causes of environmental degradation. Political pressures also prevented the necessary changes in laws and lifestyles from being made in the North.

Nevertheless, considerable progress was made at Rio. The resulting documents included Agenda 21 (an environmental agenda for the 21st century), the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, the Statement on Forest Principles, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity. Later the Earth Charter was developed by some of the leaders who met in Rio.

Agenda 21

The first few chapters of Agenda 21 are as follows:

1. Preamble
2. International cooperation to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries and related domestic policies
3. Combating poverty
4. Changing consumption patterns
5. Demographic dynamics and sustainability
6. Protecting and promoting human health conditions
7. Promoting sustainable human settlement development
8. Integrating environment and development in decision-making
9. Protecting the atmosphere
10. Integrated approach to the planning and management of land resources
11. Combating deforestation
12. Managing fragile ecosystems; sustainable mountain development
13. Conservation of biological diversity
14. Environmentally sound management of biotechnology

15. Protection of the oceans

The good intentions of the authors shine from this list! It was a major victory to have Agenda 21 adopted as the official policy of the United Nations. Close examination reveals many political compromises in the wording the conclusions, but the idealism of the document is not entirely lost.

Agenda 21, touches (very lightly!) on the root causes of environmental degradation. In Section 4.6, one finds the extremely weak statement: “Some economists are questioning traditional concepts of economic growth and underlining the importance of pursuing economic objectives that take into account of the full value of natural resource capital. More needs to be known about the role of consumption in relation to economic growth and population dynamics in order to formulate coherent international and national policies.” However, in Section 5.3, a clearer statement of the basic problem appears: “The growth of world population and production, combined with unsustainable consumption patterns, places increasingly severe stress on the life-supporting systems of our planet.”

3.21 The transition from growth to a steady state - minimizing the trauma

According to Adam Smith, the free market is the dynamo of economic growth. The true entrepreneur does not indulge in luxuries for himself and his family, but reinvests his profits, with the result that his business or factory grows larger, producing still more profits, which he again reinvests, and so on. This is indeed the formula for exponential economic growth.

Economists (with a few notable exceptions) 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 the growth rate should fall, economic illness would be diagnosed. However, the basic idea of Malthus is applicable to exponential increase of any kind. It is obvious that on a finite Earth, neither population growth nor economic growth can continue indefinitely.

A “healthy” economic growth rate of 4% per year corresponds to an increase by a factor of 50 in a century, by a factor of 2500 in two centuries, and by a factor of 125,000 in three centuries. No one can maintain that this type of growth is sustainable except by refusing to look more than a short distance into the future.

But *why* do most economists cling so stubbornly and blindly to the concept of growth? Why do they refuse to look more than a few years into the future? We can perhaps understand this strange self-imposed myopia by remembering some of David Ricardo’s ideas: One of his most important contributions to economic theory was his analysis of rents. Ricardo considered the effects of economic expansion; and he concluded that as population increased, marginally fertile land would be forced into cultivation. The price of grain would be determined by the cost of growing it on inferior land; and the owners of

better land would be able to pocket a progressively larger profit as worse and worse land was forced into use by the demands of a growing population. Ricardo's analysis of rents for agricultural land has various generalizations; for example, a growing population also puts pressure on land used for building cities, and profits can be gained by holding such land, or through the ownership of houses in growing cities. In general, in a growing economy, investments are likely to be rewarded. In a stationary or contracting economy, the stock market may crash.

Considerations like those just discussed make it easy to understand why economists are biased in favor of growth. However, we are now entering a period where biological and physical constraints will soon put an end to economic growth.

Instead of burning our tropical forests, it might be wise for us to burn our books on growth-oriented economics! An entirely new form of economics is needed today - not the empty-world economics of Adam Smith, but what might be called "full-world economics", or "steady-state economics".

The present use of resources by the industrialized countries is extremely wasteful. A growing national economy must, at some point, exceed the real needs of the citizens. It has been the habit of the developed countries to create artificial needs by means of advertising, in order to allow economies to grow beyond the point where all real needs have been met; but this extra growth is wasteful, and in the future it will be important not to waste the earth's diminishing supply of non-renewable resources.

Thus, the times in which we live present a challenge: We need a revolution in economic thought. We must develop a new form of economics, taking into account the realities of the world's present situation - an economics based on real needs and on a sustainable equilibrium with the environment, not on the thoughtless assumption that growth can continue forever.

Adam Smith was perfectly correct in saying that the free market is the dynamo of economic growth; but exponential growth of human population and economic activity have brought us, in a surprisingly short time, from the empty-world situation in which he lived 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 growth to give profits to stockbrokers or to solve problems of unemployment or to alleviate poverty. In the long run, growth of any kind is not sustainable; and we are now nearing its sustainable limits.

Like a speeding bus headed for a brick wall, the earth's rapidly-growing population of humans and its rapidly-growing economic activity are headed for a collision with a very solid barrier - the carrying capacity of the global environment. As in the case of the bus and the wall, the correct response to the situation is to apply the brakes in time - but fear prevents us from doing this. What will happen if we slow down very suddenly? Will not many of the passengers be injured? Undoubtedly. But what will happen if we hit the wall at full speed? Perhaps it would be wise, after all, to apply the brakes!

The memory of the great depression of 1929 makes us fear the consequences of an economic slowdown, especially since unemployment is already a serious problem in many

parts of the world. Although the history of the 1929 depression is frightening, it may nevertheless be useful to look at the measures which were used then to bring the global economy back to its feet. A similar level of governmental responsibility may help us to avoid some of the more painful consequences of the necessary transition from the economics of growth to steady-state economics.

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 3.20: 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.

3.22 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 3.21: 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.

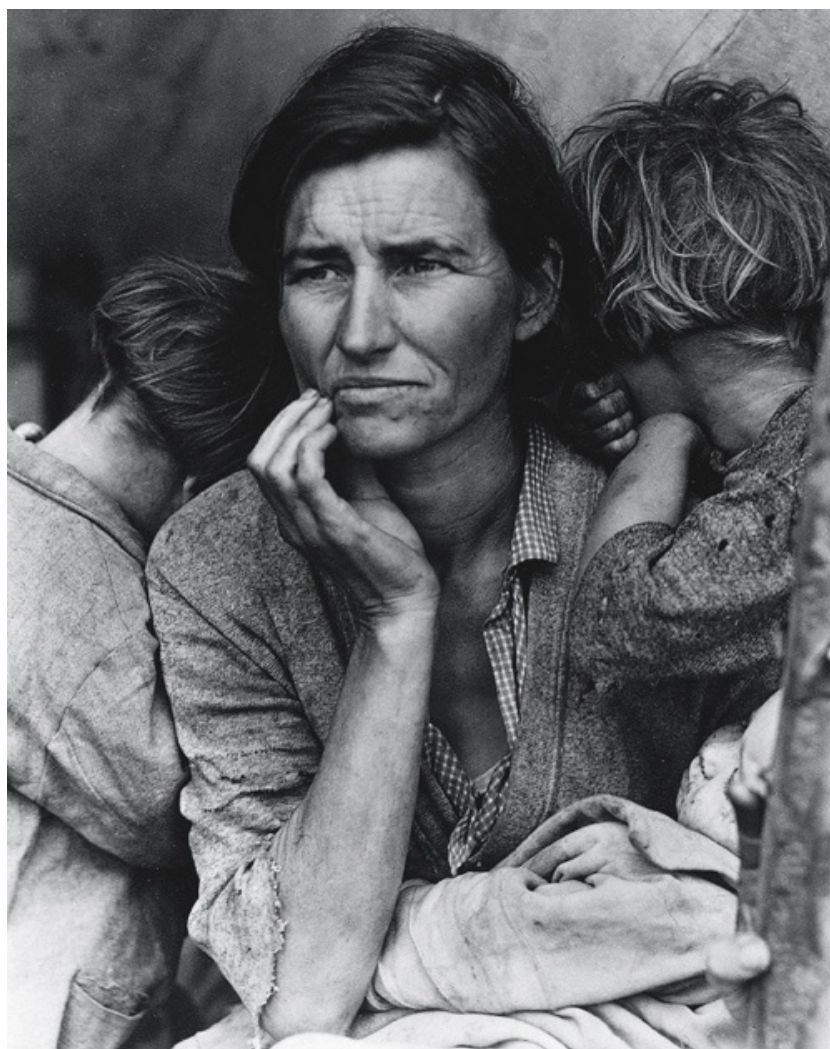


Figure 3.22: **Migrant Mother**, a photograph by Dorothea Lange, shows a destitute pea picker in California in 1936, during the Great Depression.

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.

3.23 The transition to a sustainable economy

The Worldwatch Institute, Washington D.C., lists the following steps as necessary for the transition to sustainability⁴:

1. Stabilizing population
2. Shifting to renewable energy
3. Increasing energy efficiency
4. Recycling resources
5. Reforestation
6. Soil Conservation

All of these steps are labor-intensive; and thus, wholehearted governmental commitment to the transition to sustainability can help to solve the problem of unemployment.

In much the same spirit that Roosevelt (with Keynes' approval) used governmental powers to end the great depression, we must now urge our governments to use their powers to promote sustainability and to reduce the trauma of the transition to a steady-state economy. For example, an increase in the taxes on fossil fuels could make a number of renewable energy technologies economically competitive; and higher taxes on motor fuels would be especially useful in promoting the necessary transition from private automobiles to bicycles and public transportation. Tax changes could also be helpful in motivating smaller families.

Governments already recognize their responsibility for education. In the future, they must also recognize their responsibility for helping young people to make a smooth transition from education to secure jobs. If jobs are scarce, work must be shared, in a spirit of solidarity, among those seeking employment; hours of work (and if necessary, living standards) must be reduced to insure a fair distribution of jobs. Market forces alone cannot achieve this. The powers of government are needed.

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

⁴L.R. Brown and P. Shaw, 1982.



Figure 3.23: **A reforestation project in Burkina Faso. Projects such as this may help the world to achieve sustainability, while simultaneously helping to solve problems of unemployment.**

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. 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.

3.24 Population and goods per capita

In the distant future, the finite carrying capacity of the global environment will impose limits on the amount of resource-using and waste-generating economic activity that it will be possible for the world to sustain. The consumption of goods per capita will be equal to this limited total economic activity divided by the number of people alive at that time. Thus, our descendants will have to choose whether they want to be very numerous and very poor, or less numerous and more comfortable, or very few and very rich. Perhaps the middle way will prove to be the best.

Given the fact that environmental carrying capacity will limit the sustainable level of resource-using economic activity to a fixed amount, average wealth in the distant future will be approximately inversely proportional to population over a certain range of population values.⁵

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⁵Obviously, if the number of people is reduced to such an extent that it approaches zero, the average wealth will not approach infinity, since a certain level of population is needed to maintain a modern economy. However, if the global population becomes extremely large, the average wealth will indeed approach zero.

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Chapter 4

COMPUTERS REVOLUTIONIZE SOCIETY

4.1 Pascal and Leibniz

If civilization survives, historians in the distant future will undoubtedly regard the invention of computers as one of the most important steps in human cultural evolution - as important as the invention of writing or the invention of printing. The possibilities of artificial intelligence have barely begun to be explored, but already the impact of computers on society is enormous.

The first programmable universal computers were completed in the mid-1940's; but they had their roots in the much earlier ideas of Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), Joseph Marie Jacquard (1752-1834) and Charles Babbage (1791-1871).

In 1642, the distinguished French mathematician and philosopher Blaise Pascal completed a working model of a machine for adding and subtracting. According to tradition, the idea for his "calculating box" came to Pascal when, as a young man of 17, he sat thinking of ways to help his father (who was a tax collector). In describing his machine, Pascal wrote: "I submit to the public a small machine of my own invention, by means of which you alone may, without any effort, perform all the operations of arithmetic, and may be relieved of the work which has often times fatigued your spirit when you have worked with the counters or with the pen."

Pascal's machine worked by means of toothed wheels. It was much improved by Leibniz, who constructed a mechanical calculator which, besides adding and subtracting, could also multiply and divide. His first machine was completed in 1671; and Leibniz' description of it, written in Latin, is preserved in the Royal Library at Hanover: "There are two parts of the machine, one designed for addition (and subtraction), and the other designed for multiplication (and division); and they should fit together. The adding (and subtracting) machine coincides completely with the calculating box of Pascal. Something, however, must be added for the sake of multiplication..."



Figure 4.1: Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) was a French mathematician, physicist, writer, inventor and theologian. Pascal, a child prodigy, was educated by his father, who was a tax-collector. He invented his calculating box to make his father's work less tedious.



Figure 4.2: The German mathematician, philosopher and universal genius Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646-1716) was a contemporary of Isaac Newton. He invented differential and integral calculus independently, just as Newton had done many years earlier. However, Newton had not published his work on calculus, and thus a bitter controversy over priority was precipitated. When his patron, the Elector of Hanover moved to England to become George I, Leibniz was left behind because the Elector feared that the controversy would alienate the English. Leibniz extended Pascal's calculating box so that it could perform multiplication and division. Calculators of his design were still being used in the 1960's.

"The wheels which represent the multiplicand are all of the same size, equal to that of the wheels of addition, and are also provided with ten teeth which, however, are movable so that at one time there should protrude 5, at another 6 teeth, etc., according to whether the multiplicand is to be represented five times or six times, etc."

"For example, the multiplicand 365 consists of three digits, 3, 6, and 5. Hence the same number of wheels is to be used. On these wheels, the multiplicand will be set if from the right wheel there protrude 5 teeth, from the middle wheel 6, and from the left wheel 3."

4.2 Jacquard and Babbage

By 1810, calculating machines based on Leibniz' design were being manufactured commercially; and mechanical calculators of a similar (if much improved) design could be found in laboratories and offices until the 1960's. The idea of a programmable universal computer is due to the English mathematician, Charles Babbage, who was the Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge University. (In the 17th century, Isaac Newton held this post,

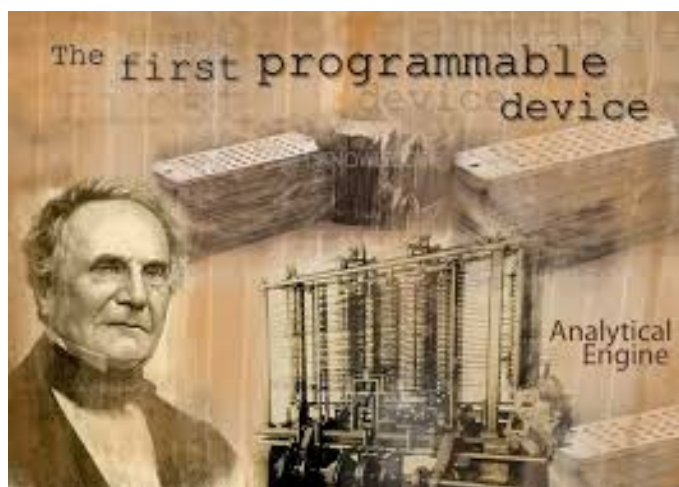


Figure 4.3: **Charles Babbage (1791-1871) and his analytical engine.**

and in the 20th century, P.A.M. Dirac and Stephen Hawking also held it.)

In 1812, Babbage conceived the idea of constructing a machine which could automatically produce tables of functions, provided that the functions could be approximated by polynomials. He constructed a small machine, which was able to calculate tables of quadratic functions to eight decimal places, and in 1832 he demonstrated this machine to the Royal Society and to representatives of the British government.

The demonstration was so successful that Babbage secured financial support for the construction of a large machine which would tabulate sixth-order polynomials to twenty decimal places. The large machine was never completed, and twenty years later, after having spent seventeen thousand pounds on the project, the British government withdrew its support. The reason why Babbage's large machine was never finished can be understood from the following account by Lord Moulton of a visit to the mathematician's laboratory:

"One of the sad memories of my life is a visit to the celebrated mathematician and inventor, Mr. Babbage. He was far advanced in age, but his mind was still as vigorous as ever. He took me through his workrooms."

"In the first room I saw the parts of the original Calculating Machine, which had been shown in an incomplete state many years before, and had even been put to some use. I asked him about its present form. 'I have not finished it, because in working at it, I came on the idea of my Analytical Machine, which would do all that it was capable of doing, and much more. Indeed, the idea was so much simpler that it would have taken more work to complete the Calculating Machine than to design and construct the other in its entirety; so I turned my attention to the Analytical Machine.'"

"After a few minutes talk, we went into the next workroom, where he showed me the working of the elements of the Analytical Machine. I asked if I could see it. 'I have never completed it,' he said, 'because I hit upon the idea of doing the same thing by a different and far more effective method, and this rendered it useless to proceed on the old lines.'"

"Then we went into a third room. There lay scattered bits of mechanism, but I saw no



Figure 4.4: **Joseph Marie Jacquard (1752-1834) invented a loom which could be programed to produce any design by means of punched cards. News of his invention inspired Babbage to invent a universal programmable computing machine.**

trace of any working machine. Very cautiously I approached the subject, and received the dreaded answer: ‘It is not constructed yet, but I am working at it, and will take less time to construct it altogether than it would have taken to complete the Analytical Machine from the stage in which I left it.’ I took leave of the old man with a heavy heart.”

Babbage’s first calculating machine was a special-purpose mechanical computer, designed to tabulate polynomial functions; and he abandoned this design because he had hit on the idea of a universal programmable computer. Several years earlier, the French inventor Joseph Marie Jacquard had constructed an automatic loom in which large wooden “punched cards” were used to control the warp threads. Inspired by Jacquard’s invention, Babbage planned to use punched cards to program his universal computer. (Jacquard’s looms could be programmed to weave extremely complex patterns: A portrait of the inventor, woven on one of his looms in Lyon, hung in Babbage’s drawing room.)

One of Babbage’s frequent visitors was Augusta Ada¹, Countess of Lovelace (1815-1852), the daughter of Lord and Lady Byron. She was a mathematician of considerable ability, and it is through her lucid descriptions that we know how Babbage’s never-completed Analytical Machine was to have worked.

¹ The programming language ADA is named after her.



Figure 4.5: **Jacquard's loom.**



Figure 4.6: Lord Byron's daughter, Augusta Ada, Countess of Lovelace (1815-1852) was an accomplished mathematician and a frequent visitor to Babbage's workshop. It is through her lucid description of his ideas that we know how Babbage's universal calculating machine was to have worked. The programming language ADA is named after her.

4.3 Harvard's sequence-controlled calculator

The next step towards modern computers was taken by Herman Hollerith, a statistician working for the United States Bureau of the Census. He invented electromechanical machines for reading and sorting data punched onto cards. Hollerith's machines were used to analyze the data from the 1890 United States Census. Because the Census Bureau was a very limited market, Hollerith branched out and began to manufacture similar machines for use in business and administration. His company was later bought out by Thomas J. Watson, who changed its name to International Business Machines.

In 1937, Howard Aiken, of Harvard University, became interested in combining Babbage's ideas with some of the techniques which had developed from Hollerith's punched card machines. He approached the International Business Machine Corporation, the largest manufacturer of punched card equipment, with a proposal for the construction of a large, automatic, programmable calculating machine.

Aiken's machine, the Automatic Sequence Controlled Calculator (ASCC), was completed in 1944 and presented to Harvard University. Based on geared wheels, in the Pascal-Leibniz-Babbage tradition, ASCC had more than three quarters of a million parts and used 500 miles of wire. ASCC was unbelievably slow by modern standards - it took three-tenths of a second to perform an addition - but it was one of the first programmable general-purpose digital computers ever completed. It remained in continuous use, day and night, for fifteen years.



Figure 4.7: The Automatic Sequence-Controlled Calculator ASCC can still be seen by visitors at Harvard's science building and cafeteria.

4.4 The first electronic computers

In the ASCC, binary numbers were represented by relays, which could be either on or off. The on position represented 1, while the off position represented 0, these being the only two digits required to represent numbers in the binary (base 2) system. Electromechanical calculators similar to ASCC were developed independently by Konrad Zuse in Germany and by George R. Stibitz at the Bell Telephone Laboratory.

Electronic digital computers

In 1937, the English mathematician A.M. Turing published an important article in the Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society in which envisioned a type of calculating machine consisting of a long row of cells (the “tape”), a reading and writing head, and a set of instructions specifying the way in which the head should move the tape and modify the state and “color” of the cells on the tape. According to a hypothesis which came to be known as the “Church-Turing hypothesis”, the type of computer proposed by Turing was capable of performing every possible type of calculation. In other words, the Turing machine could function as a universal computer.

In 1943, a group of English engineers, inspired by the ideas of Alan Turing and those of the mathematician M.H.A. Newman, completed the electronic digital computer Colossus. Colossus was the first large-scale electronic computer. It was used to break the German Enigma code; and it thus affected the course of World War II.

In 1946, ENIAC (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Calculator) became operational. This general-purpose computer, designed by J.P. Eckert and J.W. Mauchley of the University of Pennsylvania, contained 18,000 vacuum tubes, one or another of which was often out of order. However, during the periods when all its vacuum tubes were working, an electronic computer like Colossus or ENIAC could shoot ahead of an electromechanical machine (such as ASCC) like a hare outdistancing a tortoise.

During the summer of 1946, a course on “The Theory and Techniques of Electronic Digital Computers” was given at the University of Pennsylvania. The ideas put forward in this course had been worked out by a group of mathematicians and engineers headed by J.P. Eckert, J.W. Mauchley and John von Neumann, and these ideas very much influenced all subsequent computer design.

Cybernetics

The word “Cybernetics”, was coined by the American mathematician Norbert Wiener (1894-1964) and his colleagues, who defined it as “the entire field of control and communication theory, whether in the machine or in the animal”. Wiener derived the word from the Greek term for “steersman”.

Norbert Wiener began life as a child prodigy: He entered Tufts University at the age of 11 and received his Ph.D. from Harvard at 19. He later became a professor of mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1940, with war on the horizon,



Figure 4.8: Alan Turing (1912-1954). He is considered to be the father of theoretical computer science. During World War II, Turing's work allowed the allies to crack the German's code. This appreciably shortened the length of the war in Europe, and saved many lives.



Figure 4.9: John von Neumann (1903-1957, right) with J. Robert Oppenheimer. In the background is an electronic digital computer.

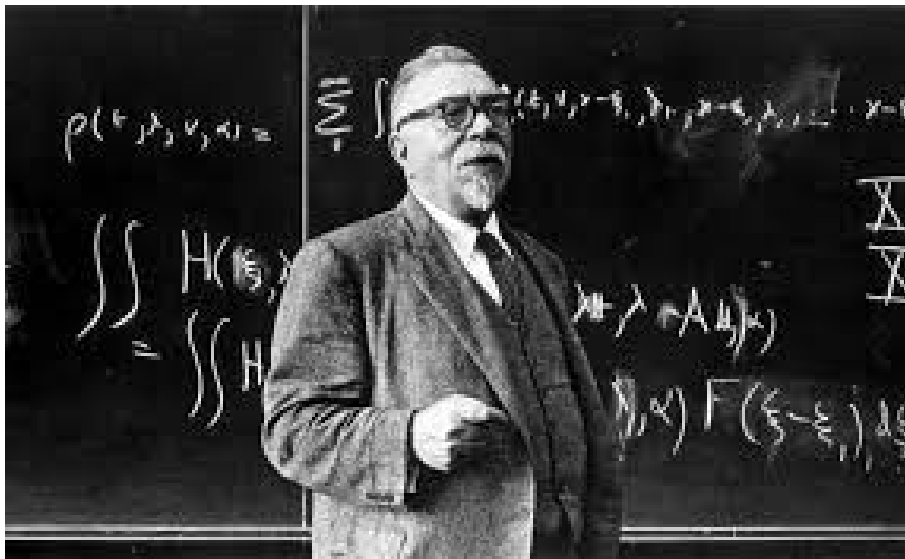


Figure 4.10: MIT's Norbert Wiener (1894-1964) coined the word “Cybernetics”, derived from a Greek word meaning “steersman”. Wiener was one of the principle organizers of the Macy Conferences.

Wiener sent a memorandum to Vannevar Bush, another MIT professor who had done pioneering work with analogue computers, and had afterwards become the chairman of the U.S. National Defense Research Committee. Wiener's memorandum urged the American government to support the design and construction of electronic digital computers, which would make use of binary numbers, vacuum tubes, and rapid memories. In such machines, the memorandum emphasized, no human intervention should be required except when data was to be read into or out of the machine.

Like Leo Szilard, John von Neumann, Claude Shannon and Erwin Schrödinger, Norbert Wiener was aware of the relation between information and entropy. In his 1948 book *Cybernetics* he wrote: “...we had to develop a statistical theory of the amount of information, in which the unit amount of information was that transmitted by a single decision between equally probable alternatives. This idea occurred at about the same time to several writers, among them the statistician R.A. Fisher, Dr. Shannon of Bell Telephone Laboratories, and the author. Fisher's motive in studying this subject is to be found in classical statistical theory; that of Shannon in the problem of coding information; and that of the author in the problem of noise and message in electrical filters... The notion of the amount of information attaches itself very naturally to a classical notion in statistical mechanics: that of entropy. Just as the amount of information in a system is a measure of its degree of organization, so the entropy of a system is a measure of its degree of disorganization; and the one is simply the negative of the other.”

During World War II, Norbert Wiener developed automatic systems for control of anti-aircraft guns. His systems made use of feedback loops closely analogous to those with which animals coordinate their movements. In the early 1940's, he was invited to attend a



Figure 4.11: Margaret Mead (1901-1978) and Gregory Bateson (1904-1980). They used the feedback loops studied by Wiener to explain many aspects of human behavior. Bateson is considered to be one of the main founders of the discipline Biosemiotics, which considers information to be the central feature of living organisms.

series of monthly dinner parties organized by Arturo Rosenbluth, a professor of physiology at Harvard University. The purpose of these dinners was to promote discussions and collaborations between scientists belonging to different disciplines. The discussions which took place at these dinners made both Wiener and Rosenbluth aware of the relatedness of a set of problems that included homeostasis and feedback in biology, communication and control mechanisms in neurophysiology, social communication among animals (or humans), and control and communication involving machines.

Wiener and Rosenbluth therefore tried to bring together workers in the relevant fields to try to develop common terminology and methods. Among the many people whom they contacted were the anthropologists Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, Howard Aiken (the designer of the Automatic Sequence Controlled Calculator), and the mathematician John von Neumann. The Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation sponsored a series of ten yearly

meetings, which continued until 1949 and which established cybernetics as a new research discipline. It united areas of mathematics, engineering, biology, and sociology which had previously been considered unrelated. Among the most important participants (in addition to Wiener, Rosenbluth, Bateson, Mead, and von Neumann) were Heinz von Foerster, Kurt Lewin, Warren McCulloch and Walter Pitts. The Macy conferences were small and informal, with an emphasis on discussion as opposed to the presentation of formal papers. A stenographic record of the last five conferences has been published, edited by von Foerster. Transcripts of the discussions give a vivid picture of the enthusiastic and creative atmosphere of the meetings. The participants at the Macy Conferences perceived Cybernetics as a much-needed bridge between the natural sciences and the humanities. Hence their enthusiasm. Weiner's feedback loops and von Neumann's theory of games were used by anthropologists Mead and Bateson to explain many aspects of human behavior.

4.5 Biosemiotics

The Oxford Dictionary of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology (Oxford University Press, 1997) defines Biosemiotics as "the study of signs, of communication, and of information in living organisms". The biologists Claus Emmeche and K. Kull offer another definition of Biosemiotics: "biology that interprets living systems as sign systems".

The American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) is considered to be one of the founders of Semiotics (and hence also of Biosemiotics). Peirce studied philosophy and chemistry at Harvard, where his father was a professor of mathematics and astronomy. He wrote extensively on philosophical subjects, and developed a theory of signs and meaning which anticipated many of the principles of modern Semiotics. Peirce built his theory on a triad: (1) the sign, which represents (2) something to (3) somebody. For example, the sign might be a broken stick, which represents a trail to a hunter, it might be the arched back of a cat, which represents an aggressive attitude to another cat, it might be the waggle-dance of a honey bee, which represents the coordinates of a source of food to her hive-mates, or it might be a molecule of trans-10-cis-hexadecadienol, which represents irresistible sexual temptation to a male moth of the species *Bombyx mori*. The sign might be a sequence of nucleotide bases which represents an amino acid to the ribosome-transfer-RNA system, or it might be a cell-surface antigen which represents self or non-self to the immune system. In information technology, the sign might be the presence or absence of a pulse of voltage, which represents a binary digit to a computer. Semiotics draws our attention to the sign and to its function, and places much less emphasis on the physical object which forms the sign. This characteristic of the semiotic viewpoint has been expressed by the Danish biologist Jesper Hoffmeyer in the following words: "The sign, rather than the molecule, is the basic unit for studying life."

A second important founder of Biosemiotics was Jakob von Uexküll (1864-1944). He was born in Estonia, and studied zoology at the University of Tartu. After graduation, he worked at the Institute of Physiology at the University of Heidelberg, and later at the Zoological Station in Naples. In 1907, he was given an honorary doctorate by Heidelberg



Figure 4.12: Charles Sanders Pearce (1839-1914).



Figure 4.13: Jakob Johann Baron von Uexküll (1964-1944). Together with Pearce and Bateson, he is one of the principle founders of Biosemiotics.

for his studies of the physiology of muscles. Among his discoveries in this field was the first recognized instance of negative feedback in an organism. Von Uexküll's later work was concerned with the way in which animals experience the world around them. To describe the animal's subjective perception of its environment he introduced the word *Umwelt*; and in 1926 he founded the *Institut für Umweltforschung* at the University of Heidelberg. Von Uexküll visualized an animal - for example a mouse - as being surrounded by a world of its own - the world conveyed by its own special senses organs, and processed by its own interpretative systems. Obviously, the *Umwelt* will differ greatly depending on the organism. For example, bees are able to see polarized light and ultraviolet light; electric eels are able to sense their environment through their electric organs; many insects are extraordinarily sensitive to pheromones; and a dog's *Umwelt* far richer in smells than that of most other animals. The *Umwelt* of a jellyfish is very simple, but nevertheless it exists.² Von Uexküll's *Umwelt* concept can even extend to one-celled organisms, which receive chemical and tactile signals from their environment, and which are often sensitive to light. The ideas and research of Jakob von Uexküll inspired the later work of the Nobel Laureate ethologist Konrad Lorenz, and thus von Uexküll can be thought of as one of the founders of ethology as well as of Biosemiotics. Indeed, ethology and Biosemiotics are closely related.

Biosemiotics also values the ideas of the American anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1904-1980), who was mentioned in Chapter 7 in connection with cybernetics and with the Macy Conferences. He was married to another celebrated anthropologist, Margaret Mead, and together they applied Norbert Wiener's insights concerning feedback mechanisms to sociology, psychology and anthropology. Bateson was the originator of a famous epigrammatic definition of information: "...a difference which makes a difference". This definition occurs in Chapter 3 of Bateson's book, *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*, Bantam, (1980), and its context is as follows: "To produce news of a difference, i.e. information", Bateson wrote, "there must be two entities... such that news of their difference can be represented as a difference inside some information-processing entity, such as a brain or, perhaps, a computer. There is a profound and unanswerable question about the nature of these two entities that between them generate the difference which becomes information by making a difference. Clearly each alone is - for the mind and perception - a non-entity, a non-being... the sound of one hand clapping. The stuff of sensation, then, is a pair of values of some variable, presented over time to a sense organ, whose response depends on the ratio between the members of the pair."

4.6 Some personal memories of early computers

I hope that readers will forgive me if I tell them of my own personal memories of early computers:

When I arrived at Imperial College (then part of the University of London) in 1962,

² It is interesting to ask to what extent the concept of *Umwelt* can be equated to that of consciousness. To the extent that these two concepts can be equated, von Uexküll's *Umweltforschung* offers us the opportunity to explore the phylogenetic evolution of the phenomenon of consciousness.

I worked with a crystallographic group that using the Mercury computer at University College to do the calculations needed to arrive at molecular structures. This gave me the chance to use Mercury to do quantum chemical calculations. I used to go over to University College with the crystallographers at night, because time on the computer was so expensive that we could only afford to use it at night. I would make a bed for myself out of three chairs in a row and would try to sleep. At 3 AM or 4 AM they would wake me up and would say “Now it’s your turn”.

Mercury was as big as a house, but could do far less than a modern laptop. It had 50,000 or so vacuum tubes which required cooling. The cooling system sometimes broke down, and one or another of the vacuum tubes sometimes failed, so one had to be grateful for the periods when Mercury was working. Our programs were written on punched tape in a language called CHLF3. (The letters stood for Cambridge, London, Harwell and Farnborough, the four places that had Mercurys). After we had read the paper tape into the computer, the program was converted into a magnetic form on a rapidly rotating drum, and then checked against the original input. If it did not check, we had a so-called “drum parity”, which meant that we had to stop the computer and restart it by hand, using a bewildering array of manual controls.

After finishing the work on Mercury at 6 AM or so, I would walk home, passing through the almost-deserted streets of Soho, and seeing pale-faced teenagers who had been up all night, high on amphetamines. They were sitting on the pavement near an underground station, waiting for it to open.

After we had used Mercury for two years or so, IBM gave Imperial College one of their early computers. Using this was much better. Programs for the IBM machine were written on punched cards. We just went over to the machine with our punched cards and stood in line to have them read into the computer. Then a few minutes later we were handed a printout of the output.

The IBM was much better than the machines that were available in eastern Europe, and for this reason I was contacted by Janos Ladik and his group at the Hungarian Academy of Science, who proposed a collaboration. We worked together for several years, calculating the electronic structure of a number of polypeptides and polynucleotides.

In 1965, Janos Ladik invited me to attend a meeting of quantum theorists and computer scientists from both East and West, held at a town on the Hungarian Puszta, the great Hungarian plain east of Budapest. At the meeting, Enrico Clementi spoke about computer programs that he had developed for performing *ab-initio*³ calculation of the electronic structure of molecules. Clementi was an important IBM scientist, and he had his own laboratory with a large computer which he could use as he liked. The programs that he described to us took hundreds of hours to complete an electronic structure calculation on a single molecule.

In the question period after Clementi’s lecture, someone from the audience said: “It’s all right for you, Clementi. You can use hundreds of hours on a single calculation if you

³*ab-initio* is a Latin expression meaning “from the beginning”. Such programs are completely free of input parameters based on experiments.



Figure 4.14: **Enrico Clementi (born 1931) explained to us that microminiaturization would soon make computers hundreds of times faster, smaller and less expensive. He was completely right.**

want to, because you are sitting at IBM with your own dedicated computer. But what about the rest of us? What good are these programs to us?”

Clementi answered: “In a few years, computers will be hundreds of times faster, and they will also be cheaper.” The audience asked: “And how will this happen?”. Clementi answered: “Through microminiaturization.” He was completely right. That was exactly what happened.

4.7 The invention of transistors

Microelectronics

The problem of unreliable vacuum tubes was solved in 1948 by John Bardeen, William Shockley and Walter Brattain of the Bell Telephone Laboratories. Application of quantum theory to solids had led to an understanding of the electrical properties of crystals. Like atoms, crystals were found to have allowed and forbidden energy levels.

The allowed energy levels for an electron in a crystal were known to form bands, i.e., some energy ranges with many allowed states (allowed bands), and other energy ranges with none (forbidden bands). The lowest allowed bands were occupied by electrons, while higher bands were empty. The highest filled band was called the “valence band”, and the lowest empty band was called the “conduction band”.

According to quantum theory, whenever the valence band of a crystal is only partly filled, the crystal is a conductor of electricity; but if the valence band is completely filled with electrons, the crystal is an electrical insulator. (A completely filled band is analogous to a room so packed with people that none of them can move.)

In addition to conductors and insulators, quantum theory predicted the existence of “semiconductors” - crystals where the valence band is completely filled with electrons, but where the energy gap between the conduction band and the valence band is very small. For example, crystals of the elements silicon and germanium are semiconductors. For such a crystal, thermal energy is sometimes enough to lift an electron from the valence band to the conduction band.

Bardeen, Shockley and Brattain found ways to control the conductivity of germanium crystals by injecting electrons into the conduction band, or alternatively by removing electrons from the valence band. They could do this by “doping” the crystals with appropriate impurities, or by injecting electrons with a special electrode. The semiconducting crystals whose conductivity was controlled in this way could be used as electronic valves, in place of vacuum tubes.

By the 1960’s, replacement of vacuum tubes by transistors in electronic computers had led not only to an enormous increase in reliability and a great reduction in cost, but also to an enormous increase in speed. It was found that the limiting factor in computer speed was the time needed for an electrical signal to propagate from one part of the central processing unit to another. Since electrical impulses propagate with the speed of light, this time is extremely small; but nevertheless, it is the limiting factor in the speed of electronic computers.

4.8 The Traitorous Eight

According to the Wikipedia article on Shockley,

“In 1956 Shockley moved from New Jersey to Mountain View, California to start Shockley Semiconductor Laboratory to live closer to his ailing mother in Palo Alto, California. The company, a division of Beckman Instruments, Inc., was the first establishment working on silicon semiconductor devices in what came to be known as Silicon Valley.

“His way [of leading the group] could generally be summed up as domineering and increasingly paranoid. In one well-known incident, he claimed that a secretary’s cut thumb was the result of a malicious act and he demanded lie detector tests to find the culprit, when in reality, the secretary had simply grabbed at a door handle that happened to have an exposed tack on it for the purpose of hanging paper notes on. After he received the Nobel Prize in 1956 his demeanor changed, as evidenced in his increasingly autocratic, erratic and hard-to-please management style. In late 1957, eight of Shockley’s researchers, who would come to be known as the ‘traitorous eight, resigned after Shockley decided not to continue research into silicon-based semiconductors. They went on to form Fairchild Semiconductor, a loss from which Shockley Semiconductor never recovered. Over the course of the next 20 years, more than 65 new enterprises would end up having employee connections back to Fairchild.”



Figure 4.15: **William Shockley (1910-1989) shared the 1956 Nobel Prize in Physics with John Bardeen and Walter Brattain.**



Figure 4.16: **The Traitorous Eight: From left to right, Gordon Moore, C. Sheldon Roberts, Eugene Kleiner, Robert Noyce, Victor Grinich, Julius Blank, Jean Hoerni and Jay Last.**

4.9 Integrated circuits

In order to reduce the propagation time, computer designers tried to make the central processing units very small; and the result was the development of integrated circuits and microelectronics. (Another motive for miniaturization of electronics came from the requirements of space exploration.)

Integrated circuits were developed in which single circuit elements were not manufactured separately. Instead, the whole circuit was made at one time. An integrated circuit is a sandwich-like structure, with conducting, resisting and insulating layers interspersed with layers of germanium or silicon, “doped ” with appropriate impurities. At the start of the manufacturing process, an engineer makes a large drawing of each layer. For example, the drawing of a conducting layer would contain pathways which fill the role played by wires in a conventional circuit, while the remainder of the layer would consist of areas destined to be etched away by acid.

The next step is to reduce the size of the drawing and to multiply it photographically. The pattern of the layer is thus repeated many times, like the design on a piece of wallpaper. The multiplied and reduced drawing is then focused through a reversed microscope onto the surface to be etched.

Successive layers are built up by evaporating or depositing thin films of the appropriate substances onto the surface of a silicon or germanium wafer. If the layer being made is to be conducting, the surface would consist of an extremely thin layer of copper, covered with a photosensitive layer called a “photoresist”. On those portions of the surface receiving light from the pattern, the photoresist becomes insoluble, while on those areas not receiving light, the photoresist can be washed away.

The surface is then etched with acid, which removes the copper from those areas not protected by photoresist. Each successive layer of a wafer is made in this way, and finally the wafer is cut into tiny “chips”, each of which corresponds to one unit of the wallpaper-like pattern.

Although the area of a chip may be much smaller than a square centimeter, the chip can contain an extremely complex circuit. A typical programmable minicomputer or “microprocessor”, manufactured during the 1970’s, could have 30,000 circuit elements, all of which were contained on a single chip. By 1986, more than a million transistors were being placed on a single chip.

As a result of miniaturization, the speed of computers rose steadily. In 1960, the fastest computers could perform a hundred thousand elementary operations in a second. By 1970, the fastest computers took less than a second to perform a million such operations. In 1987, a computer called GF11 was designed to perform 11 billion floating-point operations (flops) per second.

GF11 (Gigaflop 11) is a scientific parallel-processing machine constructed by IBM. Approximately ten floating-point operations are needed for each machine instruction. Thus GF11 runs at the rate of approximately a thousand million instructions per second (1,100 MIPS). The high speed achieved by parallel-processing machines results from dividing a job into many sub-jobs on which a large number of processing units can work simultaneously.

Computer memories have also undergone a remarkable development. In 1987, the magnetic disc memories being produced could store 20 million bits of information per square inch; and even higher densities could be achieved by optical storage devices. (A “bit” is the unit of information. For example, the number 25, written in the binary system, is 11001. To specify this 5-digit binary number requires 5 bits of information. To specify an n -digit binary number requires n bits of information. Eight bits make a “byte”.)

In the 1970's and 1980's, computer networks were set up linking machines in various parts of the world. It became possible (for example) for a scientist in Europe to perform a calculation interactively on a computer in the United States just as though the distant machine were in the same room; and two or more computers could be linked for performing large calculations. It also became possible to exchange programs, data, letters and manuscripts very rapidly through the computer networks.

4.10 Moore's law

In 1965, only four years after the first integrated circuits had been produced, Dr. Gordon E. Moore, one of the founders of Intel, made a famous prediction which has come to be known as “Moore's Law”. He predicted that the number of transistors per integrated circuit would double every two years, and that this trend would continue through 1975. In fact, the general trend predicted by Moore has continued for a much longer time. Although the number of transistors per unit area has not continued to double every two years, the logic density (bits per unit area) has done so, and thus a modified version of Moore's law still holds today. How much longer the trend can continue remains to be seen. Physical limits to miniaturization of transistors of the present type will soon be reached; but there is hope that further miniaturization can be achieved through “quantum dot” technology, molecular switches, and autoassembly.

A typical programmable minicomputer or “microprocessor”, manufactured in the 1970's, could have 30,000 circuit elements, all of which were contained on a single chip. By 1989, more than a million transistors were being placed on a single chip; and by 2000, the number reached 42,000,000.

As a result of miniaturization and parallelization, the speed of computers rose exponentially. In 1960, the fastest computers could perform a hundred thousand elementary operations in a second. By 1970, the fastest computers took less than a second to perform a million such operations. In 1987, a massively parallel computer, with 566 parallel processors, called GF11 was designed to perform 11 billion floating-point operations per second (flops). By 2002 the fastest computer performed 40 at teraflops, making use of 5120 parallel CPU's.

Computer disk storage has also undergone a remarkable development. In 1987, the magnetic disk storage being produced could store 20 million bits of information per square inch; and even higher densities could be achieved by optical storage devices. Storage density has until followed a law similar to Moore's law.

In the 1970's and 1980's, computer networks were set up linking machines in various



Figure 4.17: Gordon E. Moore (born 1929), a founder of Intel and the author of Moore's Law. In 1965 he predicted that the number of components in integrated circuits would double every year for the next 10 years". In 1975 he predicted the this doubling would continue, but revised the doubling rate to "every two years. Astonishingly, Moore's Law has held much longer than he, or anyone else, anticipated.

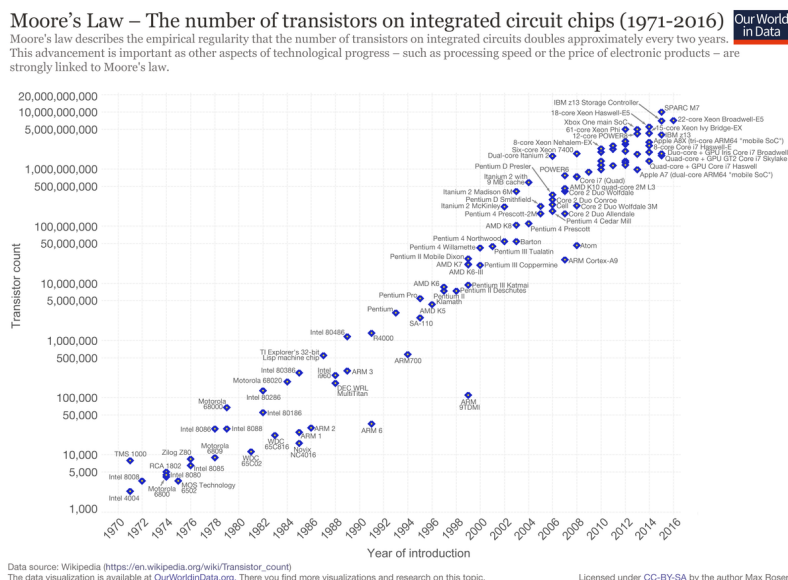


Figure 4.18: Amazingly, Moore's Law has held much longer than he, or anyone else, anticipated. Perhaps quantum dot technologies can extend its validity even longer.

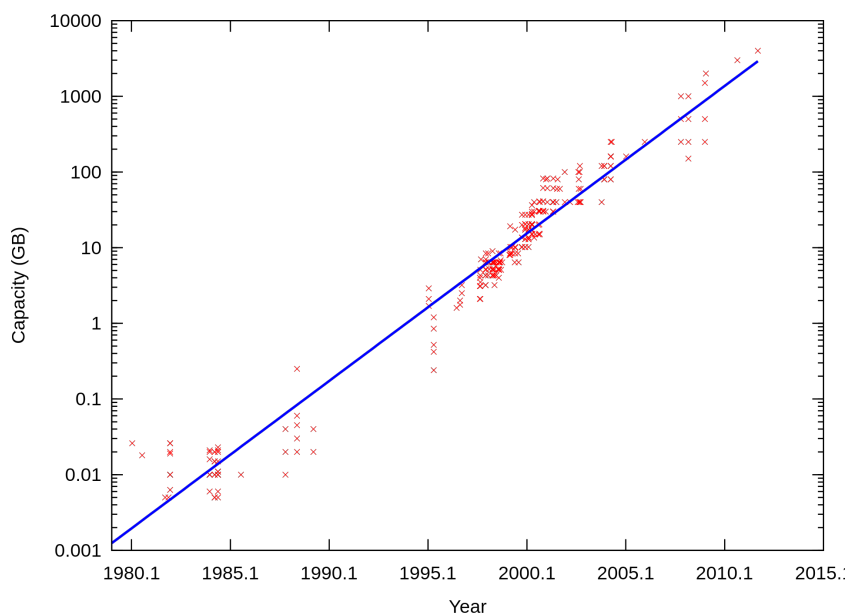


Figure 4.19: A logarithmic plot of the increase in PC hard-drive capacity in gigabytes. An extrapolation of the rate of increase predicts that the individual capacity of a commercially available PC will reach 10,000 gigabytes by 2015, i.e. 10,000,000,000,000 bytes. (After Hankwang and Rentar, Wikimedia Commons)

parts of the world. It became possible (for example) for a scientist in Europe to perform a calculation interactively on a computer in the United States just as though the distant machine were in the same room; and two or more computers could be linked for performing large calculations. It also became possible to exchange programs, data, letters and manuscripts very rapidly through the computer networks.

The exchange of large quantities of information through computer networks was made easier by the introduction of fiber optics cables. By 1986, 250,000 miles of such cables had been installed in the United States. If a ray of light, propagating in a medium with a large refractive index, strikes the surface of the medium at a grazing angle, then the ray undergoes total internal reflection. This phenomenon is utilized in fiber optics: A light signal can propagate through a long, hairlike glass fiber, following the bends of the fiber without losing intensity because of total internal reflection. However, before fiber optics could be used for information transmission over long distances, a technological breakthrough in glass manufacture was needed, since the clearest glass available in 1940 was opaque in lengths more than 10 m. Through studies of the microscopic properties of glasses, the problem of absorption was overcome. By 1987, devices were being manufactured commercially that were capable of transmitting information through fiber-optic cables at the rate of 1.7 billion bits per second.

4.11 Self-reinforcing information accumulation

Humans have been living on the earth for roughly two million years (more or less, depending on where one draws the line between our human and prehuman ancestors, Table 6.1). During almost all of this time, our ancestors lived by hunting and food-gathering. They were not at all numerous, and did not stand out conspicuously from other animals. Then, suddenly, during the brief space of ten thousand years, our species exploded in numbers from a few million to seven billion, populating all parts of the earth, and even setting foot on the moon. This population explosion, which is still going on, has been the result of dramatic cultural changes. Genetically we are almost identical with our hunter-gatherer ancestors, who lived ten thousand years ago, but cultural evolution has changed our way of life beyond recognition.

Beginning with the development of speech, human cultural evolution began to accelerate. It started to move faster with the agricultural revolution, and faster still with the invention of writing and printing. Finally, modern science has accelerated the rate of social and cultural change to a completely unprecedented speed.

The growth of modern science is accelerating because knowledge feeds on itself. A new idea or a new development may lead to several other innovations, which can in turn start an avalanche of change. For example, the quantum theory of atomic structure led to the invention of transistors, which made high-speed digital computers possible. Computers have not only produced further developments in quantum theory; they have also revolutionized many other fields.

The self-reinforcing accumulation of knowledge - the information explosion - which

characterizes modern human society is reflected not only in an explosively-growing global population, but also in the number of scientific articles published, which doubles roughly every ten years. Another example is Moore's law - the doubling of the information density of integrated circuits every two years. Yet another example is the explosive growth of Internet traffic shown in Table 17.1.

The Internet itself is the culmination of a trend towards increasing societal information exchange - the formation of a collective human consciousness. This collective consciousness preserves the observations of millions of eyes, the experiments of millions of hands, the thoughts of millions of brains; and it does not die when the individual dies.

4.12 Automation

During the last three decades, the cost of computing has decreased exponentially by between twenty and thirty percent per year. Meanwhile, the computer industry has grown exponentially by twenty percent per year (faster than any other industry). The astonishing speed of this development has been matched by the speed with which computers have become part of the fabric of science, engineering, industry, commerce, communications, transport, publishing, education and daily life in the industrialized parts of the world.

The speed, power and accuracy of computers has revolutionized many branches of science. For example, before the era of computers, the determination of a simple molecular structure by the analysis of X-ray diffraction data often took years of laborious calculation; and complicated structures were completely out of reach. In 1949, however, Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin used an electronic computer to work out the structure of penicillin from X-ray data. This was the first application of a computer to a biochemical problem; and it was followed by the analysis of progressively larger and more complex structures.

Proteins, DNA, and finally even the detailed structures of viruses were studied through the application of computers in crystallography. The enormous amount of data needed for such studies was gathered automatically by computer-controlled diffractometers; and the final results were stored in magnetic-tape data banks, available to users through computer networks.

The application of quantum theory to chemical problems is another field of science which owes its development to computers. When Erwin Schrödinger wrote down his wave equation in 1926, it became possible, in principle, to calculate most of the physical and chemical properties of matter. However, the solutions to the Schrödinger equation for many-particle systems can only be found approximately; and before the advent of computers, even approximate solutions could not be found, except for the simplest systems.

When high-speed electronic digital computers became widely available in the 1960's, it suddenly became possible to obtain solutions to the Schrödinger equation for systems of chemical and even biochemical interest. Quantum chemistry (pioneered by such men as J.C. Slater, R.S. Mulliken, D.R. Hartree, V. Fock, J.H. Van Vleck, L. Pauling, E.B. Wilson, P.O. Löwdin, E. Clementi, C.J. Ballhausen and others) developed into a rapidly-growing field, as did solid state physics. Through the use of computers, it became possible to

design new materials with desired chemical, mechanical, electrical or magnetic properties. Applying computers to the analysis of reactive scattering experiments, D. Herschbach, J. Polanyi and Y. Lee were able to achieve an understanding of the dynamics of chemical reactions.

The successes of quantum chemistry led Albert Szent-Györgyi, A. and B. Pullman, H. Scheraga and others to pioneer the fields of quantum biochemistry and molecular dynamics. Computer programs for drug design were developed, as well as molecular-dynamics programs which allowed the conformations of proteins to be calculated from a knowledge of their amino acid sequences. Studies in quantum biochemistry have yielded insights into the mechanisms of enzyme action, photosynthesis, active transport of ions across membranes, and other biochemical processes.

In medicine, computers began to be used for monitoring the vital signs of critically ill patients, for organizing the information flow within hospitals, for storing patients' records, for literature searches, and even for differential diagnosis of diseases.

The University of Pennsylvania has developed a diagnostic program called INTERNIST-1, with a knowledge of 577 diseases and their interrelations, as well as 4,100 signs, symptoms and patient characteristics. This program was shown to perform almost as well as an academic physician in diagnosing difficult cases. QMR (Quick Medical Reference), a microcomputer adaptation of INTERNIST-1, incorporates the diagnostic functions of the earlier program, and also offers an electronic textbook mode.

Beginning in the 1960's, computers played an increasingly important role in engineering and industry. For example, in the 1960's, Rolls Royce Ltd. began to use computers not only to design the optimal shape of turbine blades for aircraft engines, but also to control the precision milling machines which made the blades. In this type of computer-assisted design and manufacture, no drawings were required. Furthermore, it became possible for an industry requiring a part from a subcontractor to send the machine-control instructions for its fabrication through the computer network to the subcontractor, instead of sending drawings of the part.

In addition to computer-controlled machine tools, robots were also introduced. They were often used for hazardous or monotonous jobs, such as spray-painting automobiles; and they could be programmed by going through the job once manually in the programming mode. By 1987, the population of robots in the United States was between 5,000 and 7,000, while in Japan, the Industrial Robot Association reported a robot population of 80,000.

Chemical industries began to use sophisticated computer programs to control and to optimize the operations of their plants. In such control systems, sensors reported current temperatures, pressures, flow rates, etc. to the computer, which then employed a mathematical model of the plant to calculate the adjustments needed to achieve optimum operating conditions.

Not only industry, but also commerce, felt the effects of computerization during the postwar period. Commerce is an information-intensive activity; and in fact some of the crucial steps in the development of information-handling technology developed because of the demands of commerce: The first writing evolved from records of commercial transactions kept on clay tablets in the Middle East; and automatic business machines, using

punched cards, paved the way for the development of the first programmable computers.

Computerization has affected wholesaling, warehousing, retailing, banking, stockmarket transactions, transportation of goods - in fact, all aspects of commerce. In wholesaling, electronic data is exchanged between companies by means of computer networks, allowing order-processing to be handled automatically; and similarly, electronic data on prices is transmitted to buyers.

The key to automatic order-processing in wholesaling was standardization. In the United States, the Food Marketing Institute, the Grocery Manufacturers of America, and several other trade organizations, established the Uniform Communications System (UCS) for the grocery industry. This system specifies a standard format for data on products, prices and orders.

Automatic warehouse systems were designed as early as 1958. In such systems, the goods to be stored are placed on pallets (portable platforms), which are stacked automatically in aisles of storage cubicles. A computer records the position of each item for later automatic retrieval.

In retailing, just as in wholesaling, standardization proved to be the key requirement for automation. Items sold in supermarkets in most industrialized countries are now labeled with a standard system of machine-readable thick and thin bars known as the Universal Product Code (UPC). The left-hand digits of the code specify the manufacturer or packer of the item, while the right-hand set of digits specify the nature of the item. A final digit is included as a check, to make sure that the others were read correctly. This last digit (called a modulo check digit) is the smallest number which yields a multiple of ten when added to the sum of the previous digits.

When a customer goes through a check-out line, the clerk passes the purchased items over a laser beam and photocell, thus reading the UPC code into a small embedded computer or microprocessor at the checkout counter, which adds the items to the customer's bill. The microprocessor also sends the information to a central computer and inventory data base. When stocks of an item become low, the central computer generates a replacement order. The financial book-keeping for the retailing operation is also carried out automatically by the central computer.

In many places, a customer passing through the checkout counter of a supermarket is able to pay for his or her purchases by means of a plastic card with a magnetic, machine-readable identification number. The amount of the purchase is then transmitted through a computer network and deducted automatically from the customer's bank account. If the customer pays by check, the supermarket clerk may use a special terminal to determine whether a check written by the customer has ever "bounced".

Most checks are identified by a set of numbers written in the Magnetic-Ink Character Recognition (MICR) system. In 1958, standards for the MICR system were established, and by 1963, 85 percent of all checks written in the United States were identified by MICR numbers. By 1968, almost all banks had adopted this system; and thus the administration of checking accounts was automated, as well as the complicated process by which a check, deposited anywhere in the world, returns to the payers bank.

Container ships were introduced in the late 1950's, and since that time, container sys-

tems have increased cargo-handling speeds in ports by at least an order of magnitude. Computer networks contributed greatly to the growth of the container system of transportation by keeping track of the position, ownership and contents of the containers.

In transportation, just as in wholesaling and retailing, standardization proved to be a necessary requirement for automation. Containers of a standard size and shape could be loaded and unloaded at ports by specialized tractors and cranes which required only a very small staff of operators. Standard formats for computerized manifests, control documents, and documents for billing and payment, were instituted by the Transportation Data Coordinating Committee, a non-profit organization supported by dues from shipping firms.

In the industrialized parts of the world, almost every type of work has been made more efficient by computerization and automation. Even artists, musicians, architects and authors find themselves making increasing use of computers: Advanced computing systems, using specialized graphics chips, speed the work of architects and film animators. The author's traditional typewriter has been replaced by a word-processor, the composer's piano by a music synthesizer.

In the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, muscles were replaced by machines. Computerization represents a Second Industrial Revolution: Machines have begun to perform not only tasks which once required human muscles, but also tasks which formerly required human intelligence.

In industrial societies, the mechanization of agriculture has very much reduced the fraction of the population living on farms. For example, in the United States, between 1820 and 1980, the fraction of workers engaged in agriculture fell from 72 percent to 3.1 percent. There are signs that computerization and automation will similarly reduce the number of workers needed in industry and commerce.

Computerization is so recent that, at present, we can only see the beginnings of its impact; but when the Second Industrial Revolution is complete, how will it affect society? When our children finish their education, will they face technological unemployment?

The initial stages of the First Industrial Revolution produced much suffering, because labor was regarded as a commodity to be bought and sold according to the laws of supply and demand, with almost no consideration for the needs of the workers. Will we repeat this mistake? Or will society learn from its earlier experience, and use the technology of automation to achieve widely-shared human happiness?

The Nobel-laureate economist, Wassily W. Leontief, has made the following comment on the problem of technological unemployment:

"Adam and Eve enjoyed, before they were expelled from Paradise, a high standard of living without working. After their expulsion, they and their successors were condemned to eke out a miserable existence, working from dawn to dusk. The history of technological progress over the last 200 years is essentially the story of the human species working its way slowly and steadily back into Paradise. What would happen, however, if we suddenly found ourselves in it? With all goods and services provided without work, no one would be gainfully employed. Being unemployed means receiving no wages. As a result, until appropriate new income policies were formulated to fit the changed technological conditions,

everyone would starve in Paradise.”

To say the same thing in a slightly different way: consider what will happen when a factory which now employs a thousand workers introduces microprocessor-controlled industrial robots and reduces its work force to only fifty. What will the nine hundred and fifty redundant workers do? They will not be able to find jobs elsewhere in industry, commerce or agriculture, because all over the economic landscape, the scene will be the same.

There will still be much socially useful work to be done - for example, taking care of elderly people, beautifying the cities, starting youth centers, planting forests, cleaning up pollution, building schools in developing countries, and so on. These socially beneficial goals are not commercially “profitable”. They are rather the sort of projects which governments sometimes support if they have the funds for it. However, the money needed to usefully employ the nine hundred and fifty workers will not be in the hands of the government. It will be in the hands of the factory owner who has just automated his production line.

In order to make the economic system function again, either the factory owner will have to be persuaded to support socially beneficial but commercially unprofitable projects, or else an appreciable fraction of his profits will have to be transferred to the government, which will then be able to constructively re-employ the redundant workers.

The future problems of automation and technological unemployment may force us to rethink some of our economic ideas. It is possible that helping young people to make a smooth transition from education to secure jobs will become one of the important responsibilities of governments, even in countries whose economies are based on free enterprise. If such a change does take place in the future, while at the same time socialistic countries are adopting a few of the better features of free enterprise, then one can hope that the world will become less sharply divided by contrasting economic systems.

4.13 Neural networks

Physiologists have begun to make use of insights derived from computer design in their efforts to understand the mechanism of the brain; and computer designers are beginning to construct computers modeled after neural networks. We may soon see the development of computers capable of learning complex ideas, generalization, value judgements, artistic creativity, and much else that was once thought to be uniquely characteristic of the human mind. Efforts to design such computers will undoubtedly give us a better understanding of the way in which the brain performs its astonishing functions.

Much of our understanding of the nervous systems of higher animals is due to the Spanish microscopist, Ramón y Cajal, and to the English physiologists, Alan Hodgkin and Andrew Huxley. Cajal’s work, which has been confirmed and elaborated by modern electron microscopy, showed that the central nervous system is a network of nerve cells (neurons) and threadlike fibers growing from them. Each neuron has many input fibers (dendrites), and one output fiber (the axon), which may have several branches.

It is possible the computers of the future will have pattern-recognition and learning abilities derived from architecture inspired by our understanding of the synapse, by Young's model, or by other biological models. However, pattern recognition and learning can also be achieved by programming, using computers of conventional architecture. Programs already exist which allow computers to understand both handwriting and human speech; and a recent chess-playing program was able to learn by studying a large number of championship games. Having optimized its parameters by means of this learning experience, the chess-playing program was able to win against grand masters!

Like nuclear physics and genesplicing, artificial intelligence presents a challenge: Will society use its new powers wisely and humanely? The computer technology of the future can liberate us from dull and repetitive work, and allow us to use our energies creatively; or it can produce unemployment and misery, depending on how we organize our society. Which will we choose?

The merging of information technology and biotechnology

Information technology and biology are today the two most rapidly developing fields of science. Interestingly, these two fields seem to be merging, each gaining inspiration and help from the other. For example, computer scientists designing both hardware and software are gaining inspiration from physiological studies of the mechanism of the brain; and conversely, neurophysiologists are aided by insights from the field of artificial intelligence. Designers of integrated circuits wish to prolong the period of validity of Moore's law; but they are rapidly approaching physical barriers which will set limits to the miniaturization of conventional transistors and integrated circuits. They gain inspiration from biology, where the language of molecular complementarity and the principle of autoassembly seem to offer hope that molecular switches and self-assembled integrated circuits may one day be constructed.

Geneticists, molecular biologists, biochemists and crystallographers have now obtained so much information about the amino acid sequences and structures of proteins and about the nucleotide sequences in genomes that the full power of modern information technology is needed to store and to analyze this information. Computer scientists, for their part, turn to evolutionary genetics for new and radical methods of developing both software and hardware - genetic algorithms and simulated evolution.

Self-assembly of supramolecular structures; Nanoscience

In previous chapters, we saw that the language of molecular complementarity (the "lock and key" fitting discovered by Paul Ehrlich) is the chief mechanism by which information is stored and transferred in biological systems. Biological molecules have physical shapes and patterns of excess charge⁴ which are recognized by complementary molecules because

⁴ They also have patterns of polarizable groups and reactive groups, and these patterns can also play a role in recognition.

they fit together, just as a key fits the shape of a lock. Examples of biological “lock and key” fitting are the fit between the substrate of an enzyme and the enzyme’s active site, the recognition of an antigen by its specific antibody, the specificity of base pairs in DNA and RNA, and the autoassembly of structures such as viruses and subcellular organelles.

One of the best studied examples of autoassembly through the mechanism of molecular complementarity is the tobacco mosaic virus. The assembled virus has a cylindrical form about 300 nm long ($1 \text{ nm} = 1 \text{ nanometer} = 10^{-9} \text{ meters} = 10 \text{ \AA}$), with a width of 18 nm. The cylindrically shaped virus is formed from about 2000 identical protein molecules. These form a package around an RNA molecule with a length of approximately 6400 nucleotides. The tobacco mosaic virus can be decomposed into its constituent molecules in vitro, and the protein and RNA can be separated and put into separate bottles, as was discussed in Chapter 4.

If, at a later time, one mixes the protein and RNA molecules together in solution, they spontaneously assemble themselves into new infective tobacco mosaic virus particles. The mechanism for this spontaneous autoassembly is a random motion of the molecules through the solvent until they approach each other in such a way that a fit is formed. When two molecules fit closely together, with their physical contours matching, and with complementary patterns of excess charge also matching, the Gibbs free energy of the total system is minimized. Thus the self-assembly of matching components proceeds spontaneously, just as every other chemical reaction proceeds spontaneously when the difference in Gibbs free energy between the products and reactants is negative. The process of autoassembly is analogous to crystallization, except that the structure formed is more complex than an ordinary crystal.

A second very well-studied example of biological autoassembly is the spontaneous formation of bilayer membranes when phospholipid molecules are shaken together in water. Each phospholipid molecule has a small polar (hydrophilic) head, and a long nonpolar (hydrophobic) tail. The polar head is hydrophilic - water-loving - because it has large excess charges with which water can form hydrogen bonds. By contrast, the non-polar tail of a phospholipid molecule has no appreciable excess charges. The tail is hydrophobic - it hates water - because to fit into the water structure it has to break many hydrogen bonds to make a hole for itself, but it cannot pay for these broken bonds by forming new hydrogen bonds with water.

There is a special configuration of the system of water and phospholipid molecules which has a very low Gibbs free energy - the lipid bilayer. In this configuration, all the hydrophilic polar heads are in contact with water, while the hydrophobic nonpolar tails are in the interior of the double membrane, away from the water, and in close contact with each other, thus maximizing their mutual Van der Waals attractions. (The basic structure of biological membranes is the lipid bilayer just described, but there are also other components, such as membrane-bound proteins, caveolae, and ion pores.)

The mechanism of self-organization of supramolecular structures is one of the most important universal mechanisms of biology. Chemical reactions take place spontaneously when the change in Gibbs free energy produced by the reaction is negative, i.e., chemical reactions take place in such a direction that the entropy of the universe increases.

When spontaneous chemical reactions take place, the universe moves from a less probable configuration to a more probable one. The same principle controls the motion of larger systems, where molecules arrange themselves spontaneously to form supramolecular structures. Self-assembling collections of molecules move in such a way as to minimize their Gibbs free energy, thus maximizing the entropy of the universe.

Biological structures of all kinds are formed spontaneously from their components because assembly information is written onto their joining surfaces in the form of complementary surface contours and complementary patterns of excess charge⁵. Matching pieces fit together, and the Gibbs free energy of the system is minimized. Virtually every structure observed in biology is formed in this way - by a process analogous to crystallization, except that biological structures can be far more complex than ordinary crystals.

Researchers in microelectronics, inspired by the self-assembly of biological structures, dream of using the same principles to generate self-organizing integrated circuits with features so small as to approach molecular dimensions. As we mentioned in Chapter 7, the speed of a computing operation is limited by the time that it takes an electrical signal (moving at approximately the speed of light) to traverse a processing unit. The desire to produce ever greater computation speeds as well as ever greater memory densities, motivates the computer industry's drive towards ultraminiaturization.

Currently the fineness of detail in integrated circuits is limited by diffraction effects caused by the finite wavelength of the light used to project an image of the circuit onto a layer of photoresist covering the chip where the circuit is being built up. For this reason, there is now very active research on photolithography using light sources with extremely short wavelengths, in the deep ultraviolet, or even X-ray sources, synchrotron radiation, or electron beams. The aim of this research is to produce integrated circuits whose feature size is in the nanometer range - smaller than 100 nm. In addition to these efforts to create nanocircuits by "top down" methods, intensive research is also being conducted on "bottom up" synthesis, using principles inspired by biological self-assembly. The hope to make use of "the spontaneous association of molecules, under equilibrium conditions, into stable, structurally well-defined aggregates, joined by non-covalent bonds"⁶

The Nobel Laureate Belgian chemist J.-M. Lehn pioneered the field of supramolecular chemistry by showing that it is possible to build nanoscale structures of his own design. Lehn and his coworkers at the University of Strasbourg used positively-charged metal ions as a kind of glue to join larger structural units at points where the large units exhibited excess negative charges. Lehn predicts that the supramolecular chemistry of the future will follow the same principles of self-organization which underlie the growth of biological structures, but with a greatly expanded repertory, making use of elements (such as silicon) that are not common in carbon-based biological systems.

Other workers in nanotechnology have concentrated on the self-assembly of two-dimensional structures at water-air interfaces. For example, Thomas Bjørnholm, working at the University of Copenhagen, has shown that a nanoscale wire can be assembled spontaneously at

⁵ Patterns of reactive or polarizable groups also play a role.

⁶ G.M. Whiteside et al., *Science*, **254**, 1312-1314, (1991).

a water-air interface, using metal atoms complexed with DNA and a DNA template. The use of a two-dimensional template to reproduce a nanostructure can be thought of as “microprinting”. One can also think of self-assembly at surfaces as the two-dimensional version of the one-dimensional copying process by which a new DNA or RNA strand assembles itself spontaneously, guided by the complementary strand.

In 1981, Gerd Binnig and Heinrich Rohrer of IBM’s Research Center in Switzerland announced their invention of the scanning tunneling microscope. The new microscope’s resolution was so great that single atoms could be observed. The scanning tunneling microscope consists of a supersharp conducting tip, which is brought near enough to a surface so that quantum mechanical tunneling of electrons can take place between tip and surface when a small voltage is applied. The distance between the supersharp tip and the surface is controlled by means of a piezoelectric crystal. As the tip is moved along the surface, its distance from the surface (and hence the tunneling current) is kept constant by applying a voltage to the piezoelectric crystal, and this voltage as a function of position gives an image of the surface.

Variations on the scanning tunneling microscope allow single atoms to be deposited or manipulated on a surface. Thus there is a hope that nanoscale circuit templates can be constructed by direct manipulation of atoms and molecules, and that the circuits can afterwards be reproduced using autoassembly mechanisms.

The scanning tunneling microscope makes use of a quantum mechanical effect: Electrons exhibit wavelike properties, and can tunnel small distances into regions of negative kinetic energy - regions which would be forbidden to them by classical mechanics. In general it is true that for circuit elements with feature sizes in the nanometer range, quantum effects become important. For conventional integrated circuits, the quantum effects which are associated with this size-range would be a nuisance, but workers in nanotechnology hope to design integrated circuits which specifically make use of these quantum effects.

Molecular switches; bacteriorhodopsin

The purple, salt-loving archaebacterium *Halobacterium halobium* (recently renamed *Halobacterium salinarum*) possesses one of the simplest structures that is able to perform photosynthesis. The purple membrane subtraction of this bacterium’s cytoplasmic membrane contains only two kinds of molecules - lipids and bacteriorhodopsin. Nevertheless, this simple structure is able to trap the energy of a photon from the sun and to convert it into chemical energy.

The remarkable purple membrane of *Halobacterium* has been studied in detail by Walter Stoeckenius, D. Osterhelt⁷, Lajos Keszthelyi and others.

It can be decomposed into its constituent molecules. The lipids from the membrane and the bacteriorhodopsin can be separated from each other and put into different bottles.

⁷ D. Osterhelt and Walter Stoeckenius, *Nature New Biol.* **233**, 149-152 (1971); D. Osterhelt et al., *Quart. Rev. Biophys.* **24**, 425-478 (1991); W. Stoeckenius and R. Bogomolni, *Ann. Rev. Biochem.* **52**, 587-616 (1982).

At a later time, the two bottles can be taken from the laboratory shelf, and their contents can be shaken together in water. The result is the spontaneous formation of tiny vesicles of purple membrane.

In the self-organized two-component vesicles, the membrane-bound protein bacteriorhodopsin is always correctly oriented, just as it would be in the purple membrane of a living *Halobacterium*. When the vesicles are illuminated, bacteriorhodopsin absorbs H^+ ions from the water on the inside, and releases them outside.

Bacteriorhodopsin consists of a chain of 224 amino acids, linked to the retinal chromophore. The amino acids are arranged in 7 helical segments, each of which spans the purple membrane, and these are joined on the membrane surface by short nonhelical segments of the chain. The chromophore is in the middle of the membrane, surrounded by α -helical segments. When the chromophore is illuminated, its color is temporarily bleached, and it undergoes a cis-trans isomerization which disrupts the hydrogen-bonding network of the protein. The result is that a proton is released on the outside of the membrane. Later, a proton is absorbed from the water in the interior of the membrane vesicle, the hydrogen-bonding system of the protein is reestablished, and both the protein and the chromophore return to their original conformations. In this way, bacteriorhodopsin functions as a proton pump. It uses the energy of photons to transport H^+ ions across the membrane, from the inside to the outside, against the electrochemical gradient. In the living *Halobacterium*, this H^+ concentration difference would be used to drive the synthesis of the high-energy phosphate bond of adenosine triphosphate (ATP), the inward passage of H^+ through other parts of the cytoplasmic membrane being coupled to the reaction $ADP + P_i \rightarrow ATP$ by membrane-bound reversible ATPase.

Bacteriorhodopsin is interesting as a component of one of the simplest known photosynthetic systems, and because of its possible relationship to the evolution of the eye (as was discussed in Chapter 3). In addition, researchers like Lajos Keszthelyi at the Institute of Biophysics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Szeged are excited about the possible use of bacteriorhodopsin in optical computer memories⁸. Arrays of oriented and partially dehydrated bacteriorhodopsin molecules in a plastic matrix can be used to construct both 2-dimensional and 3-dimensional optical memories using the reversible color changes of the molecule. J. Chen and coworkers⁹ have recently constructed a prototype 3-dimensional optical memory by orienting the proteins and afterwards polymerizing the solvent into a solid polyacrylamide matrix. Bacteriorhodopsin has extraordinary stability, and can tolerate as many as a million optical switching operations without damage.

Neural networks, biological and artificial

In 1943, W. McCulloch and W. Pitts published a paper entitled *A Logical Calculus of the Ideas Immanent in Nervous Activity*. In this pioneering paper, they proposed the idea of a Threshold Logic Unit (TLU), which they visualized not only as a model of the way in

⁸ A. Der and L. Keszthelyi, editors, *Bioelectronic Applications of Photochromic Pigments*, IOS Press, Amsterdam, Netherlands, (2001).

⁹ J. Chen et al., *Biosystems* **35**, 145-151 (1995).

which neurons function in the brain but also as a possible subunit for artificial systems which might be constructed to perform learning and pattern-recognition tasks. Problems involving learning, generalization, pattern recognition and noisy data are easily handled by the brains of humans and animals, but computers of the conventional von Neumann type find such tasks especially difficult.

Conventional computers consist of a memory and one or more central processing units (CPUs). Data and instructions are repeatedly transferred from the memory to the CPUs, where the data is processed and returned to the memory. The repeated performance of many such cycles requires a long and detailed program, as well as high-quality data. Thus conventional computers, despite their great speed and power, lack the robustness, intuition, learning powers and powers of generalization which characterize biological neural networks. In the 1950's, following the suggestions of McCulloch and Pitts, and inspired by the growing knowledge of brain structure and function which was being gathered by histologists and neurophysiologists, computer scientists began to construct artificial neural networks - massively parallel arrays of TLU's.

The analogy between a TLU and a neuron can be seen by comparing Figure 5.2, which shows a neuron, with Figure 8.1, which shows a TLU. As we saw in Chapter 5, a neuron is a specialized cell consisting of a cell body (*soma*) from which an extremely long, tubelike fiber called an *axon* grows. The axon is analogous to the output channel of a TLU. From the soma, a number of slightly shorter, rootlike extensions called *dendrites* also grow. The dendrites are analogous to the input channels of a TLU.

In a biological neural network, branches from the axon of a neuron are connected to the dendrites of many other neurons; and at the points of connection there are small, knoblike structures called synapses. As was discussed in Chapter 5, the "firing" of a neuron sends a wave of depolarization out along its axon. When the pulselike electrical and chemical disturbance associated with the wave of depolarization (the action potential) reaches a synapse, where the axon is connected with another neuron, transmitter molecules are released into the post-synaptic cleft. The neurotransmitter molecules travel across the post-synaptic cleft to receptors on a dendrite of the next neuron in the net, where they are bound to receptors. There are many kinds of neurotransmitter molecules, some of which tend to make the firing of the next neuron more probable, and others which tend to inhibit its firing. When the neurotransmitter molecules are bound to the receptors, they cause a change in the dendritic membrane potential, either increasing or decreasing its polarization. The post-synaptic potentials from the dendrites are propagated to the soma; and if their sum exceeds a threshold value, the neuron fires. The subtlety of biological neural networks derives from the fact that there are many kinds of neurotransmitters and synapses, and from the fact that synapses are modified by their past history.

Turning to Figure 8.1, we can compare the biological neuron with the Threshold Logic Unit of McCulloch and Pitts. Like the neuron, the TLU has many input channels. To each of the N channels there is assigned a weight, $w_1, w_2, \dots, w_N$. The weights can be changed; and the set of weights gives the TLU its memory and learning capabilities. Modification of weights in the TLU is analogous to the modification of synapses in a neuron, depending on their history. In the most simple type of TLU, the input signals are either 0 or 1. These

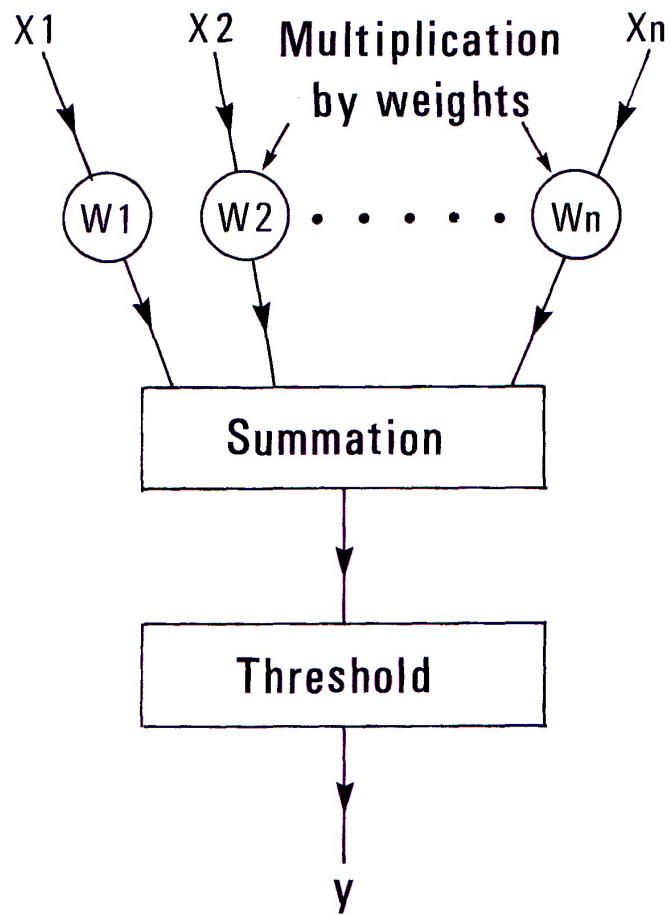


Figure 4.20: A Threshold Logic Unit (TLU) of the type proposed by McCulloch and Pitts.

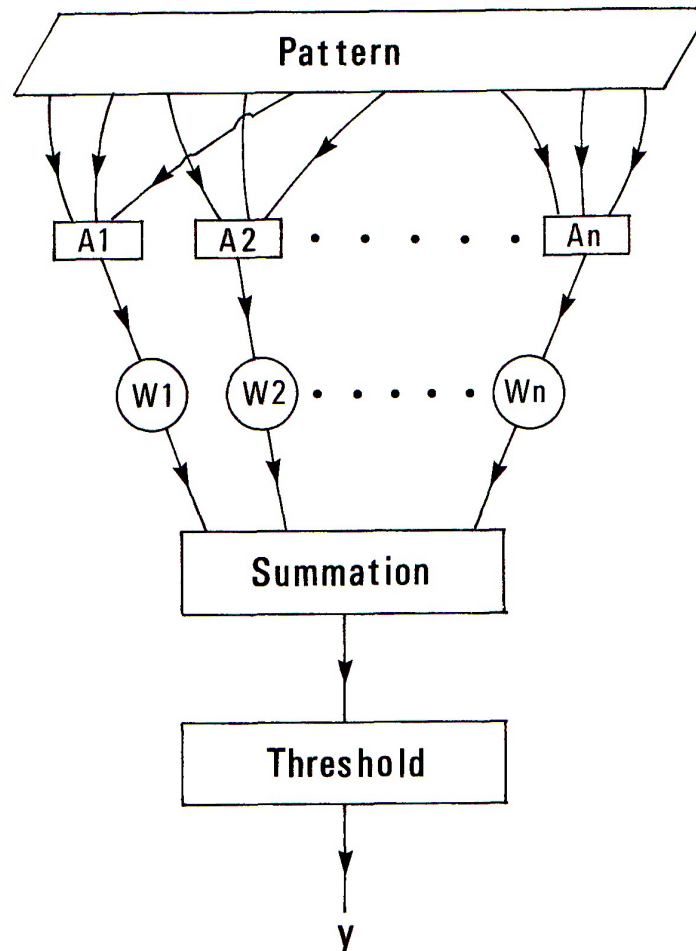


Figure 4.21: A perceptron, introduced by Rosenblatt in 1962. The perceptron is similar to a TLU, but its input is preprocessed by a set of association units (A-units). The A-units are not trained, but are assigned a fixed Boolean functionality.

signals, multiplied by their appropriate weights, are summed, and if the sum exceeds a threshold value, θ the TLU “fires”, i.e. a pulse of voltage is transmitted through the output channel to the next TLU in the artificial neural network.

Let us imagine that the input signals, $x_1, x_2, \dots, x_N$ can take on the values 0 or 1. The weighted sum of the input signals will then be given by

$$a = \sum_{j=1}^N w_j x_j \quad (4.1)$$

The quantity a , is called the *activation*. If the activation exceeds the threshold θ , the unit “fires”, i.e. it produces an output y given by

$$y = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } a \geq \theta \\ 0 & \text{if } a < \theta \end{cases} \quad (4.2)$$

The decisions taken by a TLU can be given a geometrical interpretation: The input signals can be thought of as forming the components of a vector, $\mathbf{x} = x_1, x_2, \dots, x_N$, in an N -dimensional space called pattern space. The weights also form a vector, $\mathbf{w} = w_1, w_2, \dots, w_N$, in the same space. If we write an equation setting the scalar product of these two vectors equal to some constant,

$$\mathbf{w} \cdot \mathbf{x} \equiv \sum_{j=1}^N w_j x_j = \theta \quad (4.3)$$

then this equation defines a hyperplane in pattern space, called the *decision hyperplane*. The decision hyperplane divides pattern space into two parts - (1) input pulse patterns which will produce firing of the TLU, and (2) patterns which will not cause firing.

The position and orientation of the decision hyperplane can be changed by altering the weight vector $\mathbf{w}$ and/or the threshold θ . Therefore it is convenient to put the threshold and the weights on the same footing by introducing an augmented weight vector,

$$\mathbf{W} = w_1, w_2, \dots, w_N, \theta \quad (4.4)$$

and an augmented input pattern vector,

$$\mathbf{X} = x_1, x_2, \dots, x_N, -1 \quad (4.5)$$

In the $N+1$ -dimensional augmented pattern space, the decision hyperplane now passes through the origin, and equation (4.3) can be rewritten in the form

$$\mathbf{W} \cdot \mathbf{X} \equiv \sum_{j=1}^{N+1} W_j X_j = 0 \quad (4.6)$$

Those input patterns for which the scalar product $\mathbf{W} \cdot \mathbf{X}$ is positive or zero will cause the unit to fire, but if the scalar product is negative, there will be no response.

If we wish to “teach” a TLU to fire when presented with a particular pattern vector $\mathbf{X}$, we can evaluate its scalar product with the current augmented weight vector $\mathbf{W}$. If this scalar product is negative, the TLU will not fire, and therefore we know that the weight vector needs to be changed. If we replace the weight vector by

$$\mathbf{W}' = \mathbf{W} + \gamma \mathbf{X} \quad (4.7)$$

where γ is a small positive number, then the new augmented weight vector $\mathbf{W}'$ will point in a direction more nearly the same as the direction of $\mathbf{X}$. This change will be a small step in the direction of making the scalar product positive, i.e. a small step in the right direction.

Why not take a large step instead of a small one? A small step is best because there may be a whole class of input patterns to which we would like the TLU to respond by firing. If we make a large change in weights to help a particular input pattern, it may undo previous learning with respect to other patterns.

It is also possible to teach a TLU to remain silent when presented with a particular input pattern vector. To do so we evaluate the augmented scalar product $\mathbf{W} \cdot \mathbf{X}$ as before, but now, when we desire silence rather than firing, we wish the scalar product to be negative, and if it is positive, we know that the weight vector must be changed. In changing the weight vector, we can again make use of equation (8.7), but now γ must be a small negative number rather than a small positive one.

Two sets of input patterns, A and B, are said to be linearly separable if they can be separated by some decision hyperplane in pattern space. Now suppose that the four sets, A, B, C, and D, can be separated by two decision hyperplanes. We can then construct a two-layer network which will identify the class of an input signal belonging to any one of the sets, as is illustrated in Figure 8.2.

The first layer consists of two TLU's. The first TLU in this layer is taught to fire if the input pattern belongs to A or B, and to be silent if the input belongs to C or D. The second TLU is taught to fire if the input pattern belongs to A or D, and to be silent if it belongs to B or C. The second layer of the network consists of four output units which are not taught, but which are assigned a fixed Boolean functionality. The first output unit fires if the signals from the first layer are given by the vector $\mathbf{y} = \{0, 0\}$ (class A); the second fires if $\mathbf{y} = \{0, 1\}$ (class B), the third if $\mathbf{y} = \{1, 0\}$ (class C), and the fourth if $\mathbf{y} = \{1, 1\}$ (class D). Thus the simple two-layer network shown in Figure 8.2 functions as a *classifier*. The output units in the second layer are analogous to the “grandmother’s face cells” whose existence in the visual cortex is postulated by neurophysiologists. These cells will fire if and only if the retina is stimulated with a particular class of patterns.

This very brief glance at artificial neural networks does not do justice to the high degree of sophistication which network architecture and training algorithms have achieved during the last two decades. However, the suggestions for further reading at the end of this chapter may help to give the reader an impression of the wide range of problems to which these networks are now being applied.

Besides being useful for computations requiring pattern recognition, learning, generalization, intuition, and robustness in the face of noisy data, artificial neural networks are

important because of the light which they throw on the mechanism of brain function. For example, one can compare the classifier network shown in Figure 8.2 with the discoveries of Kuffler, Hubel and Wessel concerning pattern abstraction in the mammalian retina and visual cortex (Chapter 5).

Genetic algorithms

Genetic algorithms represent a second approach to machine learning and to computational problems involving optimization. Like neural network computation, this alternative approach has been inspired by biology, and it has also been inspired by the Darwinian concept of natural selection. In a genetic algorithm, the hardware is that of a conventional computer; but the software creates a population and allows it to evolve in a manner closely analogous to biological evolution.

One of the most important pioneers of genetic algorithms was John Henry Holland (1929-). After attending MIT, where he was influenced by Norbert Wiener, Holland worked for IBM, helping to develop the 701. He then continued his studies at the University of Michigan, obtaining the first Ph.D. in computer science ever granted in America. Between 1962 and 1965, Holland taught a graduate course at Michigan called "Theory of Adaptive Systems". His pioneering course became almost a cult, and together with his enthusiastic students he applied the genetic algorithm approach to a great variety of computational problems. One of Holland's students, David Goldberg, even applied a genetic algorithm program to the problem of allocating natural gas resources.

The programs developed by Holland and his students were modelled after the natural biological processes of reproduction, mutation, selection and evolution. In biology, the information passed between generations is contained in chromosomes - long strands of DNA where the genetic message is written in a four-letter language, the letters being adenine, thymine, guanine and cytosine. Analogously, in a genetic algorithm, the information is coded in a long string, but instead of a four-letter language, the code is binary: The chromosome-analogue is a long string of 0's and 1's, i.e., a long binary string. One starts with a population that has sufficient diversity so that natural selection can act.

The genotypes are then translated into phenotypes. In other words, the information contained in the long binary string (analogous to the genotype of each individual) corresponds to an entity, the phenotype, whose fitness for survival can be evaluated. The mapping from genotype to phenotype must be such that very small changes in the binary string will not produce radically different phenotypes. From the initial population, the most promising individuals are selected to be the parents of the next generation, and of these, the fittest are allowed produce the largest number of offspring. Before reproduction takes place, however, random mutations and chromosome crossing can occur. For example, in chromosome crossing, the chromosomes of two individuals are broken after the n th binary digit, and two new chromosomes are formed, one with the head of the first old chromosome and the tail of the second, and another with the head of the second and the tail of the first. This process is analogous to the biological crossings which allowed Thomas Hunt Morgan and his "fly squad" to map the positions of genes on the chromosomes of fruit

flies, while the mutations are analogous to those studied by Hugo de Vries and Hermann J. Muller.

After the new generation has been produced, the genetic algorithm advances the time parameter by a step, and the whole process is repeated: The phenotypes of the new generation are evaluated and the fittest selected to be parents of the next generation; mutation and crossings occur; and then fitness-proportional reproduction. Like neural networks, genetic algorithms are the subject of intensive research, and evolutionary computation is a rapidly growing field.

Evolutionary methods have been applied not only to software, but also to hardware. Some of the circuits designed in this way defy analysis using conventional techniques - and yet they work astonishingly well.

Artificial life

As Aristotle pointed out, it is difficult to define the precise border between life and nonlife. It is equally difficult to give a precise definition of artificial life. Of course the term means “life produced by humans rather than by nature”, but what is life? Is self-replication the only criterion? The phrase “produced by humans” also presents difficulties. Humans have played a role in creating domestic species of animals and plants. Can cows, dogs, and high-yield wheat varieties be called “artificial life”? In one sense, they can. These species and varieties certainly would not have existed without human intervention.

We come nearer to what most people might call “artificial life” when we take parts of existing organisms and recombine them in novel ways, using the techniques of biotechnology. For example, Steen Willadsen¹⁰, working at the Animal Research Station, Cambridge England, was able to construct chimeras by operating under a microscope on embryos at the eight-cell stage. The zona pelucida is a transparent shell that surrounds the cells of the embryo. Willadsen was able to cut open the zona pelucida, to remove the cells inside, and to insert a cell from a sheep embryo together with one from a goat embryo. The chimeras which he made in this way were able to grow to be adults, and when examined, their cells proved to be a mosaic, some cells carrying the sheep genome while others carried the genome of a goat. By the way, Willadsen did not create his chimeras in order to produce better animals for agriculture. He was interested in the scientifically exciting problem of morphogenesis: How is the information of the genome translated into the morphology of the growing embryo?

Human genes are now routinely introduced into embryos of farm animals, such as pigs or sheep. The genes are introduced into regulatory sequences which cause expression in mammary tissues, and the adult animals produce milk containing human proteins. Many medically valuable proteins are made in this way. Examples include human blood-clotting factors, interleukin-2 (a protein which stimulates T-lymphocytes), collagen and fibrinogen (used to treat burns), human fertility hormones, human hemoglobin, and human serum

¹⁰ Willadsen is famous for having made the first verified and reproducible clone of a mammal. In 1984 he made two genetically identical lambs from early sheep embryo cells.

albumin.

Transgenic plants and animals in which the genes of two or more species are inherited in a stable Mendelian way have become commonplace in modern laboratory environments, and, for better or for worse, they are also becoming increasingly common in the external global environment. These new species might, with some justification, be called “artificial life”.

In discussing the origin of life in Chapter 3, we mentioned that a long period of molecular evolution probably preceded the evolution of cells. In the early 1970's, S. Spiegelman performed a series of experiments in which he demonstrated that artificial molecular evolution can be made to take place in vitro. Spiegelman prepared a large number of test tubes in which RNA replication could take place. The aqueous solution in each of the test tubes consisted of RNA replicase, ATP, UTP (uracil triphosphate), GTP (guanine triphosphate), CTP (cytosine triphosphate) and buffer. He then introduced RNA from a bacteriophage into the first test tube. After a predetermined interval of time, during which replication took place, Spiegelman transferred a drop of solution from the first test tube to a new tube, uncontaminated with RNA. Once again, replication began and after an interval a drop was transferred to a third test tube. Spiegelman repeated this procedure several hundred times, and at the end he was able to demonstrate that the RNA in the final tube differed from the initial sample, and that it replicated faster than the initial sample. The RNA had evolved by the classical Darwinian mechanisms of mutation and natural selection. Mistakes in copying had produced mutant RNA strands which competed for the supply of energy-rich precursor molecules (ATP, UTP, GTP and CTP). The most rapidly-reproducing mutants survived. Was Spiegelman's experiment merely a simulation of an early stage of biological evolution? Or was evolution of an extremely primitive life-form actually taking place in his test tubes?

G.F. Joyce, D.P. Bartel and others have performed experiments in which strands of RNA with specific catalytic activity (ribozymes) have been made to evolve artificially from randomly coded starting populations of RNA. In these experiments, starting populations of 10¹³ to 10¹⁵ randomly coded RNA molecules are tested for the desired catalytic activity, and the most successful molecules are then chosen as parents for the next generation. The selected molecules are replicated many times, but errors (mutations) sometimes occur in the replication. The new population is once again tested for catalytic activity, and the process is repeated. The fact that artificial evolution of ribozymes is possible can perhaps be interpreted as supporting the “RNA world” hypothesis, i.e. the hypothesis that RNA preceded DNA and proteins in the early history of terrestrial life.

In Chapter 4 we mentioned that John von Neumann speculated on the possibility of constructing artificial self-reproducing automata. In the early 1940's, a period when there was much discussion of the Universal Turing Machine, he became interested in constructing a mathematical model of the requirements for self-reproduction. Besides the Turing machine, another source of his inspiration was the paper by Warren McCulloch and Walter Pitts entitled *A logical calculus of the ideas immanent in nervous activity*, which von Neumann read in 1943. In his first attempt (the kinematic model), he imagined an extremely large and complex automaton, floating on a lake which contained its component parts.

Von Neumann's imaginary self-reproducing automaton consisted of four units, A, B, C and D. Unit A was a sort of factory, which gathered component parts from the surrounding lake and assembled them according to instructions which it received from other units. Unit B was a copying unit, which reproduced sets of instructions. Unit C was a control apparatus, similar to a computer. Finally D was a long string of instructions, analogous to the "tape" in the Turing machine described in Chapter 7. In von Neumann's kinematic automaton, the instructions were coded as a long binary number. The presence of what he called a "girder" at a given position corresponded to 1, while its absence corresponded to 0. In von Neumann's model, the automaton completed the assembly of its offspring by injecting its progeny with the duplicated instruction tape, thus making the new automaton both functional and fertile.

In presenting his kinematic model at the Hixton Symposium (organized by Linus Pauling in the late 1940's), von Neumann remarked that "...it is clear that the instruction [tape] is roughly effecting the function of a gene. It is also clear that the copying mechanism B performs the fundamental act of reproduction, the duplication of the genetic material, which is clearly the fundamental operation in the multiplication of living cells. It is also easy to see how arbitrary alterations of the system...can exhibit certain traits which appear in connection with mutation, lethality as a rule, but with a possibility of continuing reproduction with a modification of traits."

It is very much to von Neumann's credit that his kinematic model (which he invented several years before Crick and Watson published their DNA structure) was organized in much the same way that we now know the reproductive apparatus of a cell to be organized. Nevertheless he was dissatisfied with the model because his automaton contained too many "black boxes". There were too many parts which were supposed to have certain functions, but for which it seemed very difficult to propose detailed mechanisms by which the functions could be carried out. His kinematic model seemed very far from anything which could actually be built¹¹.

Von Neumann discussed these problems with his close friend, the Polish-American mathematician Stanislaw Ulam, who had for a long time been interested in the concept of self-replicating automata. When presented with the black box difficulty, Ulam suggested that the whole picture of an automaton floating on a lake containing its parts should be discarded. He proposed instead a model which later came to be known as the Cellular Automaton Model. In Ulam's model, the self-reproducing automaton lives in a very special space. For example, the space might resemble an infinite checkerboard, each square would constitute a multi-state cell. The state of each cell in a particular time interval is governed by the states of its near neighbors in the preceding time interval according to relatively simple laws. The automaton would then consist of a special configuration of cell states, and

¹¹ Von Neumann's kinematic automaton was taken seriously by the Mission IV Group, part of a ten-week program sponsored by NASA in 1980 to study the possible use of advanced automation and robotic devices in space exploration. The group, headed by Richard Laing, proposed plans for self-reproducing factories, designed to function on the surface of the moon or the surfaces of other planets. Like von Neumann's kinetic automaton, to which they owed much, these plans seemed very far from anything that could actually be constructed.

its reproduction would correspond to production of a similar configuration of cell states in a neighboring region of the cell lattice.

Von Neumann liked Ulam's idea, and he began to work in that direction. However, he wished his self-replicating automaton to be able to function as a universal Turing machine, and therefore the plans which he produced were excessively complicated. In fact, von Neumann believed complexity to be a necessary requirement for self-reproduction. In his model, the cells in the lattice were able to have 29 different states, and the automaton consisted of a configuration involving hundreds of thousands of cells. Von Neumann's manuscript on the subject became longer and longer, and he did not complete it before his early death from prostate cancer in 1957. The name "cellular automaton" was coined by Arthur Burks, who edited von Neumann's posthumous papers on the theory of automata.

Arthur Burks had written a Ph.D. thesis in philosophy on the work of the nineteenth century thinker Charles Sanders Pierce, who is today considered to be one of the founders of semiotics¹². He then studied electrical engineering at the Moore School in Philadelphia, where he participated in the construction of ENIAC, one of the first general purpose electronic digital computers, and where he also met John von Neumann. He worked with von Neumann on the construction of a new computer, and later Burks became the leader of the Logic of Computers Group at the University of Michigan. One of Burks' students at Michigan was John Holland, the pioneer of genetic algorithms. Another student of Burks, E.F. Codd, was able to design a self-replicating automaton of the von Neumann type using a cellular automaton system with only 8 states (as compared with von Neumann's 29). For many years, enthusiastic graduate students at the Michigan group continued to do important research on the relationships between information, logic, complexity and biology.

Meanwhile, in 1968, the mathematician John Horton Conway, working in England at Cambridge University, invented a simple game which greatly increased the popularity of the cellular automaton concept. Conway's game, which he called "Life", was played on an infinite checker-board-like lattice of cells, each cell having only two states, "alive" or "dead". The rules which Conway proposed are as follows: "If a cell on the checkerboard is alive, it will survive in the next time step (generation) if there are either two or three neighbors also alive. It will die of overcrowding if there are more than three live neighbors, and it will die of exposure if there are fewer than two. If a cell on the checkerboard is dead, it will remain dead in the next generation unless exactly three of its eight neighbors is alive. In that case, the cell will be 'born' in the next generation".

Originally Conway's Life game was played by himself and by his colleagues at Cambridge University's mathematics department in their common room: At first the game was played on table tops at tea time. Later it spilled over from the tables to the floor, and tea time began to extend: far into the afternoons. Finally, wishing to convert a wider audience to his game, Conway submitted it to Martin Gardner, who wrote a popular column on "Mathematical Games" for the *Scientific American*. In this way Life spread to MIT's Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, where it created such interest that the MIT group designed

¹² Semiotics is defined as the study of signs (see Appendix 2).

a small computer specifically dedicated to rapidly implementing Life's rules.

The reason for the excitement about Conway's Life game was that it seemed capable of generating extremely complex patterns, starting from relatively simple configurations and using only its simple rules. Ed Fredkin, the director of MIT's Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, became enthusiastic about cellular automata because they seemed to offer a model for the way in which complex phenomena can emerge from the laws of nature, which are after all very simple. In 1982, Fredkin (who was independently wealthy because of a successful computer company which he had founded) organized a conference on cellular automata on his private island in the Caribbean. The conference is notable because one of the participants was a young mathematical genius named Stephen Wolfram, who was destined to refine the concept of cellular automata and to become one of the leading theoreticians in the field¹³.

One of Wolfram's important contributions was to explore exhaustively the possibilities of 1-dimensional cellular automata. No one before him had looked at 1-dimensional CA's, but in fact they had two great advantages: The first of these advantages was simplicity, which allowed Wolfram to explore and classify the possible rule sets. Wolfram classified the rule sets into 4 categories, according to the degree of complexity which they generated. The second advantage was that the configurations of the system in successive generations could be placed under one another to form an easily-surveyed 2-dimensional visual display. Some of the patterns generated in this way were strongly similar to the patterns of pigmentation on the shells of certain molluscs. The strong resemblance seemed to suggest that Wolfram's 1-dimensional cellular automata might yield insights into the mechanism by which the pigment patterns are generated.

In general, cellular automata seemed to be promising models for gaining insight into the fascinating and highly important biological problem of morphogenesis: How does the fertilized egg translate the information on the genome into the morphology of the growing embryo, ending finally with the enormously complex morphology of a fully developed and fully differentiated multicellular animal? Our understanding of this amazing process is as yet very limited, but there is evidence that as the embryo of a multicellular animal develops, cells change their state in response to the states of neighboring cells. In the growing embryo, the "state" of a cell means the way in which it is differentiated, i.e., which genes are turned on and which off - which information on the genome is available for reading, and which segments are blocked. Neighboring cells signal to each other by means of chemical messengers¹⁴. Clearly there is a close analogy between the way complex patterns develop in a cellular automaton, as neighboring cells influence each other and change their states according to relatively simple rules, and the way in which the complex morphology of a multicellular animal develops in the growing embryo.

Conway's Life game attracted another very important worker to the field of cellular automata: In 1971, Christopher Langton was working as a computer programmer in the

¹³ As many readers probably know, Stephen Wolfram was also destined to become a millionaire by inventing the elegant symbol-manipulating program system, Mathematica.

¹⁴ We can recall the case of slime mold cells which signal to each other by means of the chemical messenger, cyclic AMP (Chapter 3).

Stanley Cobb Laboratory for Psychiatric Research at Massachusetts General Hospital. When colleagues from MIT brought to the laboratory a program for executing Life, Langton was immediately interested. He recalls "It was the first hint that there was a distinction between the hardware and the behavior which it would support... You had the feeling that there was something very deep here in this little artificial universe and its evolution through time. [At the lab] we had a lot of discussions about whether the program could be open ended - could you have a universe in which life could evolve?"

Later, at the University of Arizona, Langton read a book describing von Neumann's theoretical work on automata. He contacted Arthur Burks, von Neumann's editor, who told him that no self-replicating automaton had actually been implemented, although E.F. Codd had proposed a simplified plan with only 8 states instead of 29. Burks suggested to Langton that he should start by reading Codd's book.

When Langton studied Codd's work, he realized that part of the problem was that both von Neumann and Codd had demanded that the self-reproducing automaton should be able to function as a universal Turing machine, i.e., as a universal computer. When Langton dropped this demand (which he considered to be more related to mathematics than to biology) he was able to construct a relatively simple self-reproducing configuration in an 8-state 2-dimensional lattice of CA cells. As they reproduced themselves, Langton's loop-like cellular automata filled the lattice of cells in a manner reminiscent of a growing coral reef, with actively reproducing loops on the surface of the filled area, and "dead" (nonreproducing) loops in the center.

Langton continued to work with cellular automata as a graduate student at Arthur Burks' Logic of Computers Group at Michigan. His second important contribution to the field was an extension of Wolfram's classification of rule sets for cellular automata. Langton introduced a parameter λ to characterize various sets of rules according to the type of behavior which they generated. Rule sets with a value near to the optimum ($\lambda = 0.273$) generated complexity similar to that found in biological systems. This value of Langton's λ parameter corresponded to a borderline region between periodicity and chaos.

After obtaining a Ph.D. from Burks' Michigan group, Christopher Langton moved to the Center for Nonlinear Studies at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where in 1987 he organized an "Interdisciplinary Workshop on the Synthesis and Simulation of Living Systems" - the first conference on artificial life ever held. Among the participants were Richard Dawkins, Astrid Lindenmayer, John Holland, and Richard Laing. The noted Oxford biologist and author Richard Dawkins was interested in the field because he had written a computer program for simulating and teaching evolution. Astrid Lindenmayer and her coworkers in Holland had written programs capable of simulating the morphogenesis of plants in an astonishingly realistic way. As was mentioned above, John Holland pioneered the development of genetic algorithms, while Richard Laing was the leader of Nasals study to determine whether self-reproducing factories might be feasible.

Langton's announcement for the conference, which appeared in the *Scientific American*, stated that "Artificial life is the study of artificial systems that exhibit behavior characteristic of natural living systems...The ultimate goal is to extract the logical form of living systems. Microelectronic technology and genetic engineering will soon give us the capabil-

ity to create new life *in silico* as well as *in vitro*. This capacity will present humanity with the most far-reaching technical, theoretical, and ethical challenges it has ever confronted. The time seems appropriate for a gathering of those involved in attempts to simulate or synthesize aspects of living systems.”

In the 1987 workshop on artificial life, a set of ideas which had gradually emerged during the previous decades of work on automata and simulations of living systems became formalized and crystallized: All of the participants agreed that something more than reductionism was needed to understand the phenomenon of life. This belief was not a revival of vitalism; it was instead a conviction that the abstractions of molecular biology are not in themselves sufficient. The type of abstraction found in Darwin’s theory of natural selection was felt to be nearer to what was needed. The viewpoints of thermodynamics and statistical mechanics were also helpful. What was needed, it was felt, were insights into the flow of information in complex systems; and computer simulations could give us this insight. The fact that the simulations might take place in silico did not detract from their validity. The logic and laws governing complex systems and living systems were felt to be independent of the medium.

As Langton put it, “The ultimate goal of artificial life would be to create ‘life’ in some other medium, ideally a virtual medium where the essence of life has been abstracted from the details of its implementation in any particular model. We would like to build models that are so lifelike that they cease to become models of life and become examples of life themselves.”

Most of the participants at the first conference on artificial life had until then been working independently, not aware that many other researchers shared their viewpoint. Their conviction that the logic of a system is largely independent of the medium echoes the viewpoint of the Macy Conferences on cybernetics in the 1940’s, where the logic of feedback loops and control systems was studied in a wide variety of contexts, ranging from biology and anthropology to computer systems. A similar viewpoint can also be found in biosemiotics (Appendix 2), where, in the words of the Danish biologist Jesper Hoffmeyer, “the sign, rather than the molecule” is considered to be the starting point for studying life. In other words, the essential ingredient of life is information; and information can be expressed in many ways. The medium is less important than the message.

The conferences on artificial life have been repeated each year since 1987, and European conferences devoted to the new and rapidly growing field have also been organized. Langton himself moved to the Santa Fe Institute, where he became director of the institute’s artificial life program and editor of a new journal, *Artificial Life*. The first three issues of the journal have been published as a book by the MIT Press, and the book presents an excellent introduction to the field.

Among the scientists who were attracted to the artificial life conferences was the biologist Thomas Ray, a graduate of Florida State University and Harvard, and an expert in the ecology of tropical rain forests. In the late 1970’s, while he was working on his Harvard Ph.D., Ray happened to have a conversation with a computer expert from the MIT Artificial Intelligence Lab, who mentioned to him that computer programs can replicate. To Ray’s question “How?”, the AI man answered “Oh, it’s trivial.”

Ray continued to study tropical ecologies, but the chance conversation from his Cambridge days stuck in his mind. By 1989 he had acquired an academic post at the University of Delaware, and by that time he had also become proficient in computer programming. He had followed with interest the history of computer viruses. Were these malicious creations in some sense alive? Could it be possible to make self-replicating computer programs which underwent evolution by natural selection? Ray considered John Holland's genetic algorithms to be analogous to the type of selection imposed by plant and animal breeders in agriculture. He wanted to see what would happen to populations of digital organisms that found their own criteria for natural selection - not humanly imposed goals, but self-generated and open-ended criteria growing naturally out of the requirements for survival.

Although he had a grant to study tropical ecologies, Ray neglected the project and used most of his time at the computer, hoping to generate populations of computer organisms that would evolve in an open-ended and uncontrolled way. Luckily, before starting his work in earnest, Thomas Ray consulted Christopher Langton and his colleague James Farmer at the Center for Nonlinear Studies in New Mexico. Langton and Farmer realized that Ray's project could be a very dangerous one, capable of producing computer viruses or worms far more malignant and difficult to eradicate than any the world had yet seen. They advised Ray to make use of Turing's concept of a virtual computer. Digital organisms created in such a virtual computer would be unable to live outside it. Ray adopted this plan, and began to program a virtual world in which his freely evolving digital organisms could live. He later named the system "Tierra".

Ray's Tierra was not the first computer system to aim at open-ended evolution. Steen Rasmussen, working at the Danish Technical University, had previously produced a system called "VENUS" (Virtual Evolution in a Nonstochastic Universe Simulator) which simulated the very early stages of the evolution of life on earth. However, Ray's aim was not to understand the origin of life, but instead to produce digitally something analogous to the evolutionary explosion of diversity that occurred on earth at the start of the Cambrian era. He programmed an 80-byte self-reproducing digital organism which he called "Ancestor", and placed it in Tierra, his virtual Garden of Eden.

Ray had programmed a mechanism for mutation into his system, but he doubted that he would be able to achieve an evolving population with his first attempt. As it turned out, Ray never had to program another organism. His 80-byte Ancestor reproduced and populated his virtual earth, changing under the action of mutation and natural selection in a way that astonished and delighted him.

In his freely evolving virtual zoo, Ray found parasites, and even hyperparasites, but he also found instances of altruism and symbiosis. Most astonishingly of all, when he turned off the mutations in his Eden, his organisms invented sex (using mechanisms which Ray had introduced to allow for parasitism). They had never been told about sex by their creator, but they seemed to find their own way to the Tree of Knowledge.

Thomas Ray expresses the aims of his artificial life research as follows:¹⁵ "Everything we know about life is based on one example: Life on Earth. Everything we know about

¹⁵ T. Ray, <http://www.hip.atr.co.jp/ray/pubs/pubs.html>

intelligence is based on one example: Human intelligence. This limited experience burdens us with preconceptions, and limits our imaginations... How can we go beyond our conceptual limits, find the natural form of intelligent processes in the digital medium, and work with the medium to bring it to its full potential, rather than just imposing the world we know upon it by forcing it to run a simulation of our physics, chemistry and biology?..."

"In the carbon medium it was evolution that explored the possibilities inherent in the medium, and created the human mind. Evolution listens to the medium it is embedded in. It has the advantage of being mindless, and therefore devoid of preconceptions, and not limited by imagination." "I propose the creation of a digital nature - a system of wildlife reserves in cyberspace in the interstices between human colonizations, feeding off unused CPU-cycles and permitted a share of our bandwidth. This would be a place where evolution can spontaneously generate complex information processes, free from the demands of human engineers and market analysts telling it what the target applications are - a place for a digital Cambrian explosion of diversity and complexity..."

"It is possible that out of this digital nature, there might emerge a digital intelligence, truly rooted in the nature of the medium, rather than brutishly copied from organic nature. It would be a fundamentally alien intelligence, but one that would complement rather than duplicate our talents and abilities."

Have Thomas Ray and other "a-lifers"¹⁶ created artificial living organisms? Or have they only produced simulations that mimic certain aspects of life? Obviously the answer to this question depends on the definition of life, and there is no commonly agreed-upon definition. Does life have to involve carbon chemistry? The a-lifers call such an assertion "carbon chauvinism". They point out that elsewhere in the universe there may exist forms of life based on other media, and their program is to find medium-independent characteristics which all forms of life must have.

In the present book, especially in Chapter 4, we have looked at the phenomenon of life from the standpoint of thermodynamics, statistical mechanics and information theory. Seen from this viewpoint, a living organism is a complex system produced by an input of thermodynamic information in the form of Gibbs free energy. This incoming information keeps the system very far away from thermodynamic equilibrium, and allows it to achieve a statistically unlikely and complex configuration. The information content of any complex (living) system is a measure of how unlikely it would be to arise by chance. With the passage of time, the entropy of the universe increases, and the almost unimaginably improbable initial configuration of the universe is converted into complex free-energy-using systems that could never have arisen by pure chance. Life maintains itself and evolves by feeding on Gibbs free energy, that is to say, by feeding on the enormous improbability of the initial conditions of the universe.

All of the forms of artificial life that we have discussed derive their complexity from the consumption of free energy. For example, Spiegelman's evolving RNA molecules feed on the Gibbs free energy of the phosphate bonds of their precursors, ATP, GTP, UTP, and CTP. This free energy is the driving force behind artificial evolution which Spiegelman observed.

¹⁶ In this terminology, ordinary biologists are "b-lifers".

In his experiment, thermodynamic information in the form of high-energy phosphate bonds is converted into cybernetic information.

Similarly, in the polymerase chain reaction, discussed in Chapter 3, the Gibbs free energy of the phosphate bonds in the precursor molecules ATP, TTP, GTP and CTP drives the reaction. With the aid of the enzyme DNA polymerase, the soup of precursors is converted into a highly improbable configuration consisting of identical copies of the original sequence. Despite the high improbability of the resulting configuration, the entropy of the universe has increased in the copying process. The improbability of the set of copies is less than the improbability of the high energy phosphate bonds of the precursors.

The polymerase chain reaction reflects on a small scale, what happens on a much larger scale in all living organisms. Their complexity is such that they never could have originated by chance, but although their improbability is extremely great, it is less than the still greater improbability of the configurations of matter and energy from which they arose. As complex systems are produced, the entropy of the universe continually increases, i.e., the universe moves from a less probable configuration to a more probable one.

In Thomas Ray's experiments, the source of thermodynamic information is the electrical power needed to run the computer. In an important sense one might say that the digital organisms in Ray's Tierra system are living. This type of experimentation is in its infancy, but since it combines the great power of computers with the even greater power of natural selection, it is hard to see where it might end.

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Chapter 5

OUR COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS

5.1 We are all specialists

No single person has any idea of how most of the objects that we use every day are made. For example, standing in my bathroom and looking at the mirror on the wall, I realize that I do not know in detail how it is made. I especially have no idea of how the surface of the glass is made so extremely flat and smooth before the coating of aluminum or silver is applied. Nor do I know how any of the other objects in the bathroom are made.

Each of us has specialized knowledge about some portion of our complex civilization. Collectively we have all of the knowledge that makes our knowledge-based society run. But no single individual has this knowledge. We are all specialists.

The farmer does not know how his tractor is made. Nor does he know how the electricity that lights his house is generated. Nor does he know how the paint that he applies to his barn and his home are made.

The sea captain does not know how his ship was made. Nor does he know how weather is predicted. Nor does he know how his ship's radio works.

The bride does not know how the cloth in her gown was woven. Nor does she know how her lace was made. Nor does she know how her golden ring was made.

The airline pilot does not know how his airplane was made. Nor does he know the laws of aerodynamics that keep it aloft. Nor does he know how the jet engines were constructed.

No individual knows all that is needed to make our complex, knowledge-based society work, but collectively we have this knowledge.

5.2 Culture, education and human solidarity

Cultural and educational activities have a small ecological footprint, and therefore are more sustainable than pollution-producing, fossil-fuel-using jobs in industry. Furthermore, since



Figure 5.1: Malala Yousefzai, winner of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, says: “One child, one teacher, one book and one pen can change the world!”

culture and knowledge are shared among all nations, work in culture and education leads societies naturally towards internationalism and peace.

Economies based on a high level of consumption of material goods are unsustainable and will have to be abandoned by a future world that renounces the use of fossil fuels in order to avoid catastrophic climate change, a world where non-renewable resources such as metals will become increasingly rare and expensive. How then can full employment be maintained?

The creation of renewable energy infrastructure will provide work for a large number of people; but in addition, sustainable economies of the future will need to shift many workers from jobs in industry to jobs in the service sector. Within the service sector, jobs in culture and education are particularly valuable because they will help to avoid the disastrous wars that are currently producing enormous human suffering and millions of refugees, wars that threaten to escalate into an all-destroying global thermonuclear war.¹

¹<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/need.pdf>
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Figure 5.2: Cultural exchanges lead to human solidarity (Public domain)

UNESCO and peace education

Advocates of education for peace can obtain important guidance and encouragement from UNESCO - the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization². The Constitution of UNESCO, was written immediately after the end of the Second World War, during which education had been misused (especially in Hitler's Germany) to indoctrinate students in such a way that they became uncritical and fanatical supporters of military dictatorships. The founders of the United Nations were anxious to correct this misuse, and to make education instead one of the foundations of a peaceful world. One can see this hope in the following paragraph from UNESCO's Constitution:

"The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

In other words, UNESCO was given the task of promoting education for peace, and of promoting peace through international cooperation in education.

In 1946 the General Conference of UNESCO adopted a nine-point resolution concerning the improvement of textbooks in such a way as to make them support international understanding, paying particular attention to history teaching and civic education. During the next decade, UNESCO produced publications and hosted seminars to promote improvements in the teaching of history, geography and modern languages, so that these

²<http://www.unicef.org/education/files/PeaceEducation.pdf>

subjects could be more instrumental in developing mutual understanding between nations and between cultures. A meeting of French, German, British and American teachers was organized in 1952, with the goal of removing national prejudices from textbooks. Every two years after this date bilateral and multilateral consultations of history teachers have taken place under the auspices of UNESCO.

Here are a few voices that express the aims and ideals of UNESCO over the years:

- Ellen Wilkinson (United Kingdom) (Former UK Minister of Education, Chairwoman of the conference establishing UNESCO in 1945): *What can this organization do? Can we replace nationalist teaching by a conception of humanity that trains children to have a sense of mankind as well as of national citizenship? That means working for international understanding*
- Maria Montessori (Italy), pioneer of modern education and education for peace, Fourth Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, Florence 1950: *If one day UNESCO resolved to involve children in the reconstruction of the world and building peace, if it chose to call on them, to discuss with them, and recognize the value of all the revelations they have for us, it would find them of immense help in infusing new life into this society which must be founded on the cooperation of all.*
- Jamie Torres Bodet (Mexico), Director-General of UNESCO, 1948-1952, (The UNESCO Courier, 1951): *Knowledge and understanding of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and their practical application must begin during childhood. Efforts to make known the rights and duties they imply will never be fully effective unless schools in all countries make teaching about the declaration a regular part of their curriculum...*
- Lionel Elvin (United Kingdom), Director of the Department of Education of UNESCO, 1950-1956 (UNESCO Courier, 1953): *If UNESCO were only an office in Paris, its task would be impossible. It is more than that: it is an association of some sixty-five countries which have pledged themselves to do all they can, not only internationally but within their own boundaries, to advance the common aim of educating for peace. The international side comes in because we shall obviously do this faster and better and with more mutual trust if we do it together.*
- Jawaharlal Nehru (India) Prime Minister, 1947-1964 (Address on a visit to UNESCO, 1962): *It is then the minds and hearts of men that have to be approached for mutual understanding, knowledge and appreciation of each other and through the proper kind of education... But we have seen that education by itself does not lead to a conversion of minds towards peaceful purposes. Something more is necessary, new standards, new values and perhaps a kind of spiritual background and a feeling of commonness of mankind.*
- James P. Grant (United States). Executive Director of UNICEF, 1980-1995, (International Conference on Education, Geneva, 1994): *Education for peace must be*

global, for as the communications revolution transforms the world into a single community, everyone must come to understand that they are affected by what happens elsewhere, and that their lives, too, have an impact. Solidarity is a survival strategy in the global village.

During the time when he was Secretary-General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor Zaragoza of Spain introduced the concept of a *Culture of Peace*. He felt, as many did, that civilization was entering a period of crisis. Federico Mayor believed this crisis to be as much spiritual as it was economic and political. It was necessary, he felt, to counteract our present power-worshipping culture of violence with a Culture of Peace, a set of ethical and aesthetic values, habits and customs, attitudes towards others, forms of behavior and ways of life that express

- Respect for life and for the dignity and human rights of individuals.
- Rejection of violence.
- Recognition of equal rights for men and women.
- Upholding the principles of democracy, freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and the acceptance of differences.
- Understanding between nations and countries and between ethnic, religious, cultural and social groups.

Mayor and UNESCO implemented this idea by designating the year 2000 as the International Year of the Culture of Peace. In preparation for this year, a meeting of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates launched *Manifesto 2000*, a campaign in which the following pledge of the Culture of Peace was widely circulated and signed:

Recognizing my share of responsibility for the future of humanity, especially for today's children and those of future generations, I pledge - in my daily life, in my family, my work, my community, my country and my region - to:

1. *respect the life and dignity of every person without discrimination or prejudice;*
2. *practice active non-violence, rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economical and social, in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable such as children and adolescents;*
3. *share my time and material resources in a spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice and political and economic oppression;*
4. *defend freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preference always to dialogue and listening without engaging in fanaticism, defamation and the rejection of others;*

5. *promote consumer behavior that is responsible and development practices that respect all forms of life and preserve the balance of nature on the planet;*
6. *contribute to the development of my community, with the full participation of women and respect for democratic principles, in order to create together new forms of solidarity.*

In addition, Federico Mayor and UNESCO initiated a Campaign for the Children of the World, and this eventually developed into the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010). In support of this work, the UN General Assembly drafted a Program of Action on a Culture of Peace (53rd Session, 2000). The Program of Action obliges its signatories to “ensure that children, from an early age, benefit from education on the values, attitudes, modes of behavior and ways of life to enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination”, and to “encourage the revision of educational curricula, including textbooks...”

Just as this program was starting, the September 11 terrorist attacks gave an enormous present to the culture of violence and war, and almost silenced the voices speaking for a Culture of Peace. However, military solutions have never provided true security, even for the strongest countries. Expensive and technologically advanced weapons systems may enrich arms manufacturers and military lobbies, but they do not provide security - only an unbelievably expensive case of the jitters. By contrast, the Culture of Peace can give us hope for the future.

5.3 We stand on each other's shoulders

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.

5.4 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 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.

The great and complex edifice of human civilization is far too precious to be risked in a thermonuclear war. It has been built by all humans, working together. And by working together, we must now ensure that it is handed on intact to our children and grandchildren.

5.5 The collective human consciousness

No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, John Donne (1572-1631)

If I have seen further it is by standing on ye shoulders of Giants, Isaac Newton (1643-1727)

One needs an exceptional stupidity even to question the urgency we are under to establish some effective World Pax, before gathering disaster overwhelms us. The problem of reshaping human affairs on a world-scale, this World problem, is drawing together an ever-increasing multitude of minds. H.G. Wells (1866-1946)

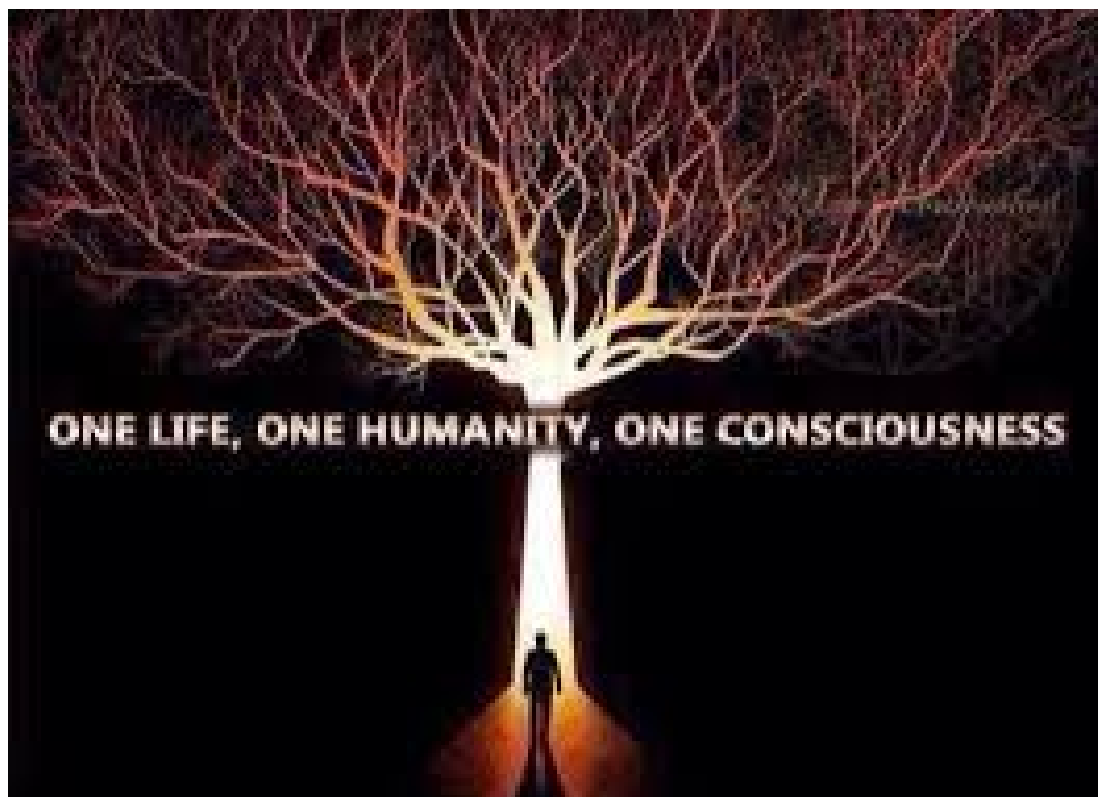
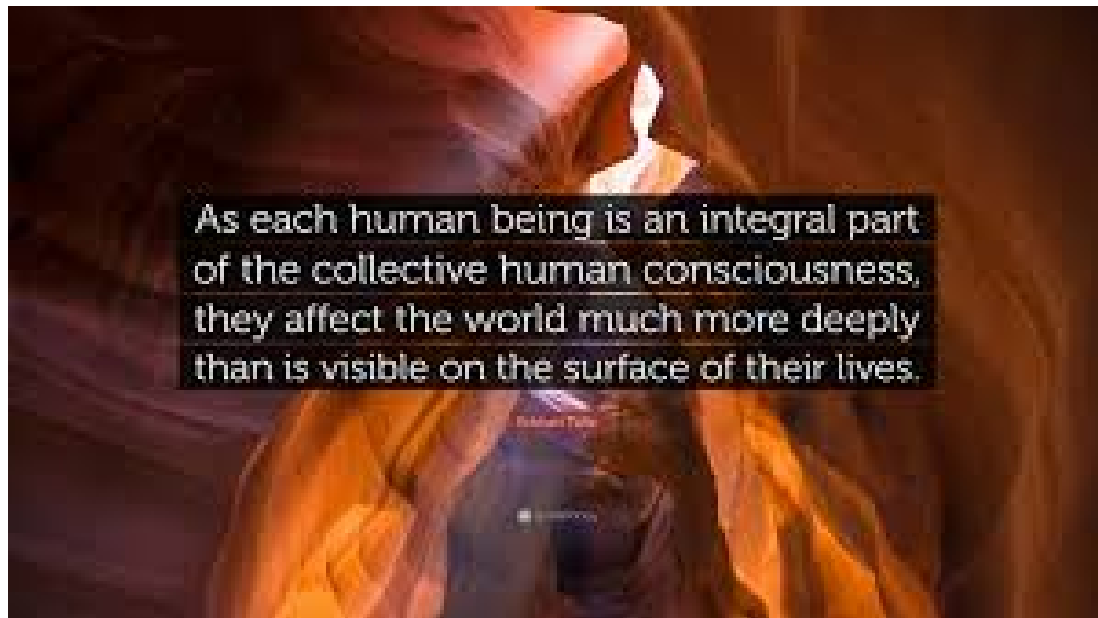
The Open Access Movement has fought valiantly to ensure that scientists do not sign their copyrights away but instead ensure their work is published on the Internet, under terms that allow anyone to access it., Aaron Schwartz (1986-2013)

Sharp qualitative discontinuities have occurred several times before during the earth's 4-billion year evolutionary history: A dramatic change occurred when autocatalytic systems first became surrounded by a cell membrane. Another sharp transition occurred when photosynthesis evolved, and a third when the enormously more complex eukaryotic cells developed from the prokaryotes. The evolution of multicellular organisms also represents a sharp qualitative change. Undoubtedly the change from molecular information transfer to cultural information transfer is an even more dramatic shift to a higher mode of evolution than the four sudden evolutionary gear-shifts just mentioned. Human cultural evolution began only an instant ago on the time-scale of genetic evolution. Already it has completely changed the planet. We have no idea where it will lead.

The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Human society is a superorganism, far greater than any individual in history or in the present. The human superorganism has a supermind, a collective consciousness far greater than the consciousness of individuals. Each individual contributes a stone to the cairn of civilization, but our astonishing understanding of the universe is a collective achievement.

Science derives its great power from the concentration of enormous resources on a tiny fragment of reality. It would make no sense to proceed in this way if knowledge were not permanent and if information were not shared globally. But scientists of all nations pool their knowledge at international conferences and through international publications. Scientists stand on each other's shoulders. Their shared knowledge is far greater than the fragments that each contributes.

Other aspects of culture are also cooperative and global. For example, Japanese woodblock printers influenced the French Impressionists. The nonviolent tradition of Shelly, Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela is international. Culture is cooperative. It is not competitive. Global cultural cooperation can lead us to a sustainable and peaceful society. Our almost miraculous modern communications media, if properly used, can give us a stable, prosperous and cooperative future society.







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