

CORPORATIONS VERSUS DEMOCRACY

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Introduction¹

Corporate oligarchy versus democracy

As Professor Noam Chomsky has pointed out, greed and lack of ethics are built into the structure of corporations. By law, the chief executive officer of a corporation must be entirely motivated by the collective greed of the stockholders. He must maximize profits. If the CEO abandons this single-minded chase after corporate profits for ethical reasons, or for the sake of humanity or the biosphere or the future, he (or she) must, by law, be fired and replaced. This being so, the enormous and universal power of corporate oligarchs undermines democracy. We do not have “government of the people, by the people and for the people”. We have “government of the people, by corrupt corporate politicians, and for corporate profits”.

Giant fossil fuel corporations and catastrophic climate change

Giant fossil fuel corporations, such as Shell and Exxon and the coal corporations owned by the Koch brothers, knew as early as the 1970's that their products would lead to catastrophic climate change, but with shocking cynicism they employed advertising agencies to sow doubt concerning whether human activities affect the climate. Interestingly, the advertising agencies were the same as those employed by the tobacco industry to deny that smoking caused lung cancer, although they knew very well that it did. In the Christian religion, Greed is named as one of the seven deadly sins. Today, corporate greed is driving us towards disaster.

Military-industrial complexes

The two world wars of the 20th Century involved a complete reordering of the economies of the belligerent countries, and a dangerous modern phenomenon was created - the military-industrial complex.

In his farewell address (January 17, 1961) US President Dwight David Eisenhower warned of the dangers of the war-based economy that World

¹This book makes heavy use of my previously-published book chapters and articles, but some new material has also been added.

War II had forced his nation to build: "...We have been compelled to create an armaments industry of vast proportions", Eisenhower said, "...Now this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience. The total influence - economic, political, even spiritual - is felt in every city, every state house, every office in the federal government. ...We must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society. ... We must stand guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted."

This farsighted speech by Eisenhower deserves to be studied by everyone who is concerned about the future of human civilization and the biosphere. As the retiring president pointed out, the military-industrial complex is a threat both to peace and to democracy. It is not unique to the United States but exists in many countries. The world today spends roughly two trillion (i.e. two million million) US dollars each year on armaments. It is obvious that very many people make their living from war, and therefore it is correct to speak of war as a social, political and economic institution. The military-industrial complex is one of the main reasons why war persists, although everyone realizes that war is the cause of much of the suffering of humanity.

In the United States, the military-industrial complex is especially strong, and it has bipartisan support. This may be the reason for President Biden's aggressive words and actions, raising the danger of a potentially omnicidal nuclear war in the present (spring, 2022) Ukraine crisis.

The giant corporations of military-industrial complexes do not actually want war. All they want is a level of tensions and threats sufficiently high to justify the insanely vast river of money flowing into their pockets. But the threat of war can easily become a reality through technical or human error, through uncontrollable escalation of a small incident, or through false flag actions.

Contents

1	RECENT CORPORATE ATTACKS ON DEMOCRACY	7
1.1	Attacks on democracy in the United States	7
1.2	Militarism’s hostages	10
2	GIANT FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATIONS AND CLIMATE	13
2.1	Banks give fossil fuel giants \$1.9 trillion since Paris	13
2.2	Fossil fuel industry’s disinformation campaign	26
2.3	The divestment movement begins to hurt	30
2.4	Some hopeful signs of change	32
3	CORPORATIONS CONTROL MEDIA AND GOVERNMENTS	35
3.1	Benefits of equality	35
3.2	Extreme inequality today	38
3.3	Media in the service of powerholders	38
3.4	Television as a part of our educational system	39
3.5	Neglect of climate change in the mass media	41
3.6	Climate change denial in mass media	41
3.7	Showing unsustainable lifestyles in mass media	45
3.8	Alternative media	45
3.9	Outstanding voices calling for climate action	46
4	CORPORATIONS AND THE ARMS RACE	63
4.1	The arms race prior to World War 1	63
4.2	Krupp, Thyssen and Germany’s steel industry	64
4.3	Colonialism and the outbreak of the First World War	65
4.4	Prescott Bush and Hitler	66
4.5	Fritz Thyssen supports Hitler’s rise to power	68
4.6	Eisenhower’s farewell address	74
4.7	The nuclear arms race	76
4.8	Global famine produced by nuclear war	82
4.9	Dangers of nuclear power generation	84
4.10	Military-industrial complexes today	89
4.11	A culture of violence	97

5	BLOOD FOR OIL	109
5.1	Adam Smith’s invisible hand is at our throats	109
5.2	Our greed-based economic system today	114
5.3	Human motivations were not always so selfish	118
5.4	Neocolonialism	118
5.5	The resource curse	118
5.6	Confessions of an economic hit-man	119
5.7	Debt slavery	121
5.8	Blood for oil	121
5.9	Concluding remarks	125
6	CORPORATE SECRECY VERSUS DEMOCRACY	133
6.1	The jaws of power	133
6.2	The deep state	134
6.3	“The United States of Secrets”	142
6.4	Censorship of the news	143
6.5	Coups, torture and illegal killing	143
6.6	Secret trade deals	144
6.7	Secret land purchases in Africa	145
6.8	Secrecy, democracy and nuclear weapons	146
6.9	Freedom from fear	147
7	CORPORATIONS AND CLIMATE INACTION	149
7.1	Greed is driving us towards disaster	149
7.2	Noam Chomsky on climate inaction	149
7.3	Greta Thunberg’s TED talk	150
7.4	Only immediate climate action can save the future	153
7.5	Worldwide school strike, 15 March, 2019	157
7.6	The World Meteorological Organization’s report	164
7.7	Only 12 years left to limit climate change catastrophe	164
7.8	COP24, the climate summit in Poland	165
7.9	The UK declares a climate emergency	176
7.10	Understatement of existential climate risk	178
7.11	Scientists leaked the newest IPCC Report	183
8	TRUMP, AND CORPORATE DEMOCRATS	195
8.1	Donald Trump is still a danger	195
8.2	Today’s Republican Party is completely irresponsible	196
8.3	Trump is a COVID-19 mass murderer!	196
8.4	Evangelicals	198
8.5	The El Paso mass murders	204
8.6	Trump copies Hitler’s rhetoric	204
8.7	Corporate Democrats	213

Chapter 1

RECENT CORPORATE ATTACKS ON DEMOCRACY

1.1 Attacks on democracy in the United States

The Republican Party has become irresponsible

In recent years, and especially since Donald Trump's term as president, the Republican party has become irresponsible. Republican Senators and members of the House of Representatives no longer act to promote whatever is best for their country and the planet. Instead they block whatever the Democratic Party tries to achieve.

The Republican Party is aided by Senators Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema who, although they are nominally Democrats, act as destructively as though they were Republicans. Manchin is paid to do this by giant coal corporations, while Sinema gets her blood money from big pharmaceutical firms.

The worst crime of the Republican Party is obstruction of action to prevent catastrophic climate change. Donald Trump referred to climate change as "a hoax" and pulled the United States out of the Paris Agreement. Trump's party continues to echo his denialism and his obstruction of climate action.

Less serious, but still a life-or-death matter is denial of the seriousness of COVID-19 and the need to combat the pandemic through vaccination. Trump caused several hundred thousand unnecessary deaths by denying the seriousness of COVID-19, and his party continues to echo this doctrine.

White supremacists fear racial equality

The white population of the United States currently constitutes 61.6 percent of all racial groups. This figure is down from 72.4 percent in 2010. White supremacists fear that if these demographic trends continue, then in a decade or so, white people will become a minority. The Republican Party derives much of its support from this fear. Furthermore, people in the non-white population tend to be poor. If they become a majority, will they



Figure 1.1: Prominent alt-rightists were instrumental in organizing the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017. Here, rally participants carry Confederate battle flags, Gadsden flags and a Nazi flag.

not use their voting power to advocate higher taxes for the rich and more social services for the poor? The solution must be to somehow prevent them from voting. For this reason, Republicans have blocked legislation such as HR1 and the John Lewis Voting Rights Act, which promote equal voting rights for all.

The far right today

The Associated Press gives the following definition of the alt-right movement:

"The 'alt-right' or 'alternative right' is a name currently embraced by some white supremacists and white nationalists to refer to themselves and their ideology, which emphasizes preserving and protecting the white race in the United States in addition to, or over, other traditional conservative positions such as limited government, low taxes and strict law-and-order. The movement has been described as a mix of racism, white nationalism and populism ... criticizes 'multiculturalism' and more rights for non-whites, women, Jews, Muslims, gays, immigrants and other minorities. Its members reject the American democratic ideal that all should have equality under the law regardless of creed, gender, ethnic origin or race."



Figure 1.2: Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes.

Another far right organization, the Proud Boys, displays Nazi swastika flags at their meetings.

High level complicity in the January 6 insurrection

According to an article published by Popular Resistance¹, the plans for the January 6 insurrection were very well known in advance to DC security officials, because they were openly discussed online. Nevertheless, no risk evaluation was issued and no preparations were made to defend the capitol building. Orders from the Pentagon, disarmed the Washington DC National Guard. The Pentagon also refused for several hours to act on a request by Maryland Governor Larry Hogan to employ his state's National Guard against the insurrectionists.

Donald Trump is still a threat

Donald Trump continues to maintain a strong hold over the Republican Party, and many people fear that he might make a successful run for president in 2024.

To prevent this, it has been suggested that the 14th Amendment should be invoked. The relevant section of this important amendment states that “No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office,

¹<https://popularresistance.org/details-emerge-of-high-level-state-involvement-in-january-6-events/>

civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.”

Trump might also be disqualified if he is successfully prosecuted for tax evasion in New York State.

The danger of a civil war

The number of guns in the United States is remarkably high: 1.3 guns per person! Furthermore, several hundred private militia groups exist, and their number is increasing. They attract radicalized individuals, and they talk openly about armed rebellion. These militias are primarily made up of right-wing young men. These factors contribute to the danger of a new civil war.²

1.2 Militarism’s hostages

Do our “Defense Departments” really defend us? Absolutely not! Their very title is a lie. The military-industrial complex sells itself by claiming to defend civilians. It justifies vast and crippling budgets by this claim; but it is a fraud. For the military-industrial complex, the only goal is money and power. Civilians like ourselves are just hostages. We are expendable. We are pawns in the power game, the money game.

Nations possessing nuclear weapons threaten each other with “Mutually Assured Destruction”, which has the very appropriate acronym MAD. What does this mean? Does it mean that civilians are being protected? Not at all. Instead they are threatened with complete destruction. Civilians here play the role of hostages in the power games of their leaders.

A thermonuclear war today would be not only genocidal but also omnicidal. It would kill people of all ages, babies, children, young people, mothers, fathers and grandparents, without any regard whatever for guilt or innocence. Such a war would be the ultimate ecological catastrophe, destroying not only human civilization but also much of the biosphere.

There is much worry today about climate change, but an ecological catastrophe of equal or greater magnitude could be produced by a nuclear war. One can gain a small idea of what this would be like by thinking of the radioactive contamination that has made an

²<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/09/16/is-the-us-headed-for-another-civil-war/>

area half the size of Italy near to Chernobyl permanently uninhabitable. The Fukushima disaster also reminds us of the dangerous long-term effects of radioactivity.

The testing of hydrogen bombs in the Pacific half a century ago continues to cause cancer and birth defects in the Marshall Islands today. This too can give us a small idea of the environmental effects of a nuclear war. But the radioactivity produced by a nuclear war would be enormously greater.

In 1954, the United States tested a hydrogen bomb at Bikini. The bomb was 1,300 times more powerful than the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Fallout from the bomb contaminated the island of Rongelap, one of the Marshall Islands 120 kilometers from Bikini. The islanders experienced radiation illness, and many died from cancer. Even today, more than half a century later, both people and animals on Rongelap and other nearby islands suffer from birth defects. The most common defects have been “jelly fish babies”, born with no bones and with transparent skin. Their brains and beating hearts can be seen. The babies usually live a day or two before they stop breathing.

The environmental effects of a nuclear war would be catastrophic. A war fought with hydrogen bombs would produce radioactive contamination of the kind that we have already experienced in the areas around Chernobyl and Fukushima and in the Marshall Islands, but on an enormously increased scale. We have to remember that the total explosive power of the nuclear weapons in the world today is 500,000 times as great as the power of the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What is threatened by a nuclear war today is the complete breakdown of human civilization.

Besides spreading deadly radioactivity throughout the world, a nuclear war would inflict catastrophic damage on global agriculture. Firestorms in burning cities would produce many millions of tons of black, thick, radioactive smoke. The smoke would rise to the stratosphere where it would spread around the earth and remain for a decade. Prolonged cold, decreased sunlight and rainfall, and massive increases in harmful ultraviolet light would shorten or eliminate growing seasons, producing a nuclear famine. Even a small nuclear war could endanger the lives of the billion people who today are chronically undernourished. A full-scale war fought with hydrogen bombs would mean that most humans would die from hunger. Many animal and plant species would also be threatened with extinction.

Incidents in which global disaster is avoided by a hair's breadth are constantly occurring. For example, on the night of 26 September, 1983, Lt. Col. Stanislav Petrov, a young software engineer, was on duty at a surveillance center near Moscow. Suddenly the screen in front of him turned bright red. An alarm went off. Its enormous piercing sound filled the room. A second alarm followed, and then a third, fourth and fifth, until the noise was deafening. The computer showed that the Americans had launched a strike against Russia. Petrov's orders were to pass the information up the chain of command to Secretary General Yuri Andropov. Within minutes, a nuclear counterattack would be launched. However, because of certain inconsistent features of the alarm, Petrov disobeyed orders and reported it as a computer error, which indeed it was. Most of us probably owe our lives to his brave and cool-headed decision and his knowledge of software systems. The narrowness of this escape is compounded by the fact that Petrov was on duty only because of the illness of

another officer with less knowledge of software, who would have accepted the alarm as real.

Narrow escapes such as this show us clearly that in the long run, the combination of space-age science and stone-age politics will destroy us. We urgently need new political structures and new ethics to match our advanced technology.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 2

GIANT FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATIONS AND CLIMATE

2.1 Banks give fossil fuel giants \$1.9 trillion since Paris

Banking on Climate Change 2019 - Fossil Fuel Report Card / : Alison Kirsch et al Rainforest Action Network (RAN) et al.. For the first time, this report adds up lending and underwriting from 33 global banks to the fossil fuel industry as a whole. The findings are stark: these Canadian, Chinese, European, Japanese, and U.S. banks have financed fossil fuels with \$1.9 trillion since the Paris Agreement was adopted (2016-2018), with financing on the rise each year. This report finds that fossil fuel financing is dominated by the big U.S. banks, with JPMorgan Chase as the world's top funder of fossil fuels by a wide margin. In other regions, the top bankers of fossil fuels are Royal Bank of Canada in Canada, Barclays in Europe, MUFG in Japan, and Bank of China in China. Here are some quotations from the report:

In October 2018, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released a sobering report on the devastating impacts our world will face with 1.5° Celsius of warming - let alone 2°C - while setting out the emissions trajectory the nations of the world need to take if we are to have any shot at keeping to that 1.5°C limit. This 10th edition of the annual fossil fuel finance report card, greatly expanded in scope, reveals the paths banks have taken in the past three years since the Paris Agreement was adopted, and finds that overall bank financing continues to be aligned with climate disaster.

For the first time, this report adds up lending and underwriting from 33 global banks to the fossil fuel industry as a whole. The findings are stark: these Canadian, Chinese, European, Japanese, and U.S. banks have financed fossil fuels with \$1.9 trillion since the Paris Agreement was adopted (2016-2018), with financing on the rise each year. This report finds that fossil fuel financing is dominated by the big U.S. banks, with JPMorgan Chase as the



Figure 2.1: The Fossil Fuel Financial Report Card, 2019.

world's top funder of fossil fuels by a wide margin. In other regions, the top bankers of fossil fuels are Royal Bank of Canada in Canada, Barclays in Europe, MUFG in Japan, and Bank of China in China.

This report also puts increased scrutiny on the banks' support for 100 top companies that are expanding fossil fuels, given that there is no room for new fossil fuels in the world's carbon budget. And yet banks supported these companies with \$600 billion in the last three years. JPMorgan Chase is again on top, by an even wider margin, and North American banks emerge as the biggest bankers of expansion as well.

This report also grades banks' overall future-facing policies regarding fossil fuels, assessing them on restrictions on financing for fossil fuel expansion and commitments to phase out fossil fuel financing on a 1.5°C-aligned trajectory. While some banks have taken important steps, overall major global banks have simply failed to set trajectories adequate for dealing with the climate crisis.







As in past editions, this fossil fuel finance report card also assesses bank policy and practice around financing in certain key fossil fuel subsectors, with league tables and policy grades on:

- **Tar sands oil:** RBC, TD, and JPMorgan Chase are the biggest bankers of 30 top tar sands producers, plus four key tar sands pipeline companies. In particular, these banks and their peers support companies working to expand tar sands infrastructure, such as Enbridge and Teck Resources.
- **Arctic oil and gas:** JPMorgan Chase is the world's biggest banker of Arctic oil and gas by far, followed by Deutsche Bank and SMBC Group. Worryingly, financing for this subsector increased from 2017 to 2018.
- **Ultra-deepwater oil and gas:** JPMorgan Chase, Citi, and Bank of America are the top bankers here. Meanwhile, none of the 33 banks have policies to proactively restrict financing for ultra-deepwater extraction.
- **Fracked oil and gas:** For the first time, the report card looks at bank support for top fracked oil and gas producers and transporters - and finds financing is on the rise over the past three years. Wells Fargo and JPMorgan Chase are the biggest bankers of fracking overall - and, in particular, they support key companies active in the Permian Basin, the epicenter of the climate-threatening global surge of oil and gas production.
- **Liquefied natural gas (LNG):** Banks have financed top companies building LNG import and export terminals around the world with \$46 billion since the Paris Agreement, led by JPMorgan Chase, Société Générale, and SMBC Group. Banks have an opportunity to avoid further damage by not financing Anadarko's Mozambique LNG project, in particular.

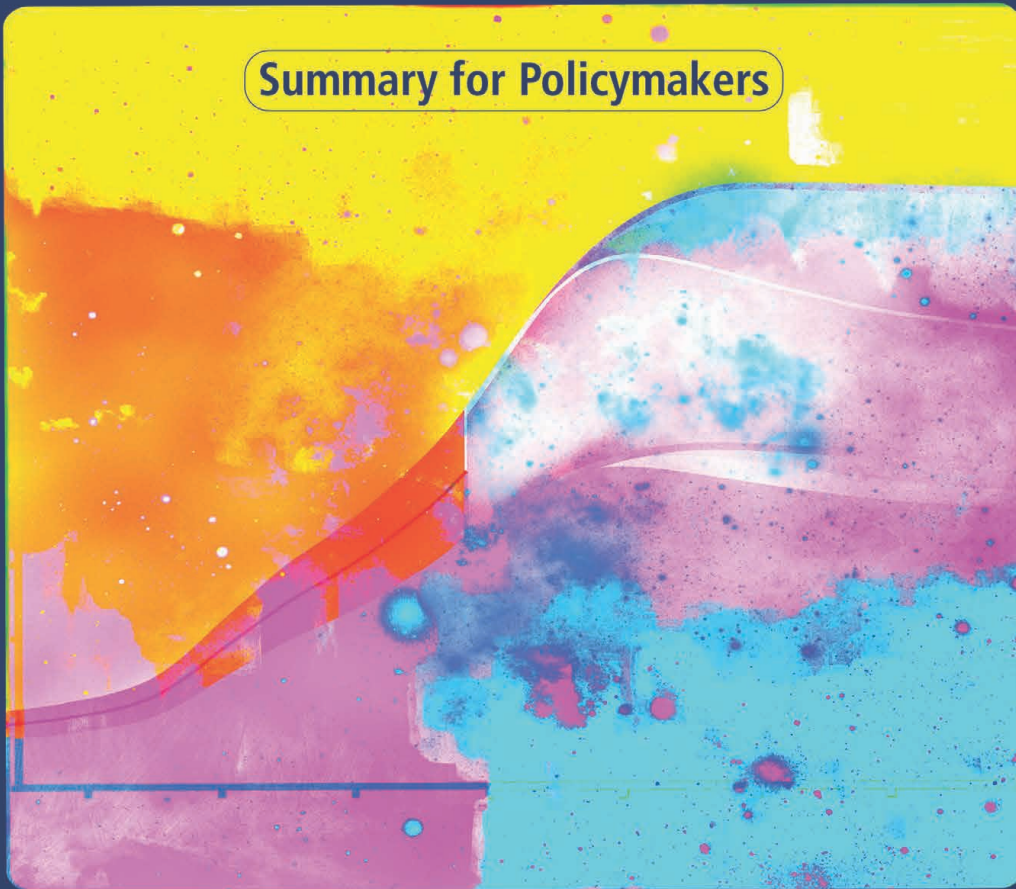
ipcc

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON climate change

Global Warming of 1.5°C

An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty

Summary for Policymakers



WG I

WG II

WG III



WMO



UNEP



Figure 2.2: Oil is a dirty business in every sense.

- **Coal mining:** Coal mining finance is dominated by the four major Chinese banks, led by China Construction Bank and Bank of China. Though many European and U.S. banks have policies in place restricting financing for coal mining, total financing has only fallen by three to five percentage points each year.
- **Coal power:** Coal power financing is also led by the Chinese banks - Bank of China and ICBC in particular - with Citi and MUFG as the top non-Chinese bankers of coal power. Policy grades for this subsector show some positive examples of European banks restricting financing for coal power companies.

The human rights chapter of this report shows that as fossil fuel companies are increasingly held accountable for their contributions to climate change, finance for these companies also poses a growing liability risk for banks. The fossil fuel industry has been repeatedly linked to human rights abuses, including violations of the rights of Indigenous peoples and at-risk communities, and continues to face an ever-growing onslaught of lawsuits, resistance, delays, and political uncertainty.

The IPCC's 2018 report on the impacts of a 1.5°C increase in global temperature showed clearly the direction the nations of the world need to take, and the emissions trajectory we need to get there. Banks must align with that trajectory by ending financing for expansion, as well as for these particular spotlight fossil fuels - while committing overall to phase out all financing for fossil fuels on a Paris Agreement-compliant timeline.



Figure 2.3: Tar sands in Alberta, Canada.



Figure 2.4: Drilling for oil in the Arctic.



Figure 2.5: Indigenous protests against Arctic drilling.





Figure 2.6: Liquefied natural gas, transported by ship.



Figure 2.7: A large open-pit coal mine.



Figure 2.8: Giant trucks in an open-pit coal mine.



Figure 2.9: A coal-fired power plant.

2.2 Fossil fuel industry's disinformation campaign

The Wikipedia article on climate change denial describes it with the following words: “Although scientific opinion on climate change is that human activity is extremely likely to be the primary driver of climate change, the politics of global warming have been affected by climate change denial, hindering efforts to prevent climate change and adapt to the warming climate. Those promoting denial commonly use rhetorical tactics to give the appearance of a scientific controversy where there is none.”

It is not surprising that the fossil fuel industry supports, on a vast scale, politicians and mass media that deny the reality of climate change. The amounts of money at stake are vast. If catastrophic climate change is to be avoided, coal, oil and natural gas “assets” worth trillions of dollars must be left in the ground. Giant fossil fuel corporations are desperately attempting to turn these “assets’ into cash.

According to a recent article published in “The Daily Kos”¹, companies like Shell and Exxon, knew, as early as the 1970s, how their combustible products were contributing to irreversible warming of the planet, became public knowledge over the last few years.

A series of painstakingly researched articles² published in 2015 by the Pulitzer-prize

¹www.dailykos.com/stories/2018/9/23/1797888/-The-Oil-Companies-not-only-knew-fossil-fuels-caused-climate-change-they-knew-how-bad-it-would-get?detail=emaildkre

²<https://insideclimatenews.org/news/15092015/Exxons-own-research-confirmed-fossil-fuels-role-in-global-warming>

winning Inside Climate News revealed an industry totally aware and informed for decades about the inevitable warming certain to occur as more and more carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels was released into the atmosphere.

The article states that “In fact, the oil industry, and Exxon in particular, had the best climate models available, superior to those relied on by scientific community.³ And armed with the foreknowledge developed through those models, Exxon and the other oil companies planned and executed an elaborate, cynical long term strategy: to invest hundreds of millions of dollars in a comprehensive propaganda effort designed to raise doubts about the existence and cause of climate change, a phenomenon they well knew was irrefutable, based on their own research. By 2016 the industry’s lobbying to discredit the science of climate change had surpassed two billion dollars.

“Meanwhile, as newly discovered documents reported in The Guardian⁴ attest, the same companies were preparing projections of what type of world they would be leaving for the rest of humanity. In the 1980s, oil companies like Exxon and Shell carried out internal assessments of the carbon dioxide released by fossil fuels, and forecast the planetary consequences of these emissions. In 1982, for example, Exxon predicted that by about 2060, CO₂ levels would reach around 560 parts per million - double the preindustrial level - and that this would push the planet’s average temperatures up by about 2°C over then-current levels (and even more compared to pre-industrial levels).”⁵

The Fossil Free MIT report, 2014

Here are some excerpts from a report entitled “**The Fossil Fuel Industry’s Role in Hindering Climate Change Action: Lobbying and Disinformation Against Science and Scientists**”⁶:

In response to the unprecedented urgency of global climate change, Fossil Free MIT’s petition, signed by more than 2,400 MIT members, is calling on MIT to divest its \$11 billion endowment from the 200 fossil fuel companies with the world’s largest publicly traded carbon reserves.

³<https://insideclimatenews.org/news/18092015/exxon-confirmed-global-warming-consensus-in-1982-with-in-house-climate-models>

⁴<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/climate-consensus-97-per-cent/2018/sep/19/shell-and-exxons-secret-1980s-climate-change-warnings>

⁵See also <https://truthout.org/articles/self-immolation-as-the-world-burns-an-earth-day-report/>
<https://countercurrents.org/2018/04/29/the-methane-time-bomb-and-the-future-of-the-biosphere/>
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⁶<https://www.fossilfreemit.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/FossilFreeMIT-Lobbying-Disinformation.pdf>

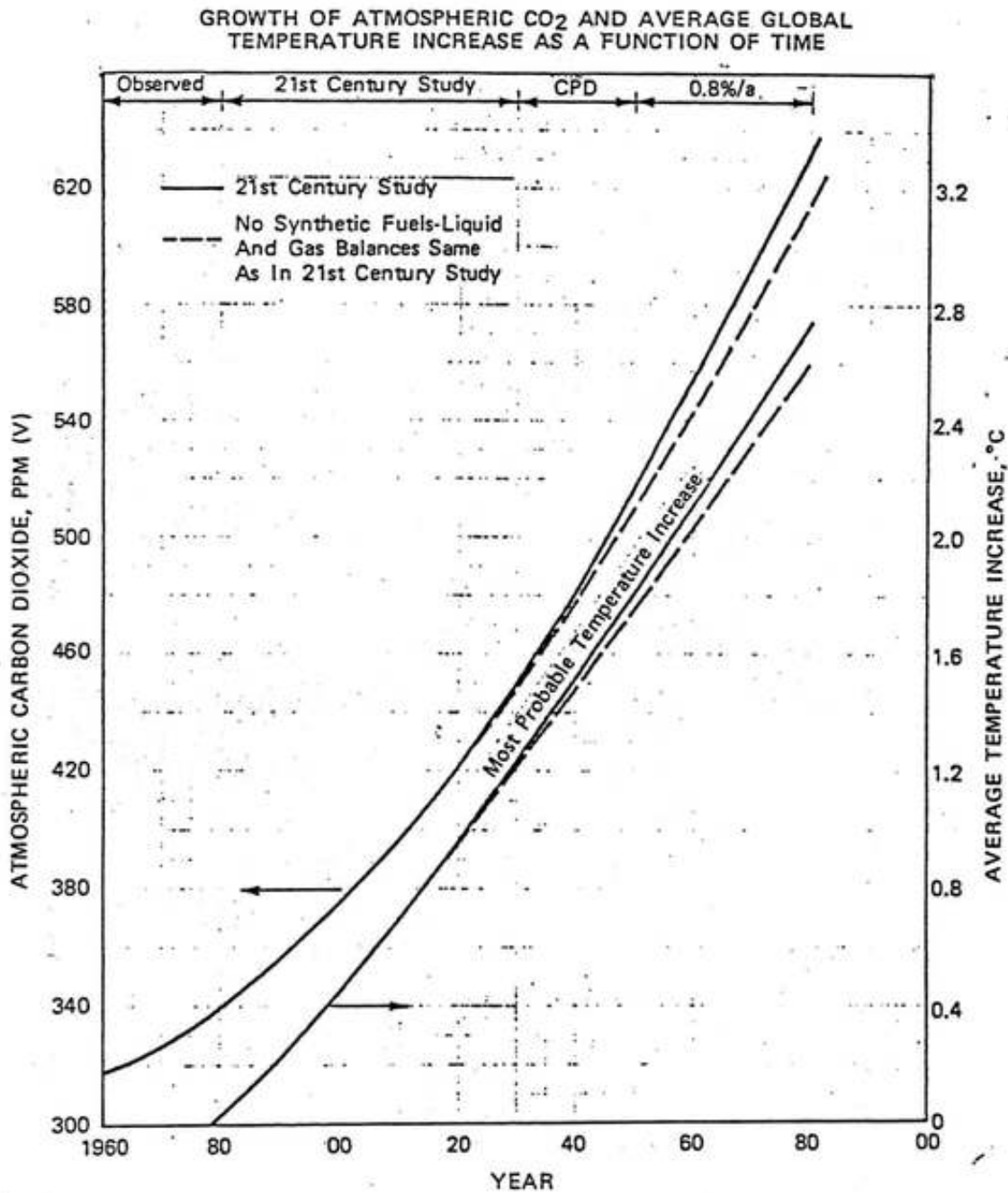


Figure 2.10: Exxon's 1982 internal projections of the future increase in carbon dioxide levels shows CO₂ percentages increasing to 600 ppm and temperature increases of up to 3°C.

Fossil Free MIT believes that divestment from the fossil fuel industry presents MIT with a unique opportunity to lead the global effort to combat climate change. We wholeheartedly support our Institute's cutting-edge climate science and renewable energy technology research, as well as MIT's campus sustainability initiatives, and we propose divestment as a highly complementary strategy that will bring MIT's investments in line with the goals of its research and sustainability activities. There are three central reasons why we urge MIT to divest from the fossil fuel industry:

- The fossil fuel industry's business practice is fundamentally inconsistent with the science of climate change mitigation. A 66% chance of limiting global warming to less than 2°C above pre-industrial temperatures demands that no more than 35% of proven fossil fuel reserves can be burned prior to 2100. Yet in 2012, the fossil fuel industry spent \$674 billion developing new reserves.
- The fossil fuel industry spends hundreds of millions of dollars lobbying and donating in Washington, D.C. against legislation for climate change action.
- Many fossil fuel companies are responsible for funding or orchestrating targeted anti-science disinformation campaigns that confuse the public, sabotage science, and slander scientists.

Disinformation from fossil fuel and tobacco industries

Here are some excerpts from a February 19 2019 article by Mat Hope entitled “**Revealed: How the Tobacco and Fossil Fuel Industries Fund Disinformation Campaigns Around the World**”⁷:

Fossil fuel companies have a long history of adopting public relations strategies straight from the tobacco industry's playbook. But a new analysis shows the two industries' relationship goes much deeper - right down to funding the same organizations to do their dirty work.

MIT Associate Professor David Hsu analyzed organizations in DeSmog's disinformation database and the Guardian's tobacco database and found 35 thinktanks based in the US, UK, Australia, and New Zealand that promote both the tobacco and fossil fuel industries' interests.

Of these organizations, DeSmog can reveal that 32 have taken direct donations from the tobacco industry, 29 have taken donations from the fossil fuel industry, and 28 have received money from both. Two key networks, based

⁷<https://www.desmogblog.com/2019/02/19/how-tobacco-and-fossil-fuel-companies-fund-disinformation-campaigns-around-world>



Figure 2.11: Smoke destroys human health, regardless of whether it is from cigarettes or coal-fired power plants. Fossil fuel corporations and tobacco companies have exhibited an astonishing degree of cynicism and lack of social responsibility.

around the Koch brothers and Atlas Network, are involved in coordinating or funding many of the thinktanks.

2.3 The divestment movement begins to hurt

In a December 16, 2018 article in *The Guardian*⁸, Bill McKibben wrote:

I remember well the first institution to announce it was divesting from fossil fuel. It was 2012 and I was on the second week of a gruelling tour across the US trying to spark a movement. Our roadshow had been playing to packed houses down the west coast, and we'd crossed the continent to Portland, Maine. As a raucous crowd jammed the biggest theatre in town, a physicist named Stephen Mulkey took the mic. He was at the time president of the tiny Unity College in the state's rural interior, and he announced that over the weekend its trustees had voted to sell their shares in coal, oil and gas companies. "The time is long overdue for all investors to take a hard look at the consequences of supporting an industry that persists in destructive practices," he said.

Six years later, we have marked the 1,000th divestment in what has become

⁸<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/16/divestment-fossil-fuel-industry-trillions-dollars-investments-carbon>

by far the largest anti-corporate campaign of its kind. The latest to sell their shares - major French and Australian pension funds, and Brandeis University in Massachusetts - bring the total size of portfolios and endowments in the campaign to just under \$8 trillion.

The list of institutions that have cut their ties with this most destructive of industries encompasses religious institutions large and small (the World Council of Churches, the Unitarians, the Lutherans, the Islamic Society of North America, Japanese Buddhist temples, the diocese of Assisi); philanthropic foundations (even the Rockefeller family, heir to the first great oil fortune, divested its family charities); and colleges and universities from Edinburgh to Sydney to Honolulu are on board, with more joining each week. Forty big Catholic institutions have already divested; now a campaign is urging the Vatican bank itself to follow suit. Ditto with the Nobel Foundation, the world's great art museums, and every other iconic institution that works for a better world.

Thanks to the efforts of groups such as People & Planet (and to the Guardian, which ran an inspiring campaign), half the UK's higher education institutions are on the list. And so are harder-nosed players, from the Norwegian sovereign wealth fund (at a trillion dollars, the largest pool of investment capital on Earth) to European insurance giants such as Axa and Allianz. It has been endorsed by everyone from Leonardo DiCaprio to Barack Obama to Ban Ki-moon (and, crucially, by Desmond Tutu, who helped run the first such campaign a generation ago, when the target was apartheid).

And the momentum just keeps growing: 2018 began with New York City deciding to divest its \$189bn pension funds. Soon the London mayor Sadiq Khan was on board, joining the New York mayor Bill de Blasio to persuade the other financial capitals of the planet to sell. By midsummer Ireland became the first nation to divest its public funds. And this month, a cross-party group of 200 MPs and former MPs called on the their pension fund to phase out its substantial investment in fossil fuel giants.

Heavy hitters like that make it clear that the first line of objection to fossil fuel divestment has long since been laid to rest: this is one big action you can take against climate change without big cost. Indeed, early divesters have made out like green-tinged bandits: since the fossil fuel sector has badly underperformed on the market over recent years, moving money into other investments has dramatically increased returns. Pity, for instance, the New York state comptroller Thomas DeNapoli - unlike his New York City counterpart, he refused to divest, and the cost has been about \$17,000 per pensioner.

The deeper question, though, is whether divestment is making a dent in the fossil fuel industry. And there the answer is even clearer: this has become the deepest challenge yet to the companies that have kept us on the path to climate destruction.

At first we thought our biggest effect would be to rob fossil fuel companies of their social licence. Since their political lobbying power is above all what

prevents governments taking serious action on global warming, that would have been worth the fight. And indeed academic research makes it clear that's happened - one study concluded that "liberal policy ideas (such as a carbon tax), which had previously been marginalised in the US debate, gained increased attention and legitimacy". That makes sense: most people don't have a coal mine or gas pipeline in their backyard, but everyone has - through their alma mater, their church, their local government - some connection to a large pot of money.

As time went on, though, it became clear that divestment was also squeezing the industry. Peabody, the world's biggest coal company, announced plans for bankruptcy in 2016; on the list of reasons for its problems, it counted the divestment movement, which was making it hard to raise capital. Indeed, just a few weeks ago analysts at that radical collective Goldman Sachs said the "divestment movement has been a key driver of the coal sector's 60% de-rating over the past five years"...

2.4 Some hopeful signs of change

According to a 5 April 2019 article in *The Guardian*⁹, "Norway's \$1tn oil fund, the world's largest sovereign wealth fund, is to plunge billions of dollars into wind and solar power projects. The decision follows Saudi Arabia's oil fund selling off its last oil and gas assets.

"Other national funds built up from oil profits are also thought to be ramping up their investments in renewables. The moves show that countries that got rich on fossil fuels are diversifying their investments and seeking future profits in the clean energy needed to combat climate change. Analysts say the investments are likely to power faster growth of green energy.

According to IRENA, "Renewable energy now accounts for a third of global power capacity". Here are some excerpts from the Danish government's State of Green newsletter of April 3, 2019:

The decade-long trend of strong growth in renewable energy capacity continued in 2018 with global additions of 171 gigawatts (GW), according to new data released by the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA). The annual increase of 7.9 per cent was bolstered by new additions from solar and wind energy, which accounted for 84 per cent of the growth. A third of global power capacity is now based on renewable energy.

IRENA's annual Renewable Capacity Statistics 2019,¹⁰ the most comprehensive, up-to-date and accessible figures on renewable energy capacity indicates

⁹<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/apr/05/historic-breakthrough-norways-giant-oil-fund-dives-into-renewables>

¹⁰<https://www.irena.org/publications/2019/Mar/Capacity-Statistics-2019>

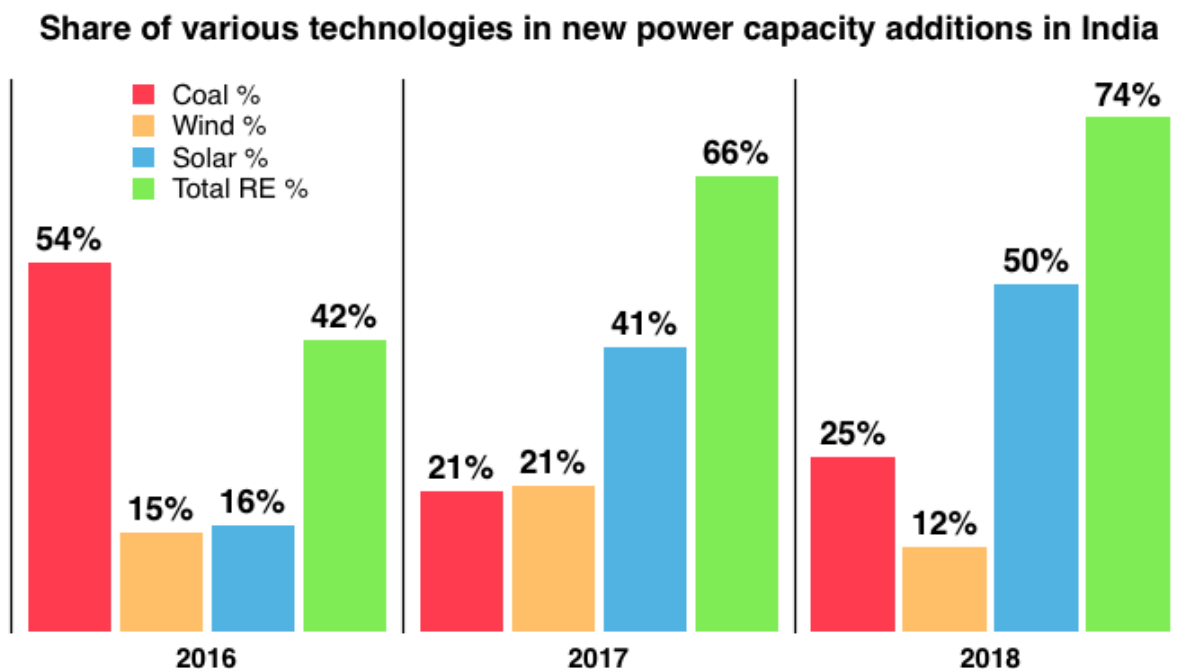


Figure 2.12: 74% of India's new power capacity addition in 2018 was renewable.

growth in all regions of the world, although at varying speeds. While Asia accounted for 61 per cent of total new renewable energy installations and grew installed renewables capacity by 11.4 per cent, growth was fastest in Oceania that witnessed a 17.7 per cent rise in 2018. Africa's 8.4 per cent growth put it in third place just behind Asia. Nearly two-thirds of all new power generation capacity added in 2018 was from renewables, led by emerging and developing economies.

“Through its compelling business case, renewable energy has established itself as the technology of choice for new power generation capacity,” said IRENA Director-General Adnan Z. Amin.



Figure 2.13: Ukraine in the first quarter of 2019 commissioned 861.1 MW of renewable energy facilities, which is 5.4 times more than in the same period last year.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 3

CORPORATIONS CONTROL MEDIA AND GOVERNMENTS

3.1 Benefits of equality

The Industrial Revolution opened up an enormous gap in military strength between the industrialized nations and the rest of the world. Taking advantage of their superior weaponry, Europe, the United States and Japan rapidly carved up the remainder of the world into colonies, which acted as sources of raw materials and food, and as markets for manufactured goods. Between 1800 and 1914, the percentage of the earth under the domination of colonial powers increased to 85 percent, if former colonies are included.

The English economist and Fabian, John Atkinson Hobson (1858-1940), offered a famous explanation of the colonial era in his book “Imperialism: A Study” (1902). According to Hobson, the basic problem that led to colonial expansion was an excessively unequal distribution of incomes in the industrialized countries. The result of this unequal distribution was that neither the rich nor the poor could buy back the total output of their society. The incomes of the poor were insufficient, and rich were too few in number. The rich had finite needs, and tended to reinvest their money. As Hobson pointed out, reinvestment in new factories only made the situation worse by increasing output.

Hobson had been sent as a reporter by the Manchester Guardian to cover the Second Boer War. His experiences had convinced him that colonial wars have an economic motive. Such wars are fought, he believed, to facilitate investment of the excess money of the rich in African or Asian plantations and mines, and to make possible the overseas sale of excess manufactured goods. Hobson believed imperialism to be immoral, since it entails suffering both among colonial peoples and among the poor of the industrial nations. The cure that he recommended was a more equal distribution of incomes in the manufacturing countries.

Interestingly, TED Talks (ideas worth spreading) was recently under fire from many progressive groups for censoring a short talk by the adventure capitalist, Nick Hanauer, entitled “Income Inequality”. In this talk, Hanauer said exactly the same thing as John Hobson, but he applies the ideas, not to colonialism, but to current unemployment in the

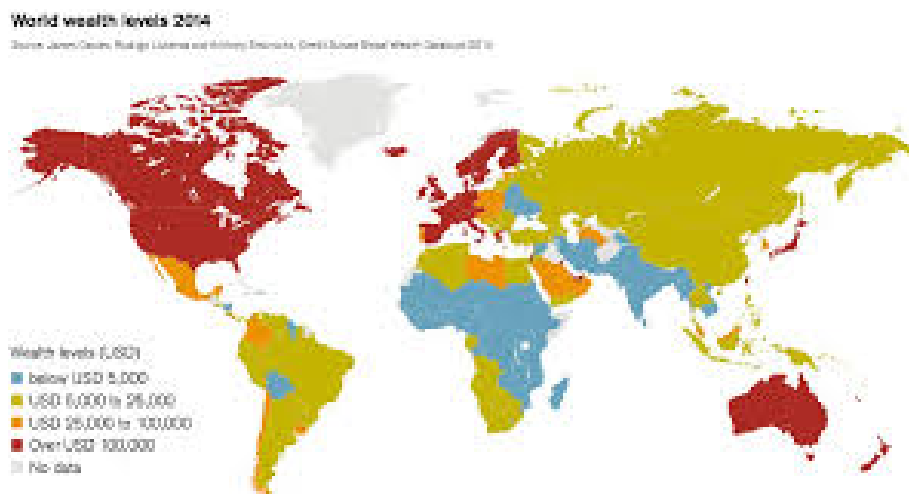


Figure 3.1: **World wealth levels in 2004.** Countries with per capita wealth greater than 100,000 USD are shown in red, while those with per capita wealth less than 5,000 USD are shown in blue.

United States. Hanauer said that the rich are unable to consume the products of society because they are too few in number. To make an economy work, demand must be increased, and for this to happen, the distribution of incomes must become much more equal than it is today in the United States.

TED has now posted Hanauer’s talk, and the interested reader can find another wonderful TED talk dealing with the same issues from the standpoint of health and social problems. In a splendid lecture entitled “How economic inequality harms societies”, Richard Wilkinson demonstrates that there is almost no correlation between gross national product and a number of indicators of the quality of life, such as physical health, mental health, drug abuse, education, imprisonment, obesity, social mobility, trust, violence, teenage pregnancies and child well-being. On the other hand he offers comprehensive statistical evidence that these indicators are strongly correlated with the degree of inequality within countries, the outcomes being uniformly much better in nations where income is more equally distributed.

Warren Buffet famously remarked, “There’s class warfare, all right. But it’s my class, the rich class, that’s making war, and we’re winning.” However, the evidence presented by Hobson, Hanauer and Wilkinson shows conclusively that no one wins in a society where inequality is too great, and everyone wins when incomes are more evenly distributed.



Figure 3.2: In many countries, children live by scavenging from garbage dumps.



Figure 3.3: Even in rich countries, many millions of people live in poverty,

3.2 Extreme inequality today

Here are some quotations from a report by the Global Inequality organization: ¹

Inequality has been on the rise across the globe for several decades. Some countries have reduced the numbers of people living in extreme poverty. But economic gaps have continued to grow as the very richest amass unprecedented levels of wealth. Among industrial nations, the United States is by far the most top-heavy, with much greater shares of national wealth and income going to the richest 1 percent than any other country.

The world's richest 1 percent, those with more than \$1 million, own 45 percent of the world's wealth. Adults with less than \$10,000 in wealth make up 64 percent of the world's population but hold less than 2 percent of global wealth. The world's wealthiest individuals, those owning over \$100,000 in assets, total less than 10 percent of the global population but own 84 percent of global wealth. Credit Suisse defines "wealth" as the value of a household's financial assets plus real assets (principally housing), minus their debts.

"Ultra high net worth individuals" - the wealth management industry's term for people worth more than \$30 million - hold an astoundingly disproportionate share of global wealth. These wealth owners hold 11.3 percent of total global wealth, yet represent only a tiny fraction (0.003%) of the world population.

The world's 10 richest billionaires, according to Forbes, own \$745 billion in combined wealth, a sum greater than the total goods and services most nations produce on an annual basis. The globe is home to 2,208 billionaires, according to the 2018 Forbes ranking.

Those with extreme wealth have often accumulated their fortunes on the backs of people around the world who work for poor wages and under dangerous conditions. According to Oxfam, the wealth divide between the global billionaires and the bottom half of humanity is steadily growing. Between 2009 and 2017, the number of billionaires it took to equal the wealth of the world's poorest 50 percent fell from 380 to 42...

The United States has more wealth than any other nation. But America's top-heavy distribution of wealth leaves typical American adults with far less wealth than their counterparts in other industrial nations.

3.3 Media in the service of powerholders

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.

¹<https://inequality.org/facts/global-inequality/>

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.

It is certainly possible to find a few television programs and newspaper articles that present the facts about climate change in a realistic way. For example *The Guardian* gives outstanding climate change coverage. However, the mass media could do very much more. One has to conclude that the media are neglecting their great responsibilities at a time of acute crisis for human civilization and the biosphere. The same can be said of our educational systems at both both the primary and advanced levels. We urgently need much more public education about the severe dangers that we face today.

3.4 Television as a part of our educational system

In the mid-1950's, television became cheap enough so that ordinary people in the industrialized countries could afford to own sets. During the infancy of television, its power was underestimated. The great power of television is due to the fact that it grips two senses simultaneously, both vision and hearing. The viewer becomes an almost-hypnotized captive of the broadcast.

In the 1950's, this enormous power, which can be used both for good and for ill, was not yet fully apparent. Thus insufficient attention was given to the role of television in education, in setting norms, and in establishing values. Television was not seen as an integral part of the total educational system. It is interesting to compare the educational systems of traditional cultures with those of modern industrial societies.

In traditional societies, multi-generational families often live together in the same dwelling. In general, there is a great deal of contact between grandparents and grandchildren, with much transmission of values and norms between generations. Old people are regarded with great respect, since they are considered to be repositories of wisdom, knowledge, and culture.

By contrast, modern societies usually favor nuclear families, consisting of only parents and children. Old people are marginalized. They live by themselves in communities or homes especially for the old. Their cultural education knowledge and norms are not valued because they are "out of date". In fact, during the life of a young person in one of the rapidly-changing industrial societies of the modern world, there is often a period when they rebel against the authority of their parents and are acutely embarrassed by their parents, who are "so old-fashioned that they don't understand anything".

Although the intergenerational transmission of values, norms, and culture is much less important in industrial societies than it is in traditional ones, modern young people of the West and North are by no means at a loss over where to find their values, fashions and role

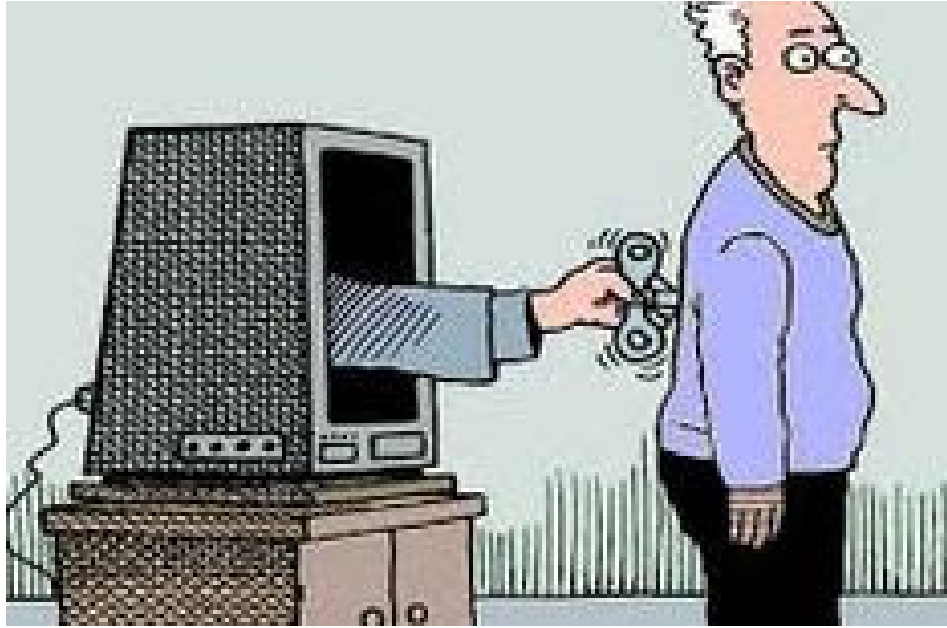


Figure 3.4: **The role of the media.**



Figure 3.5: **Liberty?**

models. With every breath, they inhale the values and norms of the mass media. Totally surrounded by a world of television and film images, they accept this world as their own.

3.5 Neglect of climate change in the mass media

The predicament of humanity today has been called “a race between education and catastrophe”: How do the media fulfil this life-or-death responsibility? Do they give us insight? No, they give us pop music. Do they give us an understanding of the sweep of evolution and history? No, they give us sport. Do they give us an understanding of the ecological catastrophes that threaten our planet because of unrestricted growth of population and industries? No, they give us sit-coms and soap operas. Do they give us unbiased news? No, they give us news that has been edited to conform with the interests of powerful lobbys. Do they present us with the urgent need to leave fossil fuels in the ground? No, they do not, because this would offend the powerholders. Do they tell of the danger of passing tipping points after which human efforts to prevent catastrophic climate change will be useless? No, they give us programs about gardening and making food.

A consumer who subscribes to the “package” of broadcasts sold by a cable company can often search through all 95 channels without finding a single program that offers insight into the various problems that are facing the world today. What the viewer finds instead is a mixture of pro-establishment propaganda and entertainment. Meanwhile the neglected global problems are becoming progressively more severe.

In general, the mass media behave as though their role is to prevent the peoples of the world from joining hands and working to change the world and to save it from thermonuclear war, environmental catastrophes and threatened global famine. The television viewer sits slumped in a chair, passive, isolated, disempowered and stupefied. The future of the world hangs in the balance, the fate of children and grandchildren hangs in the balance, but the television viewer feels no impulse to work actively to change the world or to save it. The Roman emperors gave their people bread and circuses to numb them into political inactivity. The modern mass media seem to be playing a similar role.

3.6 Climate change denial in mass media

The Wikipedia article on climate change denial describes it with the following words: “Although scientific opinion on climate change is that human activity is extremely likely to be the primary driver of climate change, the politics of global warming have been affected by climate change denial, hindering efforts to prevent climate change and adapt to the warming climate. Those promoting denial commonly use rhetorical tactics to give the appearance of a scientific controversy where there is none.”

It is not surprising that the fossil fuel industry supports, on a vast scale, politicians and mass media that deny the reality of climate change. The amounts of money at stake are vast. If catastrophic climate change is to be avoided, coal, oil and natural gas “assets”



Figure 3.6: Network administrators have noticed that programs about climate change often have low viewer ratings. Since they see delivering high viewer ratings to their advertisers as their primary duty, these executives seldom allow programs dealing with the danger of catastrophic climate change. The duty to save the earth from environmental catastrophe is neglected for the sake of money. As Al Gore said, “Instead of having a well-informed electorate, we have a well-amused audience”.

worth trillions of dollars must be left in the ground. Giant fossil fuel corporations are desperately attempting to turn these “assets’ into cash.

Preventing an ecological apocalypse

Here are some excerpts from an article entitled “**Only Rebellion will prevent an ecological apocalypse**” by George Monbiot, which was published on April 15 2019 in The Guardian²:

No one is coming to save us. Mass civil disobedience is essential to force a political response.

Had we put as much effort into preventing environmental catastrophe as we’ve spent on making excuses for inaction, we would have solved it by now. Everywhere I look, I see people engaged in furious attempts to fend off the

²<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/apr/15/rebellion-prevent-ecological-apocalypse-civil-disobedience>



moral challenge it presents...

As the environmental crisis accelerates, and as protest movements like YouthStrike4Climate and Extinction Rebellion make it harder not to see what we face, people discover more inventive means of shutting their eyes and shedding responsibility. Underlying these excuses is a deep-rooted belief that if we really are in trouble, someone somewhere will come to our rescue: “they” won’t let it happen. But there is no they, just us.

The political class, as anyone who has followed its progress over the past three years can surely now see, is chaotic, unwilling and, in isolation, strategically incapable of addressing even short-term crises, let alone a vast existential predicament. Yet a widespread and wilful naivety prevails: the belief that voting is the only political action required to change a system. Unless it is accompanied by the concentrated power of protest - articulating precise demands and creating space in which new political factions can grow - voting, while essential, remains a blunt and feeble instrument.

The media, with a few exceptions, is actively hostile. Even when broadcasters cover these issues, they carefully avoid any mention of power, talking about environmental collapse as if it is driven by mysterious, passive forces, and proposing microscopic fixes for vast structural problems. The BBC’s Blue Planet Live series exemplified this tendency.

Those who govern the nation and shape public discourse cannot be trusted with the preservation of life on Earth. There is no benign authority preserving us from harm. No one is coming to save us. None of us can justifiably avoid the call to come together to save ourselves...

Predatory delay

Here are some excerpts from a May 3 2019 article by Bill Henderson entitled “Neoliberalism, Solution Aversion, Implicatory Denial and Predatory Delay”³:

Looking back at the history, that it’s not really a failure of human beings and human nature that’s the problem here. It’s a hijacking of our political and economic system by the fossil fuel industry and a small number of like-minded people. It was our bad luck that this idea that markets solve all problems and that government should be left to wither away crested just at the moment when it could do the most damage.

Despite the urgent need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions globally if we are to lower the risks of catastrophic climate change, wealthy industrialized nations persist with a widespread public silence on the issue and fail to address climate change. This is despite there being ever more conclusive evidence of its severity. Why is there an undercurrent of inaction, despite the challenge of climate change being ever more daunting? One element is denial.

George Marshall discovered that there has not been a single proposal, debate or even position paper on limiting fossil fuel production put forward during international climate negotiations. From the very outset fossil fuel production lay outside the frame of the discussions and, as with other forms of socially constructed silence, the social norms among the negotiators and policy specialists kept it that way.

Global climate leadership is being redefined. There is a growing recognition that you cannot be a climate leader if you continue to enable new fossil fuel production, which is inconsistent with climate limits. If no major producers step up to stop the expansion of extraction and begin phasing out existing fields and mines, the Paris goals will become increasingly difficult to achieve. Wealthy fossil fuel producers have a responsibility to lead, and this must include planning for a just and equitable managed decline of existing production.

The (emissions reduction) curve we’ve been forced onto bends so steeply, that the pace of victory is part of victory itself. Winning slowly is basically the same thing as losing outright. We cannot afford to pursue past strategies, aimed at limited gains towards distant goals. In the face of both triumphant denialism and predatory delay, trying to achieve climate action by doing the same things, the same old ways, means defeat. It guarantees defeat.

A fast, emergency-scale transition to a post-fossil fuel world is absolutely necessary to address climate change. But this is excluded from consideration by policymakers because it is considered to be too disruptive. The orthodoxy is that there is time for an orderly economic transition within the current short-termist political paradigm. Discussion of what would be safe - less warming

³<https://countercurrents.org/2019/05/03/neoliberalism-solution-aversion-implicatory-denial-and-predatory-delay-bill-henderson/>

that we presently experience - is non-existent. And so we have a policy failure of epic proportions. Policymakers, in their magical thinking, imagine a mitigation path of gradual change, to be constructed over many decades in a growing, prosperous world...

3.7 Showing unsustainable lifestyles in mass media

Television and other mass media contribute indirectly to climate change denial by showing unsustainable lifestyles. Television dramas show the ubiquitous use of gasoline-powered automobiles and highways crowded with them. just as though there did not exist an urgent need to transform our transportation systems. Motor racing is shown. A program called “Top Gear” tells viewers about the desirability of various automobiles. In general, cyclists are not shown. In television dramas, the protagonists fly to various parts of the world for their holidays. The need for small local self-sustaining communities is not shown.

Advertisements in the mass media urge us to consume more, to fly, to purchase large houses, and to buy gasoline-driven automobiles, just as though such behavior ought to be the norm. Such norms are leading us towards environmental disaster.

3.8 Alternative media

Luckily, the mass media do not have a complete monopoly on public information. With a little effort, citizens who are concerned about the future can find alternative media. These include a large number of independent on-line news services that are supported by subscriber donations rather than by corporate sponsors. *YouTube* videos also represent an extremely important source of public information.



3.9 Outstanding voices calling for climate action

The Guardian

There are exceptions to the general rule that the mass media downplay or completely ignore the climate emergency. The Guardian is a newspaper with absolutely outstanding coverage of all issues related to climate change. No praise can be strong enough for the courageous environmental editorial policy of this famous old British newspaper.

Al Gore

Albert Arnold Gore Jr. served as the 45th Vice President of the United States from January 1985 to January 1993. He then ran for the office of President, but was defeated by George W. Bush in a controversial election whose outcome was finally decided by the US Supreme Court⁴.

Al Gore is the founder and current Chairman of the Alliance for Climate Protection. He was one of the first important political figures to call attention to the problem of steadily increasing CO₂ levels in the atmosphere and the threat of catastrophic climate change. He produced the highly influential documentary film *An Inconvenient Truth*⁵. Because of his important efforts to save the global environment, Al Gore shared the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

⁴Many people believe that Al Gore won the election.

⁵<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-SV13UQXdk>

Al Gore's TED talk: The Case for Optimism on Climate Change

In 2016, Al Gore gave an important talk to a TED audience⁶. in which he pointed out the an economic tipping point has just been passed. Solar energy and wind energy are now cheaper than energy form fossil fuels. This means that economic forces alone can drive a rapid transition to 100% renewable energy. Investors will realize that renewables represent an unparalleled investment opportunity.

Sir David Attenborough

In a 2011 interview in The Guardian, Sir David Attenborough was asked: “What will it take to wake people up about climate change?”. He replied “Disaster. It's a terrible thing to say, isn't it? And even disaster doesn't always do it. I mean, goodness me, there have been disasters in North America, with hurricanes, and one thing and another, and floods; and still a lot of people would deny it, and say it's nothing to do with climate change. Well it visibly has to do with climate change!”

Sir David Attenborough's almost unbelievably enormous and impressive opus of television programs about the natural world have helped to raise public awareness of the importance of the natural environment. He also has made a number of television programs specifically related to questions such as saving threatened species, the dangers of exploding global human populations, and the destruction of forests for the sake of palm oil plantations.

Let us return to The Guardian's 2011 interview with Sir David. Had it been made in the autumn of 2017, the interview would certainly have included a discussion of recent hurricanes of unprecedented power and destructiveness, such as Harvey, Irma and Maria, as well as 2017's wildfires and Asian floods. It is possible that such events, which will certainly become more frequent and severe during the next few years, will provide the political will needed to silence climate change denial, to stop fossil fuel extraction, and to promote governmental policies favoring renewable energy.

Although the mass media almost have entirely neglected the link between climate change and recent disastrous hurricanes, floods droughts and wildfires, many individuals and organizations emphasized the cause and effect relationship. For example, UK airline billionaire Sir Richard Branson, whose Caribbean summer residence was destroyed by Hurricane Irma said:

“Look, you can never be 100 percent sure about links, But scientists have said the storms are going to get more and more and more intense and more and more often. We've had four storms within a month, all far greater than that have ever, ever, ever happened in history, Sadly, I think this is the start of things to come. Climate change is real. Ninety-nine percent of scientists know it's real. The whole world knows it's real except for maybe one person in the White House.”

May Boeve, executive director of the NGO 350.org, said “With a few exceptions, the major TV networks completely failed to cover the scientifically proven ways that climate

⁶<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-SV13UQXdk>

change is intensifying extreme weather events like hurricanes Harvey and Irma. That's not just disappointing, it's dangerous. We won't be able to turn this crisis around if our media is asleep at the wheel."

Commenting on the destruction of Puerto Rico by Hurricane Maria, historian Juan Cole wrote: "When you vote for denialist politicians, you are selecting people who make policy. The policy they make will be clueless and will actively endanger the public. Climate change is real. We are causing it by our emissions. If you don't believe that, you are not a responsible steward of our infrastructure and of our lives."

When interviewed by Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now*, musician Stevie Wonder said: "... we should begin to love and value our planet, and anyone who believes that there is no such thing as global warming must be blind or unintelligent."

Another well-known musician, Beyoncé, added: "The effects of climate change are playing out around the world every day. Just this past week, we've seen devastation from the monsoon in India...and multiple catastrophic hurricanes. Irma alone has left a trail of death and destruction from the Caribbean to Florida to Southern United States. We have to be prepared for what comes next..."

In her September 2017 publication *Season of Smoke*⁷, prizewinning author Naomi Klein wrote:

"We hear about the record-setting amounts of water that Hurricane Harvey dumped on Houston and other Gulf cities and towns, mixing with petrochemicals to pollute and poison on an unfathomable scale. We hear too about the epic floods that have displaced hundreds of thousands of people from Bangladesh to Nigeria (though we don't hear enough). And we are witnessing, yet again, the fearsome force of water and wind as Hurricane Irma, one of the most powerful storms ever recorded, leaves devastation behind in the Caribbean, with Florida now in its sights.

"Yet for large parts of North America, Europe, and Africa, this summer has not been about water at all. In fact it has been about its absence; it's been about land so dry and heat so oppressive that forested mountains exploded into smoke like volcanoes. It's been about fires fierce enough to jump the Columbia River; fast enough to light up the outskirts of Los Angeles like an invading army; and pervasive enough to threaten natural treasures, like the tallest and most ancient sequoia trees and Glacier National Park.

"For millions of people from California to Greenland, Oregon to Portugal, British Columbia to Montana, Siberia to South Africa, the summer of 2017 has been the summer of fire. And more than anything else, it's been the summer of ubiquitous, inescapable smoke.

"For years, climate scientists have warned us that a warming world is an extreme world, in which humanity is buffeted by both brutalizing excesses and stifling absences of the core elements that have kept fragile life in equilibrium for millennia. At the end of the summer of 2017, with major cities submerged in water and others licked by flames, we are currently living through Exhibit A of this extreme world, one in which natural extremes

⁷<https://theintercept.com/2017/09/09/in-a-summer-of-wildfires-and-hurricanes-my-son-asks-why-is-everything-going-wrong/>



Figure 3.7: Sir David Attenborough: “Disaster. It’s a terrible thing to say, isn’t it?”

come head-to-head with social, racial, and economic ones.”

It seems likely that the climate-linked disasters of 2019 and 2020 will be even more severe than those that we have witnessed during 2017 and 2018. But will such disasters be enough to wake us up?

The BBC has recently announced that Sir David Attenborough is currently producing a new series, *Blue Planet II*, which will focus on environmental issues.⁸

“My hope is that the world is coming to its senses ... I’m so old I remember a time when ... we didn’t talk about climate change, we talked about animals and species extermination,” Sir David told Greenpeace in an interview, “For the first time I’m beginning to think there is actually a groundswell, there is a change in the public view. I feel many more people are concerned and more aware of what the problems are. Young people - people who’ve got 50 years of their life ahead of them - they are thinking they ought to be doing something about this. That’s a huge change.”

Climate Change, The Facts

Now Sir David Attenborough has completed a new one-hour BBC program on the danger of catastrophic climate change. Here are some excerpts from an April 18 2019 review of the program by Rebecca Nicholson in *The Guardian*:

The Facts is a rousing call to arms. It is an alarm clock set at a horrifying volume. The first 40 minutes are given over to what Attenborough calls, without hyperbole, “our greatest threat in thousands of years”. Expert af-

⁸<http://www.bbcearth.com/blueplanet2/>



Figure 3.8: Speaking at the opening ceremony of COP24, the universally loved and respected naturalist Sir David Attenborough said: “If we don’t take action, the collapse of our civilizations and the extinction of much of the natural world is on the horizon.”

ter expert explains the consequences of rising CO2 levels, on the ice caps, on coastal regions, on weather and wildlife and society itself. The most powerful moments are in footage shot not by expert crews who have spent years on location, but on shaky cameras, capturing the very moment at which the reality of our warming planet struck the person holding the phone. In Cairns, Australia, flying foxes are unable to survive the extreme temperatures; rescuers survey the terrible massacre, and we learn that while 350 were saved, 11,000 died. A man and his son talk through their escape from raging wildfires, over the film they took while attempting to drive through a cavern of blazing red trees. These are horror movies playing out in miniature. It is difficult to watch even five minutes of this and remain somehow neutral, or unconvinced.

Yet as I kept on, scribbling down an increasingly grim list of statistics, most of which I knew, vaguely, though compiled like this they finally sound as dreadful as they truly are - 20 of the warmest years on record happened in the last 22 years; Greenland’s ice sheet is melting five times faster than it was 25 years ago - I started to wonder about responsibility, and if and where it would be placed. This would be a toothless film, in the end, if it were hamstrung by political neutrality, and if its inevitable “it’s not too late” message rested solely on individuals and what relatively little tweaks we might make as consumers. What about corporations? What about governments?

Then, at that exact moment, having played the despair through to its crescendo, the experts served up unvarnished honesty. They lined up to lay out the facts, plain and simple. Fossil fuel companies are the most profitable businesses man has ever known, and they engage in PR offensives, using the same consultants as tobacco companies, and the resulting uncertainty and denial, designed to safeguard profits, has narrowed our window for action. It is unforgivable. I find it hard to believe that anyone, regardless of political affiliation, can watch footage of Trump calling climate change “a hoax ... a money-making industry” and not be left winded by such staggering ignorance or astonishing deceit, though it is, more likely, more bleakly, a catastrophic combination of the two. At least Nigel Lawson only appears here in archive footage, and his argument sounds limp, to put it kindly.

Climate Change: The Facts should not have to change minds, but perhaps it will change them anyway, or at least make this seem as pressing as it needs to be. With the Extinction Rebellion protests across London this week, disrupting day-to-day business, and this, on primetime BBC One, maybe the message will filter through. At the very least, it should incite indignation that more was not done, sooner, and then urgency and a decision to both change and push for change at a much higher level. Because there is, for a brief moment, just possibly, still time.

Greta Thunberg meets Pope Francis

On 19 April 2019, Greta Thunberg met briefly with Pope Francis at the end of his general audience. “Continue, continue!” the Pope told her, “Go on, go ahead!” Greta answered Pope Francis with the words: “Thank you for standing up for the climate, for speaking the truth. It means a lot.” Greta’s father, Svante Thunberg, expressed his gratitude to the pope: “Thank you so much for what you are doing. It means everything. Everything.”

The Pope has made fighting climate change and caring for God’s creation a pillar of his papacy. He wrote an entire encyclical about it, blaming a thirst for money for turning the Earth into a wasteland and demanding immediate action to curb global warming.

While in Rome, Greta Thunberg will also address the Italian Parliament and participate in a school strike for action to avoid catastrophic climate change.

In June, 2015, His Holiness Pope Francis I addressed the climate crisis in an encyclical entitled “Laudato Si’ ”⁹. Here are a few excerpts from this enormously important encyclical, which is addressed not only to the world’s 1.2 billion Catholics, but also to concerned people of all faiths. After reviewing the contributions of his predecessors. Pope Francis makes the following points:

23. The climate is a common good, belonging to all and meant for all. At the global level, it is a complex system linked to many of the essential conditions

⁹<https://unfccc.int/news/pope-francis-releases-encyclical-on-climate-and-environment>

for human life. A very solid scientific consensus indicates that we are presently witnessing a disturbing warming of the climatic system. In recent decades this warming has been accompanied by a constant rise in the sea level and, it would appear, by an increase of extreme weather events, even if a scientifically determinable cause cannot be assigned to each particular phenomenon. Humanity is called to recognize the need for changes of lifestyle, production and consumption, in order to combat this warming or at least the human causes which produce or aggravate it. It is true that there are other factors (such as volcanic activity, variations in the earth's orbit and axis, the solar cycle), yet a number of scientific studies indicate that most global warming in recent decades is due to the great concentration of greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrogen oxides and others) released mainly as a result of human activity. As these gases build up in the atmosphere, they hamper the escape of heat produced by sunlight at the earth's surface. The problem is aggravated by a model of development based on the intensive use of fossil fuels, which is at the heart of the worldwide energy system. Another determining factor has been an increase in changed uses of the soil, principally deforestation for agricultural purposes.

24. Warming has effects on the carbon cycle. It creates a vicious circle which aggravates the situation even more, affecting the availability of essential resources like drinking water, energy and agricultural production in warmer regions, and leading to the extinction of part of the planet's biodiversity. The melting in the polar ice caps and in high altitude plains can lead to the dangerous release of methane gas, while the decomposition of frozen organic material can further increase the emission of carbon dioxide. Things are made worse by the loss of tropical forests which would otherwise help to mitigate climate change. Carbon dioxide pollution increases the acidification of the oceans and compromises the marine food chain. If present trends continue, this century may well witness extraordinary climate change and an unprecedented destruction of ecosystems, with serious consequences for all of us. A rise in the sea level, for example, can create extremely serious situations, if we consider that a quarter of the world's population lives on the coast or nearby, and that the majority of our megacities are situated in coastal areas.

25. Climate change is a global problem with grave implications: environmental, social, economic, political and for the distribution of goods. It represents one of the principal challenges facing humanity in our day. Its worst impact will probably be felt by developing countries in coming decades. Many of the poor live in areas particularly affected by phenomena related to warming, and their means of subsistence are largely dependent on natural reserves and ecosystemic services such as agriculture, fishing and forestry. They have no other financial activities or resources which can enable them to adapt to climate change or to



Figure 3.9: Greta Thunberg had the privilege of meeting Pope Francis. Both are outstanding voices for climate action.

face natural disasters, and their access to social services and protection is very limited. For example, changes in climate, to which animals and plants cannot adapt, lead them to migrate; this in turn affects the livelihood of the poor, who are then forced to leave their homes, with great uncertainty for their future and that of their children. There has been a tragic rise in the number of migrants seeking to flee from the growing poverty caused by environmental degradation. They are not recognized by international conventions as refugees; they bear the loss of the lives they have left behind, without enjoying any legal protection whatsoever. Sadly, there is widespread indifference to such suffering, which is even now taking place throughout our world. Our lack of response to these tragedies involving our brothers and sisters points to the loss of that sense of responsibility for our fellow men and women upon which all civil society is founded.

At a London event arranged by The Guardian, Greta Thunberg was asked whether she believed that a general strike could alert politicians to the urgency of the climate emergency. She replied “yes”. Here are some of her other comments:



Figure 3.10: Of the fossil fuels, all are bad, but coal is the worst.



Figure 3.11: Speaking to a crowd of many thousands at Marble Arch, London, on April 21, 2019, Greta Thunberg said: “For way too long the politicians and the people in power have gotten away with not doing anything ... But we will make sure that they will not get away with it any longer, We will never stop fighting, we will never stop fighting for this planet, for ourselves, our futures and for the futures of our children and grandchildren.”

This is not just young people being sick of politicians. It's an existential crisis. It is something that will affect the future of our civilization. It's not just a movement. It's a crisis and we must take action accordingly.

At a later meeting with members of the U.K. Parliament, Greta Thunberg said:

The U.K.'s active current support of new exploitation of fossil fuels, like for example the U.K. shale gas fracking industry, the expansion of its North Sea oil and gas fields, the expansion of airports, as well as the planning permission for a brand new coalmine, is beyond absurd.

This ongoing irresponsible behavior will no doubt be remembered in history as one of the greatest failures of humankind. .

Leonardo DiCaprio

Leonardo DiCaprio has won many awards for his work as an actor, writer and producer in both television and films. These include 50 awards from 167 nominations. DiCaprio has been nominated for six Academy Awards, four British Academy Film Awards and nine Screen Actors Guild Awards, winning one award each from them and three Golden Globe Awards from eleven nominations.

In accepting his Best Actor award at the 2016 Oscars ceremony, DiCaprio said: "Climate change is real, it is happening right now. It is the most urgent threat facing our entire species, and we need to work collectively together and stop procrastinating. We need to support leaders around the world who do not speak for the big polluters, but who speak for all of humanity, for the indigenous people of the world, for the billions and billions of underprivileged people out there who would be most affected by this. For our children's children, and for those people out there whose voices have been drowned out by the politics of greed."

Leonardo DiCaprio has used his great success as an actor in the service of environmental causes. In 1997, following the box office success of *Titanic*, he set up the Leonardo DiCaprio Foundation, which is devoted to environmental causes. He chaired the national Earth Day celebrations in 2000 during which he interviewed US President Bill Clinton, with whom he discussed the actions needed to avoid catastrophic climate change. In 2007 he had a major role in *The 11th Hour*, a documentary about people's relationship to nature and global warming. He also co-produced and co-wrote the film.

DiCaprio's most influential film on climate change is *Before the Flood*¹⁰. This film, released in 2016, is a 1 hour and 36 minute documentary in which Leonardo DiCaprio travels to many countries to let viewers observe the already visible effects of global warming. He also talks with many of the world's leaders, including Pope Francis I, US Presidents Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, and UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon.

¹⁰<http://www.get.filmovie.us/play.php?movie=tt5929776t>



Figure 3.12: Leonardo DiCaprio at a press conference in 2000 (Wikipedia).



Figure 3.13: Thom Hartmann speaks to the 2010 Chicago Green Festival (Wikipedia).

Thom Hartmann

Thom Hartmann was born in 1951 in Lansing Michigan. He worked as a disk jockey during his teens, and, after a highly successful business career, he sold his businesses and devoted his energies to writing, humanitarian projects and public education. His influential book, *Last Hours of Ancient Sunlight* was published by Three Rivers Press in 1997 and republished in a revised edition in 2004. In 2013, Hartmann published another extremely important book on the same theme: *The Last Hours of Humanity: Warming the World To Extinction*¹¹.

Hartmann has hosted a nationally syndicated radio show, The Thom Hartmann Program, since 2003 and a nightly television show, The Big Picture, since 2008.

Concerning Hartmann’s radio show, Wikipedia states that “As of March 2016, the show was carried on 80 terrestrial radio stations in 37 states as well as on Sirius and XM satellite radio. A community radio station in Africa, Radio Builsa in Ghana, also broadcasts the show. Various local cable TV networks simulcast the program. In addition to Westwood One, the show is now also offered via Pacifica Audioport to non-profit stations in a non-profit compliant format and is simulcast on Dish Network channel 9415 and DirecTV channel 348 via Free Speech TV. The program is carried on Radio Sputnik in London, England.”

“Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) appears every Friday during the first hour of the show titled ‘Brunch with Bernie’. Ellen Ratner of the Talk Radio News Service provides Washington commentary daily. Victoria Jones who is the White House correspondent for Talk

¹¹<https://www.amazon.com/Last-Hours-Humanity-Warming-Extinction/dp/1629213640>

Radio News Service appears occasionally as does Dr. Ravi Batra an economics professor at SMU.”

Together with Leonardo DiCaprio, Thom Hartman recently produced and narrated an extremely important short film entitled *Last Hours*¹². This film, draws a parallel between the Permian-Triassic mass extinction, and the danger of a human-induced 6th mass extinction. Various experts who appear in the film confirm that our release of CO₂ into the atmosphere is similar to the greenhouse gasses produced by volcanic eruptions prior to the Permian event. The methane hydrate feedback loop is also discussed. The film should be seen by everyone concerned with the future of human civilization and the biosphere. Concerned citizens should also urgently see Hartman and DiCaprio’s short films *Carbon*, *Green World Rising* and *Reforestation*, also available on YouTube .

James Hansen

James Hansen was born in 1941 in Denison, Iowa. He was educated in physics, mathematics and astronomy at the University of Iowa in the space sciences program initiated James Van Allen. He graduated with great distinction. The studies of the atmosphere and temperature of Venus which Hansen made under Van Allen’s supervision lead him to become extremely concerned about similar effects in the earth’s atmosphere.

From 1962 to 1966, James Hansen participated in the National Aeronautical and Space Administration graduate traineeship and, at the same time, between 1965 and 1966, he was a visiting student at the Institute of Astrophysics at the University of Kyoto and in the Department of Astronomy at the University of Tokyo. Hansen then began work at the Goddard Institute for Space Studies in 1967. He began to work for the Goddard Institute for Space Studies in 1967. Between 1981 and 2013, he was head of the Goddard Institute of Space Studies in New York, and since 2014, he has been the director of the Program on Climate Science, Awareness and Solutions at Columbia University’s Earth Institute.

Hansen continued his work with radiative transfer models, attempting to understand the Venusian atmosphere. Later he applied and refined these models to understand the Earth’s atmosphere, in particular, the effects that aerosols and trace gases have on Earth’s climate. Hansen’s development and use of global climate models has contributed to the further understanding of the Earth’s climate. In 2009 his first book, *Storms of My Grandchildren*, was published.

James Hansen has refined climate change models, focusing on the balance between aerosols and greenhouse gases. He believes that there is a danger that climate change will become much more rapid if the balance shifts towards the greenhouse gases.

Hansen’s Congressional testimony leads to broad public awareness of the dangers

In 1988, Prof. Hansen was asked to testify before the US Congress on the danger of uncontrolled climate change. The testimony marked the start of broad public awareness

¹²<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2bRrg96UtMc>



Figure 3.14: **Prof. James Hansen**

of the seriousness of the danger, and it was reported in a front page article by the New York Times. However, Hansen believes that governmental energy policies still favor fossil fuels. Therefore he has participated in public demonstrations and he was even arrested in 2011 together with more than a thousand other activists for protesting outside the White House.

James Hansen's TED talk and book

In 2012 he presented a TED Talk: *Why I Must Speak Out About Climate Change*. This talk is easily available on the Internet, and it should be required viewing for everyone who is concerned with the earth's future.

Hansen's book, *Storms of My Grandchildren: The Truth About The Coming Climate Catastrophe, and Our Last Chance To Save Humanity* was published in New York by Bloomsbury Publishing in 2009.

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Chapter 4

CORPORATIONS AND THE ARMS RACE

4.1 The arms race prior to World War 1

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

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

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

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

¹International Encyclopedia of the First World War

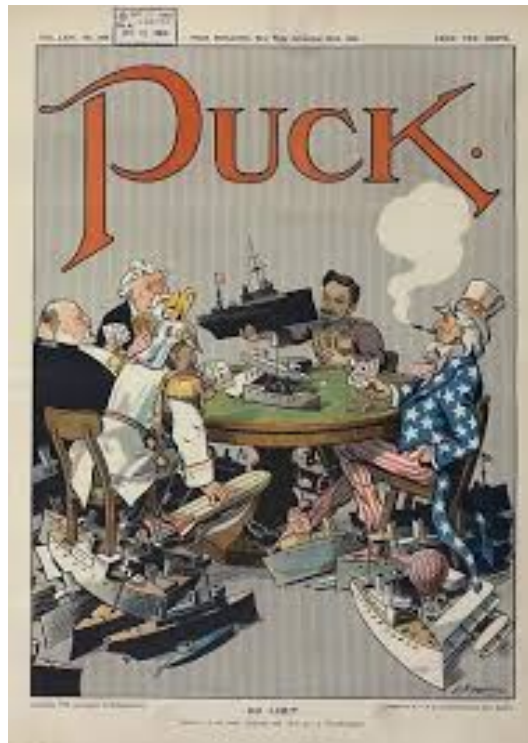


Figure 4.1: **Left to right, US, Britain, Germany, France and Japan, engage in a “no limits” game for naval supremacy.**

thereby crippling the German economy if Germany intervened in the conflict in Transvaal. From 1905 onward, the British navy developed plans for such a blockade, which was a central part of British strategy.

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

4.2 Krupp, Thyssen and Germany’s steel industry

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

The Thyssen family similarly profited from the arms races prior to World War I and World War II. August Thyssen (1842-1925) founded a large iron and steel company in the

Ruhr district of Germany, and was succeeded by his son Fritz Thyssen, who greatly aided Hitler's rise to power.

4.3 Colonialism and the outbreak of the First World War

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

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

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

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



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

4.4 Prescott Bush and Hitler

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴September 25, 2004



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

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

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

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

4.5 Fritz Thyssen supports Hitler's rise to power

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

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

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



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



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



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



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

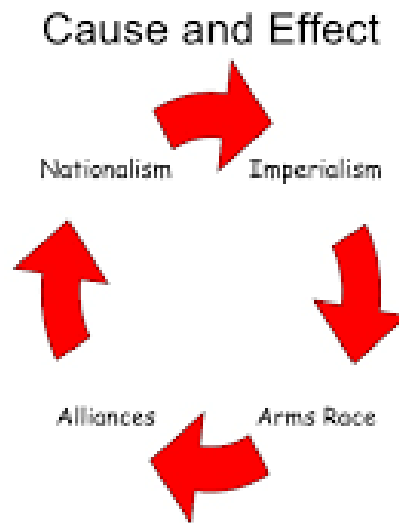


Figure 4.8: A vicious circle.

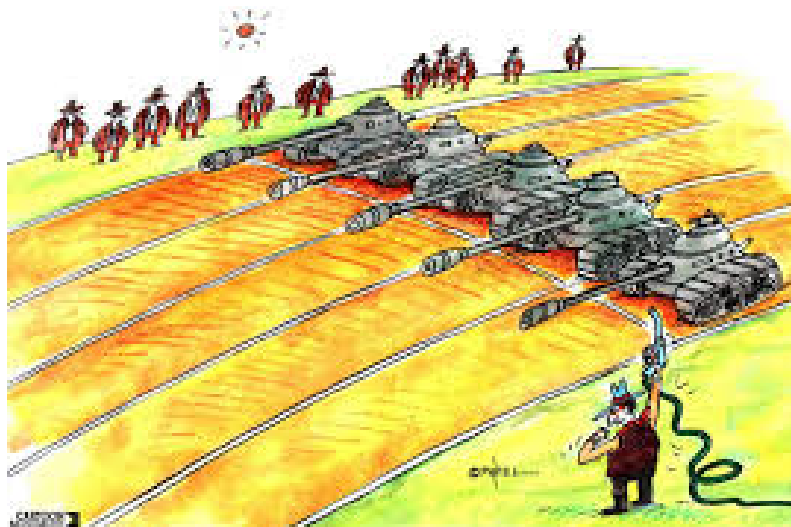


Figure 4.9: Ready, set, go!

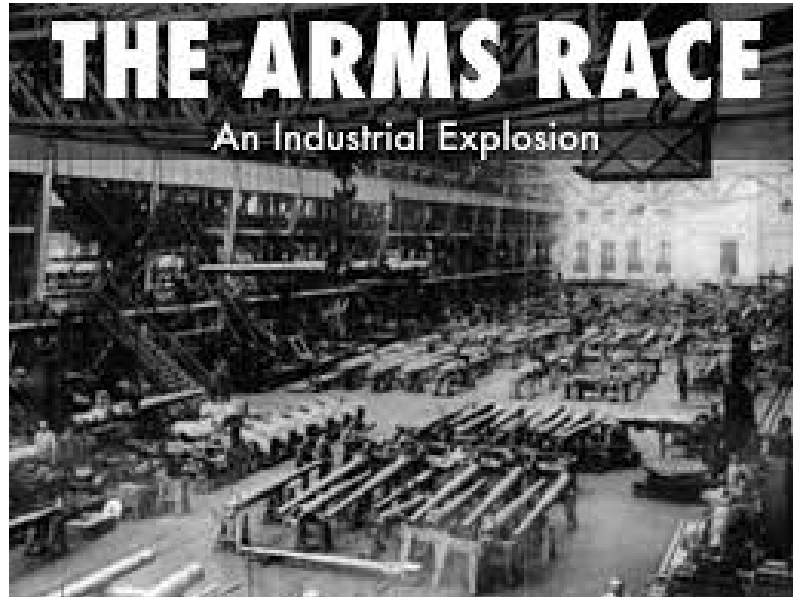


Figure 4.10: If our economies depend on armaments industries, it is an unhealthy dependence, analogous to drug addiction.



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



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

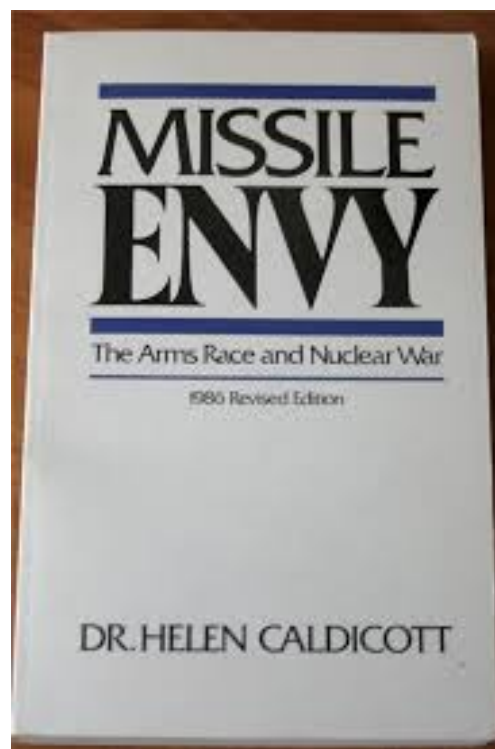


Figure 4.13: Dr. Helen Caldecott has worked to document the dangers of both nuclear weapons and nuclear power generation.

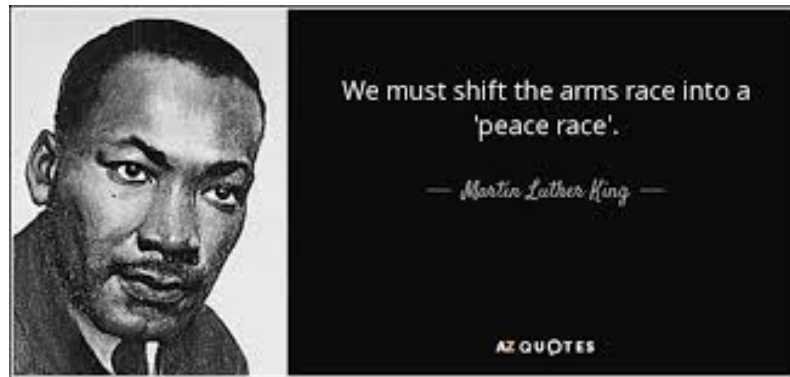


Figure 4.14: We must listen to the wise words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

4.6 Eisenhower's farewell address

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

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

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

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

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

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

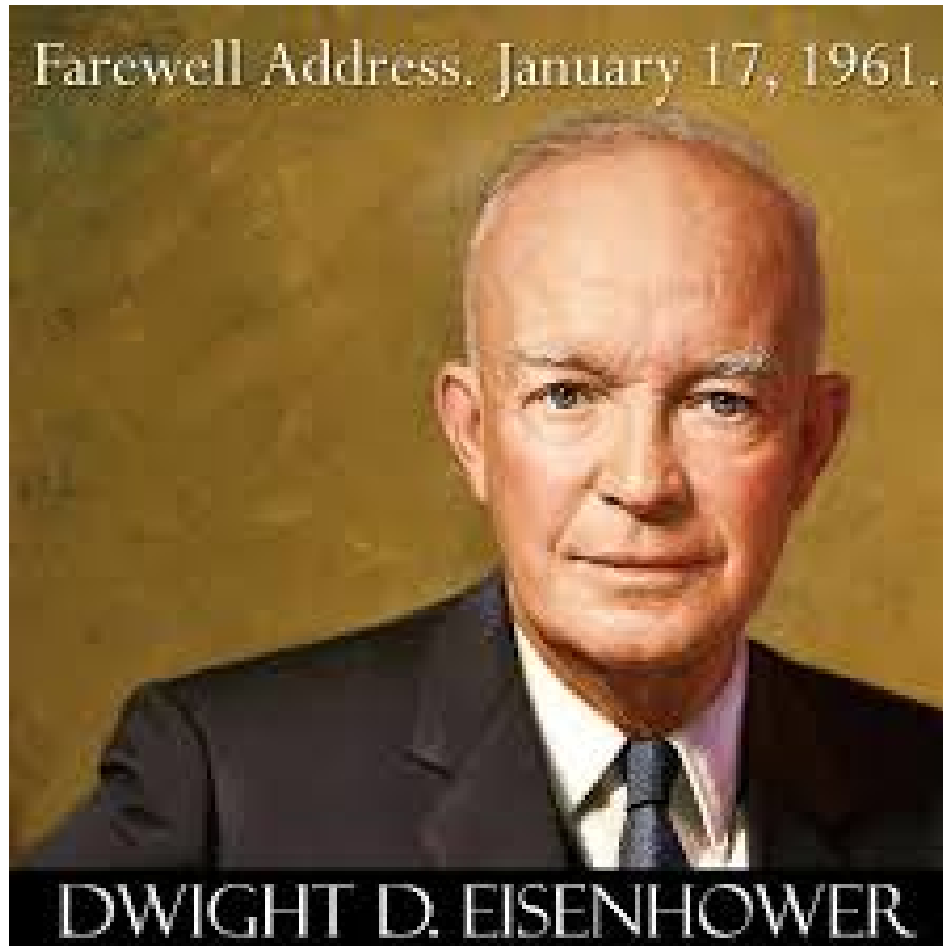


Figure 4.15: “In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”

4.7 The nuclear arms race

Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence

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

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

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

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

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

The only *possible* exception to this general rule might be “an extreme circumstance of self-defense, in which the very survival of a state would be at stake”. But the Court refused to say that even in this extreme circumstance the threat or use of nuclear weapons



would be legal. It left the exceptional case undecided. In addition, the World Court added unanimously that “there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith *and bring to a conclusion* negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict international control.”

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

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

opinion, “The nuclear weapon is, in many ways, the negation of the humanitarian considerations underlying the law applicable in armed conflict and the principle of neutrality. The nuclear weapon cannot distinguish between civilian and military targets. It causes immeasurable suffering. The radiation released by it is unable to respect the territorial integrity of neutral States.”

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

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

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

A number of prominent political and military figures (many of whom have ample knowledge of the system of deterrence, having been part of it) have expressed concern about the danger of accidental nuclear war. Colin S. Grey⁶ expressed this concern as follows: “The problem, indeed the enduring problem, is that we are resting our future upon a nuclear

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

⁶Chairman, National Institute for Public Policy

deterrence system concerning which we cannot tolerate even a single malfunction.” General Curtis E. LeMay⁷ has written, “In my opinion a general war will grow through a series of political miscalculations and accidents rather than through any deliberate attack by either side.” Bruce G. Blair⁸ has remarked that “It is obvious that the rushed nature of the process, from warning to decision to action, risks causing a catastrophic mistake.”... “This system is an accident waiting to happen.”

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

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

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

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

The Italian nuclear physicist Francesco Calogero, who has studied the matter closely, believes that terrorists could easily construct a simple gun-type nuclear bomb if they were in possession of a critical mass of highly enriched uranium. In such a simple atomic bomb,

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

⁸Brookings Institute

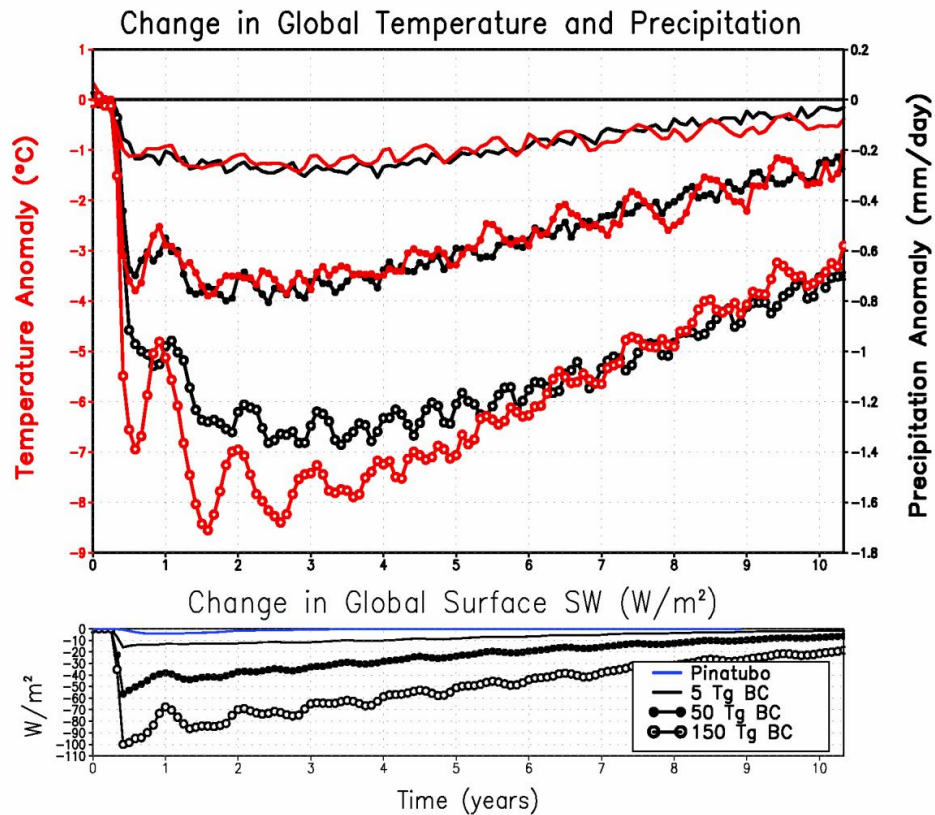


Figure 4.16: Recent studies by atmospheric scientists have shown that the smoke from burning cities produced by even a limited nuclear war would have a devastating effect on global agriculture. The studies show that the smoke would rise to the stratosphere, where it would spread globally and remain for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

two grapefruit-sized subcritical portions of HEU are placed at opposite ends of the barrel of an artillery piece and are driven together by means of a conventional explosive. Prof. Calogero estimates that the fatalities produced by the explosion of such a device in the center of a large city could exceed 100,000.

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

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

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

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

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

4.8 Global famine produced by nuclear war

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.9 Dangers of nuclear power generation

The Chernobyl disaster

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

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

Public opinion turned against nuclear power generation as a result of the Chernobyl disaster. Had the disaster taken place in Western Europe or North America, its effect on public opinion would have been still greater. Nevertheless, because of the current energy crisis, and because of worries about global warming, a number of people are arguing that nuclear energy should be given a second chance. The counter-argument is that a large

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

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

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

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

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

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

increase in the share of nuclear power in the total spectrum of energy production would have little effect on climate change but it would involve unacceptable dangers, not only dangers of accidents and dangers associated with radioactive waste disposal, but above all, dangers of proliferation of nuclear weapons.

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

Reactors and nuclear weapons

Uranium has atomic number 92, i.e., a neutral uranium atom has a nucleus containing 92 positively-charged protons, around which 92 negatively-charged electrons circle. All of the isotopes of uranium have the same number of protons and electrons, and hence the same chemical properties, but they differ in the number of neutrons in their nuclei. For example, the nucleus of U-235 has 143 neutrons, while that of U-238 has 146. Notice that $92+143=235$, while $92+146=238$. The number written after the name of an element to specify a particular isotope is the number of neutrons plus the number of protons. This is called the "nucleon number", and the weight of an isotope is roughly proportional to it. This means that U-238 is slightly heavier than U-235. If the two isotopes are to be separated, difficult physical methods dependent on mass must be used, since their chemical properties are identical. In natural uranium, the amount of the rare isotope U-235 is only 0.7 percent.

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

The Bohr-Wheeler theory also predicted that an isotope of plutonium, Pu-239, should be just as fissionable as U-235¹⁰. Instead of trying to separate the rare isotope, U-235, from the common isotope, U-238, physicists could just operate a nuclear reactor until a sufficient amount of Pu-239 accumulated, and then separate it out by ordinary chemical means.

Thus in 1942, when Enrico Fermi and his coworkers at the University of Chicago produced the world's first controlled chain reaction within a pile of cans containing ordinary (nonenriched) uranium powder, separated by blocks of very pure graphite, the chain-reacting pile had a double significance: It represented a new source of energy for mankind,

¹⁰Both U-235 and Pu-239 have odd nucleon numbers. When U-235 absorbs a neutron, it becomes U-236, while when Pu-239 absorbs a neutron it becomes Pu-240. In other words, absorption of a neutron converts both these species to nuclei with even nucleon numbers. According to the Bohr-Wheeler theory, nuclei with even nucleon numbers are especially tightly-bound. Thus absorption of a neutron converts U-235 to a highly-excited state of U-236, while Pu-239 is similarly converted to a highly excited state of Pu-240. The excitation energy distorts the nuclei to such an extent that fission becomes possible.

but it also had a sinister meaning. It represented an easy path to nuclear weapons, since one of the by-products of the reaction was a fissionable isotope of plutonium, Pu-239. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 used U-235, while the Nagasaki bomb used Pu-239.

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

The enrichment of uranium¹¹ is also linked to reactor use. Many reactors of modern design make use of low enriched uranium (LEU) as a fuel. Nations operating such a reactor may claim that they need a program for uranium enrichment in order to produce LEU for fuel rods. However, by operating their ultracentrifuges a little longer, they can easily produce highly enriched uranium (HEU), i.e., uranium containing a high percentage of the rare isotope U-235, and therefore usable in weapons.

Known reserves of uranium are only sufficient for the generation of 8×10^{20} joules of electrical energy¹², i.e., about 25 TWy. It is sometimes argued that a larger amount of electricity could be obtained from the same amount of uranium through the use of fast breeder reactors, but this would involve totally unacceptable proliferation risks. In fast breeder reactors, the fuel rods consist of highly enriched uranium. Around the core, is an envelope of natural uranium. The flux of fast neutrons from the core is sufficient to convert a part of the U-238 in the envelope into Pu-239, a fissionable isotope of plutonium.

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

It is interesting to review the way in which Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, India and North Korea¹³ obtained their nuclear weapons, since in all these cases the weapons were constructed under the guise of “atoms for peace”, a phrase that future generations may someday regard as being tragically self-contradictory.

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

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

¹¹i.e. production of uranium with a higher percentage of U-235 than is found in natural uranium

¹²Craig, J.R., Vaugn, D.J. and Skinner, B.J., *Resources of the Earth: Origin, Use and Environmental Impact, Third Edition*, page 210.

¹³Israel, India and Pakistan have refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and North Korea, after signing the NPT, withdrew from it in 2003.

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

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

In Pakistan, Dr. A.Q. Khan became a great national hero. He was presented as the person who had saved Pakistan from attack by India by creating Pakistan’s own nuclear weapons. In a Washington Post article¹⁴ Pervez Hoodbhoy wrote: “Nuclear nationalism was the order of the day as governments vigorously promoted the bomb as the symbol of Pakistan’s high scientific achievement and self-respect...” Similar manifestations of nuclear nationalism could also be seen in India after India’s 1998 bomb tests.

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

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

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

There is also a possibility that poorly-guarded fissionable material could fall into the hands of subnational groups, who would then succeed in constructing their own nuclear

¹⁴1 February, 2004

weapons. Given a critical mass of highly-enriched uranium, a terrorist group, or an organized criminal (Mafia) group, could easily construct a crude gun-type nuclear explosive device. Pu-239 is more difficult to use since it is highly radioactive, but the physicist Frank Barnaby believes that a subnational group could nevertheless construct a crude nuclear bomb (of the Nagasaki type) from this material.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Optimists point to the possibility of using fusion of light elements, such as hydrogen, to generate power. However, although this can be done on a very small scale (and at great expense) in laboratory experiments, the practical generation of energy by means of thermonuclear reactions remains a mirage rather than a realistic prospect on which planners can rely. The reason for this is the enormous temperature required to produce thermonuclear reactions. This temperature is comparable to that existing in the interior of the sun, and it is sufficient to melt any ordinary container. Elaborate “magnetic bottles” have been constructed to contain thermonuclear reactions, and these have been used in successful very small scale experiments. However, despite 50 years of heavily-financed research, there has been absolutely no success in producing thermonuclear energy on a large scale, or at anything remotely approaching commercially competitive prices.

4.10 Military-industrial complexes today

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

In an interview with Amy Goodman¹⁵, retired 4-star General Wesley Clark said: “About ten days after 9/11, I went through the Pentagon and I saw Secretary Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz. I went downstairs just to say hello to some of the people on the Joint Staff who used to work for me, any one of the generals called me in. He said, “Sir, you’ve got to come in and talk to me a second.” I said, “Well, you’re too busy.” He said, “No, no.” He says, “We’ve made the decision we’re going to war with Iraq.” This was on or about the 20th of September. I said, “We’re going to war with Iraq? Why?” He said, “I don’t know.” He said, “I guess they don’t know what else to do.” So I said, “Well, did they find some information connecting Saddam to al-Qaeda?” He said, “No, no.” He says, “There’s nothing new that way. They just made the decision to go to war with Iraq.” He said, “I guess it’s like we don’t know what to do about terrorists, but we’ve got a good military and we can take down governments.” And he said, “I guess if the only tool you have is a hammer, every problem has to look like a nail.

So I came back to see him a few weeks later, and by that time we were bombing in Afghanistan. I said, “Are we still going to war with Iraq?” And he said, “Oh, it’s worse

¹⁵<https://genius.com/General-wesley-clark-seven-countries-in-five-years-annotated>

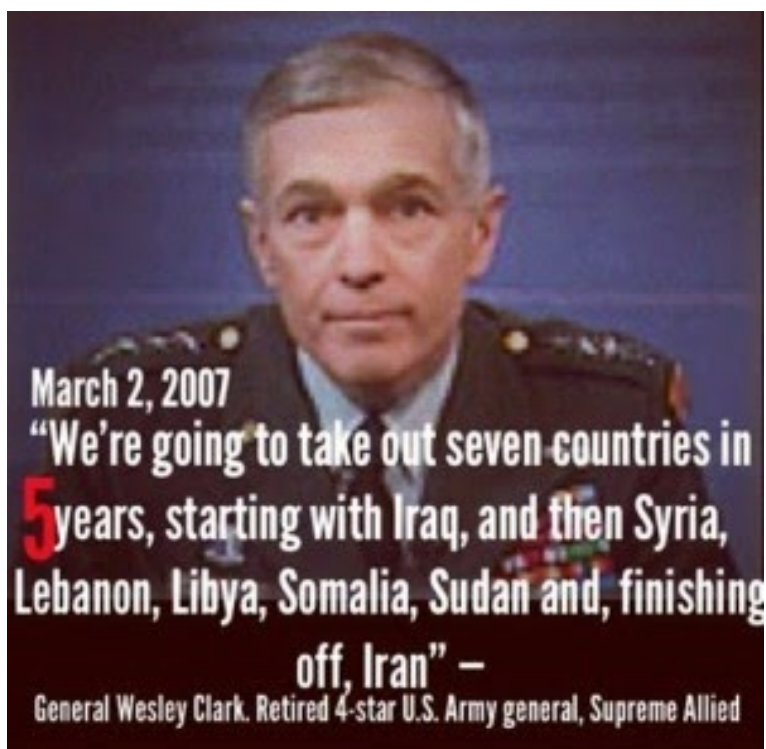


Figure 4.17: General Wesley Clark

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

The global trade in light arms

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

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

An estimated 639 million small arms and light weapons are in circulation worldwide,

one for every ten people. Approximately 300,000 people are killed every year by these weapons, many of them women and children.

Examples of endemic conflict

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

The Wolfowitz Doctrine

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

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

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

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

Militarism in North Korea

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



Figure 4.18: 40,000 children die each day from starvation or from poverty-related diseases. Meanwhile, the world spends more than \$1,700,000,000,000 each year on armaments.

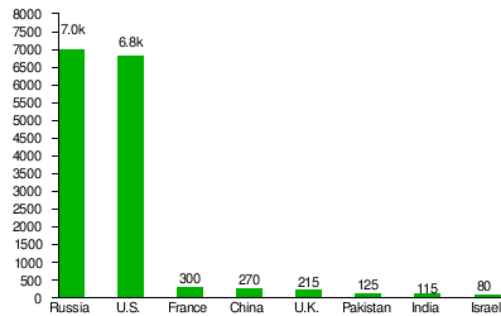


Figure 4.19: **Countries by estimated nuclear warhead stockpiles according to the Federation of American scientists.**

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

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

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

Table 4.1: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, 2016

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

Table 4.2: SIPRI List of arms manufacturers, 2016

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



Figure 4.20: North Korea's dictator, Kim Jong-un. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence rests on the assumption that political leaders will always act rationally, an assumption that seems very uncertain in the case of the U.S.-North Korean conflict.

The SIPRI Yearbook, 2017

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

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

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

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

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

a much decreased commitment to international institutions and a renewed emphasis in several key states on a narrowly defined national interest.

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

4.11 A culture of violence

Links with the entertainment industry

Here are a few films that glorify war:

- Black Hawk Down
- Top Gun
- Behind Enemy Lines
- Red Dawn (1984)
- American Sniper
- Iron Eagle
- Pearl Harbor
- Act of Valor
- We Were Soldiers
- The Green Berets

Making a game of killing

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

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



Figure 4.21: Tom Cruise in “Top Gun”.



Figure 4.22: A culture of violence supports the Devil’s Dynamo.

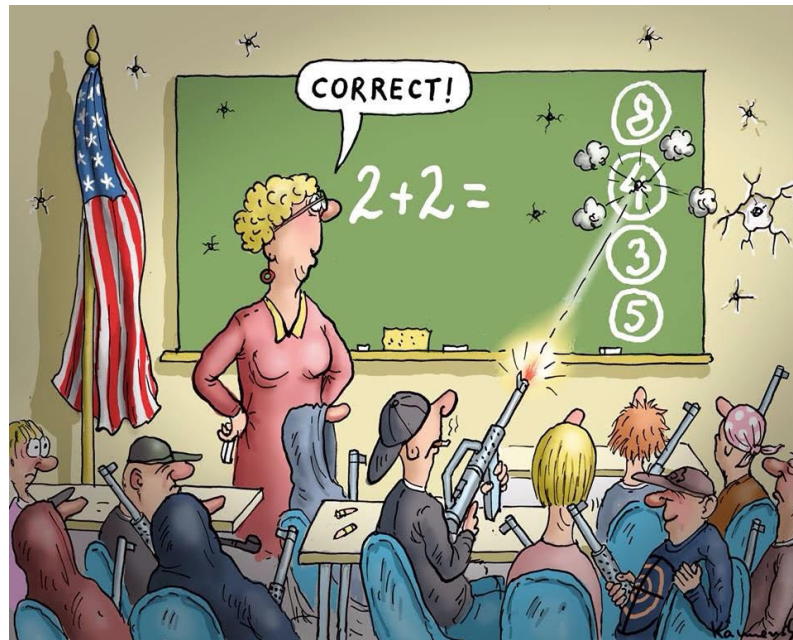


Figure 4.23: **A culture of violence:** In the United States the National Rifle Association has proposed guns in schools as the answer to the epidemic of school shootings.

Another genre of computer games has to do with building empires, ignoring the fact that imperialism is morally indefensible. For example, “Forge of Empires” is a browser-based strategy game. It is described as follows: “The game offers a single-player campaign for players to explore and conquer several provinces, gaining resources and new technology as they progress.” Conquering countries for the sake of gaining their resources is an all-too-familiar feature of the modern world. In the game “Forge of Empires”, our young people are indoctrinated with the ethos of resource wars.

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

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

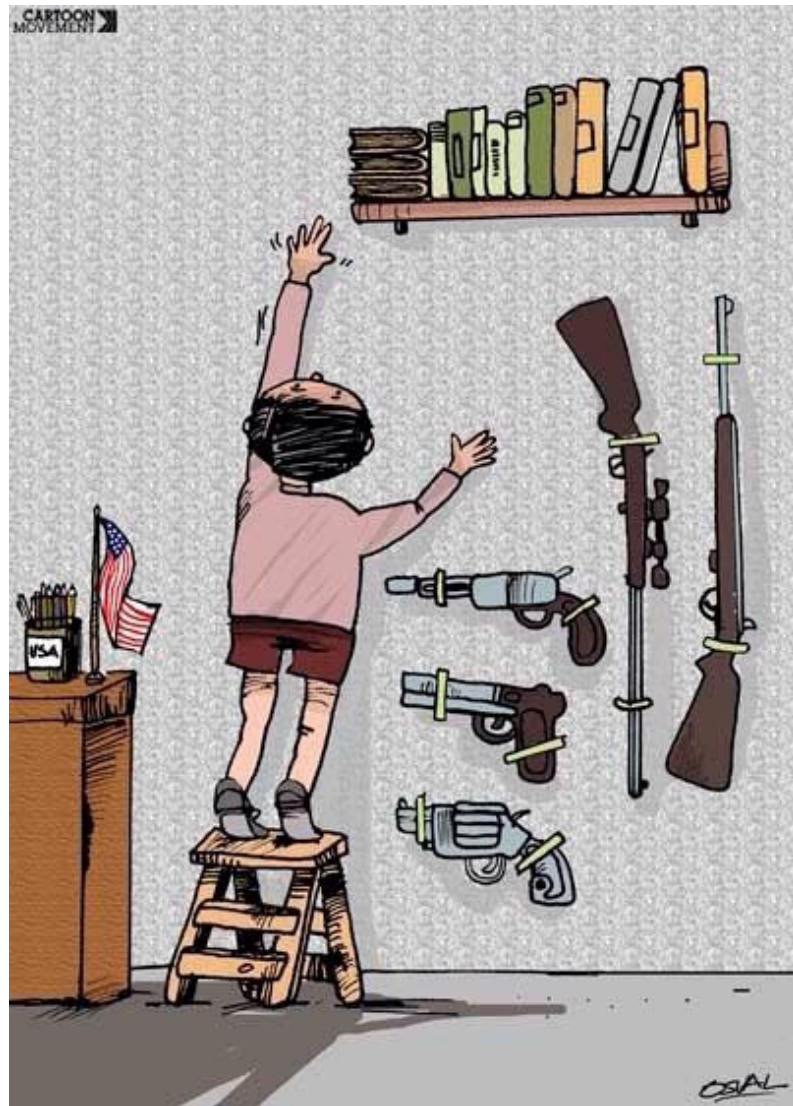


Figure 4.24: A culture of violence. Guns in schools?

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 5

BLOOD FOR OIL

5.1 Adam Smith's invisible hand is at our throats

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



Figure 5.2: London during the industrial revolution

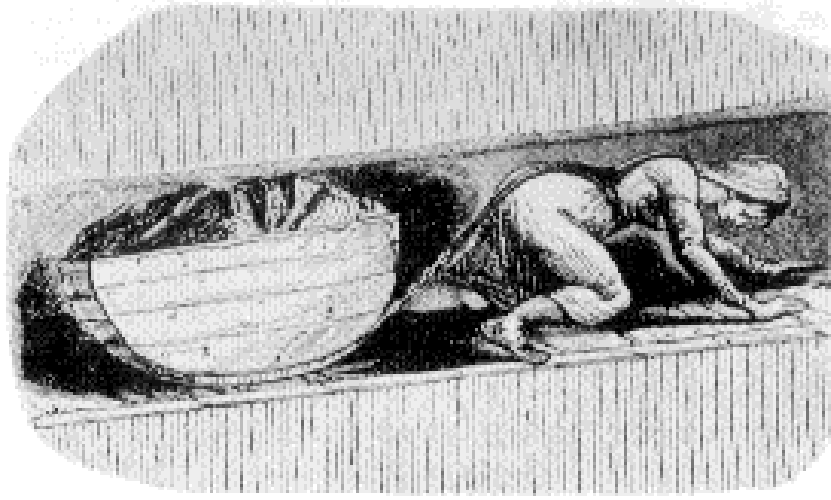


Figure 5.3: A girl pulling a coaltub through the narrow space left by removal of coal from a seam.

and working conditions deteriorated.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Our greed-based economic system today

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

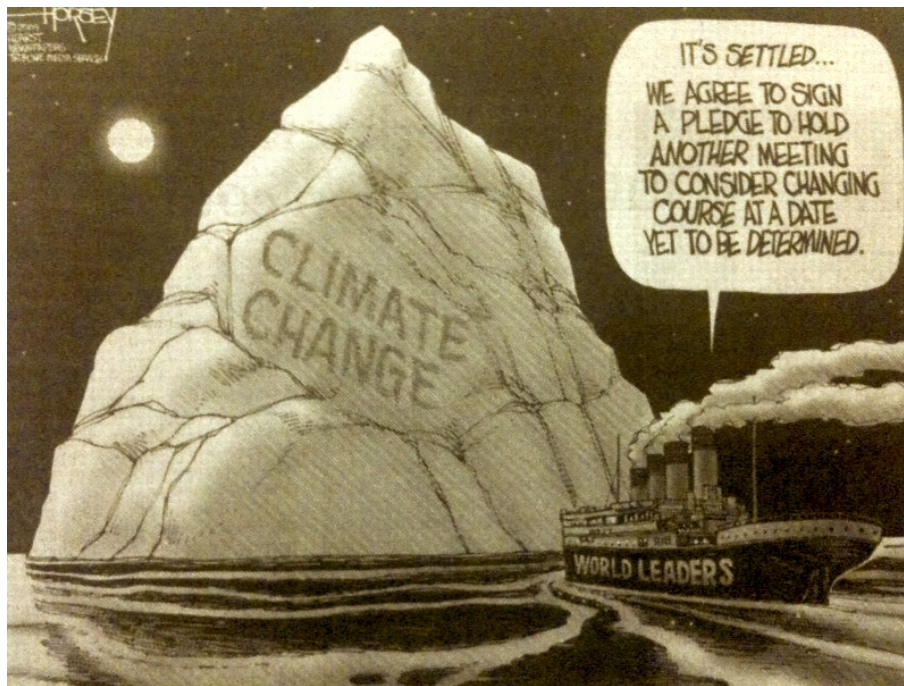


Figure 5.6: The ship in the cartoon is drawn so as to resemble the Titanic.

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

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

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

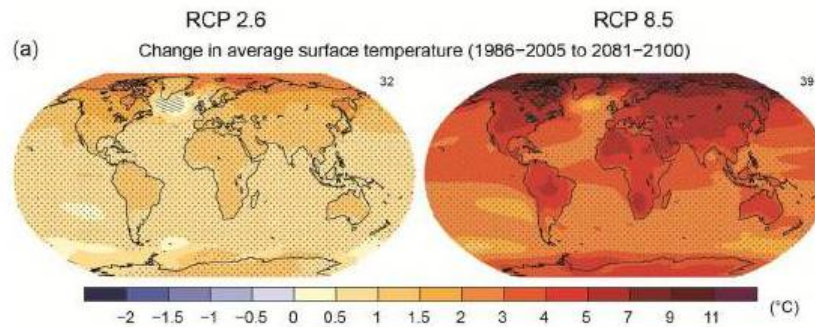


Figure 5.7: Temperature changes will be greatest in the polar regions. Far greater changes in global temperatures are to be expected in the 22nd and 23rd centuries and in subsequent centuries, because the thermal inertia of the oceans makes climate change a very slow and long-term effect.

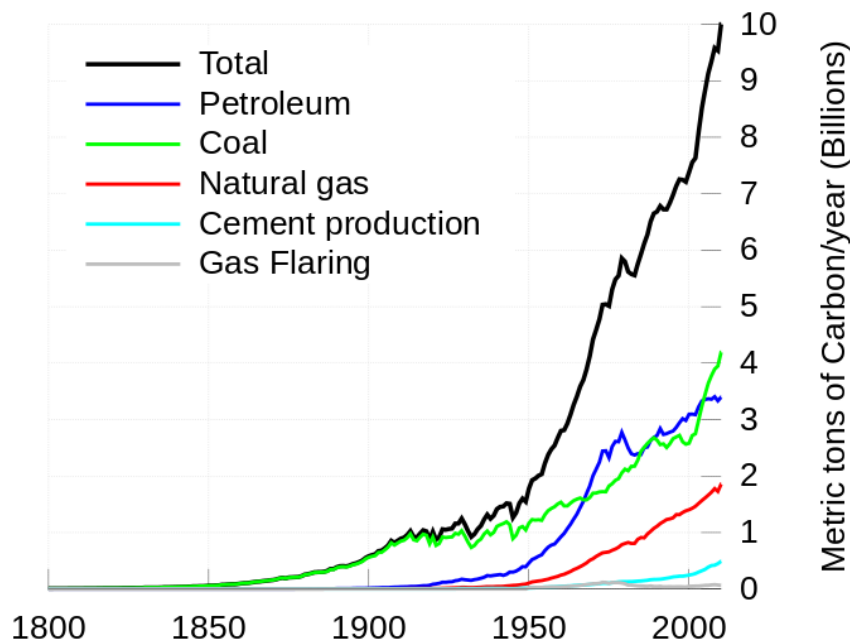


Figure 5.8: The isotope ratios in ice cores from the Greenland ice sheet allow us to see the close correlation between atmospheric CO₂ concentration and temperatures over a very long period of time. Thus regardless of questions of cause and effect, we can expect rising concentrations of CO₂ to be accompanied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

5.3 Human motivations were not always so selfish

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

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

5.4 Neocolonialism

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

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

5.5 The resource curse

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

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

5.6 Confessions of an economic hit-man

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

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

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

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

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

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



5.7 Debt slavery

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

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

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

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

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Like Naomi Klein, Prof. Klare believes that the peace movement and the climate movement ought to join forces.⁴

5.8 Blood for oil

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

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

²<http://dissidentvoice.org/2015/07/a-revolutionary-pope-calls-for-rethinking-the-outdated-criteria-that-rule-the-world/>

<http://www.globalissues.org/issue/28/third-world-debt-undermines-development>

³<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PCXgnbTdhNo>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-cdHIGFrF0>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LIdlm4ywAlc>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PCXgnbTdhNo>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-cdHIGFrF0>

⁴<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LIdlm4ywAlc>

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

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

Iraq, in particular, has been the scene of a number of wars motivated by the West’s thirst for oil. During World War I, 1914-1918, the British captured the area (then known as Mesopotamia) from the Ottoman Empire after four years of bloody fighting. Although Lord Curzon denied that the British conquest of Mesopotamia was motivated by oil, there is ample evidence that British policy was indeed motivated by a desire for control of the region’s petroleum. For example, Curzon’s Cabinet colleague Sir Maurice Hankey stated in a private letter that oil was “a first-class war aim”. Furthermore, British forces continued to fight after the signing of the Mudros Armistice. In this way, they seized Mosul, the capital of a major oil-producing region, thus frustrating the plans of the French, who had been promised the area earlier in the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement.

Lord Curzon was well aware of the military importance of oil, and following the end of the First World War he remarked: “The Allied cause has floated to victory on a wave of oil”.

During the period between 1918 and 1930, fierce Iraqi resistance to the occupation was crushed by the British, who used poison gas, airplanes, incendiary bombs, and mobile armored cars, together with forces drawn from the Indian Army. Winston Churchill, who was Colonial Secretary at the time, regarded the conflict in Iraq as an important test of modern military-colonial methods.

In 1932, Britain granted nominal independence to Iraq, but kept large military forces in the country and maintained control of it through indirect methods. In 1941, however, it seemed likely that Germany might try to capture the Iraqi oilfields, and therefore the British again seized direct political power in Iraq by means of military force. It was not only Germany that Britain feared, but also US attempts to gain access to Iraqi oil.

The British fear of US interest in Iraqi oil was soon confirmed by events. In 1963 the US secretly backed a military coup in Iraq that brought Saddam Hussein’s Ba’ath Party to power. In 1979 the western-backed Shah of Iran was overthrown, and the United States regarded the fundamentalist Shi’ite regime that replaced him as a threat to supplies of oil from Saudi Arabia. Washington saw Saddam’s Iraq as a bulwark against the militant Shi’ite extremism of Iran that was threatening oil supplies from pro-American states such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

In 1980, encouraged to do so by the fact that Iran had lost its US backing, Saddam Hussein’s government attacked Iran. This was the start of a extremely bloody and destructive war that lasted for eight years, inflicting almost a million casualties on the two



nations. Iraq used both mustard gas and the nerve gases Tabun and Sarin against Iran, in violation of the Geneva Protocol.

Both the United States and Britain helped Saddam Hussein's government to obtain chemical weapons. A chemical plant, called Falluja 2, was built by Britain in 1985, and this plant was used to produce mustard gas and nerve gas. Also, according to the Riegel Report to the US Senate, May 25, (1994), the Reagan Administration turned a blind eye to the export of chemical weapon precursors to Iraq, as well as anthrax and plague cultures that could be used as the basis for biological weapons. According to the Riegel Report, "records available from the supplier for the period 1985 until the present show that during this time, pathogenic (meaning disease producing) and toxigenic (meaning poisonous), and other biological research materials were exported to Iraq pursuant to application and licensing by the US Department of Commerce."

In 1984, Donald Rumsfeld, Reagan's newly appointed Middle East Envoy, visited Saddam Hussein to assure him of America's continuing friendship, despite Iraqi use of poison gas. When (in 1988) Hussein went so far as to use poison gas against civilian citizens of his own country in the Kurdish village of Halabja, the United States worked to prevent international condemnation of the act. Indeed US support for Saddam was so unconditional that he obtained the false impression that he had a free hand to do whatever he liked in the region.

On July 25, 1990, US Ambassador April Glaspie met with Saddam Hussein to discuss oil prices and how to improve US-Iraq relations. According to the transcript of the meeting, Ms Glaspie assured Saddam that the US "had no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." She then left on vacation. Mistaking this conversation for a green light, Saddam invaded Kuwait eight days later.

By invading Kuwait, Hussein severely worried western oil companies and governments, since Saudi Arabia might be next in line. As George Bush senior said in 1990, at the time of the Gulf War, "Our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would all suffer if control of the world's great oil reserves fell into the hands of Saddam Hussein."

On August 6, 1990, the UN Security Council imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq with the aim of forcing Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Meanwhile, US

Secretary of State James A. Baker III used arm-twisting methods in the Security Council to line up votes for UN military action against Iraq. In Baker's own words, he undertook the process of "cajoling, extracting, threatening and occasionally buying votes".

On November 29, 1990, the Council passed Resolution 678, authorizing the use of "all necessary means" (by implication also military means) to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. There was nothing at all wrong with this, since the Security Council had been set up by the UN Charter to prevent states from invading their neighbors. However, one can ask whether the response to Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait would have been so wholehearted if oil had not been involved.

There is much that can be criticized in the way that the Gulf War of 1990-1991 was carried out. Besides military targets, the US and its allies bombed electrical generation facilities with the aim of creating postwar leverage over Iraq. The electrical generating plants would have to be rebuilt with the help of foreign technical assistance, and this help could be traded for postwar compliance. In the meantime, hospitals and water-purification plants were without electricity. Also, during the Gulf War, a large number of projectiles made of depleted uranium were fired by allied planes and tanks. The result was a sharp increase in cancer in Iraq. Finally, both Shi'ites and Kurds were encouraged by the Allies to rebel against Saddam Hussein's government, but were later abandoned by the allies and slaughtered by Saddam.

The most terrible misuse of power, however, was the US and UK insistence the sanctions against Iraq should remain in place after the end of the Gulf War. These two countries used their veto power in the Security Council to prevent the removal of the sanctions. Their motive seems to have been the hope that the economic and psychological impact would provoke the Iraqi people to revolt against Saddam. However that brutal dictator remained firmly in place, supported by universal fear of his police and by massive propaganda. The effect of the sanctions was to produce more than half a million deaths of children under five years of age, as is documented by UNICEF data. The total number of deaths that the sanctions produced among Iraqi civilians probably exceeded a million, if older children and adults are included.

Ramsey Clark, who studied the effects of the sanctions in Iraq from 1991 onwards, wrote to the Security Council that most of the deaths "are from the effects of malnutrition including marasmas and kwashiorkor, wasting or emaciation which has reached twelve per cent of all children, stunted growth which affects twenty-eight per cent, diarrhea, dehydration from bad water or food, which is ordinarily easily controlled and cured, common communicable diseases preventable by vaccinations, and epidemics from deteriorating sanitary conditions. There are no deaths crueller than these. They are suffering slowly, helplessly, without simple remedial medication, without simple sedation to relieve pain, without mercy."

On the morning of September 11, 2001, two hijacked airliners were deliberately crashed into New York's World Trade Center, causing the collapse of three skyscrapers and the deaths of more than three thousand people. Almost simultaneously, another hijacked airliner was driven into the Pentagon in Washington DC, and a fourth hijacked plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. The fourth plane probably was to have made a suicide

attack on the White House or the Capitol, but passengers on the airliner became aware what was happening through their mobile telephones, and they overpowered the hijackers.

Blame for the September 11 attacks soon centered on the wealthy Saudi Arabian Islamic extremist, Osama bin Laden, and on his terrorist organization, al-Qaeda. In a later statement acknowledging responsibility for the terrorist attacks, bin Laden gave as his main reasons firstly the massive US support for Israel, a country that, in his view, was committing atrocities against the Palestinians, and secondly the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia.

Like Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden was an ex-protegé of the CIA, by whom he had previously been armed, trained, and supported. The history of bin Laden's relationship with the CIA began in 1979, when the CIA, acting through Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency, began to train and arm the Mujaheddin, an international force of Islamic fundamentalists who were encouraged to attack Afghanistan's secular socialist government.

US National Security Advisor Zbigniew Bryzinski anticipated that the Soviets would respond by sending troops to protect the socialist government of Afghanistan, and he believed that the resulting war would be the Soviet Union's version of Viet Nam: It would be a war that would fatally weaken the Soviet Union. Thus he saw the war that he was provoking in Afghanistan as an important step in the liberation of Eastern Europe. "What is most important in the history of the world?", Polish-born Bryzinski asked in a 1998 interview, "The Taliban, or the collapse of the Soviet empire? Some stirred-up Muslims, or the liberation of central Europe...?" It was, in fact, these same "stirred-up Muslims" who guided two hijacked aircraft into the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001.

During the spring of 2003, our television and newspapers presented us with the spectacle of an attack by two technologically superior powers on a much less industrialized nation, a nation with an ancient and beautiful culture. The ensuing war was one-sided. Missiles guided by laser beams and signals from space satellites were more than a match for less sophisticated weapons.

Speeches were made to justify the attack. It was said to be needed because of weapons of mass destruction (some countries are allowed to have them, others not). It was said to be necessary to get rid of a cruel dictator (whom the attacking powers had previously supported and armed). But the suspicion remained that the attack was resource-motivated. It was about oil.

Looking at the present and threatened conflicts in the Middle East against the background of this history, must we not ask: To what extent are they too about oil?

5.9 Concluding remarks

From the discussion presented above, we can see that our present economic system produces an endless series of resource-motivated wars. In addition to the enormous suffering, waste, injustice and ecological destruction produced by modern wars, we must recognize that in

an era of thermonuclear weapons, war has become prohibitively dangerous. Therefore we need a new economic system.

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Chapter 6

CORPORATE SECRECY VERSUS DEMOCRACY

6.1 The jaws of power

“Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves, therefore, are its only safe depositories.” Thomas Jefferson, (1743-1826)

“The jaws of power are always open to devour, and her arm is always stretched out, if possible, to destroy the freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing.” John Adams, (1735-1826)

According to the Nuremberg Principles, the citizens of a country have a responsibility for the crimes that their governments commit. But to prevent these crimes, the people need to have some knowledge of what is going on. Indeed, democracy cannot function at all without this knowledge.

What are we to think when governments make every effort to keep their actions secret from their own citizens? We can only conclude that although they may call themselves democracies, such governments are in fact oligarchies or dictatorships.

At the end of World War I, it was realized that secret treaties had been responsible for its outbreak, and an effort was made to ensure that diplomacy would be more open in the future. Needless to say, these efforts did not succeed, and diplomacy has remained a realm of secrecy.

Many governments have agencies for performing undercover operations (usually very dirty ones). We can think, for example of the KGB, the CIA, M5, or Mossad. How can countries that have such agencies claim to be democracies, when the voters have no knowledge of or influence over the acts that are committed by the secret agencies of their governments?

Nuclear weapons were developed in secret. It is doubtful whether the people of the United States would have approved of the development of such anti-human weapons, or

their use against an already-defeated Japan, if they had known that these things were going to happen. The true motive for the nuclear bombings was also kept secret. In the words of General Groves, speaking confidentially to colleagues at Los Alamos, the real motive was “to control the Soviet Union”.

The true circumstances surrounding the start of the Vietnam war would never have been known if Daniel Ellsberg had not leaked the Pentagon Papers. Ellsberg thought that once the American public realized that their country’s entry into the war was based on a lie, the war would end. It did not end immediately, but undoubtedly Ellsberg’s action contributed to the end of the war.

We do not know what will happen to Julian Assange. If his captors send him to the US, and if he is executed there for the crime of publishing leaked documents (a crime that he shares with the New York Times), he will not be the first martyr to the truth. The ageing Galileo was threatened with torture and forced to recant his heresy - that the earth moves around the sun. Galileo spent the remainder of his days in house arrest. Giordano Bruno was less lucky. He was burned at the stake for maintaining that the universe is larger than it was then believed to be. If Julian Assange becomes a martyr to the truth like Galileo or Bruno, his name will be honored by generations in the future, and the shame of his captors will be remembered too.

6.2 The deep state

Can a government, many of whose operations are secret, be a democracy? Obviously this is impossible. The recent attempts of the United States to arrest whistleblower Edward Snowden call attention to the glaring contradiction between secrecy and democracy.

In a democracy, the power of judging and controlling governmental policy is supposed to be in the hands of the people. It is completely clear that if the people do not know what their government is doing, then they cannot judge or control governmental policy, and democracy has been abolished. There has always been a glaring contradiction between democracy and secret branches of the government, such as the CIA, which conducts its assassinations and its dirty wars in South America without any public knowledge or control.

The gross, wholesale electronic spying on citizens revealed by Snowden seems to be specifically aimed at eliminating democracy. It is aimed at instilling universal fear and conformity, fear of blackmail and fear of being out of step, so that the public will not dare to oppose whatever the government does, no matter how criminal or unconstitutional.

Henry Kissinger famously remarked: “The illegal we do at once. The unconstitutional takes a little longer”. Well, Henry, that may have been true in your time, but today the unconstitutional does not take long at all.

The Magna Carta is trashed. No one dares to speak up. Habeas Corpus is trashed. No one dares to speak up. The United Nations Charter is trashed. No one dares to speak up. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is trashed. No one dares to speak up. The Fourth Amendment to the US Constitution is trashed. No one dares to speak up. The



Figure 6.1: The sales of George Orwell’s 1984 soared after Snowden’s revelations.

President claims the right to kill both US and foreign citizens, at his own whim. No one dares to speak up.

But perhaps this is unjust. Perhaps some people would dare to protest, except that they cannot get their protests published in the mainstream media. We must remember that the media are owned by the same corporate oligarchs who own the government.

George Orwell, you should be living today! We need your voice today! After Snowden’s revelations, the sale of Orwell’s “1984” soared. It is now on the bestseller list. Sadly, Orwell’s dystopian prophesy has proved to be accurate in every detail.

What is the excuse for for the massive spying reported by Snowden, spying not only on US citizens but also on the citizens of other countries throughout the world? “We want to protect you from terrorism.”, the government answers. But terrorism is not a real threat, it is an invented one. It was invented by the military-industrial complex because, at the end of the Cold War, this enormous money-making conglomerate lacked enemies.

Globally, the number of people killed by terrorism is vanishingly small compared to the number of children who die from starvation every year. It is even vanishingly small compared with the number of people who are killed in automobile accidents. It is cer-



tainly small compared with the number of people killed in wars aimed at gaining western hegemony over oil-rich regions of the world.

In order to make the American people really fear terrorism, and in order to make them willing to give up their civil liberties, a big event was needed, something like the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center.

There is strong evidence, available on the Internet for anyone who wishes to look at it, that the US government knew well in advance that the 9/11 attacks would take place, and that government agents made the disaster worse than it otherwise would have been by planting explosives in the buildings of the World Trade Center. For example, CIA insider Susan Lindauer has testified that the US government knew about the planned attacks as early as April, 2001. Other experts have testified that explosives must have been used to bring the buildings down.

Numerous samples of the dust from the disaster were collected by people in New York City, and chemical analysis of the dust has shown the presence of nanothermite, a compound that produces intense heat. Pools of recently-melted steel were found in the ruins of the buildings before these were sealed off from the public. An ordinary fire does not produce temperatures high enough to melt steel.

Thus it seems probable that the US government participated in the 9/11 attacks, and used them in much the same way that the Nazis used the Reichstag fire, to abridge civil liberties and to justify a foreign invasion. Soon afterward, the Patriot Act was passed. It's Orwellian name is easily understood by anyone who has read "1984".

But in Shelley's words, "We are many; they are few!" The people who want democracy greatly outnumber those who profit from maintaining a government based on secrecy and fear. Let us "rise like lions after slumbers, in unvanquishable numbers". Let us abolish governmental secrecy and reclaim our democracy.

Governmental secrecy is not something new. Secret diplomacy contributed to the out-



Figure 6.2: Susan Lindauer

break of World War I, and the secret Sykes-Picot agreement later contributed to the bitterness of conflicts in the Middle East. However, in recent years, governmental secrecy has grown enormously.

The revelations of Edward Snowden and others have shown that the number of people involved in secret operations of the United States government is now as large as the entire population of Norway: roughly 5 million. The influence of this dark side of government has become so great that no president is able to resist it.

In a recent article, John Chuckman remarked that “The CIA is now so firmly entrenched and so immensely well financed (much of it off the books, including everything from secret budget items to the peddling of drugs and weapons) that it is all but impossible for a president to oppose it the way Kennedy did. Obama, who has proved himself to be a fairly weak character from the start, certainly has given the CIA anything it wants. The dirty business of ISIS in Syria and Iraq is one project. The coup in Ukraine is another. The pushing of NATO’s face right against Russia’s borders is another. Several attempted coups in Venezuela are still more. And the creation of a drone air force for extra-judicial killings in half a dozen countries is yet another. They don’t resemble projects we would expect from a smiley-faced intelligent man who sometimes wore sandals and refused to wear a flag pin on his lapel during his first election campaign.”¹

Of course the United States government is by no means alone in practicing excessive secrecy: Scott Horton recently wrote an article entitled *How to Rein in a Secretive Shadow Government Is Our National Security Crisis*. He dedicated the article to the Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov because, as he said, “Sakharov recognized that the Soviet Union rested on a colossal false premise: it was not so much socialism (though Sakharov was cer-

¹<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article41222.htm>

tainly a critic of socialism) as it was the obsession with secrecy, which obstructed the search for truth, avoided the exposure of mistakes, and led to the rise of powerful bureaucratic elites who were at once incompetent and prone to violence.”

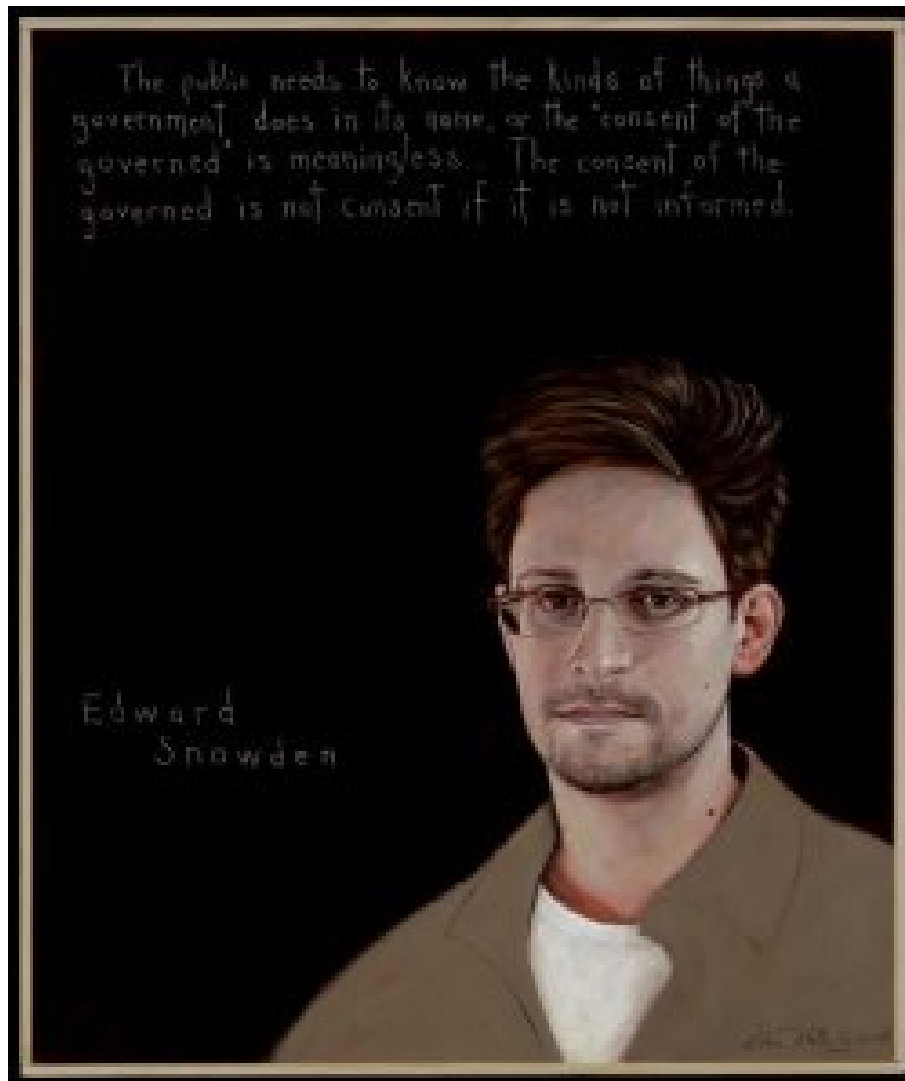


Figure 6.3: The revelations of Edward Snowden and others have shown that the number of people involved in secret operations of the United States government is now as large as the entire population of Norway: roughly 5 million.

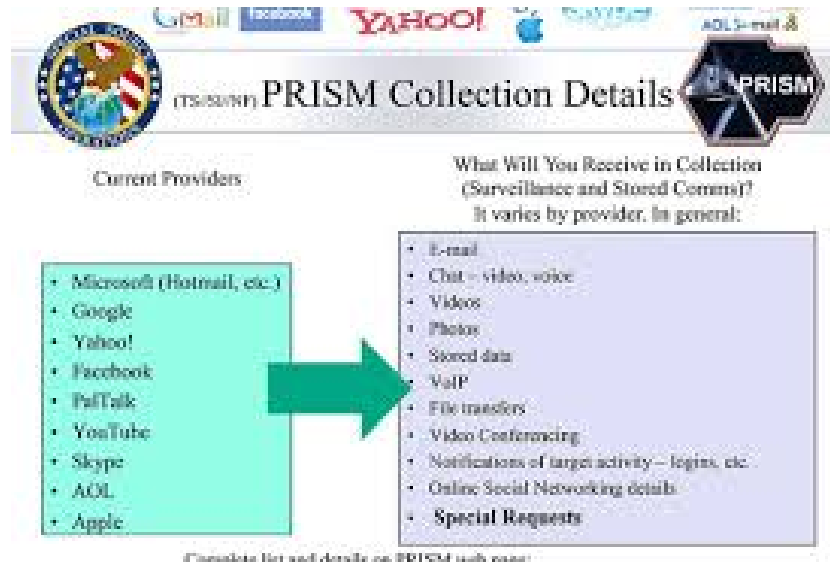


Figure 6.4: One of the power points used by NSA to sell their comprehensive collection of private data.



Figure 6.5: The data of major Internet corporations was stolen without their knowledge or consent.



Figure 6.6: These huge buildings in Fort Meade, Maryland, are the main headquarters of NSA.



Figure 6.7: Angela Merkel's telephone was bugged by NSA. In a cartoon depicting the incident, she says "Tell the Americans to stop listening to our telephone conversations". Her aide replies, "You just did".



Figure 6.8: **Big Brother is watching you.**

6.3 “The United States of Secrets”

A review by *Variety*

Here are some excerpts from *Variety’s* review of the first two parts of the series:

“Methodical and comprehensive, *Frontline’s* documentary *The United States of Secrets* offers a blow-by-blow account of the Bush administration’s embrace of potentially illegal spying/eavesdropping techniques, President Obama’s decision to continue them (despite campaign promises to the contrary) and, most compellingly, those who sought to blow the whistle on government overreach, culminating with Edward Snowden’s unprecedented dump of classified documents. If the two-part project breaks little new ground, it’s an utterly thorough primer on what transpired that almost plays like a John Le Carre thriller, with remarkably candid interviews from participants on all sides...

“*United States of Secrets* also details the role played by the Fourth Estate, as frustrated officials reluctantly began going to the press, feeling they had no other recourse to beat back constitutional intrusions. Yet the *New York Times*, after nailing down the story, ultimately balked at running it, at the urging of the Bush administration...”

A review by *Network Knowledge*

Another review, by *Network Knowledge*, makes the following comments:

“WSEC/PBS Springfield will premiere a compelling two-part series entitled FRONTLINE - United States of Secrets. These programs go behind the headlines to reveal the dramatic story of how the U.S. government came to monitor and collect the communications of millions of people around the world - including ordinary Americans - and the lengths they went to trying to hide the massive surveillance program from the public.

“In part one, premiering Tuesday, May 13 at 8PM on WSEC/PBS Springfield, FRONTLINE filmmaker Michael Kirk goes inside Washington and the National Security Agency,

piecing together the secret history of the unprecedented surveillance program that began in the wake of September 11 and continues today even after the revelations of its existence by NSA contractor Edward Snowden.

“Then, in part two, premiering Tuesday, May 20 at 9PM, veteran FRONTLINE filmmaker Martin Smith continues the story, exploring the secret relationship between Silicon Valley and the National Security Agency, and investigating how the government and tech companies have worked together to gather and warehouse your data.

“Part political thriller and part spy novel, United States of Secrets series is the definitive history of domestic surveillance in a post 9/11 world. With new revelations about government spying coming out almost daily, the series will be gripping viewing for those who want to understand the context of the Snowden affair and what it means for all Americans.”

6.4 Censorship of the news

Many modern governments have become very expert in manipulating public opinion through mass media. They only allow the public to hear a version of the “news” that has been handed down by powerholders. Of course, people can turn to the alternative media that are available on the Internet. But on the whole, the vision of the world presented on television screens and in major newspapers is the “truth” that is accepted by the majority of the public, and it is this picture of events that influences political decisions. Censorship of the news by the power elite is a form of secrecy, since it withholds information that is needed for a democracy to function properly.

6.5 Coups, torture and illegal killing

During the period from 1945 to the present, the US interfered, militarily or covertly, in the internal affairs of a large number of nations: China, 1945-49; Italy, 1947-48; Greece, 1947-49; Philippines, 1946-53; South Korea, 1945-53; Albania, 1949-53; Germany, 1950s; Iran, 1953; Guatemala, 1953-1990s; Middle East, 1956-58; Indonesia, 1957-58; British Guiana/Guyana, 1953-64; Vietnam, 1950-73; Cambodia, 1955-73; The Congo/Zaire, 1960-65; Brazil, 1961-64; Dominican Republic, 1963-66; Cuba, 1959-present; Indonesia, 1965; Chile, 1964-73; Greece, 1964-74; East Timor, 1975-present; Nicaragua, 1978-89; Grenada, 1979-84; Libya, 1981-89; Panama, 1989; Iraq, 1990-present; Afghanistan 1979-92; El Salvador, 1980-92; Haiti, 1987-94; Yugoslavia, 1999; and Afghanistan, 2001-present, Syria, 2013-present; Egypt, 2013-present, and Ukraine, 2013-present. Most of these interventions were explained to the American people as being necessary to combat communism (or more recently, terrorism), but an underlying motive was undoubtedly the desire to put in place governments and laws that would be favorable to the economic interests of the US and its allies.

For the sake of balance, we should remember that during the Cold War period, the Soviet Union and China also intervened in the internal affairs of many countries, for ex-



Figure 6.9: **Extrajudicial killing of civilians by means of drones is also shrouded by secrecy, and it too is a gross violation of democratic principles.**

ample in Korea in 1950-53, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and so on; another very long list. These Cold War interventions were also unjustifiable, like those mentioned above. Nothing can justify military or covert interference by superpowers in the internal affairs of smaller countries, since people have a right to live under governments of their own choosing even if those governments are not optimal.

Many people in Latin America and elsewhere have been tortured: The long history of CIA torture was recently investigated, but only small portions of the 6000-page report are available to the public. The rest remains secret.

Extrajudicial killing of civilians by means of drones is also shrouded by secrecy, and it too is a gross violation of democratic principles.²

6.6 Secret trade deals

The Trans-Pacific Partnership is one of the trade deals that is currently being negotiated in secret. Not even the US congress is allowed to know the details of the document. However, enough information has been leaked to make it clear that if the agreement is passed, foreign corporations would be allowed to “sue” the US government for loss of profits because of (for example) environmental regulations. The “trial” would be outside the legal system, before a tribunal of lawyers representing the corporations. A similar secret trade deal with Europe, the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), is also being “fast-tracked”. One can hardly imagine greater violations of democratic principles.³

²<http://www.globalresearch.ca/lawless-drone-killings/5355535>

³<http://www.citizen.org/Page.aspx?pid=5411>

<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2015/03/world-at-a-crossroads-stop-the-fast-track-to-a-future-of-global-corporate-rule/>

<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/princeton-experts-say-us-no-longer-democracy>

We can also consider the “non-discrimination” principle adopted by GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). This principle states that participating countries “cannot discriminate between like products on the basis of the method of production”. This single principle allows multinational commerce to escape from all the humanitarian and environmental reforms that have been achieved since the start of the Industrial Revolution. No matter if the method of production involves destruction of a tropical rain forest, no matter if forced labor was used, we are not allowed to discriminate “on the basis of the method of production”.

The present situation is that agriculture, trade and industry have become global, but the world still lacks adequate institutions at the global level to watch over what is happening and to ensure respect for human needs and respect for the natural environment. Today’s global economic interdependence, instantaneous worldwide communication, and the need for peaceful resolution of international conflicts all call for strong governmental institutions at the global level, but the United Nations today lacks many things that would be necessary if it is to perform such a role: It lacks a legislature with the power to make laws binding on individuals and corporations. It lacks mechanisms for enforcing such laws. And it lacks a large and dependable source of income.

It would be logical to improve the United Nations by giving it the things just mentioned, and by giving it at the same time the task of regulating multinational corporations to ensure that they act in a socially and ecologically responsible manner. It would also be logical to entitle the UN to a fee for acting as a referee in relationships between multinationals and the developing countries. These reforms must come someday because of the logic of our present situation. I hope that they will come soon.

The CEO’s of Wall Street call for less government, more deregulation and more globalization. They are delighted that the work of the reform movement is being undone in the name of “freedom”. But is this really what is needed? We need instead to reform our economic system and to give it both a social conscience and an ecological conscience. Governments already accept their responsibility for education. In the future they must also accept the responsibility for ensuring that their citizens can make a smooth transition from education to secure jobs. The free market alone cannot do this the powers of government are needed. Let us restore democracy! Let us have governments that work for the welfare of all their citizens, rather than for the enormous enrichment of the few!

6.7 Secret land purchases in Africa

According to a report released by the Oakland Institute, in 2009 alone, hedge funds bought or leased nearly 60 million hectares of land in Africa, an area the size of France. ⁴

As populations increase, and as water becomes scarce, China, and other countries, such as Saudi Arabia are also buying enormous tracts of agricultural land, not only in Africa, but also in other countries. ⁵

⁴<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13688683>

⁵<http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-china-foreign-farmland-20140329>

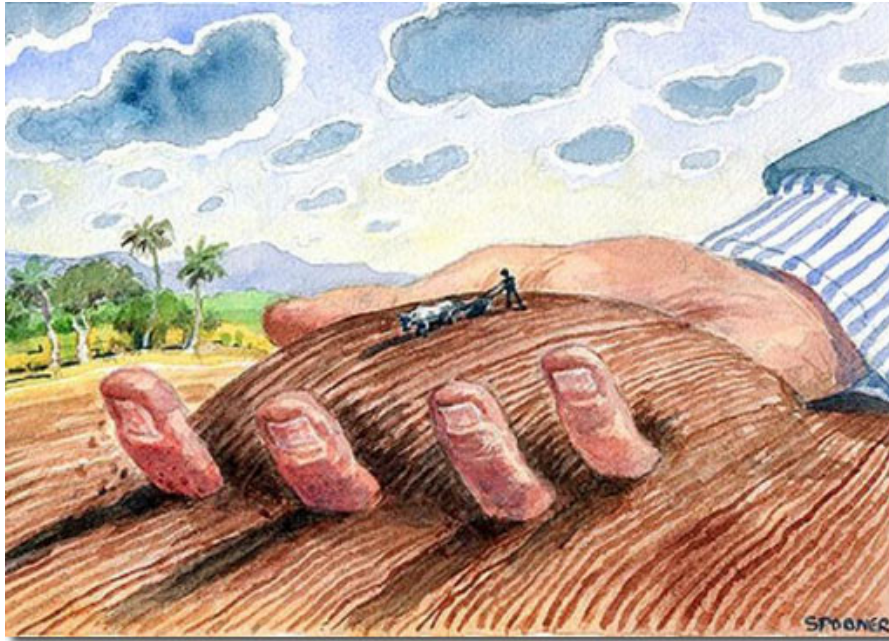


Figure 6.10: According to a report released by the Oakland Institute, in 2009 alone, hedge funds bought or leased nearly 60 million hectares of land in Africa, an area the size of France. These land purchases are very often kept secret from the local populations by corrupt governments.

These land purchases are very often kept secret from the local populations by corrupt governments.

6.8 Secrecy, democracy and nuclear weapons

Nuclear weapons were developed in secret. The decision to use them on the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in an already-defeated Japan was made in secret. Since 1945, secrecy has surrounded all aspects of nuclear weapons, and for this reason it is clear that they are essentially undemocratic.

Nuclear disarmament has been one of the core aspirations of the international community since the first use of nuclear weapons in 1945. A nuclear war, even a limited one, would have global humanitarian and environmental consequences, and thus it is a responsibility of all governments, including those of non-nuclear countries, to protect their citizens and engage in processes leading to a world without nuclear weapons.

Now a new process has been established by the United Nations General Assembly, an Open Ended Working Group (OEWG) to Take Forward Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations. The OEWG convened at the UN offices in Geneva on May 14, 2013. Among

the topics discussed was a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention.

The Model Nuclear Weapons Convention prohibits development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons. States possessing nuclear weapons will be required to destroy their arsenals according to a series of phases. The Convention also prohibits the production of weapons usable fissile material and requires delivery vehicles to be destroyed or converted to make them non-nuclear capable.

Verification will include declarations and reports from States, routine inspections, challenge inspections, on-site sensors, satellite photography, radionuclide sampling and other remote sensors, information sharing with other organizations, and citizen reporting. Persons reporting suspected violations of the convention will be provided protection through the Convention including the right of asylum.

Thus we can see that the protection of whistleblowers is an integral feature of the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention now being discussed. As Sir Joseph Rotblat (1908-2005, Nobel Laureate 1995) frequently emphasized in his speeches, societal verification must be an integral part of the process of “going to zero” (i.e, the total elimination of nuclear weapons). This is because nuclear weapons are small enough to be easily hidden. How will we know whether a nation has destroyed all of its nuclear arsenal? We have to depend on information from insiders, whose loyalty to the whole of humanity prompts them to become whistleblowers. And for this to be possible, they need to be protected.

In general, if the world is ever to be free from the threat of complete destruction by modern weapons, we will need a new global ethic, an ethic as advanced as our technology. Of course we can continue to be loyal to our families, our localities and our countries. But this must be supplemented by a higher loyalty: a loyalty to humanity as a whole.

6.9 Freedom from fear

In order to justify secrecy, enormous dark branches of government and mass illegal spying, governments say: “We are protecting you from terrorism”. But terrorism is not a real threat, since our chances of dying from a terrorist attack are vanishingly small compared to (for example) preventable disease or an automobile accident. If we are ever to reclaim our democracy, we must free ourselves from fear.

Suggestions for further reading

1. Marc Ambinder and D.B. Grady, *Deep State: Inside the Government Secrecy Industry*, Wiley, (2013).
2. Michael J. Glennon *National Security and Double Government* (PDF), Harvard National Security Journal. 5, (2014).
3. Jordan Michael Smith. *Vote all you want. The secret government won't change.* The Boston Globe,(October 19, 2014).
4. Amanda Taub and Max Fisher, *As Leaks Multiply, Fears of a 'Deep State' in America.* The New York Times, (February 16, 2017).

5. Bob Jessop, *The State: Past, Present, Future*, John Wiley & Sons, (2015).
6. Jeremy Scahill, *Donald Trump and the Coming Fall of the American Empire*. The Intercept, (2017-07-22).
7. Alana Abramson, *President Trump's Allies Keep Talking About the 'Deep State.' What's That?*. Time, (8 March 2017).
8. Ishaan Tharoor, *Is Trump fighting the deep state or creating his own?*. The Washington Post, (February 1, 2017).
9. Michael Crowley, *The Deep State Is Real*. Politico Magazine, (September-October 2017).
10. Julie Hirschfeld Davis, *Rumblings of a 'Deep State' Undermining Trump? It Was Once a Foreign Concept*. The New York Times, (March 6, 2017).

Chapter 7

CORPORATIONS AND CLIMATE INACTION

7.1 Greed is driving us towards disaster

Religions warn against excessive love of money. For example, in Christianity, Greed is listed among the seven deadly sins, and the Bible contains the admonition: “The love of money is the root of all evil.”

Today, with the future of our planet at stake, greed is driving us towards disaster. Economics and politics are far too closely linked. Decisions are made on the basis of short-term financial considerations, and these decisions are sacrificing hope for saving human civilization and the biosphere from catastrophic climate change.

What will happen if we fail (for the sake of money) to avoid a climate catastrophe? Rising temperatures will make most of the world uninhabitable. Large numbers of animals and plants that cannot move long distances will become extinct. Humans will not necessarily become extinct. but the global population of humans will be reduced to a small number. There is a danger that human solidarity will break down entirely, as everyone tries to save themselves.

7.2 Noam Chomsky on climate inaction

Here are some quotations from an article entitled *Chomsky and Pollin: COP26 Pledges Will Fail Unless Pushed by Mass Organizing*, Published by Truthout on October 28, 2021:

“...Survival is at stake. The basic facts are brutally clear, more so with each passing year. They are laid out clearly enough in the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report, released on August 9. In brief, any hope of avoiding disaster requires taking significant steps right away to reduce fossil fuel use, continuing annually with the goal of effectively phasing out fossil

fuel use by mid-century. We are approaching a precipice. A few steps more, and we fall over it, forever.

“Falling off the precipice does not imply that everyone will die soon; there’s a long way down. Rather, it means that irreversible tipping points will be reached, and barring some now-unforeseen technological miracle, the human species will be entering a new era: one of inexorable decline, with mounting horrors of the kind we can easily depict, extrapolating realistically from what already surrounds us - an optimistic estimate, since non-linear processes may begin to take off and dangers lurk that are only dimly perceived.

“It will be an era of ‘sauve qui peut’ - run for your lives, everyone for themselves, material catastrophe heightened by social collapse and wholesale psychic trauma of a kind never before experienced. And on the side, an assault on nature of indescribable proportions.

“All of this is understood at a very high level of confidence. Even a relic of rationality tells us that it is ridiculous to take a chance on its being mistaken, considering the stakes...

“The evidence at hand is not encouraging. Let’s go back to August 9, 2021, with its clear warning that we must begin now to reduce fossil fuel use.

“Immediately on receipt of this grim warning, the president of the most powerful state in world history issued an appeal to the global oil cartel OPEC to increase production. Europe followed suit, joined by the rest of what is called ‘advanced society.’ The reason is an energy crunch. That’s doubtless a problem. One way to deal with it is to race towards the precipice. Another is for the rich in the rich societies, the major culprits, to tighten their belts while we sharply accelerate transition to sustainable energy...”

7.3 Greta Thunberg’s TED talk

Greta Thunberg was born in Sweden in 2003. Her father, Svante Thunberg, is related to Svante Arrhenius, one of the important pioneers of climate science, and is named after him. Greta’s mother was a successful opera singer. Greta Thunberg’s strong belief in the urgency of action to prevent catastrophic climate change converted her parents, so that they made changes in their lives. For example, Greta’s mother gave up her career as an opera singer because it involved air travel.

In November, 2018, Greta Thunberg gave an impressively clear TEDx talk in Stockholm, the video of which was recently released.¹ Here is a transcript of the talk.

When I was about 8 years old, I first heard about something called ‘climate change’ or ‘global warming’. Apparently, that was something humans had created by our way of living. I was told to turn off the lights to save energy

¹<https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2018/12/16/1819508/-A-Call-to-Action-on-Climate-Change-by-15-year-Old-Greta-Thunberg>

and to recycle paper to save resources. I remember thinking that it was very strange that humans, who are an animal species among others, could be capable of changing the Earth's climate. Because, if we were, and if it was really happening, we wouldn't be talking about anything else. As soon as you turn on the TV, everything would be about that. Headlines, radio, newspapers: You would never read or hear about anything else. As if there was a world war going on, but no one ever talked about it. If burning fossil fuels was so bad that it threatened our very existence, how could we just continue like before? Why were there no restrictions? Why wasn't it made illegal?

To me, that did not add up. It was too unreal.

So, when I was 11, I became ill, I fell into depression, I stopped talking, and I stopped eating. In two months, I lost about 10 kilos of weight. Later on, I was diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome, OCD and selective mutism. This basically means, I only speak, when I think it is necessary.

Now is one of those moments.

For those of us, who are on the spectrum, almost everything is black or white. We aren't very good at lying and we usually don't enjoy participating in the social games that the rest of you seem so fond of. I think, in many ways, that we autistic are the normal ones and the rest of the people are pretty strange. Especially when it comes to the sustainability crisis: Where everyone keeps saying that climate change is an existential threat and the most important issue of all. And yet, they just carry on like before.

I don't understand that. Because if the emissions have to stop, then we must stop the emissions. To me, that is black or white. There are no gray areas when it comes to survival. Either we go on as a civilization or we don't.

We have to change.

Rich countries like Sweden need to start reducing emissions by at least 15% every year. And that is so that we can stay below a 2 degrees warming target. Yet, as the IPCC has recently demonstrated, aiming instead for 1.5 degrees Celsius would significantly reduce the climate impacts. But we can only imagine what that means for reducing emissions.

You would think the media and every one of our leaders would be talking about nothing else. But they never even mention it.

Nor does anyone ever mentioned the greenhouse gases already locked in the system. Nor that air pollution is hiding some warming; so that, when we stop burning fossil fuels, we already have an extra level of warming - perhaps as high as 0.5 to 1.1 degrees Celsius.

Furthermore, does hardly anyone speak about the fact that we are in the midst of the sixth mass extinction: With up to 200 species going extinct every single day. That the extinction rate is today between 1000 and 10,000 times higher than what is seen as normal.

Nor does hardly anyone ever speak about the aspect of equity or climate justice, clearly stated everywhere in the Paris agreement, which is absolutely

necessary to make it work on a global scale. That means that rich countries need to get down to zero emissions within 6 to 12 years with today's emission speed. And that is so that people in poorer countries can have a chance to heighten their standard of living by building some of the infrastructures that we have already built, such as roads, schools, hospitals, clean drinking water, electricity, and so on. Because, how can we expect countries like India or Nigeria to care about the climate crisis if we, who already have everything, don't care even a second about it or our actual commitments to the Paris agreement?

So why are we not reducing our emissions? Why are they in fact still increasing? Are we knowingly causing a mass extinction? Are we evil?

No, of course, not. People keep doing what they do because the vast majority doesn't have a clue about the actual consequences for their everyday life. And they don't know that rapid change is required.

We all think we know and we all think everybody knows. But we don't.

Because, how could we? If there really was a crisis, and if this crisis was caused by our emissions, you would at least see some signs. Not just flooded cities. Tens of thousands of dead people and whole nations leveled to piles of torn down buildings. You would see some restrictions.

But no. And no one talks about it. There are no emergency meetings, no headlines, no breaking news. No one is acting as if we were in a crisis.

Even most climate scientists or green politicians keep on flying around the world, eating meat and dairy.

If I live to be 100, I will be alive in the year 2103. When you think about the future today, you don't think beyond the year 2050. By then I will, in the best case, not even have lived half of my life. What happens next? In the year 2078, I will celebrate my 75th birthday. If I have children or grandchildren, maybe they will spend that day with me. Maybe they will ask me about you, the people who were around back in 2018. Maybe they will ask why you didn't do anything while there still was time to act. What we do or don't do right now, will affect my entire life and the lives of my children and grandchildren. What we do or don't do right now, me and my generation can't undo in the future.

So, when school started in August of this year, I decided that this was enough. I set myself down on the ground outside the Swedish parliament. I school-striking for the climate.

Some people say that I should be in school instead. Some people say that I should study, to become a climate scientist so that I can solve the climate crisis.

But the climate crisis has already been solved. We already have all the facts and solutions. All we have to do is to wake up and change.

And why should I be studying for a future that soon will be no more, when no one is doing anything whatsoever to save that future? And what is the

point of learning facts in the school system, when the most important facts given by the finest science of that same school system clearly means nothing to our politicians and our society?

Some people say that Sweden is just a small country and that it doesn't matter what we do. But I think that if a few children can get headlines all over the world just by not coming to school for a few weeks, imagine what we could all do together if we wanted to?

Now we're almost at the end of my talk and this is where people usually people usually start talking about hope. Solar panels, wind power, circular economy, and so on. But I'm not going to do that. We've had 30 years of pep talking and selling positive ideas. And I'm sorry but it doesn't work because if it would have, the emissions would have gone down by now. They haven't.

And yes, we do need hope. Of course, we do. But the one thing we need more than hope is action. Once we start to act, hope is everywhere. So instead of looking for hope, look for action. Then and only then, hope will come today.

Today we use 100 million barrels of oil every single day. There are no politics to change that. There are no rules to keep that oil in the ground. So, we can't save the world by playing by the rules, because the rules have to be changed.

Everything needs to change and it has to start today.

Thank you.

7.4 Only immediate climate action can save the future

Immediate action to halt the extraction of fossil fuels and greatly reduce the emission of CO₂ and other greenhouse gasses is needed to save the long-term future of human civilization and the biosphere.

At the opening ceremony of United Nations-sponsored climate talks in Katowice, Poland, Sir David Attenborough said "Right now, we are facing a man-made disaster of global scale. Our greatest threat in thousands of years. Climate change. If we don't take action, the collapse of our civilizations and the extinction of much of the natural world is on the horizon. The world's people have spoken. Their message is clear. Time is running out. They want you, the decision-makers, to act now."

Antonio Guterres, UN Secretary-General, said climate change was already "a matter of life and death" for many countries. He added that the world is "nowhere near where it needs to be" on the transition to a low-carbon economy.

Swedish student Greta Thunberg, is a 16-year-old who has launched a climate protest movement in her country. She said, in a short but very clear speech after that of UN leader Antonio Guterres: "Some people say that I should be in school instead. Some people say that I should study to become a climate scientist so that I can 'solve the climate crisis'. But the climate crisis has already been solved. We already have all the facts and solutions."

She added: "Why should I be studying for a future that soon may be no more, when

no one is doing anything to save that future? And what is the point of learning facts when the most important facts clearly mean nothing to our society?"

Thunberg continued: "Today we use 100 million barrels of oil every single day. There are no politics to change that. There are no rules to keep that oil in the ground. So we can't save the world by playing by the rules. Because the rules have to be changed."

She concluded by saying that "since our leaders are behaving like children, we will have to take the responsibility they should have taken long ago."

Appearing among billionaires, corporate CEO's and heads of state at the Davos Economic Forum in Switzerland, like a new Joan of Arc, 16-year-old Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg called on decision-makers to fulfil their responsibilities towards future generations. Here are some excerpts from her speech:

Greta's speech at Davos

Our house is on fire. I am here to say, our house is on fire. According to the IPCC, we are less than 12 years away from not being able to undo our mistakes. In that time, unprecedented changes in all aspects of society need to have taken place, including a reduction of our CO₂ emissions by at least 50%...

Here in Davos - just like everywhere else - everyone is talking about money. It seems money and growth are our only main concerns.

And since the climate crisis has never once been treated as a crisis, people are simply not aware of the full consequences on our everyday life. People are not aware that there is such a thing as a carbon budget, and just how incredibly small that remaining carbon budget is. That needs to change today.

No other current challenge can match the importance of establishing a wide, public awareness and understanding of our rapidly disappearing carbon budget, that should and must become our new global currency and the very heart of our future and present economics.

We are at a time in history where everyone with any insight of the climate crisis that threatens our civilization - and the entire biosphere - must speak out in clear language, no matter how uncomfortable and unprofitable that may be.

We must change almost everything in our current societies. The bigger your carbon footprint, the bigger your moral duty. The bigger your platform, the bigger your responsibility.





Figure 7.1: Greta Thunberg on the cover of Time Magazine, The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, in their October 2018 report, used strong enough language to wake up at least part of the public: the children whose future is at stake. Here is an excerpt from a speech which 16-year-old Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg made at the Davos Economic Forum in January, 2019: “Our house is on fire. I am here to say, our house is on fire. According to the IPCC, we are less than 12 years away from not being able to undo our mistakes. In that time, unprecedented changes in all aspects of society need to have taken place, including a reduction of our CO₂ emissions by at least 50%...”

7.5 Worldwide school strike, 15 March, 2019

Over 1.4 million young students across all continents took to the streets on Friday March 15th for the first ever global climate strike. Messages in more than 40 languages were loud and clear: world leaders must act now to address the climate crisis and save our future. The school strike was the largest climate action in history. Nevertheless it went almost unmentioned in the media,

Here are some of the statements by the students explaining why they took part in the strikes:

In India, no one talks about climate change. You don't see it on the news or in the papers or hear about it from government. We want global leaders to declare a climate emergency. If we don't act today, then we will have no tomorrow. - Vidit Baya, 17, Udaipur, India.

We face heartbreaking loss due to increasingly extreme weather events. We urge the Taiwanese government to implement mitigation measures and face up to the vulnerability of indigenous people, halt construction projects in the indigenous traditional realm, and recognize the legal status of Plains Indigenous People, in order to implement environmental protection as a bottom-up approach - Kaisanan Ahuan, Puli City, Taiwan.

We have reached a point in history when we have the technical capacities to solve poverty, malnutrition, inequality and of course global warming. The deciding factors for whether we take advantage of our potential will be our activism, our international unity and our ability to develop the art of making the impossible possible. Whether we succeed or not depends on our political will - Eyal Weintraub, 18, and Bruno Rodriguez, 18, Argentina.

The damage done by multinationals is enormous: the lack of transparency, dubious contracts, the weakening of the soil, the destruction of flora and fauna, the lack of respect for mining codes, the contamination of groundwater. In Mali, the state exercises insufficient control over the practices of the multinationals, and it is us, the citizens, who suffer the consequences. The climate alarm has sounded, and the time has come for us all to realize that there is still time to act locally, in our homes, our villages, our cities - Mone Fousseny, 22, Mali.

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²<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/apr/03/parents-around-the-world-mobilise-behind-youth-climate-strikes>

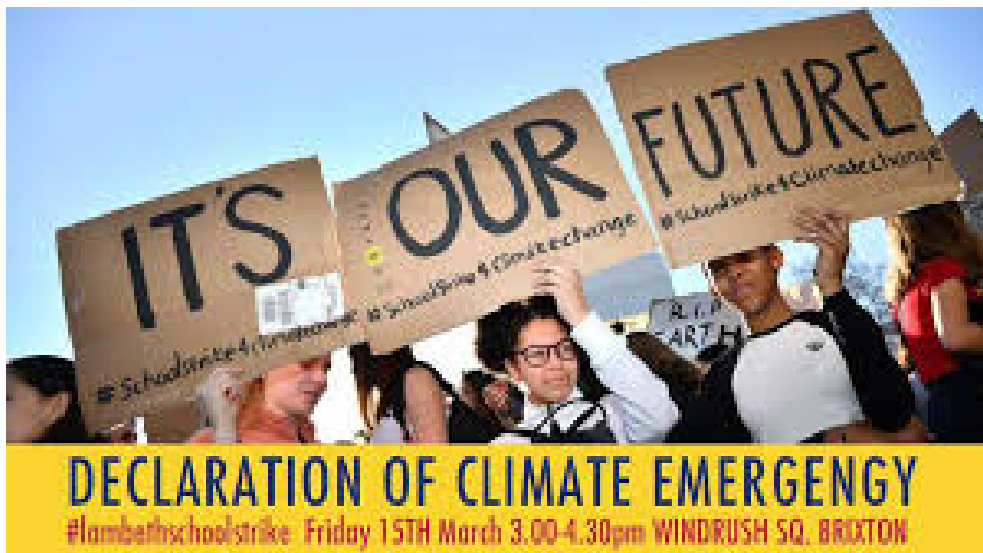




Figure 7.2: Eve White and her children join climate protesters in Tasmania. According to an article in *The Guardian*, parents and grandparents around the world are mobilizing in support of the youth climate movement that has swept the globe.

Concerns of young protesters are justified

In an article in the journal *Science* dated 12 April, 2019,³ 20 prominent climate scientists stated that the concerns of student protesters around the world are fully justified. Here are some quotations from the article:

The world's youth have begun to persistently demonstrate for the protection of the climate and other foundations of human well-being. As scientists and scholars who have recently initiated similar letters of support in our countries, we call for our colleagues across all disciplines and from the entire world to support these young climate protesters. We declare: Their concerns are justified and supported by the best available science. The current measures for protecting the climate and biosphere are deeply inadequate.

Nearly every country has signed and ratified the Paris Agreement of 2015, committing under international law to hold global warming well below 2°C above preindustrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C. The scientific community has clearly concluded that a global warming of 2°C instead of 1.5°C would substantially increase climate-related impacts and the risk of some becoming irreversible. Moreover, given the uneven distribution of most impacts, 2°C of warming would further exacerbate existing global inequalities.

It is critical to immediately begin a rapid reduction in CO₂ and other greenhouse gas emissions. The degree of climate crisis that humanity will experience in the future will be determined by our cumulative emissions; rapid reduction now will limit the damage. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has recently assessed that halving CO₂ emissions by 2030 (relative to 2010 levels) and globally achieving net-zero CO₂ emissions by 2050 (as well as strong reductions in other greenhouse gases) would allow a 50% chance of staying below 1.5°C of warming. Considering that industrialized countries produced more of and benefited more from previous emissions, they have an ethical responsibility to achieve this transition more quickly than the world as a whole.

Many social, technological, and nature-based solutions already exist. The young protesters rightfully demand that these solutions be used to achieve a sustainable society. Without bold and focused action, their future is in critical danger. There is no time to wait until they are in power...

The enormous grassroots mobilization of the youth climate movement - including Fridays for Future, School (or Youth) Strike 4 Climate, Youth for (or 4) Climate, and Youth Climate Strike - shows that young people understand the situation. We approve and support their demand for rapid and forceful action. We see it as our social, ethical, and scholarly responsibility to state in no uncertain terms: Only if humanity acts quickly and resolutely can we limit

³<https://science.sciencemag.org/content/364/6436/139.2>



global warming, halt the ongoing mass extinction of animal and plant species, and preserve the natural basis for the food supply and well-being of present and future generations. This is what the young people want to achieve. They deserve our respect and full support.



Figure 7.3: Greta Thunberg addressing a meeting of the European Parliament in April, 2019. She complained that Brexit was treated as an emergency by the European Union, but climate change, which is a far greater emergency has been almost neglected. The 16-year-old, who is due to meet the Pope on Wednesday, said, “We face an end to civilization as we know it unless permanent changes take place in our society...European elections are coming soon and many like me who are affected most by this crisis, are not allowed to vote. That is why millions of children are taking to the street to draw attention to the climate crisis... It is not too late to act but it will take far-reaching vision and fierce determination... My plea is: Please wake up and do the seemingly impossible.”

7.6 The World Meteorological Organization's report

According to a recent United Nations report, extreme weather events displaced 2 million people during 2018. While no single event can be unambiguously attributed to anthropogenic climate change, scientists believe the the increasing frequency of extreme weather events is definitely linked to global warming. The same is true of their increasing severity.

The report states that during 2018, extreme weather events impacted roughly 62 million people, of whom 2 million were displaced from their homes. In the words of the WMO report, "The physical signs and socio-economic impacts of climate change are accelerating, as record greenhouse gas concentrations drive global temperatures towards increasingly dangerous levels."

UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres, speaking at the launching of the WMO report, used the occasion to remind global leaders of the urgency of the climate emergency. Guterres has convened a climate summit meeting scheduled for September 23, 2019, and referring to the meeting, he said: "Don't come with a speech, come with a plan. This is what science says is needed. It is what young people around the globe are rightfully demanding." Two weeks previously, on March 15, one and a half million students from more than 130 countries had skipped school to participate in the largest climate demonstration in history, demanding action to save the future from the threat of catastrophic climate change.

7.7 Only 12 years left to limit climate change catastrophe

The world's leading scientists met at the Forty-Eighth Session of the IPCC and First Joint Session of Working Groups I, II, and III, 1-5 October 2018 in Incheon, Republic of Korea and openly declared that civilization is on track for collapse because of reckless use of fossil fuels, unless immediate action is taken to drastically cut the extraction and use of fossil fuels.

The report finds that limiting global warming to 1.5°C would require "rapid and far-reaching" transitions in land, energy, industry, buildings, transport, and cities. Global net human-caused emissions of carbon dioxide would need to fall by about 45 percent from 2010 levels by 2030, reaching 'net zero' around 2050.

"It's a line in the sand and what it says to our species is that this is the moment and we must act now," said Debra Roberts, a co-chair of the working group on impacts. "This is the largest clarion bell from the science community and I hope it mobilizes people and dents the mood of complacency."

"We have presented governments with pretty hard choices. We have pointed out the enormous benefits of keeping to 1.5C, and also the unprecedented shift in energy systems and transport that would be needed to achieve that," said Jim Skea, a co-chair of the working group on mitigation. "We show it can be done within laws of physics and chemistry.



Figure 7.4: A firefighter battles fire in California. The world is currently 1 degree Centigrade warmer than preindustrial levels.

Then the final tick box is political will. We cannot answer that. Only our audience can - and that is the governments that receive it.”

Bob Ward, of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change, said the final document was “incredibly conservative” because it did not mention the likely rise in climate-driven refugees or the danger of tipping points that could push the world on to an irreversible path of extreme warming.

Policymakers commissioned the report at the Paris climate talks in 2016, but since then the gap between science and politics has widened. Donald Trump has promised to withdraw the US - the world’s biggest source of historical emissions - from the accord. Brazil’s president, Jair Bolsonaro, threatens to do the same and also open the Amazon rainforest to agribusiness.

7.8 COP24, the climate summit in Poland

The UN Secretary General’s address to the opening session

Welcome to COP 24.

I thank President Duda, Minister Kowalczyk and COP President Designate Mijal Kurtyka for their warm welcome.

We are in trouble. We are in deep trouble with climate change.

Climate change is running faster than we are and we must catch up sooner rather than later before it is too late.

For many, people, regions even countries this is already a matter of life and death.

This meeting is the most important gathering on climate change since the Paris Agreement was signed.



Figure 7.5: UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres: “It is hard to overstate the urgency of our situation. Even as we witness devastating climate impacts causing havoc across the world, we are still not doing enough, nor moving fast enough, to prevent irreversible and catastrophic climate disruption. Nor are we doing enough to capitalize on the enormous social, economic and environmental opportunities of climate action.”

It is hard to overstate the urgency of our situation.

Even as we witness devastating climate impacts causing havoc across the world, we are still not doing enough, nor moving fast enough, to prevent irreversible and catastrophic climate disruption.

Nor are we doing enough to capitalize on the enormous social, economic and environmental opportunities of climate action.

And so, I want to deliver four simple messages.

First: science demands a significantly more ambitious response.

Second: the Paris Agreement provides the framework for action, so we must operationalize it.

Third: we have a collective responsibility to invest in averting global climate chaos, to consolidate the financial commitments made in Paris and to assist the most vulnerable communities and nations.

Fourth: climate action offers a compelling path to transform our world for the better.

Let me turn first to science.

According to the World Meteorological Organization, the 20 warmest years on record have been in the past 22 years, with the top four in the past four years.

The concentration of carbon dioxide is the highest it has been in 3 million years.

Emissions are now growing again.

The recent special report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change finds that warming could reach 1.5 degrees as soon as 2030, with devastating impacts.

The latest UN Environment Programme Emissions Gap Report tells us that the current Nationally Determined Contributions under the Paris Agreement will lead to global warming of about 3 degrees by the end of the century.

Furthermore, the majority of countries most responsible for greenhouse gas emissions are behind in their efforts to meet their Paris pledges.

So, it is plain we are way off course.

We need more action and more ambition.

We absolutely have to close this emissions gap.

If we fail, the Arctic and Antarctic will continue to melt, corals will bleach and then die, the oceans will rise, more people will die from air pollution, water scarcity will plague a significant proportion of humanity, and the cost of disasters will skyrocket.

Last year I visited Barbuda and Dominica, which were devastated by hurricanes. The destruction and suffering I saw was heart-breaking. That story is repeated almost daily somewhere in the world.

These emergencies are preventable.

Emissions must decline by 45 per cent from 2010 levels by 2030 and be net zero by 2050.

Renewable energy will need to supply half to two-thirds of the world's primary energy by 2050 with a corresponding reduction in fossil fuels.

In short, we need a complete transformation of our global energy economy, as well as how we manage land and forest resources.

We need to embrace low-carbon, climate-resilient sustainable development.

I am hopeful that the Talanoa Dialogue will provide a very strong impulse for increased ambition in the commitments for climate action.

Excellencies,

This brings me to my second point.

The Paris Agreement provides a framework for the transformation we need.

It is our job here in Katowice is to finalize the Paris Agreement Work Programme – the rule book for implementation.

I remind all Parties that this is a deadline you set for yourselves and it is vital you meet it.

We need a unifying implementation vision that sets out clear rules, inspires action and promotes raised ambition, based on the principle of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in light of different national circumstances.

We have no time for limitless negotiations.

A completed Work Programme will unleash the potential of the Paris Agreement.

It will build trust and make clear that countries are serious about addressing climate change.

Dear Friends,

This brings me to my third point: the central importance of finance.

We need concerted resource mobilization and investment to successfully combat climate change.

We need transformative climate action in five key economic areas - energy, cities, land use, water and industry.

Some 75 per cent of the infrastructure needed by 2050 still remains to be built.

How this is done will either lock us in to a high-emissions future or steer us towards truly sustainable low-emissions development.

Governments and investors need to bet on the green economy, not the grey.

That means embracing carbon pricing, eliminating harmful fossil fuel subsidies and investing in clean technologies.

It also means providing a fair transition for those workers in traditional sectors that face disruption, including through retraining and social safety nets.

We also have a collective responsibility to assist the most vulnerable communities and countries - such as small island nations and the least developed countries - by supporting adaptation and resilience.

Making clear progress to mobilize the pledged \$100 billion dollars a year will provide a much-needed positive political signal.

I have appointed the President of France and Prime Minister of Jamaica to lead the mobilization of the international community, both public and private, to reach that target in the context of preparation of the Climate Summit I have convened in September of next year.

I also urge Member States to swiftly implement the replenishment of the Green Climate Fund.

It is an investment in a safer, less costly future.

Dear Friends,

All too often, climate action is seen as a burden. My fourth point is this: decisive climate action today is our chance to right our ship and set a course for a better future for all.

We have the knowledge.

Many technological solutions are already viable and affordable.

Cities, regions, civil society and the business community around the world are moving ahead.

What we need is political more will and more far-sighted leadership.

This is the challenge on which this generation's leaders will be judged.

Climate action is not just the right thing to do - it makes social and economic sense.

Meeting the goals of the Paris Agreement would reduce air pollution - saving more than a million lives each year by 2030, according to the World Health

Organization.

According to the recent New Climate Economy report, ambitious climate action could yield 65 million jobs and a direct economic gain of \$26 trillion US dollars compared to business as usual over the next 12 years.

We are seeing early signs of this economic transformation, but we are nowhere near where we need to be.

The transition to a low-carbon economy needs political impetus from the highest levels.

And it requires inclusivity, because everyone is affected by climate change. That is the message of the Talanoa Dialogue.

We need a full-scale mobilization of young people.

And we need a global commitment to gender equality, because women's leadership is central to durable climate solutions.

A successful conference here in Katowice can provide the catalyst.

There is now significant global momentum for climate action.

It has galvanized private business and investors around the world, while cities and regional governments are also showing that ambitious climate action is possible and desirable.

Let us build on this momentum.

I am convening a Climate Summit in September next year to raise ambition and mobilize the necessary resources.

But that ambition needs to begin here, right now, in Katowice, driven by governments and leaders who understand that their legacies and the well-being of future generations are at stake.

We cannot afford to fail in Katowice.

Some might say that it will be a difficult negotiation. I know it is not easy. It requires a firm political will for compromise. But, for me, what is really difficult is to be a fisherman in Kiribati seeing his country in risk of disappearing or a farmer or herder in the Sahel losing livelihoods and losing peace. Or being a woman in Dominica or any other Caribbean nation enduring hurricane after hurricane destroying everything in its path.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Climate change is the single most important issue we face.

It affects all our plans for sustainable development and a safe, secure and prosperous world.

So, it is hard to comprehend why we are collectively still moving too slowly - and even in the wrong direction.

The IPCC's Special Report tells us that we still have time to limit temperature rise.

But that time is running out.

We achieved success in Paris because negotiators were working towards a common goal.



Figure 7.6: Greta: “Many people say that Sweden is just a small country, and it doesn’t matter what we do. But I’ve learned that you are never too small to make a difference. And if a few children can get headlines all over the world just by not going to school, then imagine what we could all do together if we really wanted to.”

I implore you to maintain the same spirit of urgent collaboration here in Katowice with a dynamic Polish leadership in the negotiations.

Katowice must ensure that the bonds of trust established in Paris will endure.

Incredible opportunity exists if we embrace a low-carbon future and unleash the power of the Paris Agreement.

But we must start today building the tomorrow we want.

Let us rise to the challenge and finish the work the world demands of us.

Thank you.

Greta Thunberg’s address to the opening session

Greta Thunberg (born 3 January 2003) is a Swedish climate activist. She is known for protesting outside the Swedish parliament building to raise climate change activism.

On 20 August 2018, Thunberg, then in 9th grade, decided to not attend school until the 2018 Sweden general election on 9 September after heat waves and wildfires in Sweden. Her demands were that the Sweden government reduce carbon emissions as per the Paris Agreement, and she protested via sitting outside the Riksdag every day during school hours with the sign “Skolstrejk för klimatet” (school strike for the climate). After the general elections, she continued to strike only on Fridays. The strike is now in its 17th week. The



Figure 7.7: Greta: “You only talk about moving forward with the same bad ideas that got us into this mess, even when the only sensible thing to do is pull the emergency brake. You are not mature enough to tell it like it is. Even that burden you leave to us children.”



Figure 7.8: Greta: “Until you start focusing on what needs to be done, rather than what is politically possible, there is no hope. We cannot solve a crisis without treating it as a crisis. We need to keep the fossil fuels in the ground, and we need to focus on equity. And if solutions within the system are so impossible to find, then maybe we should change the system itself.”

transcript of her address to the opening session of COP24^{45 6 7} is given below,

My name is Greta Thunberg. I am 15 years old, and I'm from Sweden. I speak on behalf of Climate Justice Now!

Many people say that Sweden is just a small country, and it doesn't matter what we do. But I've learned that you are never too small to make a difference. And if a few children can get headlines all over the world just by not going to school, then imagine what we could all do together if we really wanted to.

But to do that, we have to speak clearly, no matter how uncomfortable that may be. You only speak of green eternal economic growth because you are too scared of being unpopular. You only talk about moving forward with the same bad ideas that got us into this mess, even when the only sensible thing to do is pull the emergency brake. You are not mature enough to tell it like it is. Even that burden you leave to us children.

But I don't care about being popular. I care about climate justice and the living planet. Our civilization is being sacrificed for the opportunity of a very small number of people to continue making enormous amounts of money. Our biosphere is being sacrificed so that rich people in countries like mine can live in luxury. It is the sufferings of the many which pay for the luxuries of the few.

The year 2078, I will celebrate my 75th birthday. If I have children, maybe they will spend that day with me. Maybe they will ask me about you. Maybe they will ask why you didn't do anything while there still was time to act. You say you love your children above all else, and yet you are stealing their future in front of their very eyes.

Until you start focusing on what needs to be done, rather than what is politically possible, there is no hope. We cannot solve a crisis without treating it as a crisis. We need to keep the fossil fuels in the ground, and we need to focus on equity. And if solutions within the system are so impossible to find, then maybe we should change the system itself.

We have not come here to beg world leaders to care. You have ignored us in the past, and you will ignore us again. We have run out of excuses, and we are running out of time. We have come here to let you know that change is coming, whether you like it or not. The real power belongs to the people. Thank you.

⁴<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VFkQSGyeCWg>

⁵<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0TYyBtb1PH4>

⁶<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdAOgNTxxt0>

⁷<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJ1HRGA8g10>



Figure 7.9: Greta Thunberg addresses the National Assembly In Paris on July 23, 2019 in Paris, France.



Figure 7.10: Greta Thunberg crossing the Atlantic on a small emission-free boat.

An appeal by Greta Thunberg, October 30, 2021

Dear friends,

Humanity is failing to stop the climate crisis. It's now beyond urgent – the planet is screaming for help.

Right now world leaders are meeting for historic climate talks – but pledges without real action won't cut it anymore. We need bold, visionary leaders to finally do what's needed to pull us back from the abyss.

I'll be at the talks with inspiring youth leaders like Vanessa Nakate and Dominika Lasota. We'll personally meet dozens of governments – it's the perfect opportunity to deliver a giant call for urgent action. Join us now: add your name with one click and pass this on.

To world leaders,

“Betrayal”. That's how young people around the world describe our governments' failure to cut carbon emissions. And it's no surprise.

We are catastrophically far from the crucial goal of 1.5 degrees C, and yet governments everywhere are still accelerating the crisis, spending billions on fossil fuels.

This is not a drill. It's code red for the Earth. Millions will suffer as our planet is devastated – a terrifying future that will be created, or avoided, by the decisions you make. You have the power to decide.

As citizens across the planet, we urge you to face up to the climate emergency. Not next year. Not next month. Now:

As citizens across the planet, we urge you to face up to the climate emergency. Not next year. Not next month. Now:As citizens across the planet, we urge you to face up to the climate emergency. Not next year. Not next month. Now:

- Keep the precious goal of 1.5 degrees C alive with immediate, drastic, annual emission reductions unlike anything the world has ever seen.
- End all fossil fuel investments, subsidies, and new projects immediately, and stop new exploration and extraction.
- End ‘creative’ carbon accounting by publishing total emissions for all consumption indices, supply chains, international aviation and shipping, and the burning of biomass.
- Deliver the \$100bn promised to the most vulnerable countries, with additional funds for climate disasters.

- Enact climate policies to protect workers and the most vulnerable, and reduce all forms of inequality.

We can still do this. There is still time to avoid the worst consequences if we are prepared to change. It will take determined, visionary leadership. And it will take immense courage – but know that when you rise, billions will be right behind you.

It can feel incredibly hard to keep hope alive in the face of inaction. But my hope lies in people – in the millions of us who are rising to save the future. It lies in our marches, in our dogged determination to keep fighting, and in our trembling voices as we speak truth to power. My hope is rooted in action and fuelled by a love for humanity and our most beautiful earth. It's what keeps me absolutely convinced that we can do this. And we must do this. Together.

With fierce hope,

Greta +...

Cop26: 'Greta Mania' hits Glasgow as Swedish teenager is mobbed

Here are some quotations from an article by Karla Adam, published on November 1, 2021 in Stuff⁸:

“Greta Thunberg may not have been officially invited to the landmark COP26 climate summit in Glasgow, but on the first day of the conference, she was making her presence known.

“The Swedish teenager, who is something of a rock star for climate activists around the world, is among the thousands of activists who are descending on Glasgow for the UN Climate Change Conference, known as COP26, which kicked off on Sunday (local time).

“They are calling on world leaders take bold action to prevent global temperatures from rising by more than 1.5 Celsius above preindustrial levels.

“Speaking to the BBC's Andrew Marr, Thunberg said that the 1.5C goal was ‘possible in theory’ but ‘it's up to us if we want that to happen.’...

7.9 The UK declares a climate emergency

Introducing the motion in the House of Commons, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn said: “We have no time to waste. We are living in a climate crisis that will spiral dangerously out of control unless we take rapid and dramatic action now. This

⁸<https://www.stuff.co.nz/environment/climate-news/300442754/cop26-greta-mania-hits-glasgow-as-swedish-teenager-is-mobbed>

is no longer about a distant future. We're talking about nothing less than the irreversible destruction of the environment within our lifetimes of members of this house."

Here are some excerpts from an article by Amy Goodman and Nermeen Shaikh of Democracy now published in Truthout on May 2, 2019.⁹:

On Wednesday, the House of Commons became the first parliament in the world to declare a climate emergency. The resolution came on the heels of the recent Extinction Rebellion mass uprising that shut down Central London last month in a series of direct actions. Activists closed bridges, occupied public landmarks and even superglued themselves to buildings, sidewalks and trains to demand urgent action to combat climate change. Police arrested more than 1,000 protesters. Labour Party Leader Jeremy Corbyn told Parliament, "We are witnessing an unprecedented upsurge of climate activism, with groups like Extinction Rebellion forcing the politicians in this building to listen. For all the dismissive and defensive column inches the processes have provoked, they are a massive and, I believe, very necessary wake-up call. Today we have the opportunity to say, 'We hear you.'" We speak with George Monbiot, British journalist, author and columnist with The Guardian. His recent piece for The Guardian is headlined "Only rebellion will prevent an ecological apocalypse." Monbiot says capitalism "is like a gun pointed at the heart of the planet. It will essentially, necessarily destroy our life-support systems. Among those characteristics is the drive for perpetual economic growth on a finite planet."

⁹<https://truthout.org/video/george-monbiot-on-the-uk-climate-emergency/>



7.10 Understatement of existential climate risk

Here are some excerpts from a 44-page report entitled *What Lies Beneath: The Understanding of Existential Climate Risk*, by David Spratt and Ian Dunlop¹⁰:

Three decades ago, when serious debate on human-induced climate change began at the global level, a great deal of statesmanship was on display. There was a preparedness to recognize that this was an issue transcending nation states, ideologies and political parties which had to be addressed pro-actively in the long-term interests of humanity as a whole. This was the case even though the existential nature of the risk it posed was far less clear cut than it is today.

As global institutions, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which was established at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, were developed to take up this challenge, and the extent of change this would demand of the fossil-fuel-dominated world order became clearer, the forces of resistance began to mobilize. Today, as a consequence, and despite the diplomatic triumph of the 2015 Paris Agreement, the debate around climate change policy has never been more dysfunctional, indeed Orwellian.

In his book 1984, George Orwell describes a double-think totalitarian state where most of the population accepts “the most flagrant violations of reality, because they never fully grasped the enormity of what was demanded of them, and were not sufficiently interested in public events to notice what was

¹⁰<https://www.breakthroughonline.org.au/>

happening. By lack of understanding they remained sane.”

Orwell could have been writing about climate change and policymaking. International agreements talk of limiting global warming to 1.5-2 degrees Celsius ($^{\circ}\text{C}$), but in reality they set the world on a path of 3-5 $^{\circ}\text{C}$ of warming. Goals are reaffirmed, only to be abandoned. Coal is “clean”. Just 1 $^{\circ}\text{C}$ of warming is already dangerous, but this cannot be admitted. The planetary future is hostage to myopic national self-interest. Action is delayed on the assumption that as yet unproven technologies will save the day, decades hence. The risks are existential, but it is “alarmist” to say so.

A one-in-two or one-in-three chance of missing a goal is normalized as reasonable. Moral hazard permeates official thinking, in that there is an incentive to ignore the risks in the interests of political expediency.

Climate policymaking for years has been cognitively dissonant, “a flagrant violation of reality”. So it is unsurprising that there is a lack of understanding amongst the public and elites of the full measure of the climate challenge. Yet most Australians sense where we are heading: three-quarters of Australians see climate change as catastrophic risk, and half see our way of life ending within the next 100 years.

Politics and policymaking have norms: rules and practices, assumptions and boundaries, that constrain and shape them. In recent years, the previous norms of statesmanship and long-term thinking have disappeared, replaced by an obsession with short-term political and commercial advantage. Climate policymaking is no exception. Since 1992, short-term economic interest has trumped environmental and future human needs.

The world today emits 50% more carbon dioxide (CO_2) from the consumption of energy than it did 25 years ago, and the global economy has more than doubled in size. The UNFCCC strives “to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner”, but every year humanity’s ecological footprint becomes larger and less sustainable. Humanity now requires the biophysical capacity of 1.7 Earths annually as it rapidly chews up natural capital.

A fast, emergency-scale transition to a post-fossil fuel world is absolutely necessary to address climate change. But this is excluded from consideration by policymakers because it is considered to be too disruptive. The orthodoxy is that there is time for an orderly economic transition within the current short-termist political paradigm. Discussion of what would be safe - less warming than we presently experience - is non-existent. And so we have a policy failure of epic proportions.

Policymakers, in their magical thinking, imagine a mitigation path of gradual change to be constructed over many decades in a growing, prosperous world. The world not imagined is the one that now exists: of looming financial instability; of a global crisis of political legitimacy and “fake news”; of a sustainability crisis that extends far beyond climate change to include all the fundamentals of human existence and most significant planetary boundaries

(soils, potable water, oceans, the atmosphere, biodiversity, and so on); and of severe global energy-sector dislocation.

In anticipation of the upheaval that climate change would impose upon the global order, the IPCC was established by the United Nations (UN) in 1988, charged with regularly assessing the global consensus on climate science as a basis for policymaking. The IPCC Assessment Reports (AR), produced every five-to-eight years, play a large part in the public framing of the climate narrative: new reports are a global media event.

AR5 was produced in 2013-14, with AR6 due in 2022. The IPCC has done critical, indispensable work of the highest standard in pulling together a periodic consensus of what must be the most exhaustive scientific investigation in world history.

It does not carry out its own research, but reviews and collates peer-reviewed material from across the spectrum of this incredibly complex area, identifying key issues and trends for policymaker consideration. However, the IPCC process suffers from all the dangers of consensus-building in such a wide-ranging and complex arena. For example, IPCC reports, of necessity, do not always contain the latest available information. Consensus-building can lead to “least drama”, lowest-common-denominator outcomes, which overlook critical issues. This is particularly the case with the “fat-tails” of probability distributions, that is, the high-impact but lower-probability events where scientific knowledge is more limited.

Vested-interest pressure is acute in all directions; climate denialists accuse the IPCC of alarmism, whereas many climate action proponents consider the IPCC to be far too conservative. To cap it all, the IPCC conclusions are subject to intense political oversight before being released, which historically has had the effect of substantially watering-down sound scientific findings.

These limitations are understandable, and arguably were not of overriding importance in the early period of the IPCC. However, as time has progressed, it is now clear that the risks posed by climate change are far greater than previously anticipated. We have moved out of the twilight period of much talk, but relatively limited climate impacts, into the harsh light of physically-evident existential threats. Climate change is now turning nasty, as we have witnessed recently in the North America, East and South Asia, the Middle East and Europe, with record-breaking heatwaves and wildfires, more intense flooding and more damaging hurricanes.

The distinction between climate science and risk is the critical issue, for the two are not the same. Scientific reticence - a reluctance to spell out the full risk implications of climate science in the absence of perfect information - has become a major problem. Whilst this is understandable, particularly when scientists are continually criticized by denialists and political apparatchiks for speaking out, it is extremely dangerous given the fat-tail risks of climate change. Waiting for perfect information, as we are continually urged to do

by political and economic elites, means it will be too late to act. Time is not on our side. Sensible risk management addresses risk in time to prevent it happening, and that time is now.

Irreversible, adverse climate change on the global scale now occurring is an existential risk to human civilization. Many of the world's top climate scientists - Kevin Anderson, James Hansen, Michael E. Mann, Michael Oppenheimer, Naomi Oreskes, Stefan Rahmstorf, Eric Rignot, Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Kevin Trenberth and others - who are quoted in this report well understand these implications and are forthright about their findings, where we are heading, and the limitations of IPCC reports.

This report seeks to alert the wider community and business and political leaders to these limitations and urges changes to the IPCC approach, to the wider UNFCCC negotiations, and to national policymaking. It is clear that existing processes will not deliver the transformation to a carbon-negative world in the limited time now available. We urgently require a re-framing of scientific research within an existential risk-management framework. This requires special precautions that go well beyond conventional risk management. Like an iceberg, there is great danger in "what lies beneath".

Existential Risk to Human Civilization

In 2016, the World Economic Forum survey of the most impactful risks for the years ahead elevated the failure of climate change mitigation and adaptation to the top of the list, ahead of weapons of mass destruction, ranking second, and water crises, ranking third. By 2018, following a year characterized by high-impact hurricanes and extreme temperatures, extreme-weather events were seen as the single most prominent risk. As the survey noted: "We have been pushing our planet to the brink and the damage is becoming increasingly clear."

Climate change is an existential risk to human civilization: that is, an adverse outcome that would either annihilate intelligent life or permanently and drastically curtail its potential.

Temperature rises that are now in prospect, after the Paris Agreement, are in the range of 3-5 °C. At present, the Paris Agreement voluntary emission reduction commitments, if implemented, would result in planetary warming of 3.4 °C by 2100, without taking into account "long-term" carbon-cycle feedbacks. With a higher climate sensitivity figure of 4.5 °C, for example, which would account for such feedbacks, the Paris path would result in around 5 °C of warming, according to a MIT study.

A study by Schroeder Investment Management published in June 2017 found - after taking into account indicators across a wide range of the political, financial, energy and regulatory sectors - the average temperature increase implied for the Paris Agreement across all sectors was 4.1 °C.

Yet 3 °C of warming already constitutes an existential risk. A 2007 study

by two US national security think-tanks concluded that 3 °C of warming and a 0.5 meter sea-level rise would likely lead to “outright chaos” and “nuclear war is possible”, emphasizing how “massive non-linear events in the global environment give rise to massive nonlinear societal event”.

The Global Challenges Foundation (GCF) explains what could happen: “If climate change was to reach 3 °C, most of Bangladesh and Florida would drown, while major coastal cities - Shanghai, Lagos, Mumbai - would be swamped, likely creating large flows of climate refugees. Most regions in the world would see a significant drop in food production and increasing numbers of extreme weather events, whether heat waves, floods or storms. This likely scenario for a 3 °C rise does not take into account the considerable risk that self-reinforcing feedback loops set in when a certain threshold is reached, leading to an ever increasing rise in temperature. Potential thresholds include the melting of the Arctic permafrost releasing methane into the atmosphere, forest die-back releasing the carbon currently stored in the Amazon and boreal forests, or the melting of polar ice caps that would no longer reflect away light and heat from the sun.”

Warming of 4 °C or more could reduce the global human population by 80% or 90%, and the World Bank reports “there is no certainty that adaptation to a 4 °C world is possible.”

Prof. Kevin Anderson says a 4 °C future “is incompatible with an organized global community, is likely to be beyond ‘adaptation’, is devastating to the majority of ecosystems, and has a high probability of not being stable”.

This is a commonly-held sentiment amongst climate scientists. A recent study by the European Commission’s Joint Research Centre found that if the global temperature rose 4 °C, then extreme heatwaves with “apparent temperatures” peaking at over 55 °C will begin to regularly affect many densely populated parts of the world, forcing much activity in the modern industrial world to stop. (“Apparent temperatures” refers to the Heat Index, which quantifies the combined effect of heat and humidity to provide people with a means of avoiding dangerous conditions.)

In 2017, one of the first research papers to focus explicitly on existential climate risks proposed that “mitigation goals be set in terms of climate risk category instead of a temperature threshold”, and established a “dangerous” risk category of warming greater than 1.5 °C, and a “catastrophic” category for warming of 3 °C or more. The authors focussed on the impacts on the world’s poorest three billion people, on health and heat stress, and the impacts of climate extremes on such people with limited adaptation resources. They found that a 2 °C warming “would double the land area subject to deadly heat and expose 48% of the population (to deadly heat). A 4 °C warming by 2100 would subject 47% of the land area and almost 74% of the world population to deadly heat, which could pose existential risks to humans and mammals alike unless massive adaptation measures are implemented.”

A 2017 survey of global catastrophic risks by the Global Challenges Foundation found that: “In high-end [climate] scenarios, the scale of destruction is beyond our capacity to model, with a high likelihood of human civilization coming to an end.”

84% of 8000 people in eight countries surveyed for the Foundation considered climate change a “global catastrophic risk”.

Existential risk may arise from a fast rate of system change, since the capacity to adapt, in both the natural and human worlds, is inversely proportional to the pace of change, amongst other factors. In 2004, researchers reported on the rate of warming as a driver of extinction...

At 4 °C of warming “the limits for adaptation for natural systems would largely be exceeded throughout the world”.

Ecological breakdown of this scale would ensure an existential human crisis. By slow degrees, these existential risks are being recognized. In May 2018, an inquiry by the Australian Senate into national security and global warming recognized “climate change as a current and existential national security risk... defined as ‘one that threatens the premature extinction of Earth-originating intelligent life or the permanent and drastic destruction of its potential for desirable future development’”.

In April 2018, the Intelligence on European Pensions and Institutional Investment think-tank warned business leaders that “climate change is an existential risk whose elimination must become a corporate objective”.

However the most recent IPCC Assessment Report did not consider the issue. Whilst the term “risk management” appears in the 2014 IPCC Synthesis Report fourteen times, the terms “existential” and “catastrophic” do not appear...

7.11 Scientists leaked the newest IPCC Report

Here are excerpts from an article entitled **Leak of IPCC Report!** by Scientist’s Rebellion.¹¹:

“We have leaked part III of the upcoming IPCC report. There’s no time to wait around, there’s no time for continued inaction - the people deserve to know NOW what our corporate owned politicians have done to them.

“The greatest crime ever has already been carried out - the perpetrators are still at liberty, but the victims are starting to pile up.

“We leaked the report because governments - pressured and bribed by fossil fuel and other industries, protecting their failed ideology and avoiding accountability - have edited the conclusions before official reports were released in the

¹¹<https://scientistrebellion.com/we-leaked-the-upcoming-ipcc-report/>

past. We leaked it to show that scientists are willing to disobey and take personal risk to inform the public.

“The report explicitly states that incremental change is not a viable option. It states that individual behavioral changes alone are insignificant. It states that justice, equity and redistribution are essential to climate policy.

“It says that we need massive investment - to transform energy systems, transport, industry, land use and agriculture, housing, and to prepare for the accelerating effects of climate breakdown - not the death cult of conservative economics.

“It shows that we must abandon economic growth, which is the basis of capitalism.

“For thousands of scientists - mostly older, privileged, moderate - to agree on something so apparently radical demonstrates the severity of the present moment. But the real radicals are in power. They will plunder the Earth until it is but fire and ash, unless we stop them.

“We plead with people to go into serious nonviolent resistance. To join us in the streets to apply unbearable pressure on this genocidal system - to take it down before it takes us all down with it.”

Only immediate climate action can save the future

Immediate action to halt the extraction of fossil fuels and greatly reduce the emission of CO₂ and other greenhouse gasses is needed to save the long-term future of human civilization and the biosphere.

At the opening ceremony of United Nations-sponsored climate talks in Katowice, Poland, Sir David Attenborough said “Right now, we are facing a man-made disaster of global scale. Our greatest threat in thousands of years. Climate change. If we don’t take action, the collapse of our civilizations and the extinction of much of the natural world is on the horizon. The world’s people have spoken. Their message is clear. Time is running out. They want you, the decision-makers, to act now.”

Antonio Guterres, UN Secretary-General, said climate change was already “a matter of life and death” for many countries. He added that the world is “nowhere near where it needs to be” on the transition to a low-carbon economy.

Swedish student Greta Thunberg, is a 16-year-old who has launched a climate protest movement in her country. She said, in a short but very clear speech after that of UN leader Antonio Guterres: “Some people say that I should be in school instead. Some people say that I should study to become a climate scientist so that I can ‘solve the climate crisis’. But the climate crisis has already been solved. We already have all the facts and solutions.”

She added: “Why should I be studying for a future that soon may be no more, when no one is doing anything to save that future? And what is the point of learning facts when the most important facts clearly mean nothing to our society?”

Thunberg continued: “Today we use 100 million barrels of oil every single day. There are no politics to change that. There are no rules to keep that oil in the ground. So we

can't save the world by playing by the rules. Because the rules have to be changed.”

She concluded by saying that “since our leaders are behaving like children, we will have to take the responsibility they should have taken long ago.”

Institutional inertia

Our collective failure to respond adequately to the current crisis is very largely due to institutional inertia. Our financial system is deeply embedded and resistant to change. Our entire industrial infrastructure is based on fossil fuels; but if the future is to be saved, the use of fossil fuels must stop. International relations are still based based on the concept of absolutely sovereign nation states, even though this concept has become a dangerous anachronism in an era of instantaneous global communication and economic interdependence. Within nations, systems of law and education change very slowly, although present dangers demand rapid revolutions in outlook and lifestyle.

The failure of the recent climate conferences to produce strong final documents can be attributed to the fact that the nations attending the conferences felt themselves to be in competition with each other, when in fact they ought to have cooperated in response to a common danger. The heavy hand of the fossil fuel industry also made itself felt at the conferences.

Until the development of coal-driven steam engines in the 19th century humans lived more or less in harmony with their environment. Then, fossil fuels, representing many millions of years of stored sunlight, were extracted and burned in two centuries, driving a frenzy of growth of population and industry that has lasted until the present. But today, the party is over. Coal, oil and gas are nearly exhausted, and what remains of them must be left in the ground to avoid existential threats to humans and the biosphere. Big coal and oil corporations base the value of their stocks on ownership of the remaining resources that are still buried, and they can be counted on to use every trick, fair or unfair, to turn those resources into money.

In general corporations represent a strong force resisting change. By law, the directors of corporations are obliged to put the profits of stockholders above every other consideration. No room whatever is left for an ecological or social conscience. Increasingly, corporations have taken control of our mass media and our political system. They intervene in such a way as to make themselves richer, and thus to increase their control of the system.

Polite conversation and cultural inertia

Each day, the conventions of polite conversation contribute to our sense that everything is as it always was. Politeness requires that we do not talk about issues that might be contrary to another person's beliefs. Thus polite conversation is dominated by trivia, entertainment, sports, the weather, gossip, food, and so on, Worries about the the distant future , the danger of nuclear war, the danger of uncontrollable climate change, or the danger of widespread famine seldom appear in conversations at the dinner table, over coffee or at the pub. In conversations between polite people, we obtain the false impression that

all is well with the world. But in fact, all is not well. We have to act promptly and adequately to save the future.

The situation is exactly the same in the mass media. The programs and articles are dominated by trivia and entertainment. Serious discussions of the sudden crisis which civilization now faces are almost entirely absent, because the focus is on popularity and ratings. As Neil Postman remarked, we are entertaining ourselves to death.

Further growth implies future collapse

We have to face the fact that endless economic growth on a finite planet is a logical impossibility, and that we have reached or passed the the sustainable limits to growth.

In today's world, we are pressing against the absolute limits of the earth's carrying capacity, and further growth carries with it the danger of future collapse. In the long run, neither the growth of industry not that of population is sustainable; and we have now reached or exceeded the sustainable limits.

The size of the human economy is, of course, the product of two factors: the total number of humans, and the consumption per capita. Let us first consider the problem of reducing the per-capita consumption in the industrialized countries. The whole structure of western society seems designed to push its citizens in the opposite direction, towards ever-increasing levels of consumption. The mass media hold before us continually the ideal of a personal utopia, filled with material goods.

Every young man in a modern industrial society feels that he is a failure unless he fights his way to the "top"; and in recent years, women too have been drawn into the competition. Of course, not everyone can reach the top; there would not be room for everyone; but society urges us all to try, and we feel a sense of failure if we do not reach the goal. Thus, modern life has become a competition of all against all for power and possessions.

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 industrial growth were desirable; but today, when further industrial growth implies future collapse, western society urgently needs to find new values to replace our worship of power, our restless chase after excitement, and our admiration of excessive consumption.

If you turn on your television set, the vast majority of the programs that you will be offered give no hint at all of the true state of the world or of the dangers which we will face in the future. Part of the reason for this willful blindness is that no one wants to damage consumer confidence. No one wants to bring on a recession. No one wants to shoot Santa Claus.

But sooner or later a severe recession will come, despite our unwillingness to recognize this fact. Perhaps we should prepare for it by reordering the world's economy and infrastructure to achieve long-term sustainability, i.e. steady-state economics, population stabilization, and renewable energy.

Our responsibility to future generations and to the biosphere

All of the technology needed for the replacement of fossil fuels by renewable energy is already in place. Although renewable sources currently supply only 19 percent of the world's energy requirements, they are growing rapidly. For example, wind energy is growing at the rate of 30 percent per year. Because of the remarkable properties of exponential growth, this will mean that wind will soon become a major supplier of the world's energy requirements, despite bitter opposition from the fossil fuel industry.

Both wind and solar energy can now compete economically with fossil fuels, and this situation will become even more pronounced if more countries put a tax on carbon emissions, as Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Costa Rica, the United Kingdom and Ireland already have done.¹²

Much research and thought have also been devoted to the concept of a steady-state economy. The only thing that is lacking is political will. It is up to the people of the world to make their collective will felt.¹³

History has given to our generation an enormous responsibility towards future generations. We must achieve a new kind of economy, a steady-state economy. We must stabilize global population. We must replace fossil fuels by renewable energy. We must abolish nuclear weapons. We must end the institution of war. We must reclaim democracy in our own countries when it has been lost. We must replace nationalism by a just system of international law. We must prevent degradation of the earth's environment. We must act with dedication and fearlessness to save the future of the earth for human civilization and for the plants and animals with which we share the gift of life.

“And yes, we do need hope. Of course, we do. But the one thing we need more than hope is action. Once we start to act, hope is everywhere. So instead of looking for hope, look for action. Then and only then, hope will come today.”
Greta Thunberg

Why do we not respond to the crisis?

Today we are faced with multiple interrelated crises, for example the threat of catastrophic climate change or equally catastrophic thermonuclear war, and the threat of widespread famine. These threats to human existence and to the biosphere demand a prompt and rational response; but because of institutional and cultural inertia, we are failing to take the steps that are necessary to avoid disaster.

¹²<http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-5/article/urgent-need-renewable-energy>

¹³<http://steadystate.org/category/herman-daly/>

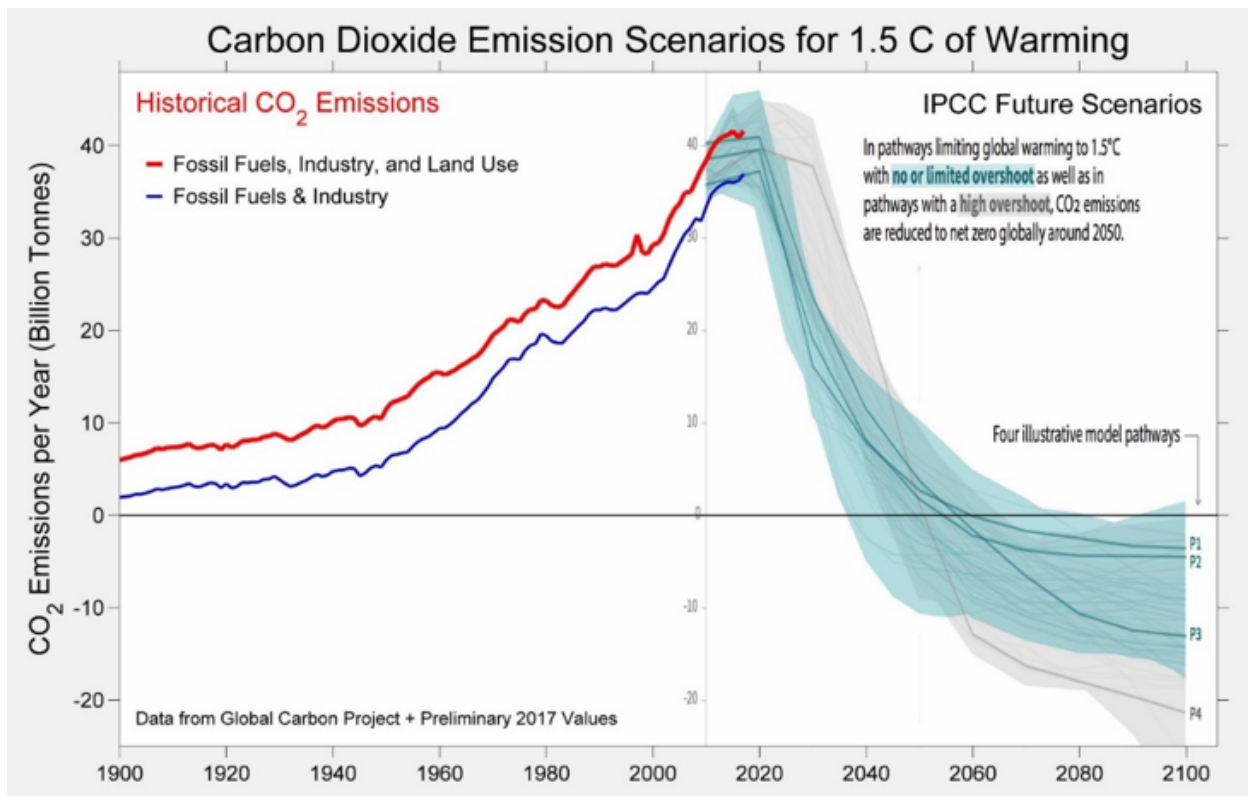
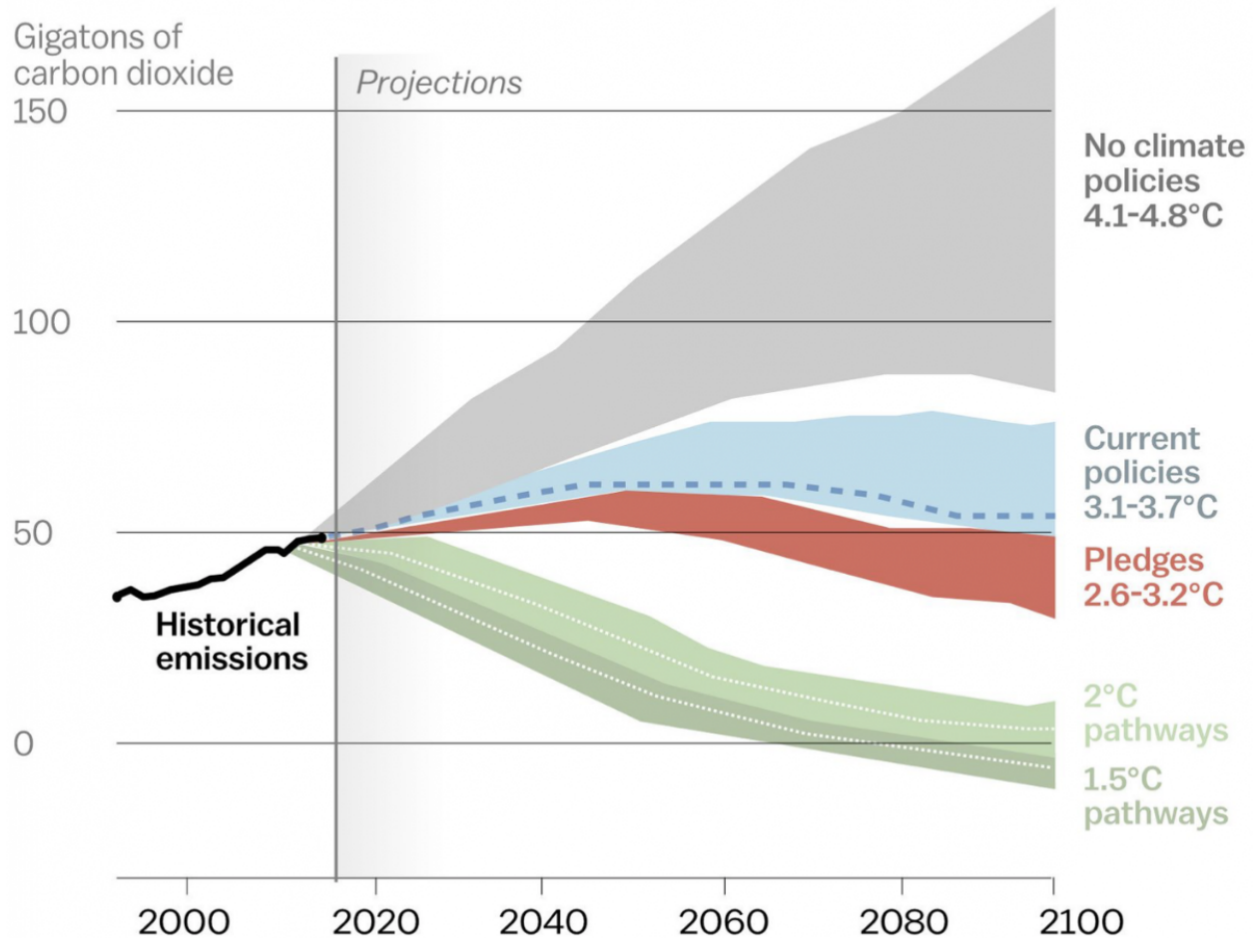


Figure 7.11: Our carbon budget. If global warming is to be limited to 1.5°C, CO₂ emissions must fall extremely rapidly. This means radical and fundamental changes for economies and lifestyles.

Effect of current pledges and policies

Global greenhouse gas emissions



Source: Climate Action Tracker

Vox

Figure 7.12: Predicted gigatons of carbon emitted during the present century under various policies. Under current policies, temperatures at the end of the century are predicted to be 3.1-3.7°C higher than normal, which would be disastrous. This implies that quick action must be taken to change current policies.

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Chapter 8

TRUMP, AND CORPORATE DEMOCRATS

8.1 Donald Trump is still a danger

Although he is no longer in the White House; although he has been banned from most social media, Donald Trump is still a danger because of his hold on the Republican Party and because of the irrational support that he still commands from his followers.

The 14th Amendment should be used to disqualify Trump

Section 3 of the 14th Amendment states that “No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.”

Wikipedia states that “On January 10, 2021, Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the House, formally requested Representatives’ input as to whether to pursue Section 3 disqualification of former US president Donald Trump because of his role in the attack on the United States Capitol on January 6. Unlike impeachment, which requires a supermajority to convict, disqualification under Section 3 would only require a simple majority of each house of Congress.”

Donald Trump should be prosecuted for his many crimes

Donald Trump is guilty of many crimes, for all of which he ought to be prosecuted. These include tax evasion, misuse of public funds, and excess deaths from COVID-19 caused by

his deliberate hiding of the facts regarding the pandemic. and inadequate governmental response. He caused several hundred thousand unnecessary deaths.

8.2 Today’s Republican Party is completely irresponsible

The Republican Party always had protection of the privileges of the rich as its primary goal. The GOP degenerated much further under Trump and today it can hardly be called a political party. Instead it is an instrument of destruction. Nominally, the Republican goal is to destroy the Democrats, but in the process it is destroying the planet, destroying the future of human society and the biosphere.

In the Paris Agreement of 2016, the nations of the world agreed to aim at limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees C above preindustrial levels. Trump withdrew from the agreement, promoted the use of coal and other fossil fuels, and sabotaged both renewable energy development and the Environmental Protection Agency. Trump was a climate change denier, but he was not alone in this. In the 2016 Presidential Election, all of the major Republican candidates denied the climate change is really taking place.

Manchin and Sinema sabotage Biden’s climate efforts

More recently, US President Joe Biden hoped to pass the Build Back Better Act, containing important steps towards preventing catastrophic climate change, but the legislation has been gutted and sabotaged, not only by unanimous Republican but also by two Senators who claim to be Democrats but who might as well be Republicans. Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema. They are blocking Biden’s climate agenda, and thus destroying humanity’s chance for a reasonable future. For this anti-human activity, Joe Manchin receives very large amounts of money from giant coal mining corporations.¹

8.3 Trump is a COVID-19 mass murderer!

Here are some quotations from an article entitled **Deborah Birx Admits Trump’s Campaign Distracted From COVID Response** by Heather Digby Parton, published by Truthout on October 27, 2021.

“Is playing politics with a deadly pandemic a crime against humanity? The Brazilian Senate thinks so, and they have backed a report calling for charges against President Jair Bolsonaro over his handling of COVID-19...

“Brazil’s death toll is huge - second only to the United States - with over 600,000 deaths and counting. Their first wave was monstrous with mass graves

¹Kyrsten Sinema gets her blood money from the pharmaceutical industry.



Figure 8.1: Deborah Birx, White House coronavirus response coordinator, speaks at the daily briefing of the White House Coronavirus Task Force as Donald Trump looks on in the Rose Garden at the White House April 15, 2020.

and overwhelming hospital overload. When the second hit they were so ill-prepared that they ran out of oxygen. Bolsonaro's response has been to tell people to 'stop whining' about 'the little flu.' He refused necessary lockdown measures from the beginning and relentlessly pushed snake oil cures like hydroxychloroquine. He has disparaged vaccines, masks and other public health measures...

"We all saw the similarities between Bolsonaro and Trump's reaction to the pandemic in real-time.

"They both downplayed the virus and were obsessively concerned with the economic fallout, leading them to lean on scientists to fudge the numbers. Both of them were constantly out in public exposing themselves and others to the virus and they each recommended unscientific cure-alls while ignoring the public health recommendations that actually mitigated the worst of the virus. Trump really wanted to take credit for the vaccines but he has been forced to downplay that achievement due to skepticism among his followers, while Bolsonaro just comes right out and says they don't work. Their record in the pandemic is astonishingly similar.

"Here in the U.S., the task of investigating what happened with the pandemic has fallen to the House Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Crisis, which has kept a pretty low profile these last few months. But on Tuesday they took the testimony of Dr. Deborah Birx, Trump's COVID-19 coordinator. According to the New York Times, Birx reiterated her earlier shocking claim that at least 130,000 lives were unnecessarily lost because the administration refused to do everything it could to ensure the nation followed the public health recommendations to mitigate the spread of the disease..."

8.4 Evangelicals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ralph Drollinger, who has led weekly Bible study groups in the White House attended by Vice President Mike Pence and many other cabinet members, likes the word "king" so much that he frequently turns it into a verb. "Get ready to king in our future lives," he tells his followers. "Christian believers will - soon, I hope - become the consummate, perfect governing authorities!"

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



Figure 8.2: Apparently insanity rules the United States today. The Evangelical Right believes that Trump was sent by God to be King, despite the fact that, according to Glenn Kessler, author of the Washington Post’s Fact Checker column, Trump told an average of 15 lies per day in 2018, bringing the total number of documented lies since he took office in January 2017 to 7,645. But neither Trump’s lies, nor his racism and misogyny, nor his cruel authorization of imprisonment of very young children and even babies, are his worst crimes. His most serious offense is a crime against human civilization and the biosphere: his support for coal, his climate change denial, his sabotaging of renewable energy, and his withdrawal from the Paris agreement. These actions, and support for them by Republicans, caused Noam Chomsky to call the Republican Party “the most dangerous organization in history”.



Figure 8.3: An artist's impression of Trump's National Security Advisor John Bolton.



Figure 8.4: Stars and stripes.



Figure 8.5: Anit-Mexican language used by Trump is very similar to the language used by the El Paso mass murderer. A recent article *Ex-FBI Official, FBI reluctant to probe white supremacists because Trump considers them his base*, quotes Dave Gomez as saying “There’s some reluctance among agents to bring forth an investigation that targets what the president perceives as his base.”



Figure 8.6: Family members mourning the victims of the El Paso murders.



Figure 8.7: A woman lights a candle at a makeshift memorial outside Walmart, near the scene of a mass shooting which left 22 people dead, on August 4, 2019, in El Paso, Texas.

8.5 The El Paso mass murders

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

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

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

8.6 Trump copies Hitler’s rhetoric

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

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

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

“Why does an ignorant, narcissistic buffoon like Trump trigger such anxiety? Why do so many Americans feel it existentially (not just politically) important to resist our forty-fifth president?” he writes. “Partly it’s just aesthetics. Trump is such a coarse and appalling man that it’s hard to stomach his presence in Abraham Lincoln’s house. But that’s not enough to explain the intensity of my dread. LBJ was coarse. Gerald Ford and George W. Bush were dumb as rocks. Richard Nixon was an anti-Semite. Bill Clinton’s mistreatment of women dishonored his office. Ronald Reagan was a dangerous ideologue. I opposed each of them when they appeared to exceed their constitutional powers. But I never felt a sense of existential dread. I never sensed that the very existence of a tolerant democracy was in play.”

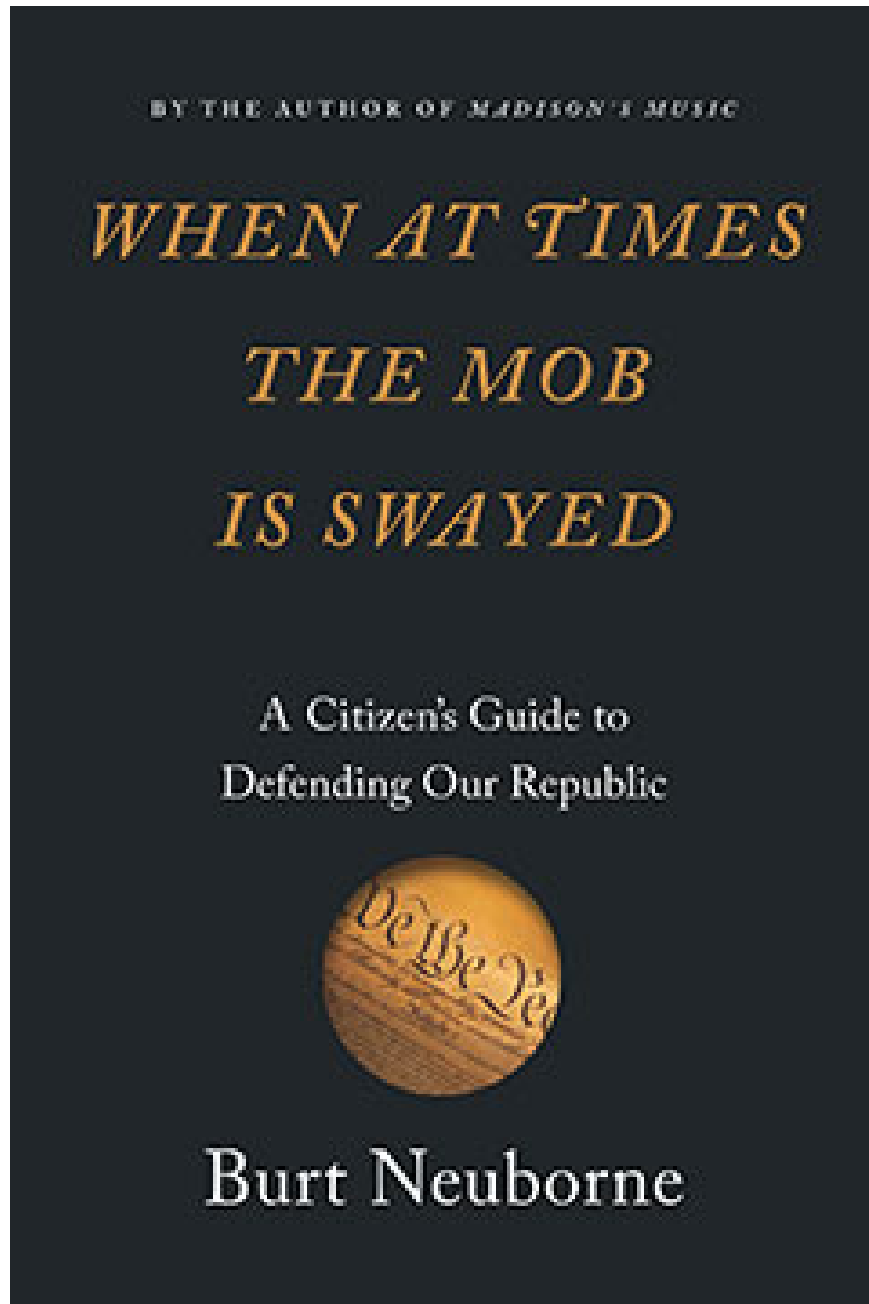


Figure 8.8: Burt Neuborne's brilliant book on the current crisis of American democracy is a warning that we must take very seriously.



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

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

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

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

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

"Give Trump credit," he continues. "He did his homework well and became the twenty-first-century master of divisive rhetoric. We're used to thinking of Hitler's Third Reich as the incomparably evil tyranny that it undoubtedly was. But Hitler didn't take power by force. He used a set of rhetorical tropes codified in Trump's bedside reading that persuaded enough Germans to welcome Hitler as a populist leader. The Nazis did not overthrow the Weimar Republic. It fell into their hands as the fruit of Hitler's satanic ability to mesmerize enough Germans to trade their birthright for a pottage of scapegoating, short-term economic gain, xenophobia, and racism. It could happen here."

Twenty points of similarity

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

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

“Donald Trump’s tweets, often delivered between midnight and dawn, are the twenty-first century’s technological embodiment of Hitler’s free plastic radios,” Neuborne says. “Trump’s Twitter account, like Hitler’s radios, enables a charismatic leader to establish and maintain a personal, unfiltered line of communication with an adoring political base of about 30-40 percent of the population, many (but not all) of whom are only too willing, even anxious, to swallow Trump’s witches’ brew of falsehoods, half-truths, personal invective, threats, xenophobia, national security scares, religious bigotry, white racism, exploitation of economic insecurity, and a never ending-search for scapegoats.”
3. Both blame others and divide on racial lines. As Neuborne notes, “Hitler used his single-frequency radios to wax hysterical to his adoring base about his pathological racial and religious fantasies glorifying Aryans and demonizing Jews, blaming Jews (among other racial and religious scapegoats) for German society’s ills.” That is comparable to “Trump’s tweets and public statements, whether dealing with black-led demonstrations against police violence, white-led racist mob violence, threats posed by

undocumented aliens, immigration policy generally, protests by black and white professional athletes, college admission policies, hate speech, even response to hurricane damage in Puerto Rico,” he says. Again and again, Trump uses “racially tinged messages calculated to divide whites from people of color.”

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

Trump and Hitler, the goal is (and was) to eviscerate the very idea of objective truth, turning everything into grist for a populist jury subject to manipulation by a master puppeteer. In both Trump's and Hitler's worlds, public opinion ultimately defines what is true and what is false."

8. Their lies blur reality - and supporters spread them. "Trump's pathological penchant for repeatedly lying about his behavior can only succeed in a world where his supporters feel free to embrace Trump's 'alternative facts' and treat his hyperbolic exaggerations as the gospel truth," Neuborne says. "Once Hitler had delegitimized the mainstream media by a series of systematic attacks on its integrity, he constructed a fawning alternative mass media designed to reinforce his direct radio messages and enhance his personal power. Trump is following the same path, simultaneously launching bitter attacks on the mainstream press while embracing the so-called alt-right media, co-opting both Sinclair Broadcasting and the Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox Broadcasting Company as, essentially, a Trump Broadcasting Network."
9. Both orchestrated mass rallies to show status. "Once Hitler had cemented his personal communications link with his base via free radios and a fawning media and had badly eroded the idea of objective truth, he reinforced his emotional bond with his base by holding a series of carefully orchestrated mass meetings dedicated to cementing his status as a charismatic leader, or Führer," Neuborne writes. "The powerful personal bonds nurtured by Trump's tweets and Fox's fawning are also systematically reinforced by periodic, carefully orchestrated mass rallies (even going so far as to co-opt a Boy Scout Jamboree in 2017), reinforcing Trump's insatiable narcissism and his status as a charismatic leader."
10. They embrace extreme nationalism. "Hitler's strident appeals to the base invoked an extreme version of German nationalism, extolling a brilliant German past and promising to restore Germany to its rightful place as a preeminent nation," Neuborne says. "Trump echoes Hitler's jingoistic appeal to ultranationalist fervor, extolling American exceptionalism right down to the slogan 'Make America Great Again,' a paraphrase of Hitler's promise to restore German greatness."
11. Both made closing borders a centerpiece. "Hitler all but closed Germany's borders, freezing non-Aryan migration into the country and rendering it impossible for Germans to escape without official permission. Like Hitler, Trump has also made closed borders a centerpiece of his administration," Neuborne continues. "Hitler barred Jews. Trump bars Muslims and seekers of sanctuary from Central America. When the lower courts blocked

Trump's Muslim travel ban, he unilaterally issued executive orders replacing it with a thinly disguised substitute that ultimately narrowly won Supreme Court approval under a theory of extreme deference to the president."

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

multinational cooperation, withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Paris Agreement on climate change, and the nuclear agreement with Iran, threatening to withdraw from the North American Free Trade Agreement, abandoning our Kurdish allies in Syria...”

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

for the jailing of Hillary Clinton, his 2016 opponent, leading crowds in chants of ‘lock her up.’” A new chant, “send her back,” has since emerged at Trump rallies directed at non-white Democratic congresswomen.

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

8.7 Corporate Democrats

The Democratic National Committee has been purchased by corporate money

The disastrous 2016 US election

In the United States, campaigns for the presidential election of 2016 might have been an occasion for a realistic discussion of the enormously important challenges which we now

face, not only in the America, but also throughout the world.

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

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

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

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

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

“Creating a level playing field can lead to a more efficient allocation of financial resources, helping to strengthen to advance the development of energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies. Removing fossil fuel and energy subsidies globally would reflect more accurately the true cost of energy generation.”²

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

The size of this budget is almost beyond comprehension: 610 billion dollars per year. This does not include nuclear weapons research, maintenance, cleanup and production, which are paid for by the Department of Energy. Nor does it include payments in pensions to military retirees and widows, nor interest on debt for past wars, nor the State Department’s financing foreign arms sales and military-related development assistance, nor special emergency grants for current wars. Nor are the expenses of the Department of Homeland Security included in the Pentagon’s budget, nor those of the CIA, nor the huge budget

²<http://www.ren21.net/status-of-renewables/global-status-report/>

of NSA and other dark branches of the US government. One can only guess at the total figure if everything should be included, but it is probably well over a trillion dollars per year.

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

Against expectations, Donald Trump who, in the words of Michael Moore, is a “wretched, ignorant, dangerous part-time clown and full-time sociopath”, was elected in 2016. What happened? Disillusioned by the way in which the immensely popular Senator Bernie Sanders was sabotaged by the media and by the Democratic National Committee, and despising Hillary Clinton for her involvement in US wars and Wall Street banks, many progressive voters stayed away from the polls. In their absence, Trump won narrowly. He lost the popular vote, but won the electoral vote. Trump’s White House was a morass of dissension, erratic decisions and lies.



Figure 8.9: Is this the person to whom we ought to entrust the future of our planet? When elected, Donald Trump not only pulled the United States out of the Paris Agreement; he also sabotaged the Environmental Protection Agency to such an extent that the carefully collected facts on climate change that the agency had accumulated had to be secretly saved by scientists to prevent their destruction by the Trump administration. Furthermore, Donald Trump's administration not only subsidized giant coal corporations. It also has sabotaged renewable energy initiatives in the United States.



Figure 8.10: When Senator Bernie Sanders began his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, few people believed that he could succeed. But as his campaign gained momentum, enormous crowds were attracted to his reformist speeches, and small individual donors supported his expenses. Although the crowds at Sanders' speeches were at least four times the size of those attending the rallies of other candidates, they were not reported in the mass media. Sanders' campaign was also sabotaged by the corporate-controlled Democratic National Committee. His huge popularity remains undimmed today, despite his loss in the 2016 primary. He advocates a social system for the United States similar to these which have made the Scandinavian countries leaders in both human development and human happiness indices.



Figure 8.11: Dr. Jill Stein was the Green Party's presidential candidate in 2016. She was the only candidate who was willing to talk about the "elephant in the room" - the obscenely enormous military budget that consumed almost a trillion dollars that could otherwise have been used for social goals, health, education and infrastructure.

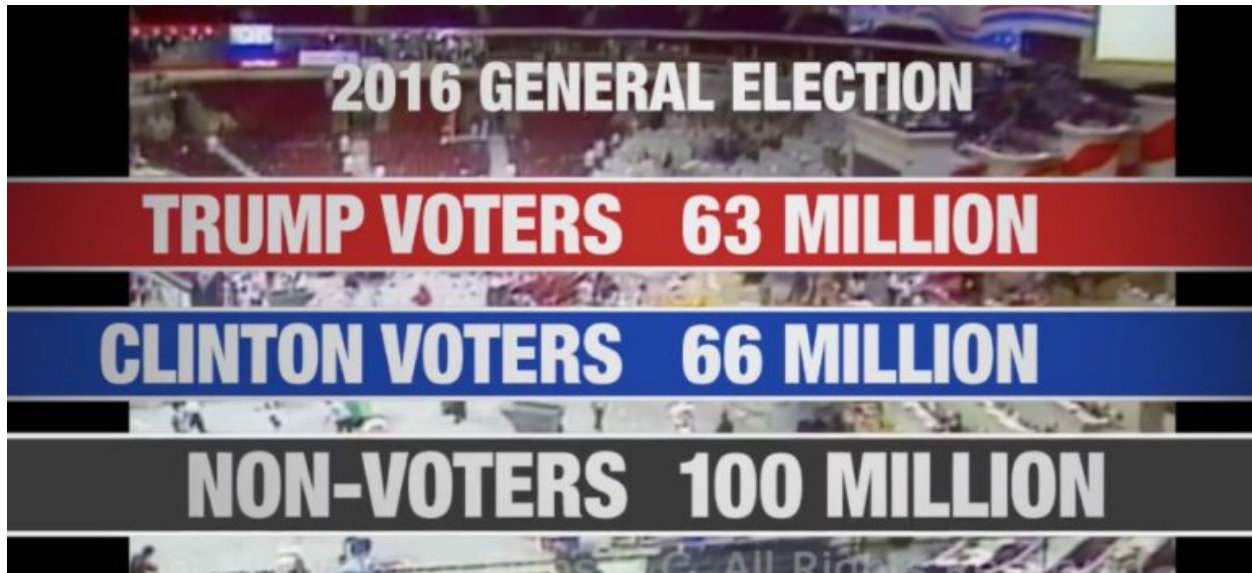


Figure 8.12: Disillusioned progressive voters who stayed at home were responsible for Trump's victory. Democrats must be very careful not to make the same mistake in future elections. They must nominate a truly progressive candidate for President.

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Index

- A new Joan of Arc, 154
- Absolutely sovereign nation-states, 185
- Accident waiting to happen, 78
- Accidental nuclear war, 78, 88
- Accidents, 84
- Act of Valor, 97
- Actions of the sexes, 114
- Adam Smith, 109
- Admiral von Turpitz, 64
- Adolf Hitler, 66
- Advertisers on mass media, 45
- Advertising campaigns, 115
- Afghanistan, 125
- Africa, 90
- Agriculture, 80, 82
- Air travel, 150
- Airbus, 93
- Al Gore, 46
- Al-Qaeda, 87, 89
- Algeria, 122
- Alliance for Climate Protection, 46
- Almost 2 trillion, 114
- Already-defeated Japan, 134, 146
- Alt-right movement, 8
- Alternative media, 45
- Amazon rainforest, 165
- Ambassador April Glaspie, 123
- America's top-heavy wealth distribution, 38
- American Sniper, 97
- Americium, 88
- An Inconvenient Truth, 46
- Anderson, Kevin, 181, 182
- Angela Merkel's telephone, 138
- Angola, 122
- Annan, Kofi, 81, 88
- Anthropocene, 97
- Anthropogenic climate change, 88
- Anti-Christian and anti-democratic, 199
- Anti-human weapons, 134
- Anti-science disinformation campaigns, 29
- Anticommunist alternative, 68
- Appalling war machine, 115
- Arab-Arab conflicts, 123
- Arctic oil, 17
- Arctic permafrost, 182
- Arctic sea ice, 116
- Are we evil?, 152
- Armaments race, 63, 65
- Arms control agreements, 97
- Arms manufacturers, 65
- Arms race, 63
- Army training program, 97
- Arrhenius, Svante, 150
- Arrogance, 115
- Article VI of the NPT, 78
- Articles dominated by trivia, 186
- Asia, 84
- Assange, Julian, 134
- Assassination attempts, 87
- Assassinations, 134
- Asteroids, 78
- Astonishing deceit, 51
- Astonishing degree of cynicism, 30
- Atlas Network, 30
- Atmosphere of Venus, 58
- Attacks on democracy in the U.S., 7
- Attempted coups, 137
- Attenborough, Sir David, 47, 49, 153, 184
- Auschwitz, 66
- Austria-Hungary, 63

- Ba'ath Party, 122
 BAE Systems, 93
 Ban Ki-moon, 55
 Bangladesh under water, 182
 Bank of China, 13
 Banking on Climate Change 2019, 13
 Banks aligned with climate disaster, 13
 Barclays, 13
 Barnaby, Frank, 87
 Battleships, 64
 BBC, 49
 Bedjaoui, Muhammad, 77
 Before the Flood, 55
 Behind Enemy Lines, 97
 Belarus, 84
 Benefits of equality, 35, 36
 Bernie Sanders, 57
 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 87
 Biden tainted by corporate money, 215
 Biden, Joe, 215
 Big Brother, 138
 Big coal and oil corporations, 185
 Big event needed, 136
 Bikini, 11
 Bilateral agreements, 118
 Billion or more deaths, 115
 Biodiversity, 180
 Biological weapons, 123
 Biophysical capacity, 179
 Biosphere, 114
 Biosphere is being sacrificed, 172
 Bitterness of conflicts, 137
 Black Hawk Down, 97
 Blair, Bruce G., 78
 Bloated military budgets, 114
 Blood for oil, 121
 Boeing, 93
 Bohr, Niels, 85
 Bohr-Wheeler theory, 85
 Bolsonaro, Jair, 165
 Bolton, John, 199
 Bombing infrastructure, 124
 Bombing water-purification, 124
 Bombs, 199
 Bottom half of humanity, 38
 Bottomless pit of war, 114
 Bread and circuses, 41
 Breivik, Anders Behring, 99
 Brexit, 97
 Brink of nuclear war, 115
 Britain, 63
 Brose Eric, 63
 Brunch With Bernie, 57
 Brutalization of values, 65
 Buffet, Warren, 36
 Burned at the stake, 134
 Burned cottages, 114
 Bush administration, 142
 Bush family and Hitler, 66
 Bush political dynasty, 67
 Bush, George W., 66
 Bush, Prescott, 66
 Bush/Nazi connection, 67
 Buying votes, 124
 Cajoling, extracting, threatening, 124
 Caldecott, Helen, 68
 Call of Duty, 99
 Calogero, Francesco, 79
 Campaigns that confuse the public, 29
 Capital, 109, 118
 Carbon budget, 14, 154, 187
 Carbon footprint, 154
 Carbon-negative world, 181
 Catastrophic climate change, 44, 115, 150, 164, 178, 187, 214
 Catastrophic global war, 65
 Catastrophic mistake, 78
 Catastrophic nuclear war, 81, 82
 Censorship of the news, 143
 Central America, 115
 Central Intelligence Agency, 119
 Chad, 91
 Chain-reacting pile, 85
 Chance of survival, 81
 Change is coming, 172

- Change the system, 172
- Charlottesville rally, August 2017, 8
- Chemical properties, 85
- Chemical weapons plant, 123
- Chernobyl disaster, 11, 84
- Child labor, 112
- Children killed by wars, 76
- China, 91
- Chomsky, Noam, 199
- Christian nationalism, 199
- Chuckman, John, 137
- Churchill, Winston, 122
- CIA, 133, 134, 215
- CIA insider Susan Lindauer, 136
- CIA protégé, 125
- CIA torture report, 144
- Civil society, 81
- Civil wars, 90, 91
- Civilian victims of war, 76
- Civilians as targets, 81
- Civilization coming to an end, 183
- Clark, General Wesley, 89
- Clark, Ramsey, 124
- Class warfare, 36
- Clathrates, 116
- Climate and environment, 97
- Climate change, 11, 84, 88
- Climate change denial, 26, 41, 199, 214
- Climate Change: The Facts, 49
- Climate crisis, 14, 154, 157
- Climate emergency, 164, 177
- Climate justice, 152
- Climate Justice Now, 172
- Climate scientists, 115
- Climate-driven refugees, 165
- Clinton, Bill, 55
- Clinton, Hillary, 215
- Coal, 7, 88
- Coal and steel, 67
- Coal mining, 20
- Coal power, 20
- Coastal cities drowned, 116
- Col. Stanislav Petrov, 12
- Cold War, 78, 90, 135, 144
- Collapse of our civilization, 153, 184
- Colombia, 122
- Colombia University, Climate Science, 58
- Colonialism, 35
- Colonialism and World War I, 65
- Come together and save ourselves, 43
- Come with a plan, 164
- Common land, 110
- Communications of millions, 142
- Communist Party, 68
- Competition, 109
- Complex civilizations, 109
- Computer games, 97
- Concentration of CO₂, 116
- Concerns are justified, 161
- Confessions of Economic Hit-Man, 119
- Consolidated Silesian Steel, 67
- Consume more, 45
- Consumption per capita, 186
- Container ships, 88
- Control government policy, 134
- Control of the planet's resources, 119
- Control over oilfields, 122
- COP24, 170
- Corbyn, Jeremy, 177
- Core aspirations, 146
- Core meltdown, 84
- Corporate oligarchs, 135
- Corporations, 144
- Corrupt government, 118
- Corrupt governments, 122, 146
- Cost of war, 65
- Coups, 143
- COVID-19 pandemic and Trump, 7
- Crime against human civilization, 199
- Critical mass, 85, 87
- Crofters houses burned, 110
- Cruelty, 112
- Cuban Missile Crisis, 68
- Cultural inertia, 185, 187
- Culture of violence, 90, 97
- Cumulative risk, 81

- Damage to agriculture, 115
- Danger of a civil war, 10
- Dangerous feedback loops, 116
- Dangerous landmark, 116
- Dangers of nuclear power, 84
- Dark branches of government, 215
- Dark government, 137
- Davos Economic Forum, 154
- Deaths due to sanctions, 124
- Debt slavery, 121
- Decay of democracy, 74, 114
- Deep state, 134
- Defiled street, 114
- Democracy requires knowledge, 133
- Democratic Republic of Congo, 91
- Demoralizing effects, 114
- Dependable source of income, 145
- Destruction of forests, 47
- Destruction of rainforests, 144
- Deterrence, flaws in concept, 76
- Developing countries, 118, 121, 145
- Devil's Dynamo, 74
- DiCaprio, Leonardo, 55, 58
- Dictatorships, 122, 133
- Direct political power, 122
- Directly used fuels, 88
- Dirty business of ISIS, 137
- Dirty wars, 134
- Disarmament, 76
- Disaster avoided by a hair's breadth, 12
- Disasters might wake public, 47
- Disease, 91
- Disempowered TV viewers, 41
- Disinformation campaign, 29
- Distanced from killing, 99
- Divest from the fossil fuel industry, 29
- Divestment movement begins to hurt, 30
- Division of Labor, 109
- Do our 'defense departments' defend us?, 10
- Domestic industry, 109
- Donald Trump, 7
- Donald Trump is still a threat, 9
- Double-think totalitarian state, 179
- Dreadnought-class ships, 63
- Driven from the land, 110
- Drone air force, 137
- Drone operators, 99
- Drug addiction, 68
- Duke of Buccleuch, 109
- Earth's atmosphere, 58
- East Asia, 91
- Eastern Europe, 84
- Ecological breakdown, 183
- Ecological catastrophes, 41
- Ecological catastrophies, 115
- Ecological conscience, 145, 185
- Ecological considerations, 110, 114
- Ecological destruction, 125
- Ecological footprint, 179
- Economic growth, 110
- Economic hit men, 119
- Economic influence, 74
- Economic tipping point, 47
- Edward Snowden, 134
- Effects of a nuclear war, 11
- Eisenhower's farewell address, 74
- ElBaradei, Mohamed, 79, 88
- Electricity generation, 86, 88
- Elephant in the room, 214, 215
- Eliminating democracy, 134
- Ellsberg, Daniel, 134
- Embrace of spying, 142
- Emergency, 177
- Emergency-scale transition, 45
- Emissions have to stop, 151
- Emissions reduction curve, 44
- Enclosure Acts, 110
- Endemic conflict, 91
- Endless crises, 114
- Energy crisis, 84
- Engineering firms, 119
- Enormous dark branches, 147
- Enrichment, 79
- Entertaining ourselves to death, 186
- Environmental catastrophe, 43

- Environmental crisis accelerates, 43
- Environmental disaster, 45
- Environmental Protection Agency, 215
- Environmental reforms, 144
- Epidemics in Iraq, 124
- Equity, 86, 152
- Eritiria, 91
- Erratic decisions and lies, 215
- Escalatory cycles of violence, 76
- Ethical considerations, 110, 114
- Ethical principles, 76
- Ethiopia, 91
- European Parliament, 162
- Evangelicals, 198
- Exaltation of selfishness, 118
- Excrementous matter, 114
- Existential crisis, 55
- Existential risk, 178
- Existential risk to civilization, 181
- Expanded German navy, 64
- Expansion of North Sea oil, 55
- Exponential growth, 121, 187
- Exposure of mistakes, 138
- Extinction Rebellion, 51, 177
- Extortion, 88, 119
- Extra-judicial killings, 137
- Extracting raw materials, 121
- Extrajudicial killing, 144
- Extreme heatwaves, 182
- Extreme-weather events, 181
- Exxon had the best climate models, 27
- Exxon knew, 26
- Exxon's 1982 internal memo, 27

- Factory system, 112
- Failure of epic proportions, 179
- Failure to respond adequately, 185
- Fake news, 180
- Fallout, 77
- Falluja 2, 123
- Famine, 80, 187
- Fast breeder reactors, 86
- Fast neutrons, 86

- Fatal accident, 79
- Fear of communism, 68
- Feedback loops, 116, 182
- Fermi, Enrico, 85
- Fielden, John, 112
- Films that glorify war, 97
- Filth in the street, 114
- Financial architects of Nazism, 66
- Financial power, 118
- Financing fossil fuel expansion, 14
- Finland, 84
- Fire storms, 82
- Firebombing of Dresden, 76
- First-class war aim, 122
- Fission of uranium, 85
- Fissionable isotopes, 79, 85
- Fissionable materials, 88
- Flogged, fettered and tortured, 112
- Florida under water, 182
- Fly more, 45
- Focus on what needs to be done, 170
- Forced labor, 144
- Forest die-back, 182
- Forge of Empires, 99
- Former Soviet Union, 91
- Fossil Free MIT, 29
- Fossil fuel corporations, 26, 42
- Fossil fuel expansion, 14
- Fossil fuel extraction must stop, 153, 184
- Fossil fuel industries, 115
- Fossil fuel industry, 114
- Fossil Fuel Report Card, 13
- Fossil fuels, 27, 185, 187
- Fourteenth Amendment, 10
- Fourth Amendment trashed, 135
- Fourth Estate, 142
- Fracked oil, 17
- France, 63, 91
- Fraudulent financial reports, 119
- Free market, 110
- Freedom from fear, 147
- Fridays for the Future, 157
- Friedrich Krupp AG, 64

- Frontline's documentary, 142
 Frozen tundra, 116
 Fukushima disaster, 11
 Full Spectrum Warrior, 97
 Fusion energy, 89
 Future generations, 162
 Future human needs, 179
 Future of our civilization, 55

 Galileo, 134
 Gaskell, Dr. Peter, 112
 GATT, 144
 Gays, 8
 General Dynamics, 93
 General Groves, 134
 General strike for climate action?, 55
 Geneva Protocol, 123
 Genocidal nuclear war, 10
 Genocide, 76
 George H.W. Bush, 66
 George W. Bush, 66
 German naval buildup, 63
 Germany, 63
 Germany's armament industry, 66
 Giant coal corporations, 7
 Glaring contradiction, 134
 Global catastrophic risk, 183
 Global Challenges Foundation, 182, 183
 Global climate strike, 157
 Global economic interdependence, 145
 Global hegemony, 91
 Global inequalities, 161
 Global Inequality organization, 38
 Global Policy Forum, 121
 Global power, 91
 Global warming, 84, 88, 116, 161
 Globalization, 119
 Goddard Institute, Space Studies, 58
 Goodman, Amy, 89, 177
 Gordiano Bruno, 134
 Gore, Al, 46
 Government spying, 143
 Governmental intervention, 110
 Governmental secrecy, 137
 Governments left to wither, 44
 Graphite moderator, 85
 Grave implications, 74
 Great cities, 118
 Great-power competition, 91
 Greatest failure of humankind, 55
 Greece, 63, 121
 Greed, 110, 118
 Greed-based economy, 114
 Green Berets, 97
 Green Party, 215
 Greenhouse gases, 116
 Greenland, 84
 Greenland ice sheet, 116
 Greta Thunberg meets Pope Francis, 51
 Greta Thunberg speaks at Marble Arch, 53
 Greta Thunberg's TED talk, 150
 Grey, Colin S., 78
 Gross, wholesale spying, 134
 Growth implies future collapse, 186
 Growth of population and industry, 185
 Growth-obsessed economy, 114
 Guardian, 177
 Guilt, 76
 Gulf War of 1990-1991, 124
 Gulf War, 2003, 125
 Gun-type bomb, 87
 Guns, 64
 Guns in schools?, 97
 Guterres, Antonio, 153, 164, 165, 184

 Habeas Corpus trashed, 135
 Hair-trigger alert, 78
 Halt extraction of fossil fuels, 153, 184
 Halving CO2 by 2030, 161
 Hanauer, Nick, 36
 Hankey, Sir Maurice, 122
 Hansen's testimony to Congress, 59
 Hansen, James, 58, 181
 Happy society, 110
 Hartmann, Thom, 57
 Health and social problems, 36

- Heat waves in Sweden, 172
Hedge funds, 146
Henderson, Bill, 44
HEU, 86
High level complicity in January 6, 9
Highland Clearance, 110
Highly enriched uranium, 79, 81, 86
Hiroshima, 11, 84, 85, 146
Hitler as Chancellor, 68
Hitler's rise to power, 65, 67, 68
Hitler, Adolf, 204
Hitler-Trump parallels, 204
HMS Dreadnought, 64
Hobson, John A., 35
Hoodbhoy, Pervez, 87
Hopeful signs of change, 32
Horton, Scott, 138
House of Commons, 177
Howitzers, 64
HR1, 8
Human civilization, 114, 118
Human ego is boundless, 186
Human failings, 78
Human history, 118
Human rights, 20
Human rights trashed, 135
Humanitarian law, 76, 78
Humanitarian reforms, 144
Humanitarian tragedies, 96
Huntington Ingals, 93
Hurricanes more severe, 180
Hydrological cycle, 82
- IAEA, 88
Illegal killings, 143
Illegal we do at once, 134
Illegality of nuclear weapons, 76
Imagine what we could do together, 153
Immediate action required, 153, 184
Immigrants, 8
Imperialism, A Study, 35
Incendiary bombings, 82
Incendiary bombs, 122
- Increased arms trading, 96
India, 81, 91
India's nuclear weapons, 86
Indigenous people, 55
Indiscriminate mass slaughter, 76
Individual self-interest, 109
Indonesia, 122
Industrial infrastructure, 185
Industrial Revolution, 35, 63, 112, 114
Industrialized countries, 118
Industrialized nations, 35, 121
Inequality, 36, 114
Inside Climate News, 27
Institution of war, 81
Institutional inertia, 185, 187
Intense flooding, 180
Internal assessments, 27
International control, 79, 86
International cooperation, 97
International law, 118
International Monetary Fund, 121
Internet corporations, 138
Invasion of Kuwait, 123
Invasion of Transvaal, 64
Investment in renewables, 32
Invisible hand, 109, 110
IPCC, 13, 20, 46, 116, 161, 180, 183
IPCC report from Incheon, 2018, 164
Iran, 81, 90, 91, 122
Iran nuclear deal, 96
Iraq, 90, 122
Iraq war, 215
Iraqi oil, 122
Iron and steel company, 65
Irreversible adverse climate change, 181
Irreversible warming, 26
Isaiah 45 = 45th President, 198
Islamic fundamentalists, 125
Isotope ratios, 116
Isotopes, 85, 86
Isotopes of uranium, 85
Israel, 91
Israel's nuclear weapons, 86

- It was about oil, 125
 It's not too late, 50
 Italy, 63

 James Hansen, 58
 James Hansen's TED talk, 59
 James van Allen, 58
 Japan, 63
 Jaws of power, 133
 Jefferson, Thomas, 133
 Jewish employees, 68
 Joe Manchin, 7
 John Lewis Voting Rights Act, 8
 John Perkins, 119
 JPMorgan Chase, 13
 Just society, 110

 Kaiser Wilhelm II, 64
 Keep that oil in the ground, 153, 154, 185
 Kermit Roosevelt, 119
 KGB, 133
 Khan, A.Q., 87
 Kim Jong-un, 93
 King, Martin Luther, 68
 Kissinger, Henry, 134
 Koch brothers, 30
 Korean Peninsula, 115
 Korean Peoples Army, 93
 Kristallnacht, 68
 Krupp family business, 64
 Kurds slaughtered, 124
 Kuwait, 122
 Kwami Nkrumah, 118
 Kyrsten Sinema, 7

 L-3 Communications, 93
 Largest company in Europe, 64
 Last Hours (YouTube), 58
 Last Hours of Ancient Sunlight, 57
 Laudato Si', 121
 Laws binding on individuals, 145
 Lebanon, 90
 LeMay, General Curtis E., 78
 Leonardo DiCaprio, 55, 58

 LEU, 86
 Level playing field, 214
 Libya, 90, 122
 Life.styles from mass media, 41
 Light weapons, 90
 Limiting fossil fuel production, 44
 Limiting global warming to 1.5°C, 164
 Limits for adaption, 183
 Limits to Growth, 186
 Line in the sand, 164
 Liquefied natural gas, 17
 Living from war, 74
 Lobbying against climate change action, 29
 Lockheed Martin, 93
 London, 112
 Long-term effects, 116
 Long-term survival, 118
 Look for action. Then hope will come, 187
 Looming financial instability, 180
 Lord Curzon, 122
 Los Alamos, 134
 Loss of profits, 144
 Low enriched uranium, 86
 Low-carbon economy, 153, 184
 Ludendorff, 68
 Luxuries of the few, 172

 M5, 133
 Mafia, 87
 Magna Carta trashed, 135
 Magnetic bottles, 89
 Mainstream media, 135
 Making excuses, 43
 Malnutrition from sanctions, 124
 Man-made disaster, 153, 184
 Manchin, Joe, 7
 Mann, Michael E., 181
 Markets solve all problems?, 44
 Marshall Islands cancer and birth defects, 11
 Martyr to the truth, 134
 Mass illegal spying, 147
 Mass media, 39, 97, 151, 186, 214, 215
 Massive non-linear events, 182

- Massive nuclear retaliation, 76
 Massive spying, 135
 Mattas, James, 91
 McKibben, Bill, 30
 Media as a battleground, 39
 Media neglect of climate change, 41
 Media withhold information, 143
 Melting of polar icecaps, 182
 Mesopotamia, 122
 Methane hydrate crystals, 116
 Mexico, 122
 Michael Klare, 121
 Microscopic fixes for vast problems, 43
 Middle East, 115
 Middle East conflicts, 96
 Militarism in North Korea, 91
 Militarism's hostages, 10
 Militarization of governments, 122
 Military budgets, 114
 Military Expenditure Database, 93
 Military force, 122
 Military hardware, 121
 Military technology, 96
 Military-colonial methods, 122
 Military-industrial complex, 65, 74, 114, 214
 Miscalculation, 78
 Misplaced power, 74
 Missile defense system, 81
 Missile Envy, 68
 Mistaken for a missile strike, 78
 Modern powerholders, 39
 Modern societies, 39
 Modernism, 81
 Monbiot, George, 42, 177
 Monetizing underground "assets", 26, 42
 Money and growth our main concerns, 154
 Moral responsibility, 154
 More military spending, 96
 More than hope, we need action, 153
 More violent conflicts, 96
 Mossad, 133
 Mossadegh, 119
 Most dangerous organization in history, 199
 Movement of refugees, 96
 MUFJ in Japan, 13
 Mujaheddin, 125
 Multi-generational families, 39
 Multiculturalism, 8
 Multinational network, 67
 Multiple interrelated crises, 187
 Murder, 119
 Murdos Armistice, 122
 Murky depths of stupidity, 214
 Musharraf, Pervez, 87
 Muslims, 8
 Mustard gas, 123
 Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), 10
 Myopic national self-interest, 179

 Nagasaki, 11, 84, 85, 146
 NASA, 58
 National Geographic Chanel, 39
 National pride, 81
 National Rifle Association, 97
 National Security Agency, 119, 143
 Nationalism a dangerous anachronism, 185
 Nationalism, nuclear, 87
 NATO against Russia, 137
 Natural environment, 47
 Naval arms race, 63, 68
 Naval supremacy, 64
 Nazi Germany, 66
 Nazi Party, 66, 68
 Neocolonialism, 118
 Neoliberalism, 44
 Neptunium, 88
 Nerve gas, 123
 Network Knowledge, 142
 Neuborne, Burt, 204
 Neutral countries, 76
 Neutrons, 85
 New Agenda Resolution, 78
 New Joan of Arc, 154
 New York Times, 134, 142
 Nick Hanauer's TED talk, 36
 Nineteen Eighty-Four, 135

- No one ever talked about it, 151
 No President can resist, 137
 Nobel Peace Prize, 46
 Non-discrimination principle, 144
 Non-Proliferation Treaty, 86
 Non-whites, 8
 Nonvoters, 215
 North Africa, 115
 North Korea, 81, 91
 North Korea's nuclear weapons, 86
 Northrop Grumman, 93
 Norwegian mass-murderer, 99
 NPT, 86
 NPT, threatened failure of, 87
 NSA, 215
 NSA Headquarters, 138
 NSA Power Points, 138
 Nuclear arms race, 68
 Nuclear black market, 79
 Nuclear darkness, 80
 Nuclear deterrence, flaws, 79
 Nuclear disarmament, 146
 Nuclear environmental catastrophe, 82
 Nuclear families, 39
 Nuclear fusion, 89
 Nuclear nationalism, 87
 Nuclear power dangers, 84
 Nuclear power generation, 68, 84
 Nuclear proliferation, 79, 84, 86, 87
 Nuclear reactor, 85
 Nuclear reactors, 79
 Nuclear terrorism, 79, 81, 87
 Nuclear war by accident, 88
 Nuclear war is possible, 182
 Nuclear war potentially omniscidal, 10
 Nuclear war, effects, 11
 Nuclear warhead stockpiles, 93
 Nuclear weapons, 68
 Nuclear winter effect, 11, 82
 Nucleon number, 85
 Nuremberg Principles, 133
 Oakland Institute, 145
 Obama's decision to continue, 142
 Obama, Barack, 55
 Obscenely enormous military budget, 215
 Obsession with secrecy, 138
 Ocean floors, 116
 Oil companies, 122
 Oil-hungry military, 121
 Oil-rich regions, 136
 Older people marginalized, 39
 Oligarchies, 133
 Oligarchs own the government, 135
 Omniscidal nuclear war, 10
 Open diplomacy, 133
 Organized criminals, 87
 Orwell's dystopian prophesy, 135
 Orwell, George, 135, 179
 Orwellian name, 136
 Osama bin Laden, 125
 Ottoman Empire, 63
 Our house is on fire, 154
 Our leaders are behaving like children, 154,
 185
 Oxfam, 114
 Ozone layer, 80, 83
 Pace of change, 183
 Package of broadcasts, 41
 Pakistan, 81, 91
 Pakistan's nuclear weapons, 87
 Palm oil production, 47
 Paranoid times, 199
 Paris Agreement, 20, 152, 161, 178, 181, 215
 Paris Climate Agreement, 96
 Paris goals, 44
 Patriot Act, 136
 Paul Ehrlich, 83
 Paul, James A., 121
 Payoffs, 119
 Peace in Colombia, 96
 Peaceful resolution of conflicts, 145
 Pearl Harbor, 97
 Peasant farmers, 110
 Pentagon, 9

- Pentagon Papers, 134
Pentagon's budget, 215
People themselves, 133
Permanent arms industry, 74
Persecution of Christians, 68
Personal utopia, 186
Physical properties, 85
Planetary boundaries, 180
Plans for blockade, 64
Plutonium, 79, 85, 86
Poison gas, 122, 123
Policymakers' magical thinking, 180
Policymaking cognitatively dissonant, 179
Polite conversation, 185
Political expediency, 179
Political influence, 74
Political instability, 96
Political will, 165
Politics of global warming, 26, 41
Politics of greed, 55
Poor families, 110
Pope Francis I, 51, 55, 121, 162
Popularity and ratings, 186
Population of Norway, 137
Population stabilization, 186
Populism, 8
Post-fossil-fuel era, 179
Postman, Neil, 186
Potentially illegal spying, 142
Power and possessions, 186
Power reactors, 86
Powerful nations and oil, 121
Powerholders, 143
PR offensives, 51
Pre-industrial Europe, 110
Predatory delay, 44
Preparation for war, 68
Prescott Bush, 66
President claims right to kill, 135
Preventing an ecological apocalypse, 42
PRISM, 138
Private banks, 121
Private consulting companies, 119
Private militia groups, 10
Pro-American states, 122
Productivity, 109
Profits of stockholders, 185
Proliferation risks, 86, 87
Proliferation, nuclear, 84, 86
Propaganda, 38
Propaganda and entertainment, 41
Prosperity gospel preacher, 199
Protecting whistleblowers, 147
Protesting at the Swedish parliament, 170
Protons, 85
Proud Boys display Nazi Swastikas, 9
Pu-239, 85–87
Public education, 39
Public opinion, 39, 84
Pull the emergency brake, 170
Quick action must be taken, 187
Radar, 78
Radioactive contamination, 115
Radioactive fallout, 84
Radioactive graphite, 84
Radioactive grass, 84
Radioactive uranium, 84
Radioactive waste disposal, 84
Rapid change is required, 152
Raytheon, 93
Real power belongs to the people, 172
Rearmament, 68
Recession will come, 186
Record-breaking heatwaves, 180
Red Dawn, 97
Regional Defense Strategy, 91
Reichstag election, 1933, 68
Renewable energy, 186
Renewable energy policy network, 214
Reporting climate change, 39
Reprocessing, 79
Reprocessing fuel rods, 86
Republican Party, 199
Republican Party is now irresponsible, 7

- Republican presidential candidates, 214
- Republican voter suppression, 8
- Reserves of uranium, 86
- Resolution 678, 124
- Resource curse, 118
- Resource wars, 99, 121
- Resource-extracting firms, 118
- Responsibility towards future generations, 187
- Restrict air travel, 150
- Revenge and counter-revenge, 76
- Revolutions in outlook and lifestyles, 185
- Richard Wilkinson's TED talk, 36
- Rigged elections, 119
- Right-wing nationalism, 122
- Right-wing parties, 68
- Rights of Indigenous peoples, 20
- Rio Earth Summit, 178
- Rise like lions, 136
- Risk to human civilization, 181
- Risking human future, 115
- River of money, 74
- Robock, A., 80
- Role of the media, 39
- Roman Catholic Church, 68
- Rosenfeld, Steven, 204
- Rotblat, Sir Joseph, 147
- Royal Bank of Canada, 13
- Rules have to be changed, 153
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 123
- Russia, 63, 79, 84, 91

- Sadam Hussein, 89
- Saddam attacks Iran, 123
- Saddam Hussein, 122, 125
- Sakharov, Andrei, 138
- Sanctions against Iraq, 124
- Sanders, Bernie, 57, 215
- Sarin, 123
- Saudi Arabia, 122
- Saving the future, 153, 184
- Saving threatened species, 47
- Scandinavian countries, 215
- Schoolstrike for climate action, 157
- Science, 161
- Science means nothing to politicians, 153
- Scotland, 114
- Sea level rise, 116
- Seabed, 116
- Secrecy and nuclear weapons, 146
- Secrecy versus democracy, 133, 134
- Secret diplomacy, 133, 137
- Secret land purchases, 145
- Secret trade deals, 144
- Secret treaties, 133
- Secret weapons development, 134
- Secretive Shadow Government, 138
- Secure jobs, 145
- Security Council, 90, 124
- Self-interest, 109, 114
- Selfishness, 118
- Selfishness is exalted, 114
- September 11, 2001, 125
- Several hundred million deaths, 76
- Severe droughts, 83
- Severe hurricanes, 180
- Sex, 119
- Shah of Iran, 119, 122
- Sharing, 118
- Shell and Exxon knew, 26
- Shelley, 136
- Shi'ite regime, 122
- Shi'ites slaughtered, 124
- Shooting Santa Claus, 186
- Short-term political advantage, 179
- Shrouded in secrecy, 144
- Silicon Valley, 143
- Sinema, Kyrsten, 7
- SIPRI, 93
- SIPRI Yearbook, 2017, 96
- Sir David Attenborough, 47
- Sixth mass extinction, 151
- Slandering scientists, 29
- Slave laborers, 66
- Slave-like politicians, 115
- Small arms, 90, 91
- Small arms, 639 million, 91

- Smith, Adam, 109
Smith, Dan, 96
Smith, Martin, 143
Smoke destroys health, 30
Smoking ruins, 110
Snowden's revelations, 135
Snowden, Edward, 134, 137, 142, 143
Social conscience, 118, 145, 185
Social Democrats, 68
Social games, 151
Social goals, 114
Social justice, 114
Socialism, 215
Societal verification, 147
Solar energy, 187
Solutions exist, 161
Somalia, 90, 91
South Africa's nuclear weapons, 86
South America, 115, 134
Southwest Asia, 91
Soviet-style revolution, 68
Space-age science and stone-age politics, 12
Speak out in clear language, 154
Special interest groups, 114
Spent \$674 billion on new reserves, 29
Spinning machines, 110
Spiritual influence, 74
Staggering ignorance of Trump, 51
Stars and stripes, 199
Starvation, 91
Steady-state economics, 186
Steam engines, 110
Stein, Jill, 215
Stirred-up Muslims, 125
Stop procrastinating, 55
Stop subsidizing fossil fuels, 214
Stop the expansion of extraction, 44
Storms of My Grandchildren, 58
Strategic competition, 97
Struggle for power and possessions, 186
Student climate strike in Belgium, 154
Subnational organizations, 87
Subsidies, 214, 215
Sudan, 90
Suicide, 112
Superpower status, 91
Sustainability, 114
Sustainability crisis, 151
Sustainable society, 161
Svante Arrhenius, 150
Svante Thunberg, 150
Sweden, 84, 170
Sykes-Picot Agreement, 122, 137
Symbols of power, 38
Syria, 90
Tabun, 123
Tanks, 64
Tar sands oil, 17
Targeted individuals, 99
Technical defects, 78
TED Talks, 36
Television, 186
Television part of education, 39
Television underestimated, 39
Tell it like it is, 170
Temperature inversion, 82
Tenant farmers, 110
Terrorism, 91
Terrorism, nuclear, 79
Testing hydrogen bombs in the Pacific, 11
Textile mills, 110
Thales Group, 93
The 11th Hour, 55
The 2016 US presidential election, 214
The Big Picture, 57
The Case for Optimism (TED), 47
The far right today, 8
The Guardian, 39, 42, 47, 53, 177
The Last Hours of Humanity, 57
The man who saved the world, 12
The party is over, 185
The rules have to be changed, 154, 185
The Wealth of Nations, 109
The world's 10 richest billionaires, 38
Thermonuclear bombs, 86

- Thermonuclear reactions, 89
 Thermonuclear war, 187, 214
 Thermonuclear weapons, 125
 Third World debt, 121
 Thirty Years' War, 64
 Thom Hartmann, 57
 Threats to civilization, 114
 Threats to the biosphere, 114
 Thunberg, Greta, 51, 150, 153, 154, 162, 170, 172, 184, 187
 Thunberg, Svante, 150
 Thyroid cancer, 84
 Thyssen family, 65
 Thyssen, August, 65
 Thyssen, Fritz, 65, 67, 68
 Thyssen-controlled bank, 67
 Tipping points, 165
 Titanic, 116
 To control Soviet Union, 134
 Tobacco and fossil fuel industries, 29
 Tokyo, firebombing, 76
 Tom Cruse, 97
 Too holy to be seen, 215
 Toon, O., 80
 Top Gear, 45
 Top Gun, 97
 Torture, 143
 Total global supremacy, 91
 Trade unions, 68
 Trading with the enemy, 66
 Traditional duties, 110
 Traditional rights, 110
 Traditional societies, 39
 Trans Pacific Partnership, 144
 Treaty of Versailles, 68
 Trillion-dollar elephant, 215
 Triple Alliance, 63
 Triple Entente, 63
 Triumphant denialism, 44
 Tropical regions uninhabitable, 116
 Trump is still a threat, 9
 Trump sent by God to be King, 198
 Trump's tax evasion, 10
 Trump, Donald, 7, 97, 165, 198, 199, 204, 215
 Truthout, 177
 TTAPS Study, 82
 TTIP, 144
 Turco, R., 80
 Two billion risk starvation, 84
 U-235, 85
 U-238, 85, 86
 U-boats, 64
 UK declares climate emergency, 177
 Ukraine, 84, 115, 121
 Ultra-deepwater oil, 17
 Ultracentrifuges, 86, 87
 UN General Assembly, 76, 78
 UN Secretary-General, 165
 UN Security Council, 91
 UN's Agenda 2030, 96
 Unauthorized act, 79
 Undemocratic government, 118
 Undercover operations, 133
 Understatement of Existential Climate Risk, 178
 Unequal distribution of incomes, 35
 Unite the Right rally, 8
 United Kingdom, 63, 91
 United Nations, 145
 United Nations Framework Convention, 178
 United States, 63, 79, 91
 United States of Secrets, 142
 United Technologies, 93
 Unprecedented changes, 154
 Unsustainable lifestyles in media, 45
 Unwarranted influence, 74
 Uranium, 85
 Uranium enrichment, 87
 Uranium reserves, 86
 Urgency of our situation, 165
 US backed coup, 122
 US Evangelicals, 198
 Vaccinations prevented, 124

- Values from the mass media, 41
- Van Allen, James, 58
- Van Gogh, Vincent, 112
- Variety, 142
- Vast proportions, 74
- Vast river of money, 114
- Venezuela, 122
- Vested-interest pressure, 180
- Vicious circle, 68
- Vietnam War, 134
- Violation of democracy, 144
- Violation of democratic principles, 144

- Wales, 84
- Wall Street, 145
- War, 90, 91, 199
- War as an institution, 74
- War-addicted economy, 114
- Warren, Elizabeth, 215
- Washington Naval Treaty, 63
- Watering-down scientific findings, 180
- Wave of oil, 122
- We are many, 136
- We have the facts and solutions, 152
- We have to change, 151
- We have to speak clearly, 172
- We must act now, 164
- We want to protect you, 135, 147
- We Were Soldiers, 97
- We will never stop fighting, 53
- Wealthy families, 119
- Weapons systems and oil, 121
- Weapons-usable materials, 86, 88
- Weapons-usable Pu-239, 86
- Weaving machines, 110
- West's thirst for oil, 122
- Western Europe, 91
- Western hegemony, 136
- What Lies Beneath, 178
- Wheeler, John A., 85
- When at Times the Mob is Swayed, 204
- Whistleblowers, 134
- White nationalism, 8
- White supremacists fear racial equality, 7
- Wholesale electronic spying, 134
- Why wasn't it made illegal?, 151
- Why were there no restrictions?, 151
- Wildfires in Sweden, 172
- Wilkinson, Richard, 36
- Willful blindness, 186
- Wind energy, 187
- Winning slowly means losing, 44
- Without knowledge or consent, 138
- Wives of Belgian miners, 112
- Wolfowitz Doctrine, 91
- Women, 8
- World Economic Forum survey, 181
- World Meteorological Organization report, 164
- World of Warcraft, 99
- World Trade Center, 125, 136
- World Trade Center, 2001, 81
- World War I, 63, 65, 68, 122, 133, 137
- World War II, 64, 82
- World's poorest three billion, 182
- Worship of free market, 118
- Worship of power, 186
- WSEC/PBS Springfield, 142

- Yongbion Research Center, 93
- YouTube, 45

- Zbigniew Bryzinski, 125
- Zimbabwe, 91

