

LIVES IN ECONOMICS

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INTRODUCTION¹

Their ideas can help us today

In this book, the lives of some of the women and men who have contributed to economic thought are sketched. Their ideas can help us today, as the world faces a crisis that has both economic and ecological dimensions.

The climate crisis

Appendix A outlines the present climate emergency, made vivid by the October 2018 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. In the words of 16-year-old Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg, **“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%...”**

Although the worst consequences of out-of-control catastrophic climate change lie in the long-term future, the steps needed to avoid disaster must be taken immediately. Otherwise feedback loops such as the albedo effect or the methane hydrate feedback loop will take hold in earnest, making human mitigation efforts useless.

There is a contrast between two time scales; a contrast between the need for immediate action and the long time-delay until the worst effects of inaction are felt. This contrast is our central problem in dealing with the climate emergency. If all coastal cities were already under water, if monsoons were already failing, if fresh water were already unavailable, if heatwaves were already killing millions of people and destroying agriculture, it would be easier to mobilize the political will needed for abrupt change.

Economists and the long-term future

Economists are not used to thinking of the long-term future. We can see this in their attitude to economic growth, a concept which mainstream economists support with almost-religious fervor. But the unlimited growth of anything

¹This book makes use of articles and book chapters that I have previously written on subjects related to economics, but a great deal of new material has been added

physical on a physically finite planet is a logical impossibility. To avoid this logic, mainstream economists, with self-imposed shortsightedness, willfully limit their view of the future to a few decades. However, the climate crisis is a long-term multi-generational issue. Young climate activists across the globe, rightfully protest the fact that the climate inaction of adults is depriving them of their future. We give our children loving care, but it makes no sense to do so unless we give them a future in which they can survive.

With a little thought, we can see that all future generations need to be considered. No one should want the human race to become extinct in a few thousand years. Nor should we wish the natural world to be destroyed. We have a responsibility to all future generations and to all the plants and animals with which we share the gift of life.

Transition to a sustainable future

The Green New Deal concept that is currently being advocated, both in the United States and in other countries, offers a way of addressing both the climate crisis and the economic shocks that may result from abandoning our fossil-fuel-dependent economy. John Maynard Keynes advised Franklin D. Roosevelt on methods for ending the Great Depression of the 1930's. The Green New Deal seeks to do something very similar in our present situation, to address unemployment through government-supported jobs creating much-needed renewable energy infrastructure. Although renewables are now cheaper than fossil fuels, so that a transition might be driven by market forces alone, the changes must happen rapidly, and governments must play an important role in the transition to a sustainable future.

A crisis of civilization

History has given to our generation the task of saving the future. As Greta Thunberg said in her 2019 speech at the Davos Economic Forum, **“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.”**

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Chapter 1

THE MEDICIS

1.1 Early history of banking

The Wikipedia article on the history of banking states that “The history of banking began with the first prototype banks which were the merchants of the world, who made grain loans to farmers and traders who carried goods between cities. This was around 2000 BC in Assyria, India and Sumeria. Later, in ancient Greece and during the Roman Empire, lenders based in temples made loans, while accepting deposits and performing the change of money. Archaeology from this period in ancient China and India also shows evidence of money lending.” However, banking practices of the modern type first began in Renaissance Italy.

1.2 Trading cities in Italy

Towards the end of the middle ages, Europe began to be influenced by the advanced Islamic civilization. European scholars were anxious to learn, but there was an “iron curtain” of religious intolerance which made travel in the Islamic countries difficult and dangerous for Christians. However, in the 12th century, parts of Spain, including the city of Toledo, were reconquered by the Christians. Toledo had been an Islamic cultural center, and many Moslem scholars, together with their manuscripts, remained in the city when it passed into the hands of the Christians. Thus Toledo became a center for the exchange of ideas between east and west; and it was in this city that many of the books of the classical Greek and Hellenistic philosophers were translated from Arabic into Latin.

In the 12th century, the translation was confined to books of science and philosophy. Classical Greek literature was forbidden by both the Christian and Moslem religions; and the beautiful poems and dramas of Homer, Sophocles and Euripides were not translated into Latin until the time of the Renaissance Humanists.

During the Mongol period (1279-1328), direct contact between Europe and China was possible because the Mongols controlled the entire route across central Asia; and during this period Europe received from China three revolutionary inventions: printing, gunpowder

and the magnetic compass.

Another bridge between east and west was established by the crusades. In 1099, taking advantage of political divisions in the Moslem world, the Christians conquered Jerusalem and Palestine, which they held until 1187. This was the first of a series of crusades, the last of which took place in 1270. European armies, returning from the Middle East, brought with them a taste for the luxurious spices, textiles, jewelry, leatherwork and fine steel weapons of the orient; and their control of the Mediterranean sea routes made trade with the east both safe and profitable. Most of the profit from this trade went to a few cities, particularly to Venice and Florence.

At the height of its glory as a trading power, the Venetian Republic maintained six fleets of nationally owned ships, which could be chartered by private enterprise. All the ships of this fleet were of identical construction and rigged with identical components, so that parts could be replaced with ease at depots of the Venetian consular service abroad. The ships of these fleets could either serve as merchant ships, or be converted into warships by the addition of guns. Protected by a guard of such warships, large convoys of Venetian merchant ships could sail without fear of plunder by pirates.

In 1420, at the time of Venice's greatest commercial expansion, the doge, Tommaso Mocenigo, estimated the annual turnover of Venetian commerce to be ten million ducats, of which two million was profit. With this enormous income to spend, the Venetians built a city of splendid palaces, which rose like a shimmering vision above the waters of the lagoon.

The Venetians were passionately fond of pleasure, pageantry and art. The cross-shaped church of Saint Mark rang with the music of great composers, such as Gabrieli and Palestrina; and elegant triumphal music accompanied the doge as he went each year to throw a golden ring into the waters of the lagoon, an act which symbolized the marriage of Venice to the sea.

Like the Athenians after their victory in the Persian war, the Venetians were both rich and confident. Their enormous wealth allowed them to sponsor music, art, literature and science. The painters Titian, Veronese, Giorgione and Tintoretto, the sculptor Verrochio and the architect Palladio all worked in Venice at the height of the city's prosperity.

The self-confidence of the Venetians produced a degree of intellectual freedom which was not found elsewhere in Europe at that time, except in Florence. At the University of Padua, which was supported by Venetian funds, students from all countries were allowed to study regardless of their religious beliefs. It was at Padua that Copernicus studied, and there Andreas Vesalius began the research which led to his great book on anatomy. At one point in his career, Galileo also worked at the University of Padua.

The prosperity of 15th century Florence, like that of Venice, was based on commerce. In the case of Florence, the trade was not by sea, but along the main north-south road of Italy, which crossed the Arno at Florence. In addition to this trade, Florence also had an important textile industry. The Florentines imported wool from France, Flanders, Holland and England. They wove the wool into cloth and dyed it, using superior techniques, many of which had come to them from India by way of the Islamic civilization. Later, silk weaving (again using eastern techniques) became important. Florentine banking was also

highly developed, and our present banking system is derived from Florentine commercial practices.

1.3 Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici

By enormously expanding the family bank, and establishing branches throughout Europe, Giovanni de Bicci di' Medici (1360-1429) brought his family to power and great wealth. The Medicis controlled the politics of Florence for many generations, and they became great patrons of learning and the arts.

Under Giovanni's guidance the Medici's bank became entrusted with the finances of the Papacy. This was during the time of the Western Schism when there were two rival popes, one in Rome and another in Avignon. Giovanni supported the Roman Pope, and when the Council of Constance in 1417 established the permanent papacy in Rome, Pope Martin V rewarded Giovanni by giving the Medici bank control of the Apostolic Chamber. Subsequent popes made use of the Medici bank, also for tax collecting purposes.

Although they were extremely wealthy, Giovanni and his family lived modestly, and dressed in the manner of the working people of Florence. Their modesty was rewarded by affection and popularity among the Florentines.

Giovanni de' Medici is portrayed by Dustin Hoffman in the 2016 television series, *Medici: Masters of Florence*.

Florentine banking practices

The Medici banks pioneered several practices that are still in use today. One of these was double-entry accounting. In this system, a credit in one account must always be matched by a debit in another account. For example, when something is sold, the credit in the cash account must be matched by a debit in the inventory account.

Another important practice of the Medici banks was the letter of credit. A letter of credit is a promise to pay at a particular location and time an amount of money for goods or services received. Letters of credit were useful to the Medicis for two reasons: Firstly, transport of money over large distances was dangerous at the time. But with letters of credit the Medicis could order their London branch to pay for some transaction instead of sending money to London. Secondly, usury, the taking of interest on a loan, was considered to be a sin by the Catholic Church. Letters of credit helped to disguise the fact that usury had taken place.

The Medicis also introduced the first holding companies. The Medici banks had branches in Milan, Venice, Rome, London, Geneva, Lyon, Avignon, Barcelona, and Bruges. Each of its branches was a partnership, held under the central holding company in Florence.



Figure 1.1: Giovanni de Bicci de' Medici, (1360-1429), in a portrait by Cristofano dell'Altissimo.

1.4 The Medicis and humanism

In the 15th and 16th centuries, Florence was ruled by a syndicate of wealthy merchant families, the greatest of whom were the Medicis. Cosimo de' Medici, the unofficial ruler of Florence from 1429 to 1464, was a banker whose personal wealth exceeded that of most contemporary kings. In spite of his great fortune, Cosimo lived in a relatively modest style, not wishing to attract attention or envy; and in general, the Medici influence tended to make life in Florence more modest than life in Venice.

Cosimo de' Medici is important in the history of ideas as one of the greatest patrons of the revival of Greek learning. In 1439, the Greek Patriarch and the Emperor John Palaeologus attended in Florence a council for the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches. The Greek-speaking Byzantine scholars who accompanied the Patriarch brought with them a number of books by Plato which excited the intense interest and admiration of Cosimo de' Medici.

Cosimo immediately set up a Platonic Academy in Florence, and chose a young man named Marsilio Ficino as its director. In one of his letters to Ficino, Cosimo says:

“Yesterday I came to the villa of Careggi, not to cultivate my fields, but my soul. Come to us, Marsilio, as soon as possible. Bring with you our Plato's book *De Summo Bono*. This, I suppose, you have already translated from the Greek language into Latin, as you promised. I desire nothing so much as to know the road to happiness. Farewell, and do not come without the Orphian lyre!”

Cosimo's grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, continued his grandfather's policy of reviving classical Greek learning, and he became to the golden age of Florence what Pericles had been too the golden age of Athens. Among the artists whom Lorenzo sponsored were Michelangelo, Botticelli and Donatello. Lorenzo established a system of bursaries and prizes for the support of students. He also gave heavy financial support to the University of Pisa, which became a famous university under Lorenzo's patronage. (It was later to be the university of Galileo and Fermi.)

At Florence, Greek was taught by scholars from Byzantium; and Poliziano, who translated Homer into Latin could say with justice: “Greek learning, long extinct in Greece itself, has come to life and lives again in Florence. There Greek literature is taught and studied, so that Athens, root and branch, has been transported to make her abode - not in Athens in ruins and in the hands of barbarians, but in Athens as she was, with her breathing spirit and her very soul.”



Figure 1.2: Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici (1389-1464) was the son of Giovanni di Bicca de' Medici. His great wealth allowed him to control the politics of Florence for a long period, and he sponsored the revival of classical Greek learning in Florence.



Figure 1.3: Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-1492), patron of such artists as Botticelli and Michelangelo. He was the grandson of Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici.



Figure 1.4: Detail from Botticelli's painting, *The Birth of Venus*.



Figure 1.5: Michelangelo's *Pieta*.



Figure 1.6: Florence as it looks today.



Figure 1.7: Cosimo I di' Medici (1519-1574) Grand Duke of Tuscany, in his coronation robes. He was the great-great-great grandson of Giovanni de Bicca di' Medici.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 2

ADAM SMITH

2.1 Economics without ethics

The history of the epoch that immediately preceded the modern era can cast much light on the challenges facing us today, so we will begin by reviewing it. Until the start of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries, human society maintained a more or less sustainable relationship with nature. However, with the beginning of the industrial era, traditional ways of life, containing both ethical and environmental elements, were replaced by the money-centered, growth-oriented life of today, from which these vital elements are missing.

According to the great classical economist Adam Smith (1723-1790), self-interest (even greed) is a sufficient guide to human economic actions. The passage of time has shown that Smith was right in many respects. The free market, which he advocated, has turned out to be the optimum prescription for economic growth. However, history has also shown that there is something horribly wrong or incomplete about the idea that 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:

2.2 Industrialism in 18th and 19th centuries

Highland Clearances and Enclosure Acts

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

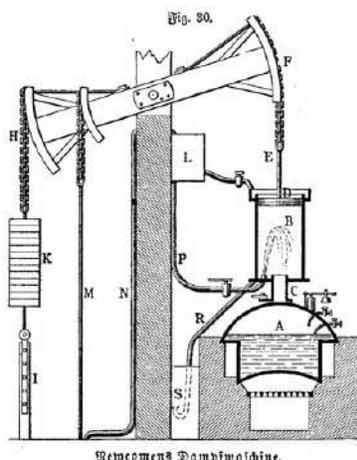


Figure 2.1: Newcomen's steam engine

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.

Working conditions in 19th century England

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



Figure 2.3: London during the industrial revolution

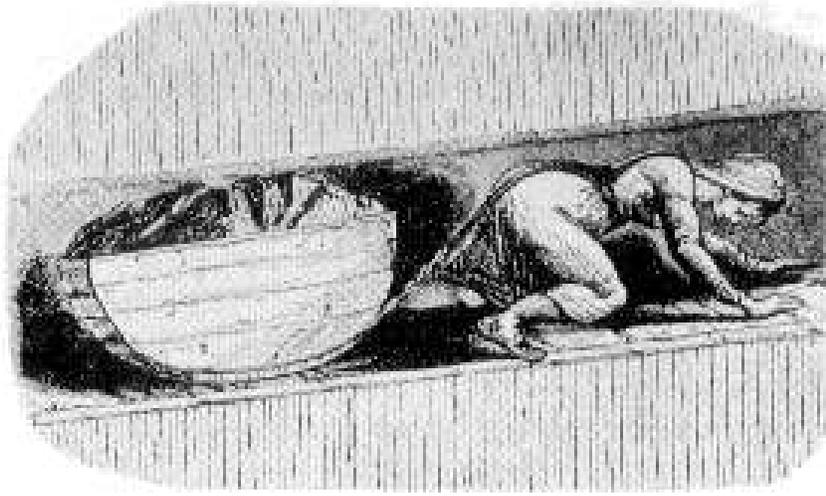


Figure 2.4: A girl pulling a coaltub through the narrow space left by removal of coal from a seam.

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 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.”

2.3 Adam Smith's invisible hand

The invisible hand

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."

For example, a baker does not bake bread out of an unselfish desire to help his fellow humans; he does so in order to earn money; but if he were not performing a useful service, he would not be paid. Thus the "invisible hand" guides him to do something useful. Free competition also regulates prices: If the baker charges too much, he will be undersold. Finally, if there are too many bakers, the trade will become so unprofitable that some bakers will be forced into other trades. Thus highly complex operations are automatically regulated by the mechanisms of the free market. "Observe the accommodation of the most common artificer or day labourer in a civilized and thriving country", Smith continues, "and



Figure 2.5: Adam Smith (1723-1790)

you will perceive that the number of people of whose industry a part, though but a small part, has been employed in securing him this accommodation, exceeds all computation. The woolen coat, which covers the day-labourer, as coarse and rough as it may seem, is the joint labour of a great multitude of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of wool, the wool-comber, the carder, the dyer, the scribbler, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must all join their different arts to complete even the most homely production. How many merchants and carriers, besides, must have been employed... how much commerce and navigation... how many ship-builders, sailors, sail-makers, rope-makers..."

Adam Smith's remarks on population

Adam Smith was a Malthusian in the sense that he believed that the large excess of births among the poor is continuously cut back by the terrible rate of infant mortality in the lowest class of society. Here are some of his words on the subject: "Poverty... seems even to be favourable to generation. A half-starved Highland woman frequently bears more

than twenty children... Luxury in the fair sex, while it enflames perhaps the passion for enjoyment, seems always to weaken and frequently to destroy altogether, the powers of generation. But poverty... is extremely unfavourable to the rearing of children... It is not uncommon... in the Highlands... for a mother who has borne twenty children not to have two alive... In civilized society it is only among the inferior ranks of people that the scantiness of subsistence can set limits to the further multiplication of the human species... by destroying a great part of the children which their fruitful marriages produce.”

Smith thought that the laws of supply and demand apply to the number of people in the working class. If more workers are needed, wages rise and more of the children of the poor survive. It is, of course, in the interest of factory owners to have very cheap labor, and the bitter opposition of the establishment to both birth control and trade unions can be understood by the desire to force wages down to the absolute minimum needed to support life.

Reinvestment and growth

An important feature of Adam Smith’s economic model is that it is by no means static. The virtuous manufacturer does not purchase pearl necklaces for his wife; he reinvests his profits, buying more machinery or building new factories. An industrialist who ignores the commandment to reinvest is “...like him who perverts the revenues of some pious foundation to profane purposes; he pays the wages of idleness with those funds which the fragility of his forefathers had, as it were, consecrated to the maintenance of industry.”

The expansion of the system will not be slowed, Smith maintained, by shortages of labor, because “...the demand for men, like that for any other commodity, necessarily regulates the production of men.” Smith did not mean that more births would occur if the demand for workers became greater. He meant that if wages began to rise above the lowest level needed to maintain life, more children of the workers would survive. In those days, the rates of infant and child mortality were horrendous, particularly among the half-starved poor.

Adam Smith’s ideas were enthusiastically adopted by the rising class of manufacturers and by their representatives in government. The reverence shown to him can be illustrated by an event that occurred when he visited England’s Prime Minister, William Pitt, and his Cabinet. The whole gathering stood up when Smith entered. “Pray be seated, gentlemen”, Smith said. “Not until you first are seated Sir”, Pitt replied, “for we are all your scholars.”

History has shown that Adam Smith was right in many respects. The free market is indeed a dynamo that produces economic growth, and it is capable of organizing even the most complex economic endeavors. Through Adam Smith’s “invisible hand”, self interest is capable of guiding the economy so that it will maximize the production of wealth. However, history has also shown the shortcomings of a market that is totally free of governmental regulation.

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 sustainability¹.

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¹In fact, Adam Smith himself would have accepted this criticism of his enthronement of self-interest as the central principle of society. He believed that his “invisible hand” would not work for the betterment of society except within the context of a certain amount of governmental regulation. His modern Neoliberal admirers, however, forget this aspect of Smith’s philosophy, and maintain that market forces alone can achieve a desirable result.

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Chapter 3

THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS

3.1 The education of Malthus

T.R. Malthus' *Essay on The Principle of Population*, the first edition of which was published in 1798, was one of the the first systematic studies of the problem of population in relation to resources. Earlier discussions of the problem had been published by Botero in Italy, Robert Wallace in England, and Benjamin Franklin in America. However Malthus' *Essay* was the first to stress the fact that, in general, powerful checks operate continuously to keep human populations from increasing beyond their available food supply. In a later edition, published in 1803, he buttressed this assertion with carefully collected demographic and sociological data from many societies at various periods of their histories.

The publication of Malthus' *Essay* coincided with a wave of disillusionment which followed the optimism of the Enlightenment. The utopian societies predicted by the philosophers of the Enlightenment were compared with reign of terror in Robespierre's France and with the miseries of industrial workers in England; and the discrepancy required an explanation. The optimism which preceded the French Revolution, and the disappointment which followed a few years later, closely paralleled the optimistic expectations of our own century, in the period after the Second World War, when it was thought that the transfer of technology to the less developed parts of the world would eliminate poverty, and the subsequent disappointment when poverty persisted. Science and technology developed rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century, but the benefits which they conferred were just as rapidly consumed by a global population which today is increasing at the rate of one billion people every decade. Because of the close parallel between the optimism and disappointments of Malthus' time and those of our own, much light can be thrown on our present situation by rereading the debate between Malthus and his contemporaries.

Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) came from an intellectual family: His father, Daniel Malthus, was a moderately well-to-do English country gentleman, an enthusiastic believer in the optimistic ideas of the Enlightenment, and a friend of the philosophers Jean-Jaques Rousseau, David Hume and William Godwin. The famous book on population by the younger Malthus grew out of conversations with his father.



Figure 3.1: **The Rookery near Dorking in Surrey**

Daniel Malthus attended Oxford, but left without obtaining a degree. He later built a country home near Dorking, which he called “The Rookery”. The house had Gothic battlements, and the land belonging to it contained a beech forest, an ice house, a corn mill, a large lake, and serpentine walks leading to “several romantic buildings with appropriate dedications”. Daniel Malthus was an ardent admirer of Rousseau; and when the French philosopher visited England with his mistress, Thérèse le Vasseur, Daniel Malthus entertained him at the Rookery. Rousseau and Thérèse undoubtedly saw Daniel’s baby son (who was always called Robert or Bob) and they must have noticed with pity that he had been born with a hare lip. This was later sutured, and apart from a slight scar which marked the operation, he became very handsome.

Robert Malthus was at first tutored at home; but in 1782, when he was 16 years old, he was sent to study at the famous Dissenting Academy at Warrington in Lancashire. Joseph Priestly had taught at Warrington, and he had completed his famous *History of Electricity* there, as well as his *Essay on Government*, which contains the phrase “the greatest good for the greatest number”.

Robert’s tutor at Warrington Academy was Gilbert Wakefield (who was later imprisoned for his radical ideas). When Robert was 18, Wakefield arranged for him to be admitted to Jesus College, Cambridge University, as a student of mathematics. Robert Malthus graduated from Cambridge in 1788 with a first-class degree in mathematics. He was Ninth Wrangler, which meant that he was the ninth-best mathematician in his graduating class. He also won prizes in declamation, both in English and in Latin, which is surprising in view of the speech defect from which he suffered all his life.

3.2 Debate on the views of Godwin and Condorcet

In 1793, Robert Malthus was elected a fellow of Jesus College, and he also took orders in the Anglican Church. He was assigned as Curate to Okewood Chapel in Surrey. This small chapel stood in a woodland region, and Malthus’ illiterate parishioners were so poor

that the women and children went without shoes. They lived in low thatched huts made of woven branches plastered with mud. The floors of these huts were of dirt, and the only light came from tiny window openings. Malthus' parishioners diet consisted almost entirely of bread. The children of these cottagers developed late, and were stunted in growth. Nevertheless, in spite of the harsh conditions of his parishioners' lives, Malthus noticed that the number of births which he recorded in the parish register greatly exceeded the number of deaths. It was probably this fact which first turned his attention to the problem of population.

By this time, Daniel Malthus had sold the Rookery; and after a period of travel, he had settled with his family at Albury, about nine miles from Okewood Chapel. Robert Malthus lived with his parents at Albury, and it was here that the famous debates between father and son took place. 1793, the year when Robert Malthus took up his position at Okewood, was also the year in which Daniel Malthus friend, William Godwin, published his enormously optimistic book, *Political Justice*. In this book, Godwin predicted a future society where scientific progress would liberate humans from material want. Godwin predicted that in the future, with the institution of war abolished, with a more equal distribution of property, and with the help of scientific improvements in agriculture and industry, much less labour would be needed to support life. Luxuries are at present used to maintain artificial distinctions between the classes of society, Godwin wrote, but in the future values will change; humans will live more simply, and their efforts will be devoted to self-fulfillment and to intellectual and moral improvement, rather than to material possessions. With the help of automated agriculture, the citizens of a future society will need only a few hours a day to earn their bread.

Godwin went on to say, "The spirit of oppression, the spirit of servility and the spirit of fraud - these are the immediate growth of the established administration of property. They are alike hostile to intellectual improvement. The other vices of envy, malice, and revenge are their inseparable companions. In a state of society where men lived in the midst of plenty, and where all shared alike the bounties of nature, these sentiments would inevitably expire. The narrow principle of selfishness would vanish. No man being obliged to guard his little store, or provide with anxiety and pain for his restless wants, each would lose his own individual existence in the thought of the general good. No man would be the enemy of his neighbor, for they would have nothing to contend; and of consequence philanthropy would resume the empire which reason assigns her. Mind would be delivered from her perpetual anxiety about corporal support, and free to expatiate in the field of thought which is congenial to her. Each man would assist the inquiries of all."

Godwin insisted that there is an indissoluble link between politics, ethics and knowledge. *Political Justice* is an enthusiastic vision of what humans could be like at some future period when the trend towards moral and intellectual improvement has lifted men and women above their their present state of ignorance and vice. Much of the savage structure of the penal system would then be unnecessary, Godwin believed. (At the time when he was writing, there were more than a hundred capital offenses in England, and this number had soon increased to almost two hundred. The theft of any object of greater value than ten shillings was punishable by hanging.) In its present state, Godwin wrote, society



Figure 3.2: **William Godwin (1756-1836).**



Figure 3.3: **Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834).**

decrees that the majority of its citizens “should be kept in abject penury, rendered stupid with ignorance and disgustful with vice, perpetuated in nakedness and hunger, goaded to the commission of crimes, and made victims to the merciless laws which the rich have instituted to oppress them”. But human behavior is produced by environment and education, Godwin pointed out. If the conditions of upbringing were improved, behavior would also improve. In fact, Godwin believed that men and women are subject to natural laws no less than the planets of Newton’s solar system. “In the life of every human”, Godwin wrote, “there is a chain of causes, generated in that eternity which preceded his birth, and going on in regular procession through the whole period of his existence, in consequence of which it was impossible for him to act in any instance otherwise than he has acted.”

The chain of causality in human affairs implies that vice and crime should be regarded with the same attitude with which we regard disease. The causes of poverty, ignorance, vice and crime should be removed. Human failings should be cured rather than punished. With this in mind, Godwin wrote, “our disapprobation of vice will be of the same nature as our disapprobation of an infectious distemper.”

In France the Marquis de Condorcet had written an equally optimistic book, *Esquisse d’un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l’Esprit Humain*. Condorcet’s optimism was unaffected even by the fact that at the time when he was writing he was in hiding, under sentence of death by Robespierre’s government. Besides enthusiastically extolling Godwin’s

ideas to his son, Daniel Malthus also told him of the views of Condorcet.

Condorcet's *Esquisse*, is an enthusiastic endorsement of the idea of infinite human perfectibility which was current among the philosophers of the 18th century, and in this book, Condorcet anticipated many of the evolutionary ideas of Charles Darwin. He compared humans with animals, and found many common traits. Condorcet believed that animals are able to think, and even to think rationally, although their thoughts are extremely simple compared with those of humans. He also asserted that humans historically began their existence on the same level as animals and gradually developed to their present state. Since this evolution took place historically, he reasoned, it is probable, or even inevitable, that a similar evolution in the future will bring mankind to a level of physical, mental and moral development which will be as superior to our own present state as we are now superior to animals. In his *Esquisse*, Condorcet called attention to the unusually long period of dependency which characterizes the growth and education of human offspring. This prolonged childhood is unique among living beings. It is needed for the high level of mental development of the human species; but it requires a stable family structure to protect the young during their long upbringing.

Thus, according to Condorcet, biological evolution brought into existence a moral precept, the sanctity of the family.

Similarly, Condorcet maintained, larger associations of humans would have been impossible without some degree of altruism and sensitivity to the suffering of others incorporated into human behavior, either as instincts or as moral precepts or both; and thus the evolution of organized society entailed the development of sensibility and morality.

Condorcet believed that ignorance and error are responsible for vice; and he listened what he regarded as the main mistakes of civilization: hereditary transmission of power, inequality between men and women, religious bigotry, disease, war, slavery, economic inequality, and the division of humanity into mutually exclusive linguistic groups.

Condorcet believed the hereditary transmission of power to be the source of much of the tyranny under which humans suffer; and he looked forward to an era when republican governments would be established throughout the world. Turning to the inequality between men and women, Condorcet wrote that he could see no moral, physical or intellectual basis for it. He called for complete social, legal, and educational equality between the sexes.

Condorcet predicted that the progress of medical science would free humans from the worst ravages of disease. Furthermore, he maintained that since perfectibility (i.e. evolution) operates throughout the biological world, there is no reason why mankind's physical structure might not gradually improve, with the result that human life in the remote future could be greatly prolonged. Condorcet believed that the intellectual and moral facilities of man are capable of continuous and steady improvement; and he thought that one of the most important results of this improvement will be the abolition of war.

As Daniel Malthus talked warmly about Godwin, Condorcet, and the idea of human progress, the mind of his son, Robert, turned to the unbalance between births and deaths which he had noticed among his parishioners at Okewood Chapel. He pointed out to his father that no matter what benefits science might be able to confer, they would soon be eaten up by population growth. Regardless of technical progress, the condition of the



Figure 3.4: The Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794).

lowest social class would remain exactly the same: The poor would continue to live, as they always had, on the exact borderline between survival and famine, clinging desperately to the lower edge of existence. For them, change for the worse was impossible since it would loosen their precarious hold on life; their children would die and their numbers would diminish until they balanced the supply of food. But any change for the better was equally impossible, because if more nourishment should become available, more of the children of the poor would survive, and the share of food for each of them would again be reduced to the precise minimum required for life.

Observation of his parishioners at Okewood had convinced Robert Malthus that this sombre picture was a realistic description of the condition of the poor in England at the end of the 18th century. Techniques of agriculture and industry were indeed improving rapidly; but among the very poor, population was increasing equally fast, and the misery of society's lowest class remained unaltered.

Daniel Malthus was so impressed with his son's arguments that he urged him to develop them into a small book. Robert Malthus' first essay on population, written in response to his father's urging, was only 50,000 words in length. It was published anonymously in 1798, and its full title was *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it affects the future improvement of society, with remarks on the speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other writers*. Robert Malthus' Essay explored the consequences of his basic thesis: that "the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man".

3.3 Publication of the first essay in 1798

"That population cannot increase without the means of subsistence", Robert Malthus wrote, "is a proposition so evident that it needs no illustration. That population does invariably increase, where there are means of subsistence, the history of every people who have ever existed will abundantly prove. And that the superior power cannot be checked without producing misery and vice, the ample portion of these two bitter ingredients in the cup of human life, and the continuance of the physical causes that seem to have produced them, bear too convincing a testimony."

In order to illustrate the power of human populations to grow quickly to enormous numbers if left completely unchecked, Malthus turned to statistics from the United States, where the population had doubled every 25 years for a century and a half. Malthus called this type of growth "geometrical" (today we would call it "exponential"); and, drawing on his mathematical education, he illustrated it by the progression 1,2,4,8,16,32,64,128,256,...etc. In order to show that, in the long run, no improvement in agriculture could possibly keep pace with unchecked population growth, Malthus allowed that, in England, agricultural output might with great effort be doubled during the next quarter century; but during a subsequent 25-year period it could not again be doubled. The growth of agricultural output could at the very most follow an arithmetic (linear) progression, 1,2,3,4,5,6,...etc.

Because of the overpoweringly greater numbers which can potentially be generated by

exponential population growth, as contrasted to the slow linear progression of sustenance, Malthus was convinced that at almost all stages of human history, population has not expanded freely, but has instead pressed painfully against the limits of its food supply. He maintained that human numbers are normally held in check either by “vice or misery”. (Malthus classified both war and birth control as a forms of vice.) Occasionally the food supply increases through some improvement in agriculture, or through the opening of new lands; but population then grows very rapidly, and soon a new equilibrium is established, with misery and vice once more holding the population in check.

Like Godwin’s *Political Justice*, Malthus’ *Essay on the Principle of Population* was published at exactly the right moment to capture the prevailing mood of England. In 1793, the mood had been optimistic; but by 1798, hopes for reform had been replaced by reaction and pessimism. Public opinion had been changed by Robespierre’s Reign of Terror and by the threat of a French invasion. Malthus’ clear and powerfully written essay caught the attention of readers not only because it appeared at the right moment, but also because his two contrasting mathematical laws of growth were so striking.

One of Malthus’ readers was William Godwin, who recognized the essay as the strongest challenge to his utopian ideas that had yet been published. Godwin several times invited Malthus to breakfast at his home to discuss social and economic problems. (After some years, however, the friendship between Godwin and Malthus cooled, the debate between them having become more acrimonious.)

In 1801, Godwin published a reply to his critics, among them his former friends James Mackintosh and Samuel Parr, by whom he recently had been attacked. His *Reply to Parr* also contained a reply to Malthus: Godwin granted that the problem of overpopulation raised by Malthus was an extremely serious one. However, Godwin wrote, all that is needed to solve the problem is a change of the attitudes of society. For example we need to abandon the belief “that it is the first duty of princes to watch for (i.e. encourage) the multiplication of their subjects, and that a man or woman who passes the term of life in a condition of celibacy is to be considered as having failed to discharge the principal obligations owed to the community”. “On the contrary”, Godwin continued, “it now appears to be rather the man who rears a numerous family that has to some degree transgressed the consideration he owes to the public welfare”. Godwin suggested that each marriage should be allowed only two or three children or whatever number might be needed to balance the current rates of mortality and celibacy. This duty to society, Godwin wrote, would surely not be too great a hardship to be endured, once the reasons for it were thoroughly understood.

3.4 The second essay published in 1803

Malthus’ small essay had captured public attention in England, and he was anxious to expand it with empirical data which would show his principle of population to be valid not only in England in his own day, but in all societies and all periods. He therefore traveled widely, collecting data. He also made use of the books of explorers, such as Cook and Vancouver.

Malthus second edition - more than three times the length of his original essay on population - was ready in 1803. Book I and Book II of the 1803 edition of Malthus' *Essay* are devoted to a study of the checks to population growth which have operated throughout history in all the countries of the world for which he possessed facts.

In his first chapter, Malthus stressed the potentially enormous power of population growth contrasted the slow growth of the food supply. He concluded that strong checks to the increase of population must almost always be operating to keep human numbers within the bounds of sustenance. He classified the checks as either preventive or positive, the preventive checks being those which reduce fertility, while the positive checks are those which increase mortality. Among the positive checks, Malthus listed "unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine".

In the following chapters of Books I, Malthus showed in detail the mechanisms by which population is held at the level of sustenance in various cultures. He first discussed primitive hunter-gatherer societies, such as the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, Van Diemens Land and New Holland, and those tribes of North American Indians living predominantly by hunting. In hunting societies, he pointed out, the population is inevitably very sparse: "The great extent of territory required for the support of the hunter has been repeatedly stated and acknowledged", Malthus wrote, "...The tribes of hunters, like beasts of prey, whom they resemble in their mode of subsistence, will consequently be thinly scattered over the surface of the earth."

"Like beasts of prey, they must either drive away or fly from every rival, and be engaged in perpetual contests with each other...The neighboring nations live in a perpetual state of hostility with each other. The very act of increasing in one tribe must be an act of aggression against its neighbors, as a larger range of territory will be necessary to support its increased numbers.

"The contest will in this case continue, either till the equilibrium is restored by mutual losses, or till the weaker party is exterminated or driven from its country... Their object in battle is not conquest but destruction. The life of the victor depends on the death of the enemy". Malthus concluded that among the American Indians of his time, war was the predominant check to population growth, although famine, disease and infanticide each played a part.

In the next chapter, Malthus quoted Captain Cook's description of the natives of the region near Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, whose way of life involved perpetual war. "If I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends", Cook wrote, "I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other". According to Cook, the New Zealanders practiced both ceaseless war and cannibalism; and population pressure provided a motive for both practices.

In later chapters on nomadic societies of the Near East and Asia, war again appears, not only as a consequence of the growth of human numbers, but also as one of the major mechanisms by which these numbers are reduced to the level of their food supply. The studies quoted by Malthus make it seem likely that the nomadic Tartar tribes of central



Figure 3.5: Captain James Cook, FRS (1728-1779). According to Cook, the native New Zealanders practiced both ceaseless war and cannibalism; and population pressure provided a motive for both practices. Malthus based his description of hunter-gatherer societies on the writings of explorers such as Cook and Vancouver.

Asia made no use of the preventive checks to population growth. In fact the Tartar tribes may have regarded growth of their own populations as useful in their wars with neighboring tribes.

Malthus also described the Germanic tribes of Northern Europe, whose population growth led them to the attacks which destroyed the Roman Empire.

He quoted the following passage from Machiavelli's *History of Florence*: "The people who inhabit the northern parts that lie between the Rhine and the Danube, living in a healthful and prolific climate, often increase to such a degree that vast numbers of them are forced to leave their native country and go in search of new habitations. When any of those provinces begins to grow too populous and wants to disburden itself, the following method is observed. In the first place, it is divided into three parts, in each of which there is an equal portion of the nobility and commonality, the rich and the poor. After this they cast lots; and that division on which the lot falls quits the country and goes to seek its fortune, leaving the other two more room and liberty to enjoy their possessions at home. These emigrations proved the destruction of the Roman Empire". Regarding the Scandinavians in the early middle ages, Malthus wrote: "Mallet relates, what is probably true, that it was their common custom to hold an assembly every spring for the purpose of considering in what quarter they should make war".

In many of the societies which Malthus described, a causal link can be seen, not only between population pressure and poverty, but also between population pressure and war. As one reads his *Essay*, it becomes clear why both these terrible sources of human anguish saturate so much of history, and why efforts to eradicate them have so often met with failure: The only possible way to eliminate poverty and war is to reduce the pressure of population by preventive checks, since the increased food supply produced by occasional cultural advances can give only very temporary relief.

In Book II, Malthus turned to the nations of Europe, as they appeared at the end of the 18th century, and here he presents us with a different picture. Although in these societies poverty, unsanitary housing, child labour, malnutrition and disease all took a heavy toll, war produced far less mortality than in hunting and pastoral societies, and the preventive checks, which lower fertility, played a much larger roll.

Malthus had visited Scandinavia during the summer of 1799, and he had made particularly detailed notes on Norway. He was thus able to present a description of Norwegian economics and demography based on his own studies. Norway was remarkable for having the lowest reliably-recorded death rate of any nation at that time: Only 1 person in 48 died each year in Norway. (By comparison, 1 person in 20 died each year in London.) The rate of marriage was also remarkably low, with only 1 marriage each year for every 130 inhabitants; and thus in spite of the low death rate, Norway's population had increased only slightly from the 723,141 inhabitants recorded in 1769.

There were two reasons for late marriage in Norway: Firstly, every man born of a farmer or a labourer was compelled by law to be a soldier in the reserve army for a period of ten years; and during his military service, he could not marry without the permission of both his commanding officer and the parish priest. These permissions were granted only to those who were clearly in an economic position to support a family. Men could be inducted

into the army at any age between 20 and 30, and since commanding officers preferred older recruits, Norwegian men were often in their 40's before they were free to marry. At the time when Malthus was writing, these rules had just been made less restrictive; but priests still refused to unite couples whose economic foundations they judged to be insufficient.

The second reason for late marriages was the structure of the farming community. In general, Norwegian farms were large; and the owner's household employed many young unmarried men and women as servants. These young people had no chance to marry unless a smaller house on the property became vacant, with its attached small parcel of land for the use of the "houseman"; but because of the low death rate, such vacancies were infrequent.

Thus Norway's remarkably low death rate was balanced by a low birth rate. Other chapters in Book II are devoted to the checks to population growth in Sweden, Russia, Central Europe, Switzerland, France, England, Scotland and Ireland.

Malthus painted a very dark panorama of population pressure and its consequences in human societies throughout the world and throughout history: At the lowest stage of cultural development are the hunter-gatherer societies, where the density of population is extremely low. Nevertheless, the area required to support the hunters is so enormous that even their sparse and thinly scattered numbers press hard against the limits of sustenance. The resulting competition for territory produces merciless intertribal wars.

The domestication of animals makes higher population densities possible; and wherever this new mode of food production is adopted, human numbers rapidly increase; but very soon a new equilibrium is established, with the population of pastoral societies once more pressing painfully against the limits of the food supply, growing a little in good years, and being cut back in bad years by famine, disease and war.

Finally, agricultural societies can maintain extremely high densities of population; but the time required to achieve a new equilibrium is very short. After a brief period of unrestricted growth, human numbers are once more crushed against the barrier of limited resources; and if excess lives are produced by overbreeding, they are soon extinguished by deaths among the children of the poor.

Malthus was conscious that he had drawn an extremely dark picture of the human condition. He excused himself by saying that he has not done it gratuitously, but because he was convinced that the dark shades really are there, and that they form an important part of the picture. He did allow one ray of light, however: By 1803, his own studies of Norway, together with personal conversations with Godwin and the arguments in Godwin's *Reply to Parr*, had convinced Malthus that "moral restraint" should be included among the possible checks to population growth. Thus he concluded Book II of his 1803 edition by saying that the checks which keep population down to the level of the means of subsistence can all be classified under the headings of "moral restraint, vice and misery". (In his first edition he had maintained that vice and misery are the only possibilities).

3.5 Systems of equality

In the 1803 edition of Malthus' *Essay*, Books III and IV form a second volume.

The ideas which he put forward in this second volume are much more open to dispute than are the solidly empirical demographic studies of Books I and II. Malthus excused himself at the beginning of the second volume, saying that he realized that the ideas which he was about to put forward were less solidly based than those in his first volume. However, he said that he wished to explore all the consequences of his principle of population: “..Even the errors into which I may have fallen”, he wrote, “by according a handle to argument, and an additional excitement to examination, may be subservient to the important end of bringing a subject so nearly connected with the happiness of society into more general notice”.

Malthus began Book III by discussing the systems of equality proposed by Condorcet and Godwin; and he tried to show that such utopian societies would prove impossible in practice, because they would rapidly drown in a flood of excess population. Condorcet himself had recognized this difficulty. He realized that improved living conditions for the poor would lead to a rapid growth of population. “Must not a period then arrive”, Condorcet had written, “... when the increase of the number of men surpassing their means of subsistence, the necessary result must be either a continual diminution of happiness and population... or at least a kind of oscillation between good and evil?”

Condorcet believed the serious consequences of population pressure to be far in the future, but Malthus disagreed with him on exactly that point: “M. Condorcet's picture of what may be expected to happen when the number of men shall surpass subsistence is justly drawn... The only point in which I differ from M. Condorcet in this description is with regard to the period when it may be applied to the human race... This constantly subsisting cause of periodical misery has existed in most countries ever since we have had any histories of mankind, and continues to exist at the present moment.”

“M. Condorcet, however, goes on to say”, Malthus continued, “that should the period, which he conceives to be so distant, ever arrive, the human race, and the advocates of the perfectibility of man, need not be alarmed at it. He then proceeds to remove the difficulty in a manner which I profess not to understand. Having observed that the ridiculous prejudices of superstition would by that time have ceased to throw over morals a corrupt and degrading austerity, he alludes either to a promiscuous concubinage, which would prevent breeding, or to something else as unnatural. To remove the difficulty in this way will surely, in the opinion of most men, be to destroy that virtue and purity of manners which the advocates of equality and of the perfectibility of man profess to be the end and object of their views.”

When Malthus referred to “something else as unnatural”, he of course meant birth control, some forms of which existed at the time when he was writing; and in this passage we see that he was opposed to the practice. He preferred late marriage or “moral restraint” as a means of limiting excessive population growth.

After his arguments against Condorcet, Malthus discussed William Godwin's egalitarian utopia, which, he said, would be extremely attractive if only it could be achieved: “The

system of equality which Mr. Godwin proposes”, Malthus wrote, “is, on the first view of it, the most beautiful and engaging which has yet appeared. A melioration of society to be produced merely by reason and conviction gives more promise of permanence than any change effected and maintained by force. The unlimited exercise of private judgement is a doctrine grand and captivating, and has a vast superiority over those systems where every individual is in a manner the slave of the public.”

“The substitution of benevolence, as a master-spring and moving principle of society, instead of self-love, appears at first sight to be a consummation devoutly to be wished. In short, it is impossible to contemplate the whole of this fair picture without emotions of delight and admiration, accompanied with an ardent longing for the period of its accomplishment.”

“But alas!” Malthus continued, “That moment can never arrive.... The great error under which Mr. Godwin labours throughout his whole work is the attributing of almost all the vices and misery that prevail in civil society to human institutions. Political regulations and the established administration of property are, with him, the fruitful sources of all evil, the hotbeds of all the crimes that degrade mankind. Were this really a true state of the case, it would not seem a completely hopeless task to remove evil completely from the world; and reason seems to be the proper and adequate instrument for effecting so great a purpose. But the truth is, that though human institutions appear to be, and indeed often are, the obvious and obtrusive causes of much misery in society, they are, in reality, light and superficial in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind.”

The passions of mankind drive humans to reproduce, while the laws of nature set limits to the carrying capacity of the environment. Godwin’s utopia, if established, would be very favorable to the growth of population; and very soon the shortage of food would lead to its downfall: Because of the overpowering force of population growth, “Man cannot live in the midst of plenty. All cannot share alike the bounties of nature. Were there no established administration of property, every man would be obliged to guard with his force his little store. Selfishness would be triumphant. The subjects of contention would be perpetual. Every individual would be under constant anxiety about corporal support, and not a single intellect would be left free to expatiate in the field of thought.”

Malthus believed that all systems of equality are doomed to failure, not only because of the powerful pressure of population growth, but also because differences between the upper, middle, and lower classes serve the useful purpose of providing humans with an incentive for hard work. He thought that fear of falling to a lower social status, and hope of rising to a higher one, provide a strong incentive for constructive activity. However, he believed that happiness is most often found in the middle ranks of society, and that therefore the highest and lowest classes ought not to be large. Malthus advocated universal education and security of property as means by which the lowest classes of society could be induced to adopt more virtuous and prudent patterns of behavior.

3.6 The Poor Laws

Among the most controversial chapters of Malthus' second volume are those dealing with the Poor Laws. During the reign of Queen Elisabeth I, a law had been enacted according to which justices were authorized to collect taxes in order to set to work "...the children of all such, whose parents shall not by the said persons be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also such persons, married or unmarried, as, having no means to maintain them, use no ordinary or daily trade to get their living by..". Malthus commented:

"What is this but saying that the funds for the maintenance of labour in this country may be increased without limit by a fiat of government...? Strictly speaking, this clause is as arrogant and absurd as if it had enacted that two ears of wheat should in the future grow where one had grown before. Canute, when he commanded the waves not to wet his princely foot, did not assume a greater power over the laws of nature." Malthus pointed out that if we believe that every person has a right to have as many children as he or she wishes, and if we enact a law, according to which every person born has a right to sustenance, then we implicitly assume that the supply of food can be increased without limit, which of course is impossible.

During the first few years of the nineteenth century there was a severe shortage of food in England, partly because of war with France, and partly because of harvest failures. As a result, the price of wheat tripled, causing great distress among the poor. By 1803, 3,000,000 pounds sterling were being distributed to make up the difference between the wages of poor workers and the amount which they needed to pay for food. Malthus regarded the supply of grain as constant, i.e. independent of the price; and he therefore believed that distribution of money under the Poor Laws merely raised the price of grain still further in relation to wages, forcing a larger number of independent workers to seek help. He thought that the distributed money helped to relieve suffering in some cases, but that it spread the suffering over a wider area.

In some parishes, the amount of money distributed under the Poor Laws was proportional to the number of children in a family, and Malthus believed that this encouraged the growth of population, further aggravating the shortage of food. "A poor man may marry with little or no prospect of being able to support a family in independence", he wrote, "...and the Poor Laws may be said therefore in some measure to create the poor which they maintain; and as the provisions of the country must, in consequence of the increased population, be distributed to every man in smaller proportions, it is evident that the labour of those who are not supported by parish assistance, will purchase a smaller quantity of provisions than before, and consequently more of them must be driven to ask for support." Malthus advocated a very gradual abolition of the Poor Laws, and he believed that while this change was being brought about, the laws ought to be administered in such a way that the position of least well-off independent workers should not be worse than the position of those supported by parish assistance.

3.7 Replies to Malthus

The second edition of Malthus' *Essay* was published in 1803. It provoked a storm of controversy, and a flood of rebuttals. In 1803 England's political situation was sensitive. Revolutions had recently occurred both in America and in France; and in England there was much agitation for radical change, against which Malthus provided counter-arguments. Pitt and his government had taken Malthus' first edition seriously, and had abandoned their plans for extending the Poor Laws. Also, as a consequence of Malthus' ideas, England's first census was taken in 1801. This census, and subsequent ones, taken in 1811, 1821 and 1831, showed that England's population was indeed increasing rapidly, just as Malthus had feared. (The population of England and Wales more than doubled in 80 years, from an estimated 6.6 million in 1750 to almost 14 million in 1831.) In 1803, the issues of poverty and population were at the center of the political arena, and articles refuting Malthus began to stream from the pens of England's authors.

William Coleridge planned to write an article against Malthus, and he made extensive notes in the margins of his copy of the *Essay*. In one place he wrote: "Are Lust and Hunger both alike Passions of physical Necessity, and the one equally with the other independent of the Reason and the Will? Shame upon our race that there lives an individual who dares to ask the Question." In another place Coleridge wrote: "Vice and Virtue subsist in the agreement of the habits of a man with his Reason and Conscience, and these can have but one moral guide, Utility, or the virtue and Happiness of Rational Beings". Although Coleridge never wrote his planned article, his close friend Robert Southey did so, using Coleridge's notes almost verbatim. Some years later Coleridge remarked: "Is it not lamentable - is it not even marvelous - that the monstrous practical sophism of Malthus should now have gained complete possession of the leading men of the kingdom! Such an essential lie in morals - such a practical lie in fact it is too! I solemnly declare that I do not believe that all the heresies and sects and factions which ignorance and the weakness and wickedness of man have ever given birth to, were altogether so disgraceful to man as a Christian, a philosopher, a statesman or citizen, as this abominable tenet."

In 1812, Percy Bysshe Shelley, who was later to become William Godwin's son-in-law, wrote: "Many well-meaning persons... would tell me not to make people happy for fear of over-stocking the world... War, vice and misery are undoubtedly bad; they embrace all that we can conceive of temporal and eternal evil. Are we to be told that these are remedyless, because the earth would in case of their remedy, be overstocked?" A year later, Shelley called Malthus a "priest, eunuch, and tyrant", and accused him, in a pamphlet, of proposing that "... after the poor have been stript naked by the taxgatherer and reduced to bread and tea and fourteen hours of hard labour by their masters.. the last tie by which Nature holds them to benignant earth (whose plenty is garnered up in the strongholds of their tyrants) is to be divided... They are required to abstain from marrying under penalty of starvation... whilst the rich are permitted to add as many mouths to consume the products of the poor as they please".

Godwin himself wrote a long book (which was published in 1820) entitled *Of Population, An Enquiry Concerning the Power and Increase in the Number of Mankind, being an*



Figure 3.6: Coleridge's notes on Malthus: "I do not believe that all the heresies and sects and factions which ignorance and the weakness and wickedness of man have ever given birth to, were altogether so disgraceful to man as a Christian, a philosopher, a statesman or citizen, as this abominable tenet."



Figure 3.7: Shelley: “.. after the poor have been stript naked by the taxgatherer and reduced to bread and tea and fourteen hours of hard labour by their masters.. the last tie by which Nature holds them to benignant earth (whose plenty is garnered up in the strongholds of their tyrants) is to be divided...They are required to abstain from marrying under penalty of starvation...”



Figure 3.8: Tiny Tim, from Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*. When he is informed that Tiny Tim will die unless he receives medical treatment, Scrooge remarks, "Then he had better die and reduce the surplus population!". Many of the events in Dickens' books can be viewed as protests against the ideas of Malthus.



Figure 3.9: Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* asks for a second portion of gruel, provoking a storm of outrage. As a boy, Dickens himself spent some time in a workhouse.



Figure 3.10: A portrait of the British political economist, author and social theorist Harriet Martineau (1802-1876). She was a very close friend of Charles Darwin's older brother, Erasmus. Commenting on the ideas of Malthus, she wrote: "Prudence as to time of marriage and making due provision for it was, one would think, a harmless recommendation enough, under the circumstances." Martineau's books were highly successful, sometimes outselling those of Charles Dickens.

answer to Mr. Malthus. One can also view many of the books of Charles Dickens as protests against Malthus' point of view. For example, *Oliver Twist* gives us a picture of a workhouse "administered in such a way that the position of least well-off independent workers should not be worse than the position of those supported by parish assistance."

Among the authors defending Malthus was Harriet Martineau, who wrote: "The desire of his heart and the aim of his work were that domestic virtue and happiness should be placed within the reach of all... He found that a portion of the people were underfed, and that one consequence of this was a fearful mortality among infants; and another consequence the growth of a recklessness among the destitute which caused infanticide, corruption of morals, and at best, marriage between pauper boys and girls; while multitudes of respectable men and women, who paid rates instead of consuming them, were unmarried at forty or never married at all. Prudence as to time of marriage and for making due provision for it was, one would think, a harmless recommendation enough, under the circumstances."

3.8 The Irish Potato Famine of 1845

Meanwhile, in Ireland, a dramatic series of events had occurred, confirming the ideas of Malthus. Anti-Catholic laws prevented the Irish cottagers from improving their social position; and instead they produced large families, fed almost exclusively on a diet of milk and potatoes. The potato and milk diet allowed a higher density of population to be supported in Ireland than would have been the case if the Irish diet had consisted primarily of wheat. As a result, the population of Ireland grew rapidly: In 1695 it had been approximately one million, but by 1821 it had reached 6,801,827. By 1845, the population of Ireland was more than eight million; and in that year the potato harvest failed because of blight. All who were able to do so fled from the country, many emigrating to the United States; but two million people died of starvation. As the result of this shock, Irish marriage habits changed, and late marriage became the norm, just as Malthus would have wished. After the Potato Famine of 1845, Ireland maintained a stable population of roughly four million.



Figure 3.11: The Irish Potato Famine.



Figure 3.12: The Irish Potato Famine.

3.9 The impact of Malthus on biology

The impact of Malthus' *Essay* was great, not only in demography and political economics, but also in biology. In 1836, Charles Darwin returned from his voyage on the *Beagle* with a mass of facts and ideas on species out of which he was struggling to construct a coherent picture; and Malthus gave him the clue he needed. "In October, 1838", Darwin wrote later in his *Autobiography*, "that is, fifteen months after I had begun my systematic enquiry, I happened to read for amusement 'Malthus on Population', and being well prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved, and unfavorable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species. Here then I had at last got a theory by which to work..."

Darwin wrote a sketch of his theory of evolution through natural selection; but he did not publish it, probably because he had a premonition of the furious opposition which his heretical ideas would provoke. In 1854 he returned to his work on species, but he was writing on a scale which would have developed into an enormous multi-volume work, whose completion might have taken the remainder of his life. Meanwhile, a young English biologist named Alfred Russell Wallace, working in the jungles of Malaysia, arrived at exactly the same theory as Darwin's, and in exactly the same way - by reading Malthus! Wallace wrote a short paper describing his theory and sent it to Darwin, asking the older scientist's opinion. Darwin was at first inclined to burn all his own work on the subject out of fairness to Wallace, but his friends persuaded him to instead write a short paper describing his views, which could be presented together with Wallace's article. The two papers were read together to a meeting of the Linnean Society, which listened in stunned silence. Posterity has given both Darwin and Wallace credit for their joint discovery of the theory of evolution through natural selection.

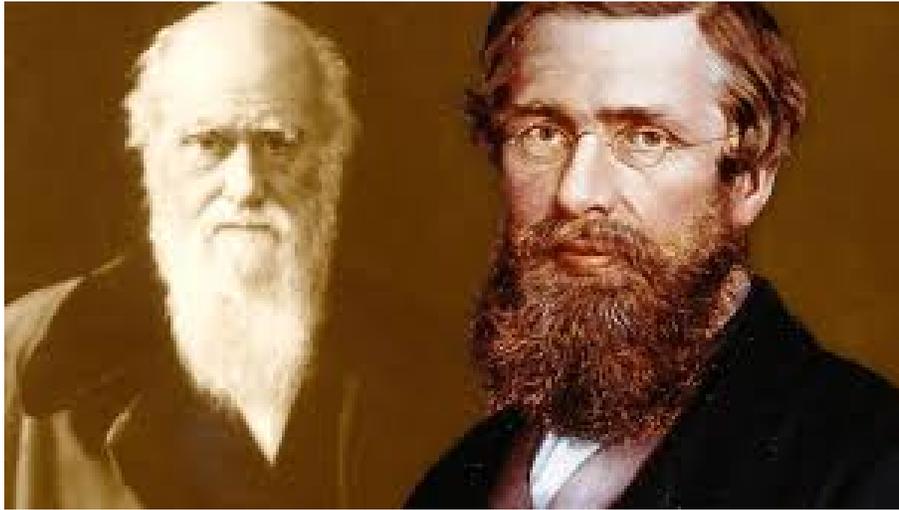


Figure 3.13: Both Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace arrived at their theories of natural selection in evolution as a result of reading Malthus.

3.10 Malthus importance of Malthus today

Malthus died in Bath in 1834, but debate on his ideas continued to rage, both in his own century and our own. Each year he is refuted, and each year revived. Despite the impressive scientific progress, of our century, the frightful Malthusian forces - poverty, famine, disease, and war - cast as dark a shadow in our own times as they did in the nineteenth century. Indeed, the enormous power of modern weapons has greatly intensified the dangers posed by war; and the rapid growth of global population has given new dimensions to the problems of poverty and famine.

Looking at the world today, we can see regions where Malthus seems to be a truer prophet than Condorcet and Godwin. In most developing countries, poverty and disease are still major problems. In other parts of the world, the optimistic prophecies of Condorcet and Godwin have been at least partially fulfilled. In the industrialized nations, Godwin's prophecy of automatized agriculture has certainly come true. In the nations of the North, only a small percentage of the population is engaged in agriculture, while most of the citizens are free to pursue other goals than food production. Scandinavia is an example of an area where poverty and war have both been eliminated locally, and where death from infectious disease is a rarity.

These achievements would have been impossible without the low birth rates which also characterize the region. In Scandinavia, and in other similar regions, low birth rates and death rates, a stable population, high educational levels, control of infectious disease, equal status for women, democratic governments, and elimination of poverty and war are linked together in a mutually re-enforcing circle of cause and effect. By contrast, in many large third-world cities, overcrowding, contaminated water, polluted air, dense population without adequate sanitation, low status of women, high birth rates, rapidly increasing

population, high unemployment levels, poverty, crime, ethnic conflicts, and resurgence of infectious disease are also linked in a self-perpetuating causal loop - in this case a vicious circle.

Does the contrast between the regions of our contemporary world mean that Malthus has been “proved wrong” in some regions and “proved right” in others? To answer this question, let us re-examine the basic assertion which Malthus puts forward in Books I and II of the 1803 version of his *Essay*.

His basic thesis is that the maximum natural fertility of human populations is greatly in excess of replacement fertility. This being so, Malthus points out, human populations would always increase exponentially if they were not prevented from doing so by powerful and obvious checks. In general, Malthus tells us, populations cannot increase exponentially because the food supply increases slowly, or is constant. Therefore, he concludes, in most societies and almost all periods of history, checks to population growth are operating. These checks may be positive, or they may be preventive, the positive checks being those which raise the death rate, while the preventive checks lower the birth rate. There are, however, Malthus says, exceptional periods of history when the populations of certain societies do actually increase exponentially because of the opening of new lands or because of the introduction of new methods of food production. As an example, he cites the growth of the population of the United States, which doubled every 25 years over a period of 150 years.

We can see, from this review of Malthus’ basic thesis, that his demographic model is flexible enough to describe all of the regions of our contemporary world: If Malthus were living today, he would say that in countries with low birth and death rates and stable populations, the checks to population growth are primarily preventive, while in countries with high death rates, the positive checks are important. Finally, Malthus would describe our rapidly-growing global population as the natural result of the introduction of improved methods of food production in the developing countries. We should notice, however, that the flexibility of Malthus’ demographic model first appears in the 1803 version of his *Essay*: In the 1798 version, he maintained “..that population does invariably increase, where there are means of subsistence..” and “that the superior power (of population) cannot be checked without producing misery and vice..” This narrower model of population did not agree with Malthus’ own observations in Norway in 1799, and therefore in his 1803 *Essay* he allowed more scope for preventive checks, which included late marriage and moral restraint as well as birth control (which he classified under the heading of “vice”).

Hyperbolic trajectory Today we are able to estimate the population of the world at various periods in history, and we can also make estimates of global population in prehistoric times. Looking at the data, we can see that the global population of humans has not followed an exponential curve as a function of time, but has instead followed a hyperbolic trajectory. At the time of Christ, the population of the world is believed to have been approximately 220 million.

By 1500, the earth contained 450 million people, and by 1750, the global population exceeded 700 million. As the industrial and scientific revolution has accelerated, global population has responded by increasing at a breakneck speed: In 1930, the population of

the world reached two billion; in 1958 three billion; in 1974 four billion; in 1988 five billion, and in 1999, six billion.

Today, roughly a billion people are being added to the world's population every decade.

The simple mathematical curve which most nearly approximates the global population of humans as a function of time is an hyperbola of the form $P=C/(2025-t)$. Here P is the population, t is the year, and $C=190,000,000,000$ is a constant. How are we to explain the fact that the population curve is not an exponential? We can turn to Malthus for an answer: According to his model, population does not increase exponentially, except under special circumstances, when the food supply is so ample that the increase of population is entirely unchecked. Malthus gives us instead a model of culturally-driven population growth. He tells us that population increase tends to press against the limits of the food supply, and since these limits are culturally determined, population density is also culturally-determined. Hunter-gatherer societies need large tracts of land for their support; and in such societies, the population density is necessarily low. Pastoral methods of food production can support populations of a higher density. Finally, extremely high densities of population can be supported by modern agriculture. Thus, the hyperbolic curve, $P=C/(2025-t)$, should be seen as describing the rapidly-accelerating growth of human culture, this being understood to include methods of food production.

If we look at the curve, $P=C/(2025-t)$, it is obvious that human culture has reached a period of crisis. The curve predicts that the world's population will rise to infinity in the year 2025, which of course is impossible. Somehow the actual trajectory of global population as a function of time must deviate from the hyperbolic curve, and in fact, the trajectory has already begun to fall away slightly from the hyperbola. Because of the great amount of human suffering which may be involved, and the potentially catastrophic damage to the earth's environment, the question of how the actual trajectory of human population will come to deviate from the hyperbola is a matter of enormous importance. Will population overshoot the sustainable limit, and crash? Or will it gradually approach a maximum? In the case of the second alternative, will the checks which slow population growth be later marriage and family planning? Or will the grim Malthusian forces - famine, disease and war - act to hold the number of humans within their food supply?

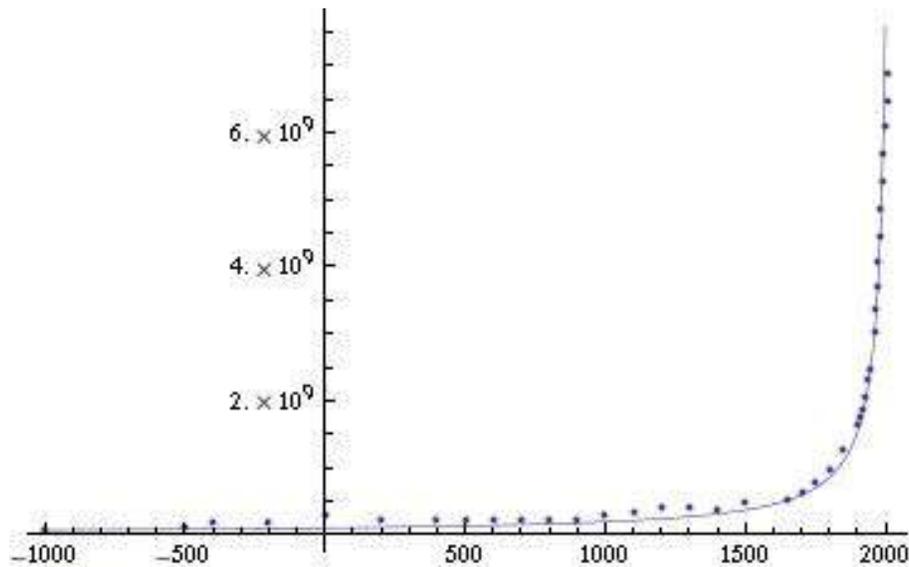


Figure 3.14: The simple mathematical curve that fits best to human population data over the last 3,000 years is not an exponential increase, but rather a hyperbola of the form $P=C/(2025-t)$. Here P represents population, $C=190,000,000,000$ and t is the year. The curve goes to infinity at $t=2025$ (only a few years away), which is of course impossible. Global population has already started to fall away from the hyperbolic trajectory. Will it level off, or will it crash disastrously? Because of the enormous amount of human suffering that would be involved in a population crash, the question has great importance.

3.11 Limits to environmental carrying capacity

There are many indications that both the global population and the size of the global human economy are rapidly approaching absolute limits set by the carrying capacity of the earth's environment. For example, a recent study by Vitousek, Ehrlich, Ehrlich and Matsen showed that 40 percent of the net primary product of land-based photosynthesis is appropriated, directly or indirectly, for human use. (The net primary product of photosynthesis is defined as the amount of solar energy converted to chemical energy by plants minus the energy used by the plants for their own metabolism). Thus, we are only a single doubling time away from 80 percent appropriation, which would certainly imply a disastrous degradation of the natural environment.

Another indication of our rapid approach to the absolute limit of environmental carrying capacity can be found in the present rate of loss of biodiversity. The total number of species of living organisms on the earth is thought to be between 5 million and 30 million, of which only 1.4 million have been described. Between 50 percent and 90 percent of these species live in tropical forests, a habitat which is rapidly being destroyed because of pressures from exploding human populations. 55 percent of the earth's tropical forests have already been cleared and burned; and an additional area four times the size of Switzerland is lost every year. Because of this loss of habitat, tropical species are now becoming extinct at a rate which is many thousands of times the normal background rate. If losses continue at the present rate, 20 percent of all tropical species will vanish irrevocably within the next 50 years. One hardly dares to think of what will happen after that.

Further evidence that the total size of the human economy has reached or exceeded the limits of sustainability comes from global warming, from the destruction of the ozone layer, from the rate of degradation and desertification of land, from statistics on rapidly vanishing non-renewable resources, and from recent famines.

In 1983, the Secretary-General of the United Nations established a World Commission on Environment and Development, led by Gro Harlem Brundtland, who was then Prime Minister of Norway. The Commission's report, *Our Common Future*, examines the question of whether the earth can support a population of 10 billion people without the collapse of the ecological systems on which all life depends. With respect to food, the report has this to say:

"...Researchers have assessed the 'theoretical' potential for global food production. One study assumes that the area under food production can be around 1.5 billion hectares (3.7 billion acres - close to the present level), and that the average yields could go up to 5 tons of grain equivalent per hectare (as against the present average of 2 tons of grain equivalent). Allowing for production from rangelands and marine sources, the total 'potential' is placed at 8 billion tons of grain equivalent."

"How many people can this sustain? The present global average consumption of plant energy for food, seed, and animal feed amounts to about 6,000 calories daily, with a range among countries of 3,000-15,000 calories, depending on the level of meat consumption. On this basis, the potential production could sustain a little more than 11 billion people. But if the average consumption rises substantially - say, to 9,000 calories - the population

carrying capacity of the Earth comes down under 7.5 billion.”

“These figures could be substantially higher if the area under food production and the productivity of 3 billion hectares of permanent pasturage can be increased on a sustainable basis. Nevertheless, the data do suggest that meeting the food requirements of an ultimate world population of around 10 billion would require some changes in food habits, as well as greatly improving the efficiency of traditional agriculture.”

Thus, the next doubling will bring the global population of humans near to or beyond the maximum number that the earth can support, even assuming greatly improved agricultural yields. The study quoted in the Brundtland Report assumes that the world average for agricultural yields per hectare can be doubled; but this assumption raises many problems.

Extremely high-yield varieties of rice and wheat have indeed been produced by “Green Revolution” plant geneticists, such as Norman Borlaug. However, monocultures are vulnerable to plant diseases. Will the exclusive cultivation of high-yield plant varieties expose us to the risk of a repetition of the Irish Potato Famine on a much larger scale? High-yield crop varieties also require heavy use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, as well as large amounts of water. Will the enormous quantities of fertilizer and water required be available globally?

According to an MIT study (*Man's Impact on the Global Environment*, MIT Press, 1970), the world's food production rose by 34 percent between 1951 and 1966; but this required a 146 percent increase in the use of nitrate fertilizers, and a 300 percent increase in the use of pesticides. Between 1964 and 1987, the fertilizer consumption of Asia increased by a factor of 10, from 4 million metric tons to 40 million metric tons. Much greater increases will be needed if global agriculture is to double its productivity per hectare during the next half century. Assuming the availability of the needed amounts of fertilizer, we can anticipate that the runoff from fields, heavily saturated with nitrates and phosphates and pesticides, will contaminate the ground-water, lakes and oceans, thus reducing fish populations.

One can already observe a catastrophic depletion of oxygen in the bottom layers of such bodies of water as the Baltic Sea (which is surrounded by countries presently making heavy use of fertilizers in agriculture). This oxygen depletion is due to the growth of algae in layers near to the surface, stimulated by the presence of nitrates and phosphates. Bacterial decay of the algae at the bottom exhausts the oxygen; and in many parts of the Baltic, all bottom-living species have disappeared.

Pesticides and fertilizer in drinking water can cause a variety of human health problems, including cancer and methemoglobinemia. (Methemoglobinemia is sometimes called “blue baby syndrome”, and it results from drinking water containing too large a concentration of nitrates.)

If a global population of 10 billion is to be supported, another alternative is open: More land can be exploited for agriculture. However, we may encounter as many problems in doubling the area of the world's agricultural land as in doubling its productivity per hectare.

The cost of roads, irrigation, clearance and fertilizer for new agricultural land averages

more than a thousand U.S. dollars per hectare. During the next half century, hunger will strike the poorest parts of the world's population. Capital for opening new agricultural land cannot come from those who are threatened by famine. It must be found in some other way.

A Report by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization makes the following statement concerning new agricultural lands: "In Southern Asia,...in some countries in Eastern Asia, in the Near East, and North Africa...there is almost no scope for expanding the agricultural area... In the dryer regions, it will even be necessary to return to permanent pasture the land which is marginal or sub-marginal for cultivation. In most of Latin America and Africa south of the Sahara, there are still considerable possibilities for expanding cultivated areas; but the costs of development are high, and it will often be more economical to intensify the utilization of the areas already settled."

In the 1950's, both the USSR and Turkey attempted to convert arid grasslands into wheat farms. In both cases, the attempts were defeated by drought and wind erosion, just as the wheat farms of Oklahoma were overcome by drought and dust in the 1930's.

If irrigation of arid lands is not performed with care, salt may be deposited, so that the land is ruined for agriculture. This type of desertification can be seen, for example, in some parts of Pakistan. Another type of desertification can be seen in the Sahel region of Africa, south of the Sahara.

Rapid population growth in the Sahel has led to overgrazing, destruction of trees, and wind erosion, so that the land has become unable to support even its original population. In the Sahel, and in many other regions of the world, scarcity of fresh water may become critical as populations increase, a fact which is indicated by quickly-falling water tables in many regions.

Added to the agricultural and environmental problems, are problems of finance and distribution. Famines can occur even when grain is available somewhere in the world, because those who are threatened with starvation may not be able to pay for the grain, or for its transportation. The economic laws of supply and demand are not able to solve this type of problem. One says that there is no "demand" for the food (meaning demand in the economic sense), even though people are in fact starving.

We can anticipate that as the earth's human population approaches 10 billion, severe famines will occur in many developing countries. The beginnings of this tragedy can already be seen. It is estimated that roughly 30,000 children now die every day from starvation, or from a combination of disease and malnutrition.

An analysis of the global ratio of population to cropland shows that we may already have exceeded the sustainable limit of population through our dependence on petroleum: Between 1950 and 1982, the use of cheap synthetic fertilizers increased by a factor of 8. Much of our present agricultural output depends on their use, but their production is expensive in terms of energy. Furthermore, petroleum-derived synthetic fibers have reduced the amount of cropland needed for growing natural fibers, and petroleum-driven tractors have replaced draft animals which required cropland for pasturage. Also, petroleum fuels have replaced fuelwood and other fuels derived from biomass.

The reverse transition, from fossil fuels back to renewable energy sources, will require



Figure 3.15: **Climate change, overgrazing and lack of water have turned many formerly-fertile areas of the world into deserts.**

a considerable diversion of land from food production to energy production. For example, 1.1 hectares are needed to grow the sugarcane required for each alcohol-driven Brazilian automobile. This figure may be compared with the steadily falling average area of cropland available to each person in the world: .24 hectares in 1950, .16 hectares in 1982.

As population increases, the cropland per person will continue to fall, and we will be forced to make still heavier use of fertilizers to increase output per hectare. Also marginal land will be used in agriculture, with the probable result that much land will be degraded through erosion and salination. Reserves of oil are likely to be exhausted by the end of 21st century. Thus there is a danger that just as global population reaches the unprecedented level of 10 billion or more, the agricultural base for supporting it may suddenly collapse.

The resulting ecological catastrophe, possibly compounded by war and other disorders, could produce famine and death on a scale unprecedented in history - a catastrophe of unimaginable proportions, involving billions rather than millions of people.

The resources of the earth and the techniques of modern science can support a global population of moderate size in comfort and security; but the optimum size is probably much smaller than the world's present population.

Given a sufficiently small global population, renewable sources of energy can be found to replace disappearing fossil fuels. Technology may also be able to find renewable substitutes for many disappearing mineral resources for a global population of a moderate size. What technology cannot do, however, is to give a global population of 10 billion people the standard of living which the industrialized countries enjoy today.

3.12 What would Malthus say today?

What would Malthus tell us if he were alive today? Undoubtedly he would say that we have reached a period of human history where it is vital to stabilize the world's population if catastrophic environmental degradation and famine are to be avoided. He would applaud efforts to reduce suffering by eliminating poverty, widespread disease, and war; but he would point out that, since it is necessary to stop the rapid increase of human numbers, it follows that whenever the positive checks to population growth are removed, it is absolutely necessary to replace them by preventive checks. Malthus' point of view became more broad in the successive editions of his *Essay*; and if he were alive today, he might even agree that family planning is the most humane of the preventive checks.

In Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population*, population pressure appears as one of the main causes of war; and Malthus also discusses many societies in which war is one of the the principle means by which population is reduced to the level of the food supply. Thus, his *Essay* contains another important message for our own times: If he were alive today, Malthus would also say that there is a close link between the two most urgent tasks which history has given to the 21st century - stabilization of the global population, and abolition of the institution of war.

The first professor of economics

Malthus continued a life of quiet scholarship, unperturbed by the heated public debate which he had caused. At the age of 38, he married a second cousin. The marriage produced only three children, which at that time was considered to be a very small number. Thus he practiced the pattern of late marriage which he advocated. Although he was appointed rector of a church in Lincolnshire, he never preached there, hiring a curate to do this in his place. Instead of preaching, Malthus accepted an appointment as Professor of History and Political Economy at the East India Company's College at Haileybury. This appointment made him the first professor of economics in England, and probably also the first in the world. Among the important books which he wrote while he held this post was *Principles of Political Economy, Considered with a View to their Practical Application*. Malthus also published numerous revised and expanded editions of his *Essay on the Principle of Population*. The third edition was published in 1806, the fourth in 1807, the fifth in 1817, and the sixth in 1826.

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Chapter 4

THE UTOPIAN SOCIALISTS

4.1 Henri de Saint-Simon

Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), was a French aristocrat who has an important place in the history of economic thought as one of the principal founders of Utopian Socialism.

From a young age he was very ambitious: He instructed his valet to wake him very early each morning with the words, “Remember, monsieur le comte, that you have great things to do!” Among the young nobleman’s early ideas were a canal to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific, and a canal to connect Madrid with the ocean. Later he fought on the American side in the war that freed the colonies from England, taking part in the siege of Yorktown under George Washington. He also supported the ideals of the the French Revolution, but like many other, he was imprisoned during Robespierre’s Reign of Terror.

Here is how the New World Encyclopedia describes this phase of Saint-Simon’s life: “He remained in France during the French Revolution (1789), and bought up newly nationalized land with funds borrowed from a friend. During the Reign of Terror, he was imprisoned in the Palais de Luxembourg, and emerged extremely wealthy because the value of Revolutionary currency had depreciated. Saint-Simon lived a life of luxury, entertaining prominent people from all walks of life at his lavish and glittering salons. Within several years he was on the point of bankruptcy, and began to study science, taking courses at the École Polytechnique and acquainting himself with distinguished scientists. His first published work, *Lettres d’un habitant de Genève á ses contemporains* (1803; *Letters of an Inhabitant of Geneva to His Contemporaries*), proposed that scientists should replace priests in the social order, and that the property owners who held political power could only hope to maintain themselves against the propertyless if they subsidized the advance of knowledge.

“In August 1801, he married Mlle. de Champgrand. Less than a year later he divorced her, hoping to marry Mme. de Staël, who had just become a widow, but she refused. In 1805, completely ruined by his disordered life, he became a copyist at the Mont de Piété,

working nine hours a day for 40 pounds a year. He relied on his activities as a writer for his livelihood; failing in this, he lived on the generosity of a former valet, and finally solicited a small pension from his family. In 1823, he attempted suicide in despair. Late in his career, he made the acquaintance of Olinde Rodrigues, who became inspired by Saint-Simon's social ideas and provided him with a living. When dying, Saint-Simon said to Rodrigues, 'Remember that to do anything great you must be impassioned.'

"...Saint-Simon advocated an arrangement by which the industrial chiefs should control society. In place of the medieval church, the spiritual direction of society should fall to the men of science. Saint-Simon envisioned an industrialist state directed by modern science, in which universal association should suppress war. He believed that the men who are successfully able to organize society for productive labor are entitled to govern it. The social aim was to produce things useful to life. The conflict between labor and capital so much emphasized by later socialism was not present to Saint-Simon, who assumed that the industrial chiefs, to whom the control of production was to be committed, would rule in the interest of society. Later on he gave greater attention to the cause of the poor, until in his greatest work, *The New Christianity*, it took the form of a religion. This development of his teaching resulted in Saint-Simon's final quarrel with Comte.

"Saint-Simon's call for a 'science of society,' similar to the natural sciences, influenced his disciple Auguste Comte and the development of sociology and economics as fields of scientific study. Thomas Carlyle, Michel Chevalier, John Stuart Mill, Napoleon III, and the young Léon Walras were all inspired by Saint-Simonism. Saint-Simon's vision influenced French and European society throughout the nineteenth century. Saint-Simon's 'scientism' also influenced the development of Marxist theory."

Here are a few quotations from Saint-Simon:

Politics is the science of production.

No man has a right to free himself from the law of labour.

True equality consists in each drawing benefits from society in exact proportion to his social outlay, that is to his real capacity, to the beneficent use he makes of his abilities. And this equality is the natural foundation of industrial society.

Equality is the natural foundation of industrial society.

In the old system Society is governed essentially by men; in the new it is governed only by principles.

Today, for the first time since the existence of societies it is a question of organizing a totally new system; of replacing the celestial with the terrestrial, the vague by the positive, and the poetic by the real.



Figure 4.1: Henri de Saint-Simon, (1760-1825).

I have divided [the different sections of mankind] into three classes. The first, to which you and I have the honour to belong, marches under the banner of the progress of the human mind. It is composed of scientists, artists and all those who hold liberal ideas. On the banner of the second is written 'No innovation!' All proprietors who do not belong in the first category are part of the second. The third class, which rallies round the slogan of 'Equality' is made up of the rest of the people.

The philosopher places himself at the summit of thought; from there he views what the world has been and what it must become. He is not just an observer, he is an actor; he is an actor of the highest kind in a moral world because it is his opinion of what the world must become that regulates society.

The whole of society rests upon industry. Industry is the sole guarantee of its existence, the single source of all its wealth and all its prosperity. The state of things most favorable to industry is by that very reason the most favorable to society.

Saint-Simon's Declaration of Principles

- We regard society as the ensemble and union of men engaged in useful work. We can conceive of no other kind of society.
- Since governmental activity may be deemed a service which is useful to society, society should consent to pay for this service.
- It was in America, while I was fighting for the cause of industrial liberty, that I first felt the desire to see this plant from another world flower in my own country. This desire has since dominated all my thinking. Without respite I studied the course of advancement and further assured myself that the progress of civilization could have no other end. And I invoked this aim of true liberty, true public happiness, with my most fervent hopes. For me every event that seemed to point in that direction was a new joy, a new hope. The French Revolution broke out, and at first it seemed to be thoroughly industrial. But it soon lost that character, and the many noble efforts which ought to have produced liberty resulted only in the tyranny of the Jacobins and military despotism. A happier age has now started to dawn for us: at last a government has been established which declares its own power to be based on the power of opinion. Ever since then France has yielded to common sense, that is, to the free discussion of its common interests.

- It may be argued that writers stick to their convictions and serve only the truth, and that they only approve and support governmental conduct when they judge it to be in the interests of the governed. We accept that. We know that even those writers working under the eyes and under the influence of the Government always work, or at least claim to work only for society as a whole, and would be offended if it were thought otherwise. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the governed know better than anyone what they want and what is in their interest. We believe that government is at least an unnecessary intermediary between those who think about the public interest and those who feel it, between political writers and industry.

4.2 Charles Fourier

Quotations from Charles Fourier

The Civilized... murder their children by producing too many of them without being able to provide for their well-being. Morality or theories of false virtue stimulate them to manufacture cannon fodder, anthills of conscripts who are forced to sell themselves out of poverty. This improvident paternity is a false virtue, the selfishness of pleasure.

The method of doubt must be applied to civilization; we must doubt its necessity, its excellence, and its permanence.

The philosophers say that the passions are too lively, too fiery; in truth they are weak and languid. All around one sees the mass of men endure the persecution of a few masters and the despotism of prejudices without offering the slightest resistance... their passions are too weak to permit them to derive audacity from despair.

Philosophy was right to vaunt liberty; it is the foremost desire of all creatures. But philosophy forgot that in civilized societies liberty is illusory if the common people lack wealth. When the wage-earning classes are poor, their independence is as fragile as a house without foundations. The free man who lacks wealth immediately sinks back under the yoke of the rich. The newly freed slave takes fright at the need of providing for his own subsistence and hastens to sell himself back into slavery in order to escape this new anxiety that hangs over him like Damocles' sword. In thoughtlessly giving him liberty without wealth, you merely replace his physical torment with a mental torment. He finds life burdensome in his new state... Thus when you give liberty to the people, it must be bolstered by two supports which are the guarantee

of comfort and industrial attraction...

The peoples of civilization see their wretchedness increase in direct proportion to the advance of industry.

Social progress and changes of historical period take place in proportion to the advance of women toward liberty, and social decline occurs as a result of the diminution of the liberty of women.

Love in the Phalanstery is no longer, as it is with us, a recreation which detracts from work; on the contrary it is the soul and the vehicle, the mainspring, of all works and of the whole of universal attraction.

It is easy to compress the passions by violence. Philosophy suppresses them with a stroke of the pen. Locks and the sword come to the aid of sweet morality, but nature appeals these judgments; she regains her rights in secret. Passion stifled at one point reappears at another like water held back by a dike; it is driven inward like the fluid of an ulcer closed to soon.

Under civilization poverty is born of superabundance itself.

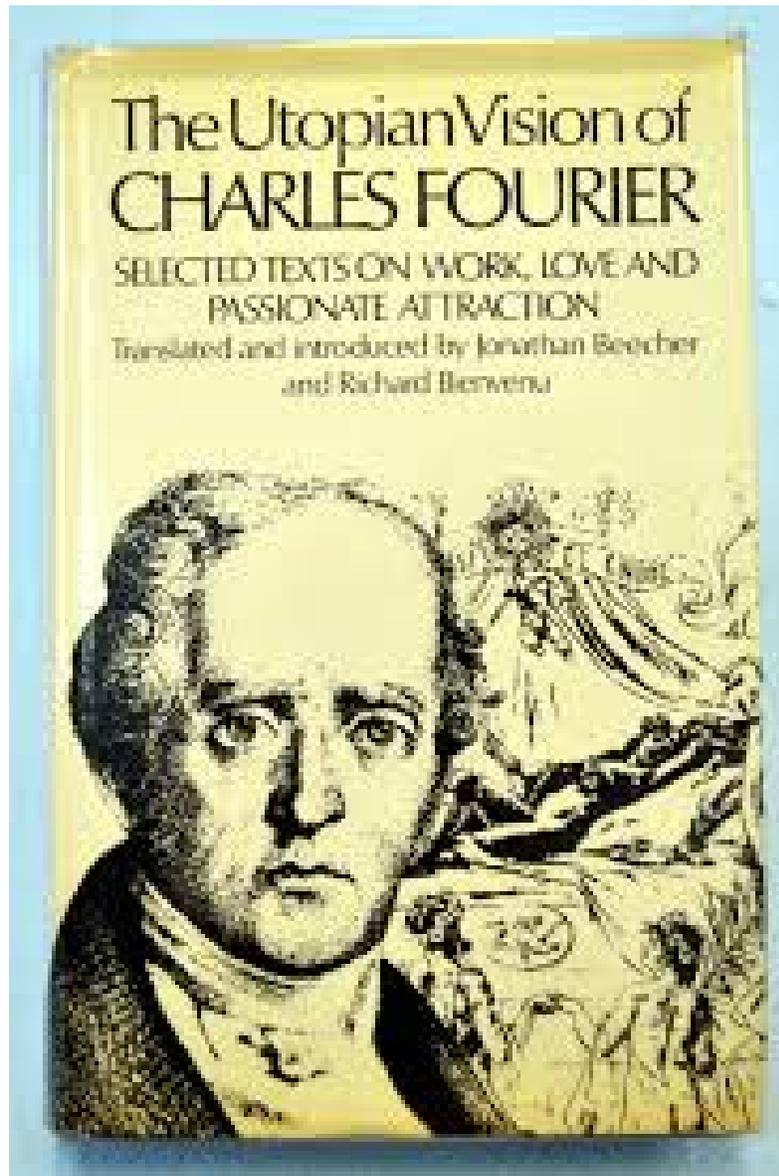


Figure 4.2: Charles Fourier, (1772-1837).

4.3 Robert Owen

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

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

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

While in Manchester, Robert Owen became interested in the machines that were beginning to be used for spinning and weaving. He borrowed a hundred pounds from his brother, and entered (as a partner) a small business that made these machines. After two years of moderate success as a small-scale industrialist, Owen saw the newspaper advertisement of a position for manager of a large spinning mill, owned by a Mr. Drinkwater.

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

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

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

Ownership of the New Lanark mills gave Robert Owen the chance to put into practice the ideas of social reform that he had been developing throughout his life. Instead of



Figure 4.3: **New Lanark World Heritage village in Scotland. A view of the school.**

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

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

Robert Owen's ideas of social reform can be seen in the following extract from an "Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark", which he presented on New Year's Day, 1616: "What ideas individuals may attach to the term 'Millennium' I know not; but I know that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little, if any, misery. and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundredfold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment except

ignorance to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal.”

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

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

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

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

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

The cooperative movement

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



Figure 4.4: **Robert Owen, (1771-1858), founder of the Cooperative Movement.**

but in Denmark they succeeded¹.

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

¹The success of Danish agricultural producer's cooperatives was helped by the People's High School movement, founded by N.F.S. Grundvig (1783-1872).

Trade unions

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

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

Robert Owen's influence helped to give raw *laissez faire* capitalism a more human face, and helped to spread the benefits of industrialization more widely. Through the work of other reformers like Owen, local trade unions succeeded, both in England and elsewhere; and in the end, successful national unions were finally established. The worst features of the early Industrial Revolution were moderated by the growth of the trade union movement, by child labor laws, by birth control and by minimum wage laws.

Rusting of the Iron Law

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

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



Figure 4.5: William Morris, (1834-1896), founder of the Arts and Crafts movement and author of the Utopian novel, “News From Nowhere”.



Figure 4.6: A floral design by William Morris.



Figure 4.7: ...and another.

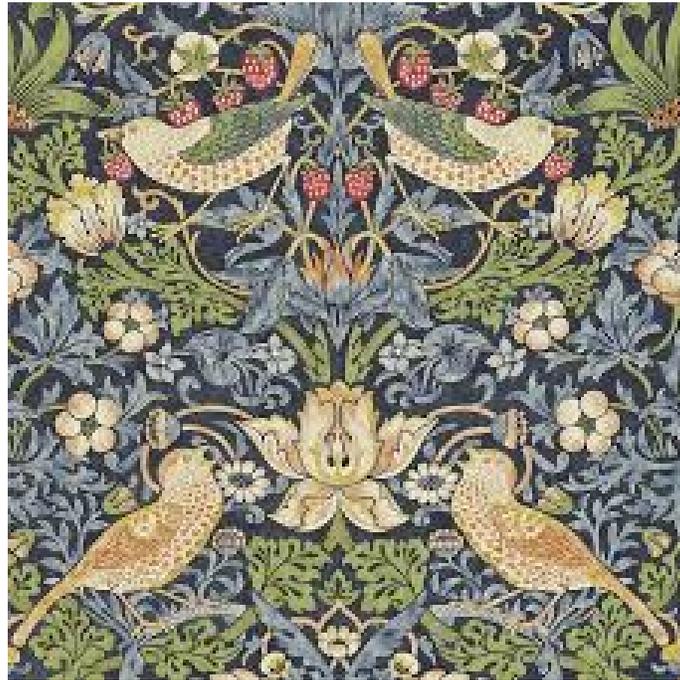


Figure 4.8: ...and another.

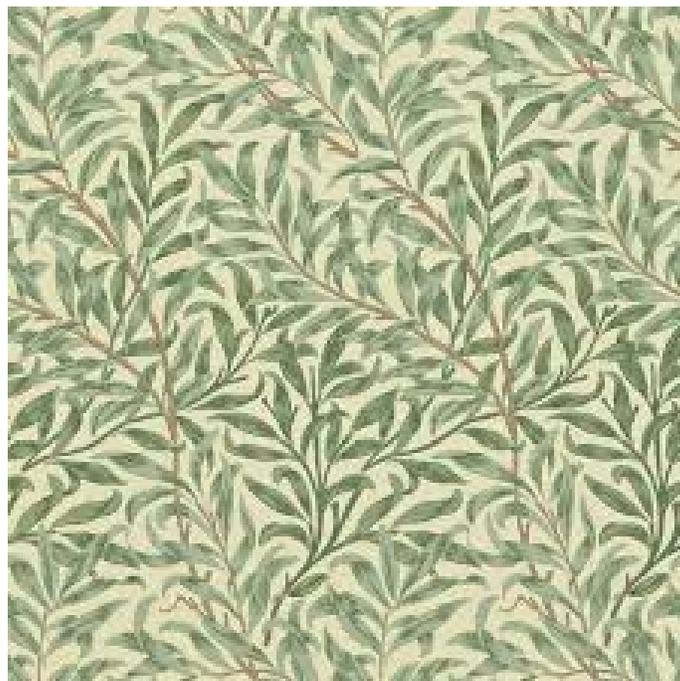


Figure 4.9: ...and another.

4.4 William Morris and John Ruskin

News From Nowhere

The Utopian novel, *News from Nowhere*², is written in the form of a dream, in which the dreamer finds himself in a future society where work is not motivated by money but by the pleasure of creative craftsmanship. Here are some excerpts in which Ruskin criticizes the Victorian society in which he lived:

Said he, settling himself in his chair again for a long talk: “It is clear from all that we hear and read, that in the last age of civilization men had got into a vicious circle in the matter of production of wares. They had reached a wonderful facility of production, and in order to make the most of that facility they had gradually created (or allowed to grow, rather) a most elaborate system of buying and selling, which has been called the World-Market; and that World-Market, once set a-going, forced them to go on making more and more of these wares, whether they needed them or not. So that while (of course) they could not free themselves from the toil of making real necessities, they created in a never-ending series sham or artificial necessities, which became, under the iron rule of the aforesaid World-Market, of equal importance to them with the real necessities which supported life. By all this they burdened themselves with a prodigious mass of work merely for the sake of keeping their wretched system going.”

“Yes - and then?” said I.

“Why, then, since they had forced themselves to stagger along under this horrible burden of unnecessary production, it became impossible for them to look upon labour and its results from any other point of view than one - to wit, the ceaseless endeavour to expend the least possible amount of labour on any article made, and yet at the same time to make as many articles as possible. To this ‘cheapening of production’, as it was called, everything was sacrificed: the happiness of the workman at his work, nay, his most elementary comfort and bare health, his food, his clothes, his dwelling, his leisure, his amusement, his education - his life, in short - did not weigh a grain of sand in the balance against this dire necessity of ‘cheap production’ of things, a great part of which were not worth producing at all. Nay, we are told, and we must believe it, so overwhelming is the evidence, though many of our people scarcely can believe it, that even rich and powerful men, the masters of the poor devils aforesaid, submitted to live amidst sights and sounds and smells which it is in the very nature of man to abhor and flee from, in order that their riches might bolster

²<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3261/3261-h/3261-h.htm>

up this supreme folly. The whole community, in fact, was cast into the jaws of this ravening monster, ‘the cheap production’ forced upon it by the World-Market.”...

His estimate of the life of the nineteenth century made me catch my breath a little; and I said feebly, “But the labour-saving machines?”

“What’s that you are saying? the labour-saving machines? Yes, they were made to ‘save labour’ (or, to speak more plainly, the lives of men) on one piece of work in order that it might be expended - I will say wasted - on another, probably useless, piece of work. Friend, all their devices for cheapening labour simply resulted in increasing the burden of labour. The appetite of the World-Market grew with what it fed on: the countries within the ring of ‘civilization’ (that is, organized misery) were glutted with the abortions of the market, and force and fraud were used unsparingly to ‘open up’ countries outside that pale. This process of ‘opening up’ is a strange one to those who have read the professions of the men of that period and do not understand their practice; and perhaps shows us at its worst the great vice of the nineteenth century, the use of hypocrisy and cant to evade the responsibility of vicarious ferocity. When the civilized World-Market coveted a country not yet in its clutches, some transparent pretext was found - the suppression of a slavery different from and not so cruel as that of commerce; the pushing of a religion no longer believed in by its promoters; the ‘rescue’ of some desperado or homicidal madman whose misdeeds had got him into trouble amongst the natives of the ‘barbarous’ country - any stick, in short, which would beat the dog at all. Then some bold, unprincipled, ignorant adventurer was found (no difficult task in the days of competition), and he was bribed to ‘create a market’ by breaking up whatever traditional society there might be in the doomed country, and by destroying whatever leisure or pleasure he found there. He forced wares on the natives which they did not want, and took their natural products in ‘exchange,’ as this form of robbery was called, and thereby he ‘created new wants,’ to supply which (that is, to be allowed to live by their new masters) the hapless, helpless people had to sell themselves into the slavery of hopeless toil so that they might have something wherewith to purchase the nullities of ‘civilization.’

John Ruskin’s book, *Unto This Last*

In his autobiography, Mahatma Gandhi says: “Three moderns have left a deep impression on my life and captivated me: Raychandbhai (the Indian philosopher and poet) by his living contact; Tolstoy by his book ‘The Kingdom of God is Within You’; and Ruskin by his book ‘Unto This Last’.”

Ruskin’s book, “Unto This Last”, which Gandhi read in 1904, is a criticism of modern industrial society. Ruskin believed that friendships and warm interpersonal relationships

are a form of wealth that economists have failed to consider. He felt that warm human contacts are most easily achieved in small agricultural communities, and that therefore the modern tendency towards centralization and industrialization may be a step backward in terms of human happiness. While still in South Africa, Gandhi founded two religious Utopian communities based on the ideas of Tolstoy and Ruskin. Phoenix Farm (1904) and Tolstoy Farm (1910).

Here are some quotations from Ruskin's book, *Unto This Last*:

The assumption which lies at the root of nearly all erroneous reasoning on political economy - namely, that its object is to accumulate money or exchangeable property - may be shown in few words to be without foundation. For no economist would admit national economy to be legitimate which proposed to itself only the building of a pyramid of gold. He would declare the gold to be wasted, were it to remain in the monumental form, and would say it ought to be employed. But to what end? Either it must be used only to gain more gold, and build a larger pyramid, or to some purpose other than the gaining of gold. And this other purpose, however at first apprehended, will be found to resolve itself finally into the service of man - that is to say, the extension, defense, or comfort of his life. The golden pyramid may perhaps be providently built, perhaps improvidently; but, at all events, the wisdom or folly of the accumulation can only be determined by our having first clearly stated the aim of all economy, namely, the extension of life.

If the accumulation of money, or of exchangeable property, were a certain means of extending existence, it would be useless, in discussing economical questions, to fix our attention upon the more distant object - life - instead of the immediate one - money. But it is not so. Money may sometimes be accumulated at the cost of life, or by limitations of it; that is to say, either by hastening the deaths of men, or preventing their births. It is therefore necessary to keep clearly in view the ultimate object of economy, and to determine the expediency of minor operations with reference to that ulterior end. It has been just stated that the object of political economy is the continuance not only of life, but of healthy and happy life. But all true happiness is both a consequence and cause of life; it is a sign of its vigour, and means of its continuance. All true suffering is in like manner a consequence and cause of death. I shall therefore, in future, use the word "Life" singly: but let it be understood to include in its signification the happiness and power of the entire human nature, body and soul.

Ruskin believed that warm personal relationships are a form of wealth that economists have neglected, and that these relationships are most easily achieved in small communities where people know each other very well because of working together. He thought that the goal of economics should not be the increase of wealth, but the increase of happiness.

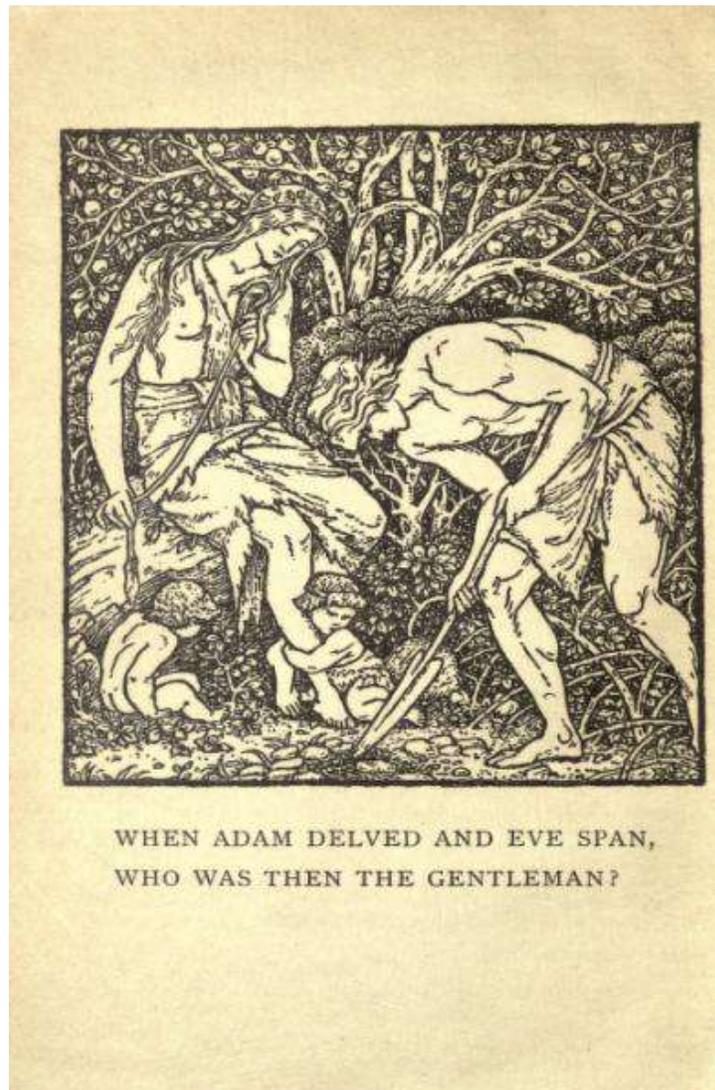


Figure 4.10: A design by William Morris (1834-1896). Together with John Ruskin (1819-1900) and others in the Arts and Crafts Movement, Morris criticized the Industrial Revolution and division of labor for destroying craftsmanship, traditions of design, traditional skills, and pride in work. His Utopian book, “News from Nowhere”, is a plea for a return to cooperative workshops where good design and craftsmanship would flourish. Ruskin’s Book, “Unto This Last” (which later greatly influenced Gandhi), points out that the pleasure of warm friendships with coworkers in small cooperative communities is not given sufficient weight by the economic systems of industrial societies. Gandhi later put these principles into practice when he introduced spinning and weaving in the home as a means for eliminating the unemployment that had been produced by the importation of factory-made cloth into India.

4.5 Influence on later economic thought

The Utopian Socialists mentioned in this chapter had different messages, which reflected the epochs in which they lived. Saint-Simon and Fourier, who lived at the time of the French Revolution, criticized feudalism and lauded industrial society and science. Robert Owen lived a little later, and he had an opportunity to witness the horrors of the early Industrial Revolution in England. But Owen maintained, and indeed proved, that an industrial society could benefit the workers, instead of mercilessly exploiting them. Finally, Morris and Ruskin, who came still later, criticized industrial society from a partly aesthetic and partly moral standpoint. Production was being maximized, but what about social justice and human happiness?

Whatever influence they may have had during their own lifetimes, the long-term influence of the Utopian Socialists is undeniable. Saint-Simon influenced August Comte, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill and many others. Fourier's ideas about turning work into play influenced the young Karl Marx, and helped him to form his ideas about alienation. Robert Owen's work led to the foundation of national trade unions and the cooperative movement.

The Utopian Socialist movement led to the foundation of many experimental communities around the world. In America, one can think of New Harmony, Indiana, founded by Robert Owen in 1825; Clermont Phalanx, Ohio, Sodus Bay Phalanx, New York, Spring Farm Colony, Wisconsin and Wisconsin Phalanx, Wisconsin, founded by followers of Charles Fourier in the 1840's. Followers of the French Utopian Socialist Étienne Cabet founded Icarian communities in Louisiana, Texas, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and California.

Transition Towns

Most recently the Transition Towns can be seen as part of the Utopian Socialist movement. The philosophy of the Transition Towns movement starts with recognition of the fact that the use of fossil fuels very soon must stop. This being so, Transition Towns aim at being an advance part of the necessary transition to a fossil-fuel-free society.

In 2004, Rob Hopkins, a permaculture designer who taught at Kinsale Further Education College, England, gave his student the task of applying permaculture principles to the concept of peak oil. The Transition Towns concept was developed by two of his students, Louise Rooney and Catherine Dunne. When the two girls presented their plan to the Kinsale Town Council, the councillors accepted it and decided to work for energy independence. Meanwhile, Rob Hopkins developed the ideas further at his home town, Totnes. By 2013, there were 1130 Transition Towns registered in 43 countries.

Transition US, the American national body of Transition Towns, as stated its vision that "every community in the United States will have engaged its collective creativity to unleash an extraordinary and historic transition to a future beyond fossil fuels; a future that is more vibrant, abundant and resilient; one that is ultimately preferable to the present".

In England, Southend-on-Sea in Transition states that "by shifting our mind-set we can actually recognize the coming post-cheap oil era as an opportunity rather than a threat,



Figure 4.11: Transition Towns aim at local self-sufficiency. They produce their own food, thus reducing the need for fossil-fuel-consuming transportation.

and design the future low carbon age to be thriving, resilient and abundant - somewhere much better to live than our current alienated consumer culture based on greed, war and the myth of perpetual growth” .

Suggestions for further reading

1. Newman, Michael. *Socialism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, (2005).
2. J. C. Davis *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*. Cambridge University Press, (1983).
3. Sam Dolgoff *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939*, Black Rose Books, (1990).
4. Sheldon Goldenberg and Gerda R. Wekerle, *From utopia to total institution in a single generation: the kibbutz and Bruderhof*. *International Review of Modern Sociology*. 2 (2): 224-232, (September 1972).
5. Donald E. Frey *America's Economic Moralists: A History of Rival Ethics and Economics*, SUNY Press, (2009).

Chapter 5

THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

5.1 The dark satanic mills

The poems “Jerusalem” and “London” by William Blake, (1757-1827), can be thought of as protests against the conditions of the early Industrial Revolution in England:

Jerusalem

*And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?*

*And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among these dark Satanic Mills?*

*Bring me my bow of burning gold!
Bring me my arrows of desire!
Bring me my spear! O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!*

*I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.*

London

*I wandered through each chartered street
Near which the chartered Thames doth flow.
A mark in every face I meet,
Marks of weakness, marks of woe.*

*In every cry of every man,
In every infant's cry of fear,
In every voice, in every ban,
The mind-forged manacles I hear.*

*How the chimney-sweeper's cry
Every blackening church appalls,
And how the hapless soldier's sigh
Runs in blood down palace-walls.*

*But most, through midnight streets I hear
How the youthful harlot's curse
Blasts the new-born infant's tear,
And blights with plagues the marriage-hearse.*

5.2 Working conditions in 19th century England

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, 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 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.”

5.3 Ricardo's Iron Law of Wages

Malthus continued a life of quiet scholarship, unperturbed by the heated public debate which he had caused. At the age of 38, he married a second cousin. The marriage produced only three children, which at that time was considered to be a very small number. Thus he practiced the pattern of late marriage which he advocated. Although he was appointed rector of a church in Lincolnshire, he never preached there, hiring a curate to do this in his place. Instead of preaching, Malthus accepted an appointment as Professor of History and

Political Economy at the East India Company's College at Haileybury. This appointment made him the first professor of economics in England, and probably also the first in the world. Among the important books which he wrote while he held this post was *Principles of Political Economy, Considered with a View to their Practical Application*. Malthus also published numerous revised and expanded editions of his *Essay on the Principle of Population*. The third edition was published in 1806, the fourth in 1807, the fifth in 1817, and the sixth in 1826.

Ricardo's theory of rent

. Among Malthus' closest friends was the financier David Ricardo (1772-1823). Ricardo had been born into a Jewish family that had moved to London from Portugal. However, at the age of 21 he had broken relations with his family and rejected his orthodox Jewish faith in order to marry a Quaker girl. Ricardo, who had worked with his father on the London Sock Exchange since the age of 14, then proceeded to become a financier in his own right, amassing a fortune worth over a million pounds, in those days an immense sum.

Having read a copy of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Ricardo became interested in theoretical economics, and at the age of 37 he began to write about this subject. His articles and books were admired by Malthus, and the two became close friends, although they disagreed on many issues.

Malthus had been brought up as a member of the British landowning class. He valued the beauty of the countryside, and was disturbed by the growth of industrialism. By contrast, Ricardo's sympathies lay with the rising and vigorous class of industrialists. The theory of rent, developed by Ricardo, showed that there is an inevitable conflict between these two classes.

Ricardo's theory of rent dealt with the effect of economic growth on prices, wages and profits. He and Malthus both agreed with Adam Smith's picture of growth: The virtuous industrialist does not spend his profits on luxuries, but instead reinvests them. New factories are built, the demand for workers increases, wages rise, and more workers are "produced" in response to the demand, i.e., more of the worker's children survive, and their numbers grow.

With each turn of the spiral of economic growth, there is an increased demand for food, since the population of workers increases. The most fertile land is already in use, but to meet the larger demand for food, marginal land is tilled, for example land on steep hillside slopes. It costs more to grow grain on marginal land, and therefore grain prices rise. According to Ricardo, the only people who benefit from economic growth are the owners of especially fertile land. The factory owners do not benefit, because they must pay higher wages to meet the increased price of food for their workers, and their profits remain the same. The workers do not benefit, because regardless of the price of grain, each of them is given only enough food to survive. The true beneficiaries of economic growth, according to Ricardo, are the owners of the most fertile land, i.e., the landowning aristocracy.

Ricardo defines "rent" to be the difference, per acre, between the cost of growing grain on good land, and the cost on marginal land. This difference is pocketed by the owners



Figure 5.1: The economist David Ricardo (1772-1823), a close friend of Malthus. The joint pessimism of Ricardo and Malthus caused Carlyle to call economics “the dismal science”.

of good land. They do not really deserve it because ownership of fertile land is something that they inherited, rather than something that they produced by their own efforts.

The Corn Laws

At the time when Ricardo was writing, imports of cheap foreign grain were effectively blocked by the Corn Laws, a series of acts of Parliament which were in force between 1815 and 1846. These laws imposed prohibitively high tariffs on the import of foreign grain. Ricardo's theory of rents showed that the Corn Laws benefited the landowning aristocracy at the expense of the industrialists. His sympathies were with the industrialists, because he felt that the Corn Laws were forcing England back into feudalism and economic stagnation. By contrast, Malthus favored the Corn laws because he felt that it was dangerous for England to become dependent on imports of foreign grain. What would the country do in case of war?, Malthus asked. What would England do if it lost its industrial edge and became unable to export its manufactured products? How would the country then support its overgrown population?

In the end, the aristocracy lost its control of Parliament, the Corn Laws were repealed, and the population of England continued to grow. It has grown from 8.3 million in 1801, the year of the first census, to 50.7 million in 2006. Today, England could not possibly support its population on home-grown food. Like the Netherlands and Japan, Britain is dependent on exports of manufactured goods and imports of grain.

The Iron Law of Wages

Ricardo believed that the "natural price" of any commodity is the lowest possible cost of its production, and that in the long run, prices of any commodity would approach this natural value. When he applied this idea to labor, the result was his "Iron Law of Wages". Since the lowest cost of "producing" workers is the cost of keeping them alive at the subsistence level, he reasoned, the natural price of labor is determined by the lowest possible cost of sustenance. If workers are paid less than this, they will die, their numbers will decrease, the demand for workers will increase, and the price of labor will rise. If they are paid more, a greater number of their children will survive, the number of workers will increase above demand, and wages will fall. According to this argument, starvation wages are inevitable.

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

Malthus became a close friend of the wealthy financier and economic theorist, David Ricardo (1772-1823). He and Ricardo met frequently to discuss economic problems, and when circumstances prevented them from meeting, they exchanged endless letters. Ricardo

and Malthus differed on the subject of the Corn Laws, but they never allowed this difference of opinion to affect their friendship.

Although shortages of food had produced drastic increases in the price of grain, the import of cheap foreign grain was effectively prevented by the Corn Laws. These laws had been introduced by the large landowners, who controlled Parliament, but they were opposed by the manufacturers, who wished to make less expensive food available to their workers. On this issue, Malthus sided with the landowners, arguing that if England became dependent on imports of foreign grain, the country would be insecure: What if England's ability to export manufactured goods in exchange for the grain should later be undermined by foreign competition? Malthus pointed out that the country would then face starvation. Ricardo, on the other hand, sided with the rising class of manufacturers. In 1832 the Reform Bill gave the manufacturers control of Parliament, the Corn Laws were repealed, and England's rapidly-growing population became dependent on imports of foreign grain.

Ricardo accepted Malthus' principle of population, and from it he deduced what came to be called his "Iron Law of Wages". According to Ricardo, labor is a commodity, and wages are determined by the law of supply and demand: When wages fall below the starvation level, the workers' children die. Labor then becomes a scarce commodity, and wages rise. On the other hand, when wages rise above the starvation level, the working population multiplies rapidly, labor becomes a plentiful commodity, and wages fall again.

Thus, according to Ricardo, there is an Iron Law which holds wages at the minimum level at which life can be supported. The combined pessimism of Malthus and Ricardo caused Carlyle to call economics "the dismal science".

5.4 Marx and Engels in England

Here is an excerpt from Frederick Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*:

A town, such as London, where a man may wander for hours together without reaching the beginning of the end, without meeting the slightest hint which could lead to the inference that there is open country within reach, is a strange thing. This colossal centralization, this heaping together of two and a half millions of human beings at one point, has multiplied the power of this two and a half millions a hundredfold; has raised London to the commercial capital of the world, created the giant docks and assembled the thousand vessels that continually cover the Thames. I know nothing more imposing than the view which the Thames offers during the ascent from the sea to London Bridge. The masses of buildings, the wharves on both sides, especially from Woolwich upwards, the countless ships along both shores, crowding ever closer and closer together, until, at last, only a narrow passage remains in the middle of the river, a passage through which hundreds of steamers shoot by one another; all this is so vast, so impressive, that a man cannot collect himself, but is lost in

the marvel of England's greatness before he sets foot upon English soil.

But the sacrifices which all this has cost become apparent later. After roaming the streets of the capital a day or two, making headway with difficulty through the human turmoil and the endless lines of vehicles, after visiting the slums of the metropolis, one realizes for the first time that these Londoners have been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilisation which crowd their city; that a hundred powers which slumbered within them have remained p. 24inactive, have been suppressed in order that a few might be developed more fully and multiply through union with those of others. The very turmoil of the streets has something repulsive, something against which human nature rebels. The hundreds of thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other, are they not all human beings with the same qualities and powers, and with the same interest in being happy? And have they not, in the end, to seek happiness in the same way, by the same means? And still they crowd by one another as though they had nothing in common, nothing to do with one another, and their only agreement is the tacit one, that each keep to his own side of the pavement, so as not to delay the opposing streams of the crowd, while it occurs to no man to honour another with so much as a glance. The brutal indifference, the unfeeling isolation of each in his private interest becomes the more repellent and offensive, the more these individuals are crowded together, within a limited space. And, however much one may be aware that this isolation of the individual, this narrow self-seeking is the fundamental principle of our society everywhere, it is nowhere so shamelessly barefaced, so self-conscious as just here in the crowding of the great city. The dissolution of mankind into monads, of which each one has a separate principle, the world of atoms, is here carried out to its utmost extreme.

Hence it comes, too, that the social war, the war of each against all, is here openly declared. Just as in Stirner's recent book, people regard each other only as useful objects; each exploits the other, and the end of it all is, that the stronger treads the weaker under foot, and that the powerful few, the capitalists, seize everything for themselves, while to the weak many, the poor, scarcely a bare existence remains.

What is true of London, is true of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, is true of all great towns. Everywhere barbarous indifference, hard egotism on one hand, and nameless misery on the other, everywhere social warfare, every man's house in a state of siege, everywhere reciprocal plundering under the protection of the law, and all so shameless, so openly avowed that one shrinks before the consequences of our social state...

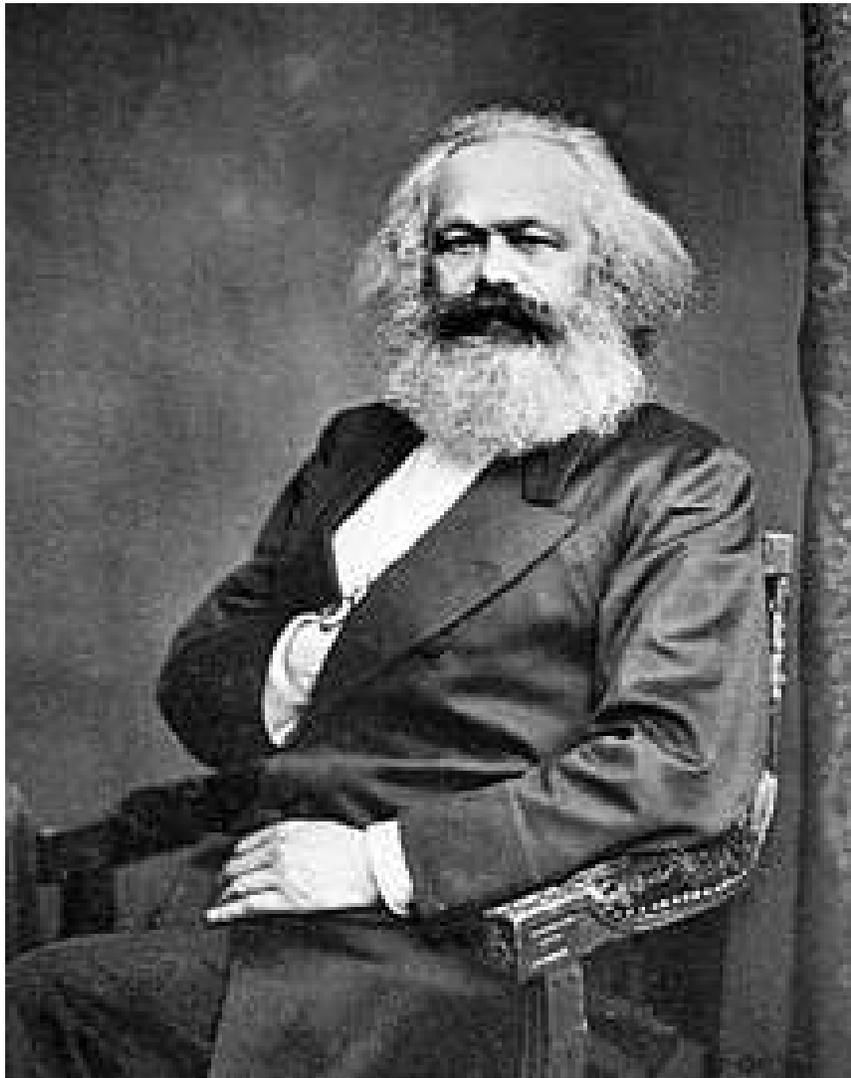


Figure 5.2: Karl Marx, (1818-1883). Born in Prussia, Marx did his most important writing in London, and he died in poverty there at the age of 64.



Figure 5.3: Jenny von Westphalen, (1814-1881), the much-loved aristocratic wife of Karl Marx.



Figure 5.4: **Frederich Engels, (1820-1895).** He met Karl Marx in 1844, and the two became lifelong friends and collaborators.

5.5 The slow acceptance of birth control in England

With the gradual acceptance of birth control in England, the growth of trade unions, the passage of laws against child labor and finally minimum wage laws, conditions of workers gradually improved, and the benefits of industrialization began to spread to the whole of society.

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

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

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

Among the changes which were needed to insure that the effects of technical progress became beneficial rather than harmful, the most important were the abolition of child labor, the development of unions, the minimum wage law, and the introduction of birth control.

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

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

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



Figure 5.5: **The Utilitarian philosopher and economist James Mill (1773-1836) was an early advocate of birth control. (He was the father of John Stuart Mill.)**

A few years later, Mill dared to be slightly more explicit: “The result to be aimed at”, he wrote in his *Elements of Political Economy* (1821), “is to secure to the great body of the people all the happiness which is capable of being derived from the matrimonial union, (while) preventing the evils which the too rapid increase of their numbers would entail. The progress of legislation, the improvement of the education of the people, and the decay of superstition will, in time, it may be hoped, accomplish the difficult task of reconciling these important objects.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pointed out, use of a saline douching solution was necessary.

The battle for these social reforms was not easily won. For example, in 1876, “The Fruits of Philosophy” was ruled by an English court to be obscene, and a bookseller was sentenced to two years imprisonment for distributing it. The liberal politician Charles Bradlaugh and his friend, the feminist author Annie Besant then decided to provoke a new trial by selling the book themselves. They wrote polite letters to the Chief Clerk of the Magistrates, the Detective Department, and the City Solicitor announcing the time and the place at which they intended to sell the book, and they asked to be arrested. The result was a famous trial in which the two reformers were acquitted, but the jury again ruled “The Fruits of Philosophy” to be obscene.

As the nineteenth century progressed, birth control gradually came to be accepted in England, and the average number of children per marriage fell from 6.16 in 1860 to 4.13 in 1890. By 1915 this figure had fallen to 2.43. Because of lowered population pressure, combined with the growth of trade unions and better social legislation, the condition of England’s industrial workers improved; and under the new conditions, Ricardo’s Iron Law of Wages fortunately no longer seemed to hold.

5.6 Trade unions and child labor laws

Nor was the battle to establish trade unions easily won. At the start of the 19th century, many countries had laws prohibiting organizing unions, and these invoked penalties up to and including death. In England, the Reform Act of 1832 made unions legal, but nevertheless in 1834, six men from Dorset who had formed the “Friendly Society of Agricultural Workers” were arrested and sentenced to a seven years’ transportation to Australia. An obscure law from 1797 was invoked, which prohibited swearing secret oaths. This they had in fact done, but their main crime seems to have been refusing to work for less than 10 shillings a week. Despite bitter opposition, trade unions gradually developed both in England and in other industrial countries.

One of the important influences for reform was the Fabian Society, founded in London in 1884. The group advocated gradual rather than revolutionary reform (and took its name from Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman general who defeated Hannibal’s Carthaginian army by using harassment and attrition rather than head-on battles). The Fabian Society came to include a number of famous people, including Sydney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, Annie Besant, Leonard Woolf, Emaline Pankhurst, Bertrand Russell, John Maynard Keynes, Harold Laski, Ramsay MacDonald, Clement Attlee, Tony Benn and Harold Wilson. Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister, was greatly influenced by Fabian economic ideas.

The group was instrumental in founding the British Labour Party (1900), the London School of Economics and the New Statesman. In 1906, Fabians lobbied for a minimum wage law, and in 1911 they lobbied for the establishment of a National Health Service.

Adam Smith had praised division of labor as one of the main elements in industrial efficiency, but precisely this aspect of industrialism was criticized by Thomas Carlyle (1795-



Figure 5.6: Beatrice Webb (1858-1943). Together with her husband Sidney Webb, Graham Wallace and George Bernard Shaw, she founded the London School of Economics using money left to the Fabian Society by Henry Hutchinson. The Fabians also founded the British Labour Party, and they lobbied for a minimum wage law and National Health Service.

1891), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896). They considered the numbingly repetitive work of factory laborers to be degrading, and they rightly pointed out that important traditions of design were being lost and replaced by ugly mass produced artifacts. The Arts and Crafts movement founded by Ruskin and Morris advocated cooperative workshops, where creative freedom and warm human relationships would make work rewarding and pleasant. In several Scandinavian countries, whose industrialization came later than England's, efforts were made to preserve traditions of design. Hence the present artistic excellence of Scandinavian furniture and household articles.

Through the influence of reformers, the more brutal aspects of Adam Smith's economic model began to be moderated. Society was learning that free market mechanisms alone do not lead to a happy and just society. In addition, ethical and ecological considerations and some degree of governmental regulation are also needed.

The Reform Movement aimed at social goals, but left ecological problems untreated. Thus our economic system still does not reflect the true price to society of environmentally damaging activities. For example, the price of coal does not reflect the cost of the environmental damage done by burning it. This being so, our growth-worshiping economic system of today thunders ahead towards an environmental mega-catastrophe, as we will see in the next chapter.

5.7 John Stuart Mill

He was not allowed to have a childhood

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) showed his genius at an early age, and his father, the Utilitarian philosopher and political economist James Mill, immediately began to groom him to replace Jeremy Bentham as the leader of the Utilitarian movement. From the age of 3 onwards, Mill was deliberately kept away from children of his own age and made to spend all his waking hours in study. Play was not allowed, since it would break the habit of continual diligence.

At the age of three, Mill was taught Greek. By the time he reached eight, he had read Aesop's Fables, Xenophon's Anabasis, and all the works of Herodotus. He was also acquainted with Lucian, Diogenes Laërtius, Isocrates and six dialogues of Plato, in their original language. Furthermore, he had also read a great deal of history in English and had been taught arithmetic, physics and astronomy.

When he was twelve, Mill began a thorough study of the scholastic logic, at the same time reading Aristotle's logical treatises in the original language. At thirteen, he was introduced to political economy and studied the classical economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo. In fact Ricardo, who was a close friend of his father, used to invite the young Mill to his house for a walk in order to talk about political economy.

At the age of fourteen, Mill spent a year in France, where he attended the winter courses on chemistry, zoology, logic of the Faculté des Sciences, as well as taking a course of the higher mathematics. He also met the economist Jean-Baptiste Say, a friend of his father,



Figure 5.7: **John Stuart Mill and his stepdaughter Helen Taylor, with whom he worked for fifteen years after the death of his wife, Harriet Taylor Mill (Wikipedia).**

and the political philosopher Henri Saint-Simon.

Limits to growth

John Stuart Mill pioneered the concept of a steady-state economy. He realized that on a finite earth, neither the population of humans nor the economy can continue to grow forever. In 1848 (when there were just over one billion people in the world), he described the optimal global population in the following words:

“The density of population necessary to enable mankind to obtain, in the greatest degree, all the advantages of cooperation and social intercourse, has, in the most populous countries, been attained. A population may be too crowded, although all be amply supplied with food and raiment.”

“... Nor is there much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation, which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural pasture plowed up, all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man’s use exterminated as his rivals for food, every hedgerow or superfluous tree rooted out, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed in the name of improved agriculture. If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness which it owes to things that the unlimited increase of wealth and population would extirpate from it, for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger, but not better or happier population, I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be

stationary, long before necessity compels them to it.”

Contributions to Utilitarian theory

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) had written that “it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong”. Mill refined this basic principle of Utilitarianism by pointing out the difference between higher pleasures, for example moral or intellectual pleasures, and lower ones, such as pleasures of the flesh. Mill remarked that “It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool, or the pig, are of a different opinion, it is because they only know their own side of the question.”

Ideas on economics and on individual liberty

According to David Ricardo’s “Iron Law of Wages”, laborers must always live on the exact borderline between starvation and survival. Wages, Ricardo argued, are determined by the laws of supply and demand. If wages increase above the starvation level, more children of workers survive, the supply of workers increases, and the wages fall once more.

Mill rebelled against Ricardo’s dismal “Iron Law” by pointing out that although the means of production might be regulated by the necessities of economics, social conscience can determine the way in which the goods are distributed. (Later Mahatma Gandhi extended this idea by showing that social conscience can also play a role in the way that goods are produced).

John Stuart Mill also contributed importantly to the idea of individual liberty as opposed to unlimited control by the state or by social opinion. He is the author of the following influential principle: “The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others.”

Opposition to slavery

Regarding slavery, Mill wrote: “This absolutely extreme case of the law of force, condemned by those who can tolerate almost every other form of arbitrary power, and which, of all others, presents features the most revolting to the feeling of all who look at it from an impartial position, was the law of civilized and Christian England within the memory of persons now living: and in one half of Angle-Saxon America three or four years ago, not only did slavery exist, but the slave trade, and the breeding of slaves expressly for it, was a general practice between slave states. Yet not only was there a greater strength of sentiment against it, but, in England at least, a less amount either of feeling or of interest in favour of it, than of any other of the customary abuses of force: for its motive was the love of gain, unmixed and undisguised: and those who profited by it were a very small numerical fraction of the country, while the natural feeling of all who were not personally interested in it, was unmitigated abhorrence.”

Member of Parliament and advocate of for votes for women

During the years between 1865 and 1868, John Stuart Mill served simultaneously as a Member of Parliament and as Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews. In Parliament, Mill was the first person to call for votes for women. His motion was defeated, but it set an important precedent. Mill may have been influenced by his wife, Harriet Taylor Mill, who was a brilliant person in her own right.

Together with his wife and stepdaughter, Mill composed a book entitled *The Subjugation of Women*, which was completed in 1861. It contains a passage arguing that “the legal subordination of one sex to another - is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a system of perfect equality, admitting no power and privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other.

Some quotations

Bad men need nothing more to compass their ends, than that good men should look on and do nothing.

A person may cause evil to others not only by his actions but by his inaction, and in either case he is justly accountable to them for the injury.

I have learned to seek my happiness by limiting my desires, rather than in attempting to satisfy them.

In this age, the mere example of non-conformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom, is itself a service. Precisely because the tyranny of opinion is such as to make eccentricity a reproach, it is desirable, in order to break through that tyranny, that people should be eccentric. Eccentricity has always abounded when and where strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportional to the amount of genius, mental vigor, and moral courage which it contained. That so few now dare to be eccentric, marks the chief danger of the time.

The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether bodily, or mental or spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.

It is not because men’s desires are strong that they act ill; it is because their consciences are weak

Every man who says frankly and fully what he thinks is so far doing a public service. We should be grateful to him for attacking most unsparingly our most cherished opinions.

Those only are happy (I thought) who have their minds fixed on some object other than their own happiness; on the happiness of others, on the improvement of mankind, even on some art or pursuit, followed not as a means, but as itself an ideal end. Aiming thus at something else, they find happiness by the way. The enjoyments of life (such was now my theory) are sufficient to make it a pleasant thing, when they are taken en passant, without being made a principal object.

Whatever we may think or affect to think of the present age, we cannot get out of it; we must suffer with its sufferings, and enjoy with its enjoyments; we must share in its lot, and, to be either useful or at ease, we must even partake its character.

What is called the Law of Nations is not properly law, but a part of ethics: a set of moral rules, accepted as authoritative by civilized states.

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

Member of Parliament and advocate of for votes for women

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Ricardo’s model accurately described the condition of industrial workers at the time when he was living. However, this model did not take into account the possibility of trade unions and social legislation fixing the minimum wage; nor did Ricardo’s model take into account the possibility that workers would use birth control to limit their population growth.

We have seen that Malthus himself was opposed to birth control, advocating late marriage and “moral restraint” instead as the proper means for avoiding excessive population growth. However others in England, notably the Utilitarians, while accepting Malthus’ ideas concerning population pressure, advocated birth control as a means of relieving it. In 1821, the Utilitarian philosopher James Mill (the father of John Stuart Mill) wrote in his *Elements of Political Economy*: “The result to be aimed at is to secure to the great body of the people all the happiness which is capable of being derived from the matrimonial union, (while) preventing the evils which the too rapid increase of their numbers would entail. The progress of legislation, the improvement of the education of the people, and the decay of superstition will, in time, it may be hoped, accomplish the difficult task of reconciling these important objects.”

This somewhat vague advocacy of birth control was made much more explicit by the trade union leader Francis Place (1771-1854). In 1822 Place published, at considerable risk to himself, a pamphlet entitled *To the Married of Both Sexes of the Working People*. Place’s pamphlet contains the following passages:

“It is a great truth, often told and never denied, that when there are too many working people in any trade or manufacture, they are worse paid than they ought to be paid, and are compelled to work more hours than they ought to work. When the number of working people in any trade or manufacture has for some years been too great, wages are reduced very low, and the working people become little better than slaves.” “When wages have thus been reduced to a very small sum, working people can no longer maintain their children as all good and respectable people wish to maintain their children, but are compelled to neglect them; - to send them to different employments; - to Mills and Manufactories, at a very early age.”

“The miseries of these poor children cannot be described, and need not be described to you, who witness them and deplore them every day of your lives.”

“The sickness of yourselves and your children, the privation and pain and premature death of those you love but cannot cherish as you wish, need only be alluded to. You know all these evils too well.” “And what, you will ask, is the remedy? How are we to avoid these miseries? The answer is short and plain: the means are easy. Do as other people do, to avoid having more children than they wish to have, and can easily maintain.”

Place’s pamphlet then goes on to describe very explicitly the sponge method of contraception. “What is to be done is this. A piece of soft sponge is tied by a bobbin or penny ribbon, and inserted just before intercourse takes place. Many tie a sponge to each end of a ribbon, and they take care not to use the same sponge again until it has been washed. If the sponge be large enough, that is, as large as a green walnut, or a small apple, it will prevent conception.... without diminishing the pleasures of married life...”

In 1832, Dr. Charles Knowlton, a Boston physician, published a book entitled *The Fruits of Philosophy, or the Private Companion of Young Married People*. It reviewed the various methods of birth control then available, and it pointed out that in order to be reliable, the sponge method required the use of a saline douching solution. This small book was reprinted in England and sold for a number of years without opposition. However, in 1876, the book was classified as obscene under a new law, and a bookseller was sentenced

to two years in prison for selling it. The feminist leader, Annie Besant, and the liberal politician, Charles Bradlaugh, then provoked a new trial by selling the book themselves. They sent a polite letter to the magistrates announcing when and where they intended to sell Knowlton's book, and asking to be arrested. The result was a famous trial, at which the arguments of Malthus were quoted both by the judge and by the defense. The result of trial was inconclusive, however: Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh were acquitted, but Knowlton's book was held to be obscene.

As the nineteenth century progressed, birth control gradually came to be accepted in England, and the average number of children per marriage fell from 6.16 in 1860 to 4.13 in 1890. By 1915 this figure had fallen to 2.43. Because of lowered population pressure, combined with the growth of trade unions and better social legislation, the condition of England's industrial workers improved; and under the new conditions, Ricardo's Iron Law of Wages fortunately no longer seemed to hold.



Figure 5.8: **Francis Place (1771-1854)**, was a trade union leader and reformer who was anxious to improve the lives of workers. His political activities brought him into contact with William Godwin, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham. He courageously advocated birth control at a time when it was dangerous to do so.



Figure 5.9: Annie Besant (1847-1933). She and the Liberal politician Charles Bradlaugh sent a polite letter to the magistrates announcing when and where they intended to sell Knowlton's book on birth control methods, and asking to be arrested. The result was a famous trial, at which the arguments of Malthus were quoted both by the judge and by the defense. The result of trial was inconclusive, however: Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh were acquitted, but Knowlton's book was held to be obscene.



Figure 5.10: Marie Stopes (1880-1958). She founded the first birth control clinic in Britain, and authored the controversial sex manual *Married Love*. Stopes disapproved of abortion and believed that birth control methods should be used to make abortion unnecessary. She edited the newsletter *Birth Control News*, which gave explicit practical advice.

5.8 The Fabians

With the gradual acceptance of birth control in England, the growth of trade unions, the passage of laws against child labor and finally minimum wage laws, conditions of workers gradually improved, and the benefits of industrialization began to spread to the whole of society.

One of the important influences for reform was the Fabian Society, founded in London in 1884. The group advocated gradual rather than revolutionary reform (and took its name from Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman general who defeated Hannibal's Carthaginian army by using harassment and attrition rather than head-on battles). The Fabian Society came to include a number of famous people, including Sydney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, Annie Besant, Leonard Woolf, Emmeline Pankhurst, Bertrand Russell, John Maynard Keynes, Harold Laski, Ramsay MacDonald, Clement Attlee, Tony Benn and Harold Wilson. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, was greatly influenced by Fabian economic ideas.

The group was instrumental in founding the British Labour Party (1900), the London School of Economics and the New Statesman. In 1906, Fabians lobbied for a minimum wage law, and in 1911 they lobbied for the establishment of a National Health Service.



Figure 5.11: The sociologist, economist, socialist, labour historian and social reformer, Beatrice Webb (1858-1943), played an important role in the founding of the Fabian Society and the British Labour Party.

5.9 John A. Hobson

The colonial era

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

Throughout the American continent, the native Indian population had proved vulnerable to European diseases, such as smallpox, and large numbers of them had died. The remaining Indians were driven westward by streams of immigrants arriving from Europe.

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

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

Much that was beautiful and valuable was lost, as mature traditional cultures collapsed, overcome by the power and temptations of modern industrial civilization. For the Europeans and Americans of the late 19th century and early 20th century, progress was a religion, and imperialism was its crusade.

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

The unequal (and unfair) contest between the industrialized countries, armed with modern weapons, and the traditional cultures with their much more primitive arms, was summarized by the English poet Hilaire Belloc in a cynical couplet:

Whatever happens, we have got
The Maxim gun, and they have not.



Figure 5.12: The Maxim gun was one of the world's first automatic machine guns. It was invented in the United States in 1884 by Hiram S. Maxim. The explorer and colonialist Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) was extremely enthusiastic about Maxim's machine gun, and during a visit to the inventor he tried firing it, demonstrating that it really could fire 600 rounds per minute. Stanley commented that the machine gun would be "a valuable tool in helping civilization to overcome barbarism".

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

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

Hobson's explanation

The English economist John Atkinson Hobson (1858-1940) offered a famous explanation for the colonial era in his book *Imperialism: A study* (1902). Hobson graduated from Lincoln College, Oxford, and later taught classics and English literature at schools in Faversham and Exeter. In 1887, he joined the Fabian Society and, during the last decade of the 19th century, he wrote several influential books: *Problems of Poverty*, (1891); *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, (1894); *Problem of the Unemployed*, (1896); and *John Ruskin: Social Reformer*, (1898).

Hobson agreed with Ruskin's belief that economics should not be exclusively concerned with money matters but ought to contain ethical and humanitarian values as well, and he advocated the formation of cooperative labor guilds where human contacts would make work more pleasurable and rewarding.

The editor of the Manchester Guardian recruited John Hobson as a correspondent to cover the Second Boer War. His experiences in Africa as well as in England convinced Hobson that the war was being fought for economic reasons. In his book, *Imperialism*, published in 1902, Hobson analyzed the economic motivations behind the colonial era.

According to Hobson, the basic problem is an excessively unequal distribution of incomes in industrial countries like England. The result of this unequal distribution is that neither the rich nor the poor are in a position to buy back the total output of the highly industrialized nations. The poor cannot consume enough because their incomes are inadequate. Meanwhile the rich, who have enough money, are very few in number, and each of them has only finite needs. Therefore the rich cannot consume enough either, and they tend to save their excess money. The total effect is that the society is producing more than it can consume.

In this situation, Adam Smith would have proposed a simple solution: The rich (Smith would say) ought to reinvest their excess income in new factories. But, as Hobson pointed out, this would only aggravate the situation. If society is already unable to buy back its output, the new factories would only make matters worse by increasing production.



Figure 5.13: A French cartoon from the 1890's showing England, Germany, Russia, France and Japan slicing up the pie of China.

This situation, Hobson pointed out, provides a powerful economic motivation for imperialism. The excess output of industries can be sold to colonial peoples, and the excess savings of the rich can be invested abroad. This was in fact what was happening on a very large scale at the end of the 19th century. However, having personally witnessed the Second Boer War, Hobson believed imperialism to be immoral, since it entailed great suffering both among the colonial peoples and among the poor in the highly industrialized countries. The cure that Hobson recommended was a more equal distribution of incomes in the manufacturing nations.

Hobson was very popular as a lecturer and writer, but his ideas were too unorthodox to be accepted by the established economists of the time. His theory was, however, enthusiastically adopted by V.I. Lenin, and Hobson's economic analysis of imperialism became a central part of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This gave Hobson's ideas wide circulation, but in a political context that the mild mannered English economist would hardly have endorsed. Hobson's political opinions were in fact close to those of Ruskin and the Fabians, who believed in gradual progress rather than violent revolution.

The neocolonial era?

For a long time, Britain held its position as the leading industrial and colonial power, but from 1890 onwards its dominance was challenged by Germany, the United States, Belgium, France, Italy, Russia and Japan. Rivalry between these industrial powers, competing with each other for colonies, natural resources, markets, and military power, contributed to the start of World War I. At the end of "the Great War", the League of Nations assigned "protectorates" to the victors. These "protectorates" were, in fact, colonies with a new name, although in principle protectorates were supposed to be temporary.

The Second World War was terrible enough to make world leaders resolve to end the institution of war once and for all, and the United Nations was set up for this purpose. Despite the flaws and weaknesses of the UN Charter, the organization was successful in formally ending the era of colonialism. One must say "formally ending" rather than "ending", because colonialism persisted in a new guise: During the classical era of colonialism, there was direct political power, with Viceroys and Governors General acting as formal rulers of colonies. During the decades following the Second World War, almost all colonies were granted formal independence, but nevertheless the influence of the industrialized nations was strongly felt in the developing world. Direct political power was replaced by indirect methods.

5.10 Reforms undermined by globalization

The reform movement's efforts, especially those of the Fabians, overcame the worst horrors of early 19th century industrialism, but today their hard-won achievements are being undermined and lost because of uncritical and unregulated globalization. Today, a factory owner or CEO, anxious to avoid high labor costs, and anxious to violate environmental

regulations merely moves his factory to a country where laws against child labor and rape of the environment do not exist or are poorly enforced. In fact, he must do so or be fired, since the only thing that matters to the stockholders is the bottom line.

The movement of a factory from Europe or North America to a country with poorly enforced laws against environmental destruction, child labor, and slavery, puts workers into unfair competition. Unless they are willing to accept revival of the unspeakable conditions of the early Industrial Revolution, they are unable to compete.

Today, child labor accounts for 22% of the workforce in Asia, 32% in Africa, and 17% in Latin America. Large-scale slavery also exists today, although there are formal laws against it in every country. There are more slaves now than ever before. Their number is estimated to be between 12 million and 27 million. Besides outright slaves, who are bought and sold for as little as 100 dollars, there many millions of workers whose lack of options and dreadful working conditions must be described as slavlike.¹

Adam Smith had praised division of labor as one of the main elements in industrial efficiency, but precisely this aspect of industrialism was criticized by Thomas Carlyle (1795-1891), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896). They considered the numbingly repetitive work of factory laborers to be degrading, and they rightly pointed out that important traditions of design were being lost and replaced by ugly mass produced artifacts. The Arts and Crafts movement founded by Ruskin and Morris advocated cooperative workshops, where creative freedom and warm human relationships would make work rewarding and pleasant. In several Scandinavian countries, whose industrialization came later than England's, efforts were made to preserve traditions of design. Hence the present artistic excellence of Scandinavian furniture and household articles.

Through the influence of reformers, the more brutal aspects of Adam Smith's economic model began to be moderated. Society was learning that free market mechanisms alone do not lead to a happy and just society. In addition, ethical and ecological considerations and some degree of governmental regulation are also needed.

The Reform Movement aimed at social goals, but left ecological problems untreated. Thus our economic system still does not reflect the true price to society of environmentally damaging activities. For example, the price of coal does not reflect the cost of the environmental damage done by burning it. This being so, our growth-worshiping economic system of today thunders ahead towards an environmental mega-catastrophe.

¹<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/04/state-dept-accused-watering-down-human-rights-ratings-advance-obama-trade-agenda>
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Chapter 6

THOREAU, WEBER AND GANDHI

6.1 Thoreau

In the distant future (and perhaps even in the not-so-distant future) industrial civilization will need to abandon its relentless pursuit of unnecessary material goods and economic growth. Modern society will need to re-establish a balanced and harmonious relationship with nature. In pre-industrial societies harmony with nature is usually a part of the cultural tradition. In our own time, the same principle has become central to the ecological counter-culture while the main-stream culture thunders blindly ahead, addicted to wealth, power and growth.

In the 19th century the American writer, Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), pioneered the concept of a simple life, in harmony with nature. Today, his classic book, *Walden*, has become a symbol for the principles of ecology, simplicity, and respect for nature.

Thoreau was born in Concord Massachusetts, and he attended Harvard from 1833 to 1837. After graduation, he returned home, worked in his family's pencil factory, did odd jobs, and for three years taught in a progressive school founded by himself and his older brother, John. When John died of lockjaw in 1842, Henry David was so saddened that he felt unable to continue the school alone.

Thoreau refused to pay his poll tax because of his opposition to the Mexican War and to the institution of slavery. Because of his refusal to pay the tax (which was in fact a very small amount) he spent a night in prison. To Thoreau's irritation, his family paid the poll tax for him and he was released. He then wrote down his ideas on the subject in an essay entitled *The Duty of Civil Disobedience*, where he maintains that each person has a duty to follow his own individual conscience even when it conflicts with the orders of his government. "Under a government that which imprisons any unjustly", Thoreau wrote, "the true place for a just man is in prison." *Civil Disobedience* influenced Tolstoy, Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and it anticipated the Nuremberg Principles.

Thoreau became the friend and companion of the transcendentalist writer Ralph Waldo

Emerson (1803-1882), who introduced him to a circle of writers and thinkers that included Ellery Channing, Margaret Fuller and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Nathaniel Hawthorne described Thoreau in the following words: “Mr. Thorow [sic] is a keen and delicate observer of nature - a genuine observer, which, I suspect, is almost as rare a character as even an original poet; and Nature, in return for his love, seems to adopt him as her especial child, and shows him secrets which few others are allowed to witness. He is familiar with beast, fish, fowl, and reptile, and has strange stories to tell of adventures, and friendly passages with these lower brethren of mortality. Herb and flower, likewise, wherever they grow, whether in garden, or wild wood, are his familiar friends. He is also on intimate terms with the clouds and can tell the portents of storms. It is a characteristic trait, that he has a great regard for the memory of the Indian tribes, whose wild life would have suited him so well; and strange to say, he seldom walks over a plowed field without picking up an arrow-point, a spear-head, or other relic of the red men - as if their spirits willed him to be the inheritor of their simple wealth.”

At Emerson’s suggestion, Thoreau opened a journal, in which he recorded his observations concerning nature and his other thoughts. Ultimately the journal contained more than 2 million words. Thoreau drew on his journal when writing his books and essays, and in recent years, many previously unpublished parts of his journal have been printed.

From 1845 until 1847, Thoreau lived in a tiny cabin that he built with his own hands. The cabin was in a second-growth forest beside Walden Pond in Concord, on land that belonged to Emerson. Thoreau regarded his life there as an experiment in simple living. He described his life in the forest and his reasons for being there in his book *Walden*, which was published in 1854. The book is arranged according to seasons, so that the two-year sojourn appears compressed into a single year.

“Most of the luxuries”, Thoreau wrote, “and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind. With respect to luxuries, the wisest have ever lived a more simple and meager life than the poor. The ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich in inward.”

Elsewhere in *Walden*, Thoreau remarks, “It is never too late to give up your prejudices”, and he also says, “Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer.” Other favorite quotations from Thoreau include “Rather than love, than money, than fame, give me truth”, “Beware of all enterprises that require new clothes”, “Most men lead lives of quiet desperation” and “Men have become tools of their tools.”

Towards the end of his life, when he was very ill, someone asked Thoreau whether he had made his peace with God. “We never quarreled”, he answered.

Thoreau’s closeness to nature can be seen from the following passage, written by his friend Frederick Willis, who visited him at Walden Pond in 1847, together with the Alcott family: “He was talking to Mr. Alcott of the wild flowers in Walden woods when, suddenly stopping, he said: ‘Keep very still and I will show you my family.’ Stepping quickly outside the cabin door, he gave a low and curious whistle; immediately a woodchuck came running



Figure 6.1: Henry David Thoreau, 1817-1862.

towards him from a nearby burrow. With varying note, yet still low and strange, a pair of gray squirrels were summoned and approached him fearlessly. With still another note several birds, including two crows flew towards him, one of the crows nestling upon his shoulder. I remember that it was the crow resting close to his head that made the most vivid impression on me, knowing how fearful of man this bird is. He fed them all from his hand, taking food from his pocket, and petted them gently before our delighted gaze; and then dismissed them by different whistling, always strange and low and short, each wild thing departing instantly at hearing his special signal.”

In an essay published by the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1853, Thoreau described a pine tree in Maine with the words: “It is as immortal as I am, and perchance will go to as high a heaven, there to tower above me still.” However, the editor (James Russell Lowell) considered the sentence to be blasphemous, and removed it from Thoreau’s essay before publication.

In one of his essays, Thoreau wrote: “If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making the earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen.”

6.2 Veblen; economics as anthropology

The phrase “conspicuous consumption” was invented by the Norwegian-American economist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) in order to describe the way in which our society uses economic waste as a symbol of social status. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, first published in 1899, Veblen pointed out that it is wrong to believe that human economic behavior is rational, or that it can be understood in terms of classical economic theory. To understand it, Veblen maintained, one might preferably make use of insights gained from anthropology, psychology, sociology, and history.

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

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

An interesting fact about this strange man is that, for some reason, women found him very attractive. In 1888, Thorstein Veblen married Ellen Rolfe, the niece of the president of Carlton College. His wife was to leave him many times, partly because of his many

infidelities, and partly because of his aloofness and detachment. He was like a visitor from another planet.

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

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

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

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

According to Thorstein Veblen, ancient tribal instincts and attitudes motivate us today, just as they motivated our primitive ancestors. Veblen speaks of a predatory phase of primitive society where the strongest fighters were able to subjugate others. This primitive class structure was based on violence, and, according to Veblen, the attitudes associated with it persist today.

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

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

"In order to gain and hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence. It is felt by all persons of refined taste that a spiritual contamination is inseparable from certain offices that are conventionally required of servants. Vulgar surroundings,



Figure 6.2: **Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929).**

mean (that is to say, inexpensive) habitations, and vulgarly productive occupations are unhesitatingly condemned and avoided. They are incompatible with life on a satisfactory spiritual plane - with 'high thinking'."

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

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

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

The sensation caused by the publication of Veblen's book, and the fact that his phrase, "conspicuous consumption", has become part of our language, indicate that his theory did not completely miss its mark. In fact, modern advertisers seem to be following Veblen's advice: Realizing that much of the output of our economy will be used for the purpose of establishing the social status of consumers, advertising agencies hire psychologists to appeal to the consumer's longing for a higher social position.

When possessions are used for the purpose of social competition, demand has no natural upper limit; it is then limited only by the size of the human ego, which, as we know, is boundless. This would be all to the good if unlimited economic growth were desirable. But today, when further growth implies future collapse, industrial society urgently needs to find new values to replace our worship of power, our restless chase after excitement, and our admiration of excessive consumption.

6.3 Gandhi as an economist

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

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

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

of social critics and experimenters helped to cure Gandhi of his painful shyness, and it also developed his taste for social reform and experimentation.

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

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

"Both were happy with this result, and both rose in public estimation. My joy was boundless. I had learnt the true practice of law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during my twenty years of practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby - not even money, certainly not my soul."

Gandhi was about to return to India after the settlement of the case, but at a farewell party given by Abdullah Seth, he learned of a bill before the legislature which would deprive Indians in South Africa of their right to vote. He decided to stay and fight against the bill.

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

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

In his autobiography, Gandhi says: "Three moderns have left a deep impression on my life and captivated me: Raychandbhai (the Indian philosopher and poet) by his living

contact; Tolstoy by his book 'The Kingdom of God is Within You'; and Ruskin by his book 'Unto This Last'."

Ruskin's book, "Unto This Last", which Gandhi read in 1904, is a criticism of modern industrial society. Ruskin believed that friendships and warm interpersonal relationships are a form of wealth that economists have failed to consider. He felt that warm human contacts are most easily achieved in small agricultural communities, and that therefore the modern tendency towards centralization and industrialization may be a step backward in terms of human happiness. While still in South Africa, Gandhi founded two religious Utopian communities based on the ideas of Tolstoy and Ruskin. Phoenix Farm (1904) and Tolstoy Farm (1910). At this time he also took an oath of chastity ("bramacharya"), partly because his wife was unwell and he wished to protect her from further pregnancies, and partly in order to devote himself more completely to the struggle for civil rights.

Because of his growing fame as the leader of the Indian civil rights movement in South Africa, Gandhi was persuaded to return to India in 1914 and to take up the cause of Indian home rule. In order to reacquaint himself with conditions in India, he traveled tirelessly, now always going third class as a matter of principle.

During the next few years, Gandhi worked to reshape the Congress Party into an organization which represented not only India's Anglicized upper middle class but also the millions of uneducated villagers who were suffering under an almost intolerable burden of poverty and disease. In order to identify himself with the poorest of India's people, Gandhi began to wear only a white loincloth made of rough homespun cotton. He traveled to the remotest villages, recruiting new members for the Congress Party, preaching non-violence and "firmness in the truth", and becoming known for his voluntary poverty and humility. The villagers who flocked to see him began to call him "Mahatma" (Great Soul).

Disturbed by the spectacle of unemployment and poverty in the villages, Gandhi urged the people of India to stop buying imported goods, especially cloth, and to make their own. He advocated the reintroduction of the spinning wheel into village life, and he often spent some hours spinning himself. The spinning wheel became a symbol of the Indian independence movement, and was later incorporated into the Indian flag.

The movement for boycotting British goods was called the "Swadeshi movement". The word Swadeshi derives from two Sanskrit roots: *Swa*, meaning self, and *Desh*, meaning country. Gandhi described Swadeshi as "a call to the consumer to be aware of the violence he is causing by supporting those industries that result in poverty, harm to the workers and to humans or other creatures."

Gandhi tried to reconstruct the crafts and self-reliance of village life that he felt had been destroyed by the colonial system. "I would say that if the village perishes India will perish too", he wrote, "India will be no more India. Her own mission in the world will get lost. The revival of the village is only possible when it is no more exploited. Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use. Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villagers using even the modern machines that they can make and can afford to use. Only they



Figure 6.3: Gandhi and his wife Kasturbhai in 1902.

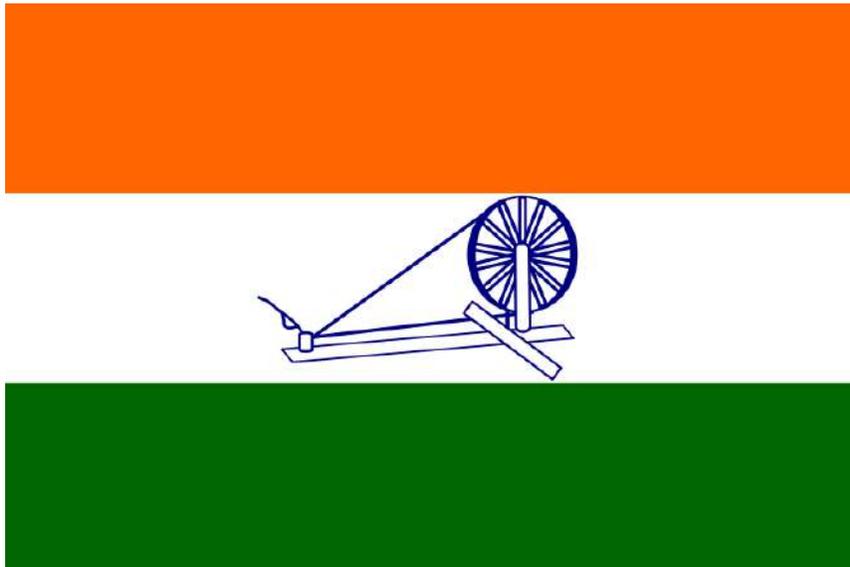


Figure 6.4: Gandhi's spinning wheel was incorporated into the flag of the Congress Party and later into the national flag of an independent India.

should not be used as a means of exploitation by others.”

“You cannot build nonviolence on a factory civilization, but it can be built on self-contained villages... Rural economy as I have conceived it, eschews exploitation altogether, and exploitation is the essence of violence... We have to make a choice between India of the villages that are as ancient as herself and India of the cities which are a creation of foreign domination...”

“Machinery has its place; it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour. An improved plow is a good thing. But if by some chances, one man could plow up, by some mechanical invention of his, the whole of the land of India, and control all the agricultural produce, and if the millions had no other occupation, they would starve, and being idle, they would become dunces, as many have already become. There is hourly danger of many being reduced to that unenviable state.”

In these passages we see Gandhi not merely as a pioneer of nonviolence; we see him also as an economist. Faced with misery and unemployment produced by machines, Gandhi tells us that social goals must take precedence over blind market mechanisms. If machines are causing unemployment, we can, if we wish, and use labor-intensive methods instead. With Gandhi, the free market is not sacred - we can do as we wish, and maximize human happiness, rather than maximizing production and profits.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the insidious argument that "the end justifies the means," Gandhi answered firmly: "They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means, so the end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that very limited) over means, none over end. ... The means may be likened to a seed, and the end to a tree; and there is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life." In other words, a dirty method produces a dirty result; killing produces more killing; hate leads to more hate. But there are positive feedback loops as well as negative ones. A kind act produces a kind response; a generous gesture is returned; hospitality results in reflected hospitality. Hindus and Buddhists call this principle "the law of karma".

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

Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu extremist on January 30, 1948. After his death, someone collected and photographed all his worldly goods. These consisted

of a pair of glasses, a pair of sandals and a white homespun loincloth. Here, as in the Swadeshi movement, we see Gandhi as a pioneer of economics. He deliberately reduced his possessions to an absolute minimum in order to demonstrate that there is no connection between personal merit and material goods. Like Veblen, Mahatma Gandhi told us that we must stop using material goods as a means of social competition. We must start to judge people not by what they have, but by what they are.

6.4 The counter-culture

In Chapter 6, we mentioned Say's Law ("Supply creates its own demand"). Jean-Baptiste Say's basis for this proposition was the assumption that a consumer's desire for goods is infinite. He combined this assumption with the observation that the wages paid for the production of goods will provide money enough to buy back the goods, even if the amount involved increases without limit. Comforted by Say's "law", and by the observation that people in industrial societies do indeed consume far more than they actually need, economists continue to pursue economic growth as though it were the Holy Grail. We do indeed devote much of our efforts to "making the earth bald before her time".

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

In the 1960's, a counter-culture developed in the United States, partly as a reaction against the Vietnam War and partly as a reaction against consumerism. It seemed to young people that they were being offered a possession-centered way of life that they did not want, and that they were being asked to participate in a war that they thought was immoral.

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

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

The Greening of America, by Charles Reich, describes the youth-centered counter-culture: "Industrialism produced a new man...", Reich wrote, "one adapted to the demands of the machine. In contrast, today's emerging consciousness seeks a new knowledge of what

it means to be human, in order that the machine, having been built, may now be turned to human ends; in order that man once more can become a creative force, renewing and creating his own life and thus giving life back to society.”

6.5 The Brundtland Report

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

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

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

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

1. Today’s needs should not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their needs.
2. A direct link exists between the economy and the environment.
3. The needs of the poor in all nations must be met.
4. In order for the environment to be protected, the economic conditions of the world’s poor must be improved.
5. In all our actions, we must consider the impact upon future generations.

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



Figure 6.5: Gro Harlem Brundtland

6.6 The Earth Summit at Rio

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

The Earth Summit at Rio ought to have been a turning point in the relationship between humans and the global environment. However, despite the size and importance of the conference, and despite the hopes of most of the participants, the the Earth Summit did not result in the changes in laws and lifestyles that will be needed to establish long-term sustainability.

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

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

Agenda 21

The first few chapters of Agenda 21 are as follows:

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

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

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

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Chapter 7

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

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

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

Economists (with a few notable exceptions) have long behaved as though growth were synonymous with economic health. If the gross national product of a country increases steadily by 4% per year, most economists express approval and say that the economy is healthy. If the economy could be made to grow still faster (they maintain), it would be still more healthy. If the growth rate should fall, economic illness would be diagnosed. However, the basic idea of Malthus is applicable to exponential increase of any kind. It is obvious that on a finite Earth, neither population growth nor economic growth can continue indefinitely.

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

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

pressure on land used for building cities, and profits can be gained by holding such land, or through the ownership of houses in growing cities. In general, in a growing economy, investments are likely to be rewarded. In a stationary or contracting economy, the stock market may crash.

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

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

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

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

Adam Smith was perfectly correct in saying that the free market is the dynamo of economic growth; but exponential growth of human population and economic activity have brought us, in a surprisingly short time, from the empty-world situation in which he lived to a full-world situation. In today's world, we are pressing against the absolute limits of the earth's carrying capacity, and further growth carries with it the danger of future collapse. Full-world economics, the economics of the future, will no longer be able to rely on growth to give profits to stockbrokers or to solve problems of unemployment or to alleviate poverty. In the long run, growth of any kind is not sustainable; and we are now nearing its sustainable limits.

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

The memory of the great depression of 1929 makes us fear the consequences of an economic slowdown, especially since unemployment is already a serious problem in many parts of the world. Although the history of the 1929 depression is frightening, it may nevertheless be useful to look at the measures which were used then to bring the global economy back to its feet. A similar level of governmental responsibility may help us to

avoid some of the more painful consequences of the necessary transition from the economics of growth to steady-state economics.

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

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

7.2 Keynesian economics

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

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

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), the author of this letter to Roosevelt, was the son of the Cambridge University economist and logician, Neville Keynes. After graduating from Eton and studying economics at King's College, Cambridge, Keynes spent a few years as a civil servant in the India Office. In 1909, he returned to Cambridge as a Fellow of King's College. He became a member of the "Bloomsbury Group", a collection of intellectual



Figure 7.1: John Maynard Keynes (right) with Harry Dexter White at the Bretton Woods Conference. Keynes was an extremely tall man - 6 feet and 6 inches tall, i.e. 198 cm. Heart problems caused his early death.

friends that included Virginia and Leonard Woolf, E.M. Forster, Clive and Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, Lytton Strachy, Roger Fry, and Bertrand Russell. In 1911, Keynes became the editor of the *Economic Journal*, a position that he retained almost until the end of his life.

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

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

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

In 1936, Keynes published his magnum opus, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. In this book, he provided a theoretical explanation for the fact that the great depression showed no tendency to right itself, as well as arguments for governmental interventions to counter business cycles and to produce full employment. Once again, Keynes had written a best-seller. His *General Theory* proved to be one of the most influential books on economics ever written.

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

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

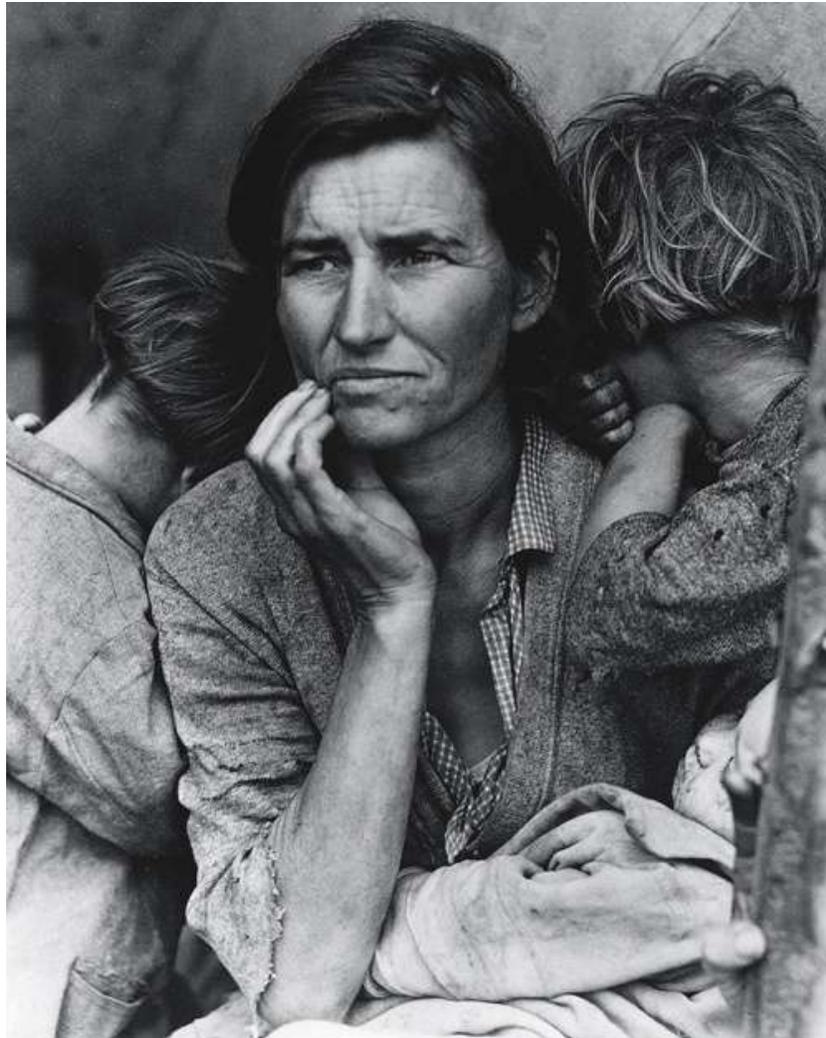


Figure 7.2: *Migrant Mother*, a photograph by Dorothea Lange, shows a destitute pea picker in California in 1936, during the Great Depression.

it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Keynes (like Malthus and Hobson) believed that excessive saving could be a serious problem, capable of causing a "general glut" or depression. By excessive saving, he meant saving beyond planned investment, a condition that could be caused by falling consumer demand, overinvestment in previous years, or lack of business confidence. The classical economists believed that excessive saving would be corrected by falling interest rates. Keynes did not believe that interest rates would respond quickly enough to perform this corrective function. Instead, Keynes believed, excessive savings would be in the end corrected by the fall in aggregate income which characterizes a recession or depression. The econ-

omy would reach a new equilibrium at low levels of employment, income, investment and production. This new, undesirable equilibrium would not be self-correcting. (By calling his theory a *General Theory*, Keynes meant that he treated not only the full-employment equilibrium, but also other types of equilibria.)

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

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

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

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

During World War II, Keynes advice on how to finance the war effort was sought by the British government. He did as much as he could, but his activity was limited by increasing heart problems. At the end of the war, Keynes represented England at the Breton Woods Conference, which established the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He received many honors - for example, he became Lord Keynes. However, his health remained unstable, and in 1946 he died of a heart attack. His life and work had produced a permanent change from the *laissez faire* economics of Adam Smith to an era of recognized governmental responsibility.

7.3 Avoiding a depression: Strong governmental action will be needed

Inside Job

The Academy-Award-Winning documentary film **Inside Job**¹ tells the shocking story of the corruption of the financial sector that led to the 2008 subprime mortgage crisis and bank bailout. The film can be seen online free of charge, and is well worth viewing. Of particular interest are discussions of the history of bank deregulation, governmental collusion, and the destabilizing effects of the enormous derivative market.

What are derivatives?

Investopedia² gives the following definition of derivatives:

- A derivative is a contract between two or more parties whose value is based on an agreed-upon underlying financial asset, index or security.
- Futures contracts, forward contracts, options, swaps, and warrants are commonly used derivatives.
- Derivatives can be used to either mitigate risk (hedging) or assume risk with the expectation of commensurate reward (speculation).

How large is the derivative market?

Investopedia³ states that “The derivatives market is, in a word, gigantic - often estimated at more than \$1.2 quadrillion on the high end. How can that be? Largely because there are numerous derivatives in existence, available on virtually every possible type of investment asset, including equities, commodities, bonds and foreign currency exchange. Some market analysts even place the size of the market at more than 10 times that of the total world gross domestic product (GDP).

Iran and a global financial meltdown?

Here are some excerpts from a June 7 2019 article by Pepe Escobar entitled *Why Trump Now Wants Talks With Iran: If Iran Blocks the Strait of Hormuz It Will Send the Price*

¹<https://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/feb/17/inside-job-review>
<https://topdocumentaryfilms.com/inside-job/>

²<https://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/052715/how-big-derivatives-market.asp>

³<https://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/052715/how-big-derivatives-market.asp>

*of Oil Soaring And Cause Global Financial Derivatives Meltdown*⁴:

If Tehran blocks the Strait of Hormuz it could send the price of oil soaring and cause a global recession.

The great Bilderberg secret of 2019 had to do with why, suddenly, the Trump administration has decided that it wants to talk to Iran “with no preconditions”...

An American source said a series of studies hit President Trump’s desk and caused panic in Washington. These showed that in the case of the Strait of Hormuz being shut down, whatever the reason, Iran has the power to hammer the world financial system, by causing global trade in derivatives to be blown apart.

The Bank for International Settlements said last year that the “notional amount outstanding for derivatives contracts” was \$542 trillion, although the gross market value was put at just \$12.7 trillion. Others suggest it is \$1.2 quadrillion or more.

The example of FDR and Keynes

Because of the financially destabilizing effect of the enormous derivative market, and because of radical adjustments that will be needed to meet the challenges of the climate crisis, there is currently a strong danger that the world will be thrown into a severe depression. If this occurs, we must remember the methods used by Franklin D. Roosevelt to end the depression of the 1930’s. Following the advice of Keynes, he used the power of the federal government to simultaneously create jobs and much-needed infrastructure.

The Worldwatch Institute, Washington D.C., lists the following steps as necessary for the transition to sustainability⁵:

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

⁴<http://socioecohistory.x10host.com/2019/06/07/why-trump-now-wants-talks-with-iran-if-tehran-blocks-the-strait-of-hormuz-it-will-send-the-price-of-oil-soaring-and-cause-global-financial-derivatives-meltdown/>

⁵L.R. Brown and P. Shaw, 1982.

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

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

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

Economic activity is usually divided into two categories, 1) production of goods and 2) provision of services. It is the rate of production of goods that will be limited by the carrying capacity of the global environment. Services that have no environmental impact will not be constrained in this way. Thus a smooth transition to a sustainable economy will involve a shift of a large fraction the work force from the production of goods to the provision of services.

In his recent popular book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, the economist Richard Florida points out that in a number of prosperous cities - for example Stockholm - a large fraction of the population is already engaged in what might be called creative work - a type of work that uses few resources, and produces few waste products - work which develops knowledge and culture rather than producing material goods. For example, producing computer software requires few resources and results in few waste products. Thus it is an activity with a very small ecological footprint. Similarly, education, research, music, literature and art are all activities that do not weigh heavily on the carrying capacity of the global environment. Florida sees this as a pattern for the future, and maintains that everyone is capable of creativity. He visualizes the transition to a sustainable future economy as one in which a large fraction of the work force moves from industrial jobs to information-related work. Meanwhile, as Florida acknowledges, industrial workers feel uneasy and threatened by such trends.

Population and goods per capita

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

very poor, or less numerous and more comfortable, or very few and very rich. Perhaps the middle way will prove to be the best.

Given the fact that environmental carrying capacity will limit the sustainable level of resource-using economic activity to a fixed amount, average wealth in the distant future will be approximately inversely proportional to population over a certain range of population values.⁶

7.4 Kenneth E. Boulding: *Spaceship Earth*

Some quotations from Kenneth E. Boulding

Anyone who believes in indefinite growth in anything physical, on a physically finite planet, is either mad or an economist.

Mathematics brought rigor to economics. Unfortunately it also brought mortis.

Nothing fails like success because we don't learn from it. We learn only from failure.

If the society toward which we are developing is not to be a nightmare of exhaustion, we must use the interlude of the present era to develop a new technology which is based on a circular flow of materials such that the only sources of man's provisions will be his own waste products.

Economics has been incurably growth-oriented and addicted to everybody growing richer, even at the cost of exhaustion of resources and pollution of the environment.

Nationalism is the only religion today that requires human sacrifice.

Know this: though love is weak and hate is strong, Yet hate is short, and love is very long.

As long as man was small in numbers and limited in technology, he could realistically regard the earth as an infinite resource, an infinite source of inputs, and an infinite cesspool of outputs. Today, we can no longer make this assumption. Earth has become a spaceship. not only in our imagination but also in the hard

⁶Obviously, if the number of people is reduced to such an extent that it approaches zero, the average wealth will not approach infinity, since a certain level of population is needed to maintain a modern economy. However, if the global population becomes extremely large, the average wealth will indeed approach zero.



Figure 7.3: **Kenneth E. Boulding (1910-1993)**, author of more than 36 books and 112 articles on the relationship of economics with social and philosophical questions. His influential book, “Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth”, was published in 1966.

realities of the social, biological and physical systems in which man is enmeshed.

The economy of the future might be called the “spaceman economy,” in which the earth has become a single spaceship, without unlimited reservoirs of anything.

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Chapter 8

ADDICTION TO GROWTH

8.1 Madmen and economists

“Anyone who believes in indefinite growth in anything physical, on a physically finite planet, is either mad or an economist”. Kenneth E. Boulding (1910-1993)

Why are economists addicted to growth?

Economists (with a few notable exceptions) have long behaved as though growth were synonymous with economic health. If the gross national product of a country increases steadily by 4 percent per year, most economists express approval and say that the economy is healthy. If the economy could be made to grow still faster (they maintain), it would be still more healthy. If the growth rate should fall, economic illness would be diagnosed. However, it is obvious that on a finite Earth, neither population growth nor economic growth can continue indefinitely.

But why do economists cling almost religiously to the idea of growth? In general, growth brings profits to speculators. For example, purchase of land on the outskirts of a growing city will be rewarded as the land increases in value.; and when the economy grows, stocks rise in value. ’

Today, as economic growth falters, the defects and injustices of our banking system have come sharply into focus, and light has also been thrown onto the much-too-cozy relationship between banking and government. The collapse of banks during the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008 and their subsequent bailout by means of the taxpayer’s money can give us an insight into both phenomena - the faults of our banking system and its infiltration into the halls of government. The same can be said of the present national debt crisis in the Euro zone and elsewhere.



8.2 Fractional reserve banking

One feature of banking that cries out for reform is “fractional reserve banking”, i.e. the practice whereby private banks keep only a tiny fraction of the money entrusted to them by their depositors, and lend out all the remaining amount. By doing so, the banks are in effect coining their own money and putting it into circulation, a prerogative that ought to be reserved for governments. Under the system of fractional reserve banking, profits from any expansion of the money supply go to private banks rather than being used by the government to provide social services. This is basically fraudulent and unjust; the banks are in effect issuing their own counterfeit money.

When the economy contracts instead of expanding, the effect of fractional reserve banking is still worse. In that case the depositors ask the banks for their money, which it is their right to do. But the banks do not have the money - they have lent it out, and thus they fail. However, the bankers have insured themselves against this eventuality by buying the votes of government officials. Thus the banks are bailed out and the taxpayers are left with the bill, as in the recent example in which the US Federal Reserve secretly gave 7.7 trillion of the taxpayers’ dollars to bail out various banks.

Inside Job

The Academy-Award-Winning documentary film **Inside Job**¹ tells the shocking story of the corruption of the financial sector that led to the 2008 subprime mortgage crisis and bank

¹<https://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/feb/17/inside-job-review>
<https://topdocumentaryfilms.com/inside-job/>

bailout. The film can be seen online free of charge, and is well worth viewing. Of particular interest are discussions of the history of bank deregulation, governmental collusion, and the destabilizing effects of the enormous derivative market.

8.3 Information-driven population growth

Today we are able to estimate the population of the world at various periods in history, and we can also make estimates of global population in prehistoric times. Looking at the data, we can see that the global population of humans has not followed an exponential curve as a function of time, but has instead followed a hyperbolic trajectory.

At the time of Christ, the population of the world is believed to have been approximately 220 million. By 1500, the earth contained 450 million people, and by 1750, the global population exceeded 700 million. As the industrial and scientific revolution has accelerated, global population has responded by increasing at a break-neck speed: In 1930, the population of the world reached two billion; in 1958 three billion; in 1974 four billion; in 1988 five billion, and in 1999, six billion. Today, we have reached 7.6 billion, and roughly a billion people are being added to the world's population every twelve years.

As the physicist Murray Gell-Mann has pointed out, a simple mathematical curve which closely approximates the global population of humans over a period of several thousand years is a hyperbola of the form $P = 190,000,000,000/(2025-t)$. Here P represents the global population of humans and t is the year.

How are we to explain the fact that the population curve is not an exponential? We can turn to Malthus for an answer: According to his model, population does not increase exponentially, except under special circumstances, when the food supply is so ample that the increase of population is entirely unchecked.

Malthus gives us a model of culturally-driven population growth. He tells us that population increase tends to press against the limits of the food supply, and since these limits are culturally determined, population density is also culturally-determined. Hunter-gatherer societies need large tracts of land for their support; and in such societies, the population density is necessarily low. Pastoral methods of food production can support populations of a higher density. Finally, extremely high densities of population can be supported by modern agriculture. Thus, Gell-Mann's hyperbolic curve, should be seen as describing the rapidly-accelerating growth of human culture, this being understood to include methods of food production.

If we look at the curve, $P=C/(2025-t)$, it is obvious that human culture has reached a period of crisis. The curve predicts that the world's population will rise to infinity in the year 2025, which of course is impossible. Somehow the actual trajectory of global population as a function of time must deviate from the hyperbolic curve, and in fact, the trajectory has already begun to fall away from the hyperbola.

Because of the great amount of human suffering which may be involved, and the potentially catastrophic damage to the earth's environment, the question of how the actual trajectory of human population will come to deviate from the hyperbola is a matter of

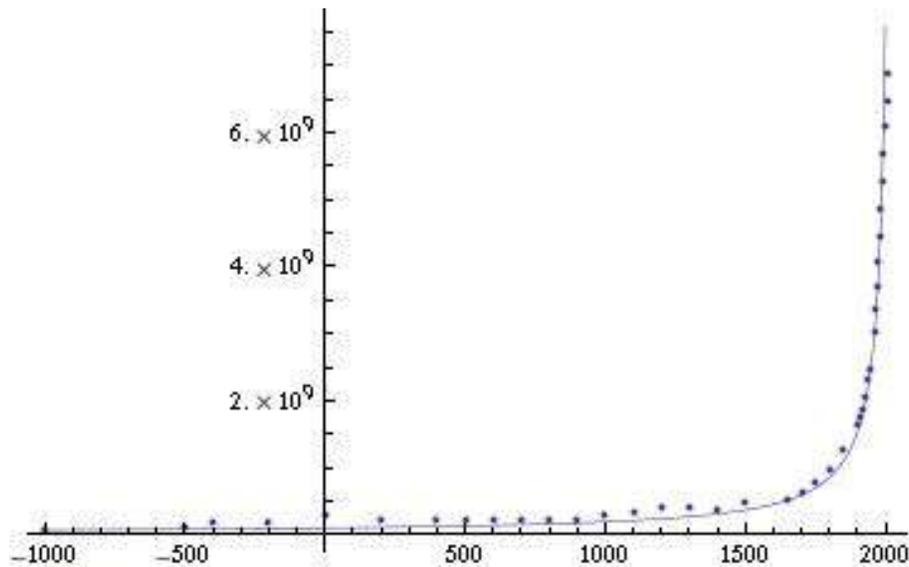


Figure 8.1: The simple mathematical curve that fits best to human population data over the last 3,000 years is not an exponential increase, but rather a hyperbola of the form $P=C/(2025-t)$. Here P represents population, $C=190,000,000,000$ and t is the year. The curve goes to infinity at $t=2025$ (only a few years away), which is of course impossible. Global population has already started to fall away from the hyperbolic trajectory. Will it level off, or will it crash disastrously? Because of the enormous amount of human suffering that would be involved in a population crash, the question has great importance.

enormous importance. Will population overshoot the sustainable limit, and crash? Or will it gradually approach a maximum? In the case of the second alternative, will the checks which slow population growth be later marriage and family planning? Or will the grim Malthusian forces - famine, disease and war - act to hold the number of humans within the carrying capacity of their environment?

We can anticipate that as the earth's human population approaches 10 billion, severe famines will occur in many developing countries. The beginnings of this tragedy can already be seen. It is estimated that roughly 30,000 children now die every day from starvation, or from a combination of disease and malnutrition.

Beyond the fossil fuel era

An analysis of the global ratio of population to cropland shows that we have probably already exceeded the sustainable limit of population through our dependence on petroleum: Between 1950 and 1982, the use of cheap synthetic fertilizers increased by a factor of 8. Much of our present agricultural output depends on their use, but their production is expensive in terms of energy. Furthermore, petroleum-derived synthetic fibers have reduced the amount of cropland needed for growing natural fibers, and petroleum-driven tractors have replaced draft animals which required cropland for pasturage.

Also, petroleum fuels have replaced fuelwood and other fuels derived from biomass. The reverse transition, from fossil fuels back to renewable energy sources, will require a considerable diversion of land from food production to energy production. For example, 1.1 hectares are needed to grow the sugarcane required for each alcohol-driven Brazilian automobile. This figure may be compared with the steadily falling average area of cropland available to each person in the world: .24 hectares in 1950, .16 hectares in 1982.

Thus there is a danger that just as global population reaches the unprecedented level of 10 billion or more, the agricultural base for supporting it may suddenly collapse. Ecological catastrophe, possibly compounded by war and other disorders, could produce famine and death on a scale unprecedented in history - a disaster of unimaginable proportions, involving billions rather than millions of people.

What would Malthus say today?

What would Malthus tell us if he were alive today? Certainly he would say that we have reached a period of human history where it is vital to stabilize the world's population if catastrophic environmental degradation and famine are to be avoided. He would applaud efforts to reduce suffering by eliminating poverty, widespread disease, and war; but he would point out that, since it is necessary to stop the rapid increase of human numbers, it follows that whenever the positive checks to population growth are removed, it is absolutely necessary to replace them by preventive checks. Malthus' point of view became more broad in the successive editions of his *Essay*; and if he were alive today, he would probably agree that family planning is the most humane of the preventive checks.

Eliminating poverty and war

In most of the societies which Malthus described, a clear causal link can be seen, not only between population pressure and poverty, but also between population pressure and war. As one reads his Essay, it becomes clear why both these terrible sources of human anguish saturate so much of history, and why efforts to eradicate them have so often met with failure: The only possible way to eliminate poverty and war is to reduce the pressure of population by preventive checks, since the increased food supply produced by occasional cultural advances can give only very temporary relief.

Today, the links between population pressure, poverty, and war are even more pronounced than they were in the past, because the growth of human population has brought us to the absolute limits imposed by ecological constraints. Furthermore, the development of nuclear weapons has made war prohibitively dangerous.

How many people can the earth support in comfort?

The resources of the earth and the techniques of modern science can support a global population of moderate size in comfort and security; but the optimum size is undoubtedly smaller than the world's present population. Given a sufficiently small global population, renewable sources of energy can be found to replace disappearing fossil fuels. Technology may also be able to find renewable substitutes for many disappearing mineral resources for a global population of a moderate size. What technology cannot do, however, is to give a global population of 10 billion people the standard of living which the industrialized countries enjoy today.

8.4 Entropy and economics

We urgently need to shift quickly from fossil fuels to renewable energy if we are to avoid a tipping point after which human efforts to avoid catastrophic climate change will be futile because feedback loops will have taken over. The dangerous methane hydrate feedback loop is discussed in an excellent short video made by Thom Hartmann and the Leonardo DiCaprio Foundation.²

Celebrated author and activist Naomi Klein has emphasized the link between need for economic reform and our urgent duty to address climate change.³

Rebel economist Prof. Tim Jackson discusses the ways in which our present economic system has failed us, and the specific reforms that are needed. In one of his publications, he says: "The myth of growth has failed us. It has failed the two billion people who still live on 2 dollars a day. It has failed the fragile ecological systems on which we depend for

²<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sRGVTK-AAvw>
<http://lasthours.org/>

³<http://thischangeseverything.org/naomi-klein/>
<http://www.theguardian.com/profile/naomiklein>

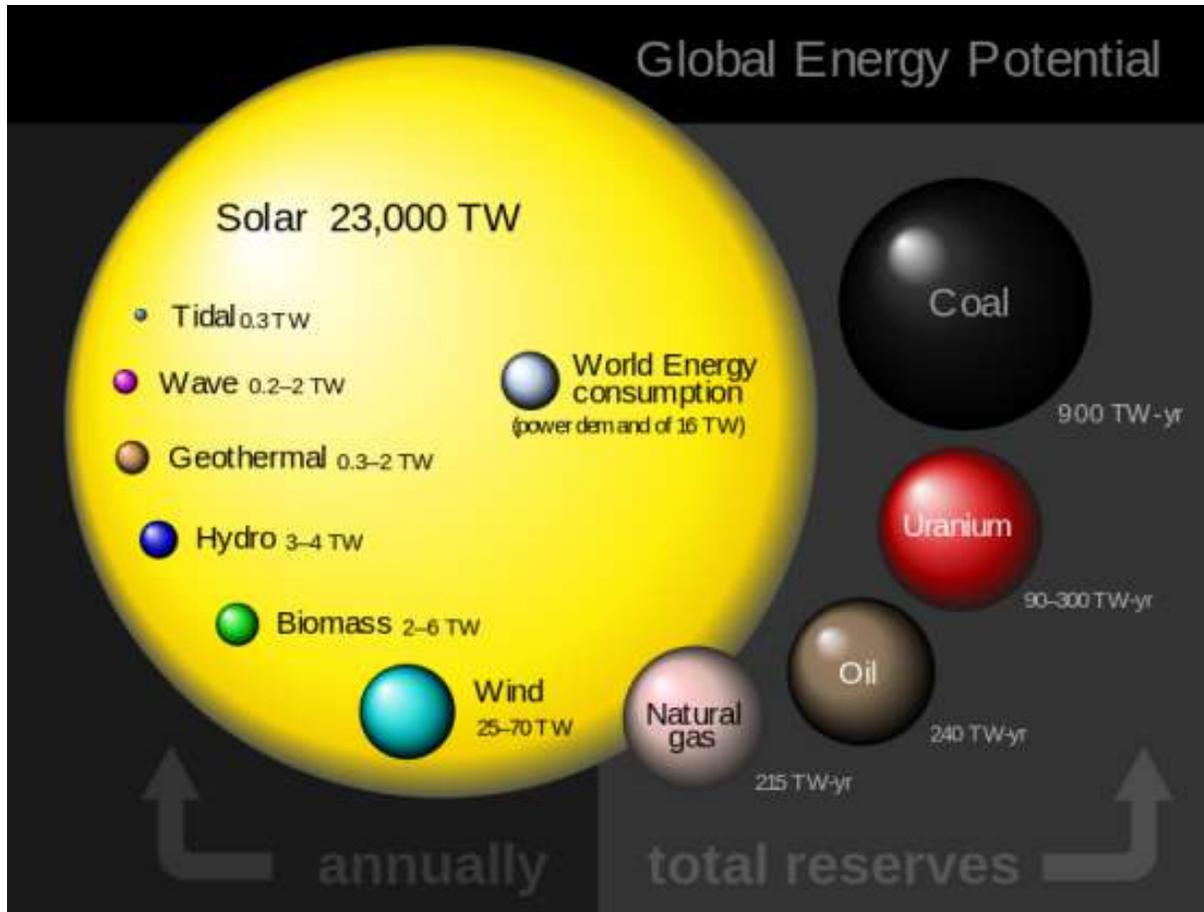


Figure 8.2: Global energy potential. Comparison of renewable and conventional planetary energy reserves and sources. While renewables display their power potential in terawatts (TW) with the corresponding annual amount of energy, conventional sources display their total recoverable energy reserves in terawatt-years (TW-yr). Author: Rfassbind, Wikimedia Commons

survival. It has failed, spectacularly, in its own terms, to provide economic stability and secure people's livelihood." ⁴

What is entropy?

Entropy is a quantity, originally defined in statistical mechanics and thermodynamics. It is a measure of the statistical probability of any state of a system: The greater the entropy, the greater the probability. The second law of thermodynamics asserts that entropy of the universe always increases with time. In other words, the universe as a whole is constantly moving towards states of greater and greater probability.

For any closed system, the same is true. Such systems move in time towards states of greater and greater probability. However, the earth, with its biosphere, is not a closed system. The earth constantly receives an enormous stream of light from the sun. The radiation which we receive from the sun brings us energy that can be used to perform work, and in physics this is called "free energy". Because of this flood of incoming sunlight, plants, animals and humans are able to create structures which from a statistical point of view are highly unlikely.

The disorder and statistical probability of the universe is constantly increasing, but because the earth is not a closed system, we are able to create local order, and complex, statistically improbable structures, like the works of Shakespeare, the Mona Lisa and the Internet. The human economy is driven by the free energy which we receive as income from the sun. Money is, in fact, a symbol for free energy, and free energy might be thought of as "negative entropy". There is also a link between free energy and information.⁵

Human society as a superorganism, with the global economy as its digestive system

A completely isolated human being would find it as difficult to survive for a long period of time as would an isolated ant or bee or termite. Therefore it seems correct to regard human society as a superorganism. In the case of humans, the analog of the social insects' nest is the enormous and complex material structure of civilization. It is, in fact, what we call the human economy. It consists of functioning factories, farms, homes, transportation links, water supplies, electrical networks, computer networks and much more.

Almost all of the activities of modern humans take place through the medium of these external "exosomatic" parts of our social superorganism. The terms "exosomatic" and "endosomatic" were coined by the American scientist Alfred Lotka (1880-1949). A lobster's claw is endosomatic; it is part of the lobster's body. The hammer used by a human is exosomatic, like a detachable claw. Lotka spoke of "exosomatic evolution", including in

⁴<http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/rio-20-tim-jackson-leaders-green-economy?newsfeed=true>

<http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/consumerism-sustainability-short-termism>

⁵<http://www.amazon.com/Information-Theory-And-Evolution-Edition/dp/9814401234>

this term not only cultural evolution but also the building up of the material structures of civilization.

The economy associated with the human superorganism “eats” resources and free energy. It uses these inputs to produce local order, and finally excretes them as heat and waste. The process is closely analogous to food passing through the alimentary canal of an individual organism. The free energy and resources that are the inputs of our economy drive it just as food drives the processes of our body, but in both cases, waste products are finally excreted in a degraded form.

Almost all of the free energy that drives the human economy came originally from the sun’s radiation, the exceptions being geothermal energy which originates in the decay of radioactive substances inside the earth, and tidal energy, which has its origin in the slowing of the motions of the earth-moon system. However, since the start of the Industrial Revolution, our economy has been using the solar energy stored in of fossil fuels. These fossil fuels were formed over a period of several hundred million years. We are using them during a few hundred years, i.e., at a rate approximately a million times the rate at which they were formed.

The present rate of consumption of fossil fuels is more than 14 terawatts and, if used at the present rate, fossil fuels would last less than a century. However, because of the very serious threats posed by climate change, human society would be well advised to stop the consumption of coal, oil and natural gas within the next two decades.

The rate of growth of of new renewable energy sources is increasing rapidly. These sources include small hydro, modern biomass, solar, wind, geothermal, wave and tidal energy. There is an urgent need for governments to set high taxes on fossil fuel consumption and to shift subsidies from the petroleum and nuclear industries to renewables. These changes in economic policy are needed to make the prices of renewables more competitive.

The shock to the global economy that will be caused by the end of the fossil fuel era will be compounded by the scarcity of other non-renewable resources, such as metals. While it is true (as neoclassical economists emphasize) that “matter and energy can neither be created nor destroyed”, free energy can be degraded into heat, and concentrated deposits of minerals can be dispersed. Both the degradation of free energy into heat and the dispersal of minerals involve increases of entropy.

8.5 Frederick Soddy

One of the first people to call attention to the relationship between entropy and economics was the English radiochemist Frederick Soddy (1877-1956). Soddy won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1921 for his work with Ernest Rutherford demonstrating the transmutation of elements in radioactive decay processes. His concern for social problems then led him to a critical study of the assumptions of classical economics. Soddy believed that there is a close connection between free energy and wealth, but only a very tenuous connection between wealth and money.

Soddy was extremely critical of the system of “fractional reserve banking” whereby

private banks keep only a small fraction of the money that is entrusted to them by their depositors and lend out the remaining amount. He pointed out that this system means that the money supply is controlled by the private banks rather than by the government, and also that profits made from any expansion of the money supply go to private corporations instead of being used to provide social services. Fractional reserve banking exists today, not only in England but also in many other countries. Soddy's criticisms of this practice cast light on the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008 and the debt crisis of 2011.

As Soddy pointed out, real wealth is subject to the second law of thermodynamics. As entropy increases, real wealth decays. Soddy contrasted this with the behavior of debt at compound interest, which increases exponentially without any limit, and he remarked:

“You cannot permanently pit an absurd human convention, such as the spontaneous increment of debt [compound interest] against the natural law of the spontaneous decrement of wealth [entropy]”. Thus, in Soddy's view, it is a fiction to maintain that being owed a large amount of money is a form of real wealth.

Frederick Soddy's book, “Wealth, virtual wealth and debt: The solution of the economic paradox”, published in 1926 by Allen and Unwin, was received by the professional economists of the time as the quixotic work of an outsider. Today, however, Soddy's common-sense economic analysis is increasingly valued for the light that it throws on the problems of our fractional reserve banking system, which becomes more and more vulnerable to failure as economic growth falters.⁶

Currency reform, and nationalization of banks

Frederick Soddy was writing at a time when England's currency was leaving the gold standard, and in order to replace this basis for the currency, he proposed an index system. Soddy's index was to be based on a standard shopping basket containing household items, such as bread, milk, potatoes and so on. If the price of the items in the basket rose, more currency would be issued by the nationalized central bank. If the price fell, currency would be withdrawn.

Nationalization of banks was proposed by Soddy as a means of avoiding the evils of the fractional reserve banking system. Today we see a revival of the idea of nationalized banks, or local user-owned cooperative banks. The Grameen Bank, founded by Prof. Muhammad Yunus, pioneered the idea of socially-motivated banks for the benefit poor people who would ordinarily be unable to obtain loans. The bank and its founder won a Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.⁷

⁶www.fadedpage.com/link.php?file=20140873-a5.pdf
<http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/07/08/debt-slavery/>

⁷<http://www.grameen-info.org/history/>
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8.6 Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen: Ecological Economics

The incorporation of the idea of entropy into economic thought also owes much to the mathematician and economist Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen (1906-1994), the son of a Romanian army officer. Georgescu-Roegen's talents were soon recognized by the Romanian school system, and he was given an outstanding education in mathematics, which later contributed to his success and originality as an economist.

Between 1927 and 1930 the young Georgescu studied at the Institute de Statistique in Paris, where he completed an award-winning thesis: "On the problem of finding out the cyclical components of phenomena". He then worked in England with Karl Pearson from 1930 to 1932, and during this period his work attracted the attention of a group of economists who were working on a project called the Harvard Economic Barometer. He received a Rockefeller Fellowship to join this group, but when he arrived at Harvard, he found that the project had been disbanded.

In desperation, Georgescu-Roegen asked the economist Joseph Schumpeter for an appointment to his group. Schumpeter's group was in fact a remarkably active and interesting one, which included the future Nobel laureate Wassely Leontief; and there followed a period of intense intellectual activity during which Georgescu-Roegen became an economist.

Despite offers of a permanent position at Harvard, Georgescu-Roegen returned to his native Romania in the late 1930's and early 1940's in order to help his country. He served as a member of the Central Committee of the Romanian National Peasant Party. His experiences at this time led to his insight that economic activity involves entropy. He was also helped to this insight by Borel's monograph on Statistical Mechanics, which he had read during his Paris period.

Georgescu-Roegen later wrote: "The idea that the economic process is not a mechanical analogue, but an entropic, unidirectional transformation began to turn over in my mind long ago, as I witnessed the oil wells of the Ploesti field of both World Wars' fame becoming dry one by one, and as I grew aware of the Romanian peasants' struggle against the deterioration of their farming soil by continuous use and by rains as well. However it was the new representation of a process that enabled me to crystallize my thoughts in describing the economic process as the entropic transformation of valuable natural resources (low entropy) into valueless waste (high entropy)."

After making many technical contributions to economic theory, Georgescu-Roegen returned to this insight in his important 1971 book, "The Entropy Law and the Economic Process" (Harvard University Press), where he outlines his concept of bioeconomics. In a later book, "Energy and Economic Myths" (Pergamon Press, New York, 1976), he offered the following recommendations for moving towards a bioeconomic society:

1. The complete prohibition of weapons production, thereby releasing productive forces

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalization>

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/23/beppe-grillo-calls-for-nationalisation-of-italian-banks-and-exit-from-euro>

<http://dissentvoice.org/2015/07/whats-wrong-with-our-monetary-system-and-how-to-fix-it/>

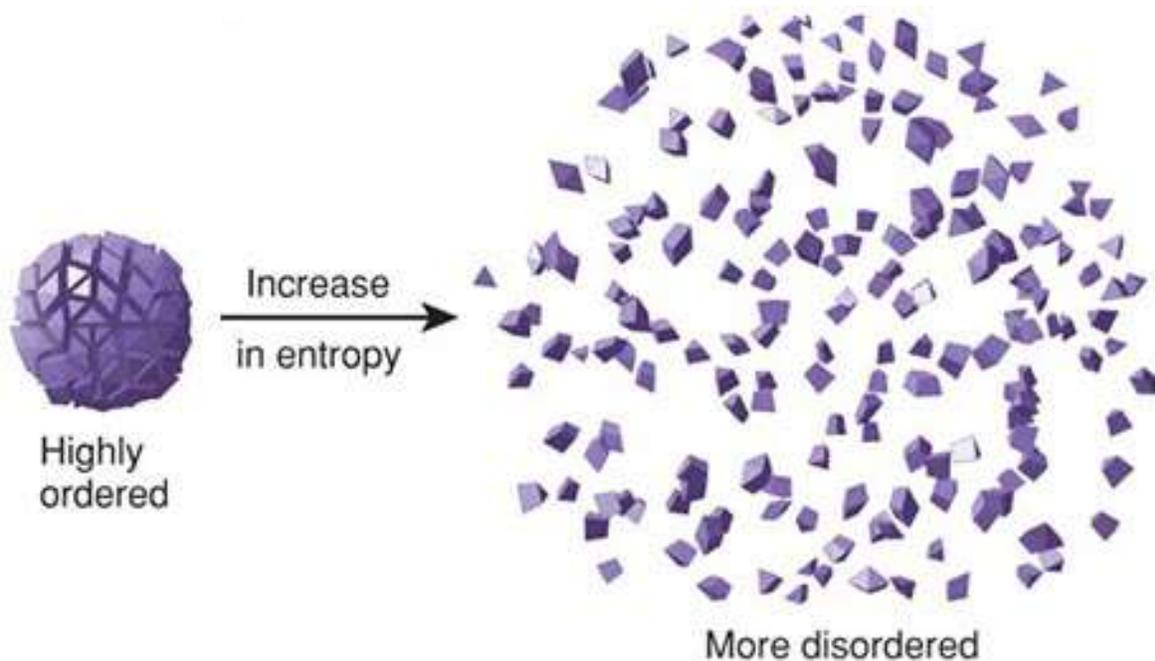


Figure 8.3: According to the second law of thermodynamics, the entropy of the universe constantly increases. Increase of entropy corresponds to increase of disorder, and also to increase of statistical probability. Living organisms on the earth are able to achieve a high degree of order and highly improbable structures because the earth is not a closed system. It constantly receives free energy (i.e. energy capable of doing work) from the sun, and this free energy can be thought of as carrying thermodynamic information, or “negative entropy”. Source: flowchainsensel.wordpress.co,



Figure 8.4: Wind, solar, and biomass are three emerging renewable sources of energy. Wind turbines in a rapeseed field in Sandesneben, Germany. Author: Jürgen from Sandesneben, Germany, Wikimedia Commons

- for more constructive purposes;
- 2. Immediate aid to underdeveloped countries;
- 3. Gradual decrease in population to a level that could be maintained only by organic agriculture;
- 4. Avoidance, and strict regulation if necessary, of wasteful energy use;
- 5. Abandon our attachment to “extravagant gadgetry”;
- 6. “Get rid of fashion”;
- 7. Make goods more durable and repairable; and
- 8. Cure ourselves of workaholic habits by re-balancing the time spent on work and leisure, a shift that will become incumbent as the effects of the other changes make themselves felt.

Georgescu-Roegen did not believe that his idealistic recommendations would be adopted, and he feared that human society is headed for a crash.

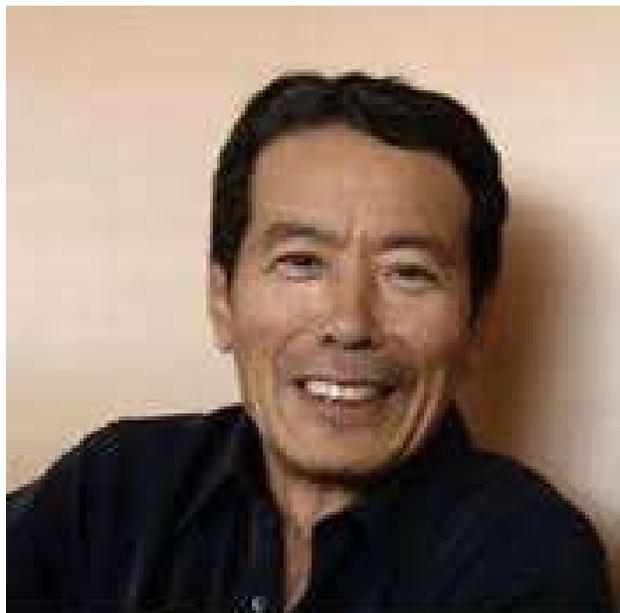
8.7 Herman E. Daly and Kozo Mayumi

Limits to growth

Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen’s influence continues to be felt today, not only through his own books and papers but also through those of his students, the distinguished economists Herman E. Daly and Kozo Mayumi, who for many years have been advocating a steady-state



Figure 8.5: Today, Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen's work for a sustainable steady.state economic system is ably carried forward by his two distinguished students, Professors Herman E. Daly (above) and Kozo Mayumi (below).



economy. As they point out in their books and papers, it is becoming increasingly apparent that unlimited economic growth on a finite planet is a logical impossibility. However, it is important to distinguish between knowledge, wisdom and culture, which can and should continue to grow, and growth in the sense of an increase in the volume of material goods produced. It is growth in the latter sense that is reaching its limits.

Daly describes our current situation as follows: “The most important change in recent times has been the growth of one subsystem of the Earth, namely the economy, relative to the total system, the ecosphere. This huge shift from an ‘empty’ to a ‘full’ world is truly ‘something new under the sun’... The closer the economy approaches the scale of the whole Earth, the more it will have to conform to the physical behavior mode of the Earth... The remaining natural world is no longer able to provide the sources and sinks for the metabolic throughput necessary to sustain the existing oversized economy, much less a growing one. Economists have focused too much on the economy’s circulatory system and have neglected to study its digestive tract.”⁸

In the future, the only way that we can avoid economic collapse is to build a steady-state economy. There exists much literature on how this can be achieved, and these writings ought to become a part of the education of all economists and politicians.

8.8 The global food crisis

Optimum population in the long-term future

What is the optimum population of the world? It is certainly not the maximum number that can be squeezed onto the globe by eradicating every species of plant and animal that cannot be eaten. The optimum global population is one that can be supported in comfort, equality and dignity, and with respect for the environment.

In 1848 (when there were just over one billion people in the world), John Stuart Mill described the optimal global population in the following words: “The density of population necessary to enable mankind to obtain, in the greatest degree, all the advantages of cooperation and social intercourse, has, in the most populous countries, been attained. A population may be too crowded, although all be amply supplied with food and raiment.”

“... Nor is there much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation, which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural pasture plowed up, all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man’s use exterminated as his rivals for food, every hedgerow or superfluous tree rooted out, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed in the name

⁸<http://dalynews.org/learn/blog/>
<http://steadystate.org/category/herman-daly/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EN5esbvAt-w>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIR-VsXtM4Y>
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2015/car031315a.htm>

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873, England)



Mill “had a lifelong goal of reforming the world in the interest of human well-being”

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mill>
L

Figure 8.6: Mill wrote: **“I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it.”** Source: www.slideshare.net

of improved agriculture. If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness which it owes to things that the unlimited increase of wealth and population would extirpate from it, for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger, but not better or happier population, I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it.” (From John Stuart Mill, “Principles of Political Economy, With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy”, 1848.)

Has the number of humans in the world already exceeded the earth’s sustainable limits? Will the global population of humans crash catastrophically after having exceeded the carrying capacity of the environment? There is certainly a danger that this will happen - a danger that the 21st century will bring very large scale famines to vulnerable parts of the world, because modern energy-intensive agriculture will be dealt a severe blow by the end of the fossil fuel era, and because climate change will reduce the world’s agricultural output.

When the major glaciers in the Himalayas have melted, they will no longer be able to give India and China summer water supplies; rising oceans will drown much agricultural land; and aridity will reduce the output of many regions that now produce much of the world’s grain. Falling water tables in overdrawn aquifers, and loss of topsoil will add to the problem. We should be aware of the threat of a serious global food crisis in the 21st century if we are to have a chance of avoiding it.

The term *ecological footprint* was introduced by William Rees and Mathis Wackernagel in the early 1990’s to compare demands on the environment with the earth’s capacity to regenerate. In 2015, humanity used environmental resources at such a rate that it would

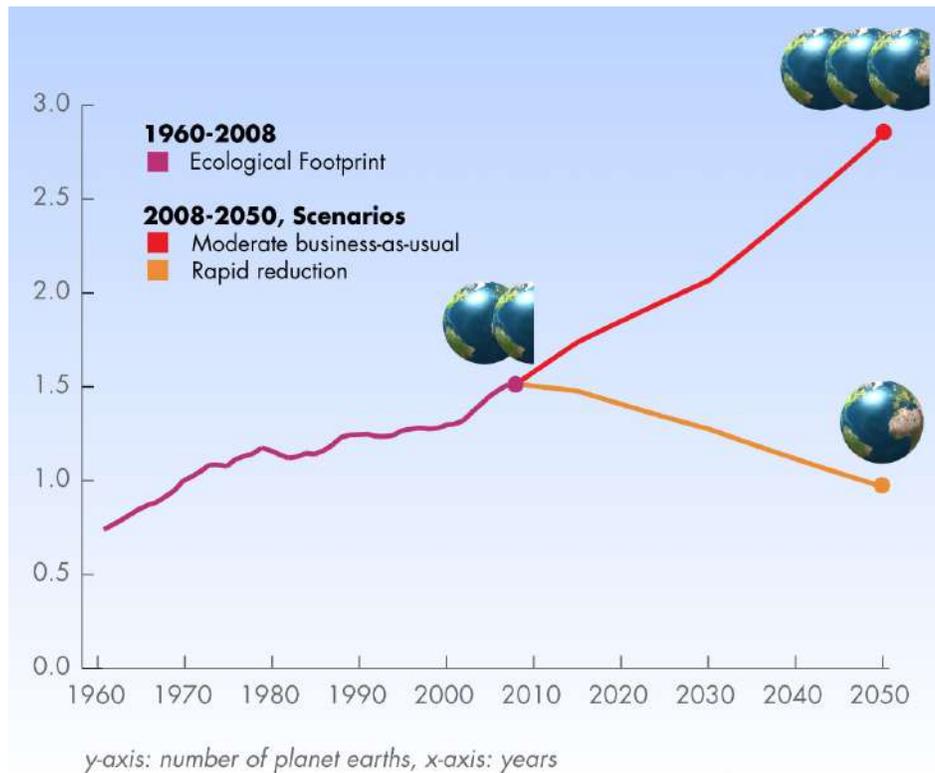


Figure 8.7: **Our present trajectory is completely unsustainable. If we follow it, then by 2050 it would take almost three earths to regenerate our demands on resources.** Source: footprintnetwork.org

take 1.6 earths to renew them. In other words, we have already exceeded the earth's carrying capacity. Since eliminating the poverty that characterizes much of the world today will require more resources per capita, rather than less, it seems likely that in the era beyond fossil fuels, the optimum global population will be considerably less than the present population of the world.

Limitations on cropland

In 1944 the Norwegian-American plant geneticist Norman Borlaug was sent to Mexico by the Rockefeller Foundation to try to produce new wheat varieties that might increase Mexico's agricultural output. Borlaug's dedicated work on this project was spectacularly successful. He remained with the project for 16 years, and his group made 6,000 individual crossings of wheat varieties to produce high-yield disease-resistant strains.

In 1963, Borlaug visited India, bringing with him 100 kg. of seeds from each of his most promising wheat strains. After testing these strains in Asia, he imported 450 tons of the Lerma Rojo and Sonora 64 varieties: 250 tons for Pakistan and 200 for India. By 1968, the success of these varieties was so great that school buildings had to be commandeered



Figure 8.8: **Norman Borlaug and agronomist George Harrer in 1943.** Source: beforeitsnews.com

to store the output. Borlaug's work began to be called a "Green Revolution". In India, the research on high-yield crops was continued and expanded by Prof. M.S. Swaminathan and his co-workers. The work of Green Revolution scientists, such Norman Borlaug and M.S. Swaminathan, has been credited with saving the lives of as many as a billion people.

Despite these successes, Borlaug believes that the problem of population growth is still a serious one. "Africa and the former Soviet republics", Borlaug states, "and the Cerrado, are the last frontiers. After they are in use, the world will have no additional sizable blocks of arable land left to put into production, unless you are willing to level whole forests, which you should not do. So, future food-production increases will have to come from higher yields. And though I have no doubt that yields will keep going up, whether they can go up enough to feed the population monster is another matter. Unless progress with agricultural yields remains very strong, the next century will experience human misery that, on a sheer numerical scale, will exceed the worst of everything that has come before."

With regard to the prospect of increasing the area of cropland, a report by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (Provisional Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, FAO, Rome, 1970) states that "In Southern Asia,... in some countries of Eastern Asia, in the Near East and North Africa... there is almost no scope for expanding agricultural area... In the drier regions, it will even be necessary to return to permanent pasture the land that is marginal and submarginal for cultivation. In most of Latin America and Africa south of the Sahara, there are still considerable possibilities for expanding cultivated areas; but the costs of development are high, and it will often be more economical to intensify the utilization of areas already settled." Thus there is a possibility

of increasing the area of cropland in Africa south of the Sahara and in Latin America, but only at the cost of heavy investment and at the additional cost of destruction of tropical rain forests.

Rather than an increase in the global area of cropland, we may encounter a future loss of cropland through soil erosion, salination, desertification, loss of topsoil, depletion of minerals in topsoil, urbanization and failure of water supplies. In China and in the Southwestern part of the United States, water tables are falling at an alarming rate. The Ogallala aquifer (which supplies water to many of the plains states in the central and southern parts of the United States) has a yearly overdraft of 160%.

In the 1950's, both the U.S.S.R and Turkey attempted to convert arid grasslands into wheat farms. In both cases, the attempts were defeated by drought and wind erosion, just as the wheat farms of Oklahoma were overcome by drought and dust in the 1930's. If irrigation of arid lands is not performed with care, salt may be deposited, so that the land is ruined for agriculture. This type of desertification can be seen, for example, in some parts of Pakistan. Another type of desertification can be seen in the Sahel region of Africa, south of the Sahara. Rapid population growth in the Sahel has led to overgrazing, destruction of trees, and wind erosion, so that the land has become unable to support even its original population.

Especially worrying is a prediction of the International Panel on Climate Change concerning the effect of global warming on the availability of water: According to Model A1 of the IPCC, global warming may, by the 2050's, have reduced by as much as 30% the water available in large areas of world that now a large producers of grain.

Added to the agricultural and environmental problems, are problems of finance and distribution. Famines can occur even when grain is available somewhere in the world, because those who are threatened with starvation may not be able to pay for the grain, or for its transportation. The economic laws of supply and demand are not able to solve this type of problem. One says that there is no "demand" for the food (meaning demand in the economic sense), even though people are in fact starving.⁹

Energy-dependence of modern agriculture

A very serious problem with Green Revolution plant varieties is that they require heavy inputs of pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. Because of this, the use of high-yield varieties contributes to social inequality, since only rich farmers can afford the necessary inputs. Monocultures, such as the Green Revolution varieties may also prove to be vulnerable to future epidemics of plant diseases, such as the epidemic that caused the Irish Potato Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend

⁹<http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/climate-change/society-will-collapse-by-2040-due-to-catastrophic-food-shortages-says-study-10336406.html>
<http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/32131-the-new-climate-normal-abrupt-sea-level-rise-and-predictions-of-civilization-collapse>
<http://www.commondreams.org/views/2015/08/13/dignity-democracy-and-food-interview-frances-moore-lappe>

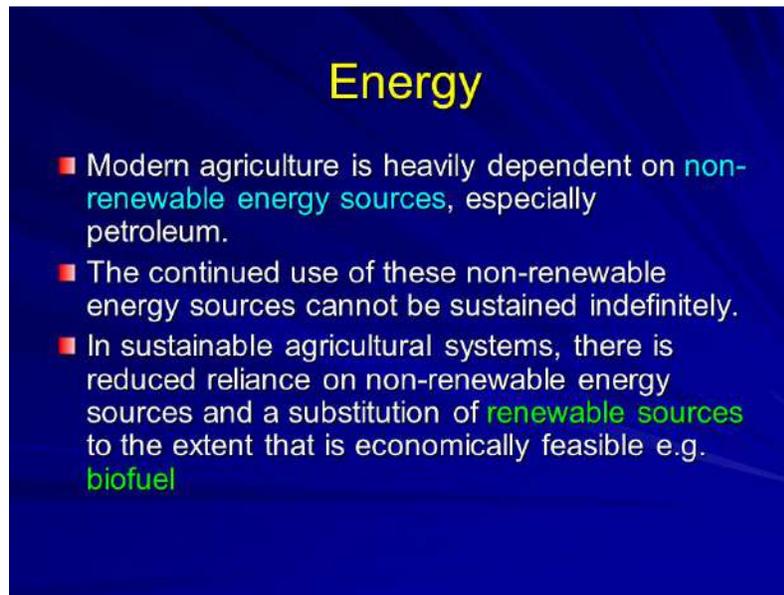


Figure 8.9: **Source: slideplayer.com**

on the use of fossil fuels. One must therefore ask whether high agricultural yields can be maintained in the future, when fossil fuels are expected to become prohibitively scarce and expensive.

Modern agriculture has become highly dependent on fossil fuels, especially on petroleum and natural gas. This is especially true of production of the high-yield grain varieties introduced in the Green Revolution, since these require especially large inputs of fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation. Today, fertilizers are produced using oil and natural gas, while pesticides are synthesized from petroleum feedstocks, and irrigation is driven by fossil fuel energy. Thus agriculture in the developed countries has become a process where inputs of fossil fuel energy are converted into food calories.

The ratio of the fossil fuel energy inputs to the food calorie outputs depends on how many energy-using elements of food production are included in the accounting. David Pimental and Mario Giampietro of Cornell University estimated in 1994 that U.S. agriculture required 0.7 kcal of fossil fuel energy inputs to produce 1.0 kcal of food energy. However, this figure was based on U.N. statistics that did not include fertilizer feedstocks, pesticide feedstocks, energy and machinery for drying crops, or electricity, construction and maintenance of farm buildings. A more accurate calculation, including these inputs, gives an input/output ratio of approximately 1.0. Finally, if the energy expended on transportation, packaging and retailing of food is included, Pimental and Giampietro found that the input/output ratio for the U.S. food system was approximately 10, and this figure did not include energy used for cooking.

The Brundtland Report's estimate of the global potential for food production assumes "that the area under food production can be around 1.5 billion hectares (3.7 billion acres - close to the present level), and that the average yields could go up to 5 tons of grain

equivalent per hectare (as against the present average of 2 tons of grain equivalent).” In other words, the Brundtland Report assumes an increase in yields by a factor of 2.5. This would perhaps be possible if traditional agriculture could everywhere be replaced by energy-intensive modern agriculture using Green Revolution plant varieties. However, Pimental and Giampietro’s studies show that modern energy-intensive agricultural techniques cannot be maintained after fossil fuels have been exhausted or after their use has been discontinued to avoid catastrophic climate change.

At the time when the Brundtland Report was written (1987), the global average of 2 tons of grain equivalent per hectare included much higher yields from the sector using modern agricultural methods. Since energy-intensive petroleum-based agriculture cannot be continued in the post-fossil-fuel era, future average crop yields will probably be much less than 2 tons of grain equivalent per hectare.

The 1987 global population was approximately 5 billion. This population was supported by 3 billion tons of grain equivalent per year. After fossil fuels have been exhausted, the total world agricultural output is likely to be considerably less than that, and therefore the population that it will be possible to support sustainably will probably be considerably less than 5 billion, assuming that our average daily per capita use of food calories remains the same, and assuming that the amount of cropland and pasturage remains the same (1.5 billion hectares cropland, 3.0 billion hectares pasturage).

The Brundtland Report points out that “The present (1987) global average consumption of plant energy for food, seed and animal feed amounts to 6,000 calories daily, with a range among countries of 3,000-15,000 calories, depending on the level of meat consumption.” Thus there is a certain flexibility in the global population that can survive on a given total agricultural output. If the rich countries were willing to eat less meat, more people could be supported.¹⁰

Effects of climate change on agriculture

a) The effect of temperature increase

There is a danger that when climate change causes both temperature increases and increased aridity in regions like the US grain belt, yields will be very much lowered. Of the three main grain types (corn, wheat and rice) corn is the most vulnerable to the direct effect of increases in temperature. One reason for this is the mechanism of pollination of corn: A pollen grain lands on one end of a corn-silk strand, and the germ cell must travel the length of the strand in order to fertilize the kernel. At high temperatures, the corn silk becomes dried out and withered, and is unable to fulfill its biological function. Furthermore, heat can cause the pores on the underside of the corn leaf to close, so that photosynthesis stops.

According to a study made by Mohan Wali and coworkers at Ohio State University,

¹⁰<http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/32354-environmentalists-sue-epa-over-dead-zone-in-gulf-of-mexico>

the photosynthetic activity of corn increases until the temperature reaches 20°C. It then remains constant until the temperature reaches 35°C, after which it declines. At 40°C and above, photosynthesis stops altogether.

Scientists in the Phillipines report that the pollination of rice fails entirely at 40°C, leading to crop failures. Wheat yields are also markedly reduced by temperatures in this range.¹¹

b) The effect of decreased rainfall

According to the Stern Report, some of the major grain-producing areas of the world might lose up to 30% of their rainfall by 2050. These regions include much of the United States, Brazil, the Mediterranean region, Eastern Russia and Belarus, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Australia. Of course possibilities for agriculture may simultaneously increase in other regions, but the net effect of climate change on the world's food supply is predicted to be markedly negative.

c) Unsustainable use of groundwater

It may seem surprising that fresh water can be regarded as a non-renewable resource. However, groundwater in deep aquifers is often renewed very slowly. Sometimes renewal requires several thousand years. When the rate of withdrawal of groundwater exceeds the rate of renewal, the carrying capacity of the resource has been exceeded, and withdrawal of water becomes analogous to mining a mineral. However, it is more serious than ordinary mining because water is such a necessary support for life.

In many regions of the world today, groundwater is being withdrawn faster than it can be replenished, and important aquifers are being depleted. In China, for example, groundwater levels are falling at an alarming rate. Considerations of water supply in relation to population form the background for China's stringent population policy. At a recent lecture, Lester Brown of the Worldwatch Institute was asked by a member of the audience to name the resource for which shortages would most quickly become acute. Most of the audience expected him to name oil, but instead he replied "water".

Lester Brown then cited China's falling water table. He predicted that within decades, China would be unable to feed itself. He said that this would not cause hunger in China itself: Because of the strength of China's economy, the country would be able to purchase grain on the world market. However Chinese purchases of grain would raise the price, and put world grain out of reach of poor countries in Africa. Thus water shortages in China will produce famine in parts of Africa, Brown predicted.

Under many desert areas of the world are deeply buried water tables formed during glacial periods when the climate of these regions was wetter. These regions include the Middle East and large parts of Africa. Water can be withdrawn from such ancient reservoirs by deep wells and pumping, but only for a limited amount of time.

¹¹<http://ecowatch.com/2015/08/03/heat-wave-iran/>

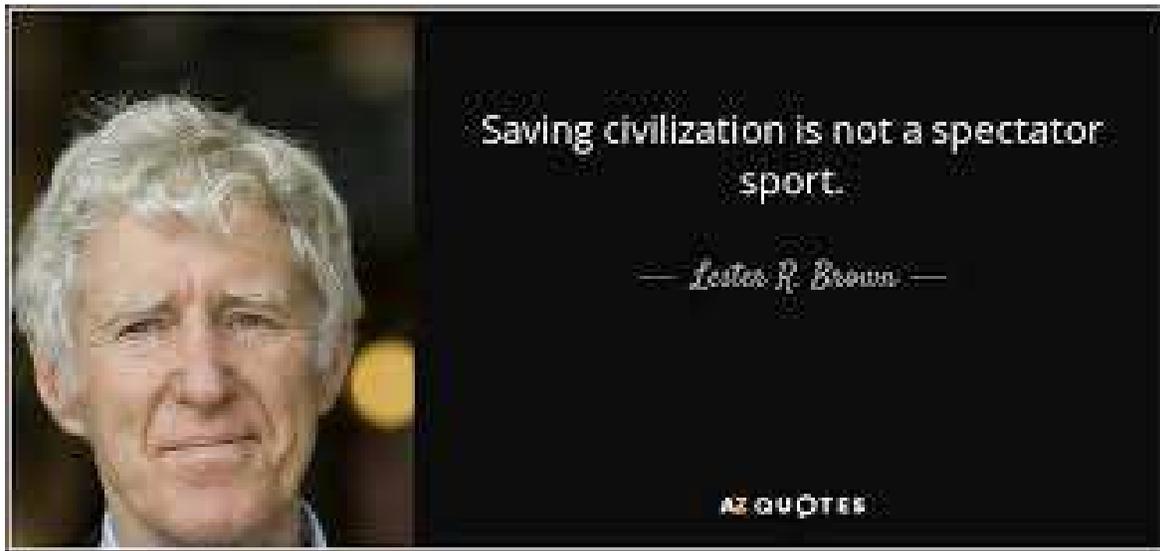


Figure 8.10: Lester R. Brown has been a pioneer in the study of the future global food crisis. Source: www.azquotes.com

In oil-rich Saudi Arabia, petroenergy is used to drill wells for ancient water and to bring it to the surface. Much of this water is used to irrigate wheat fields, and this is done to such an extent that Saudi Arabia exports wheat. The country is, in effect, exporting its ancient heritage of water, a policy that it may, in time, regret. A similarly short-sighted project is Muammar Qaddafi's enormous pipeline, which will bring water from ancient sub-desert reservoirs to coastal cities.

In the United States, the great Ogallala aquifer is being overdrawn. This aquifer is an enormous stratum of water-saturated sand and gravel under-lying parts of northern Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming and South Dakota. The average thickness of the aquifer is about 70 meters. The rate of water withdrawal from the aquifer exceeds the rate of recharge by a factor of eight.

Thus we can see that in many regions, the earth's present population is living on its inheritance of water, rather than its income. This fact, coupled with rapidly increasing populations and climate change, may contribute to a very serious food crisis partway through the 21st century.

d) Glacial melting and summer water supplies

The summer water supplies of both China and India are threatened by the melting of glaciers. The Gangotri glacier, which is the principle glacier feeding India's great Ganges River, is reported to be melting at an accelerating rate, and it could disappear within a few decades. If this happens, the Ganges could become seasonal, flowing only during the monsoon season. Chinese agriculture is also threatened by disappearing Himalayan glaciers, in this case those on the Tibet-Quinghai Plateau. The respected Chinese glaciol-



Figure 8.11: **Whitechuck Glacier in the North Cascades National Park in 1973.**
Source: www.nichols.ewdu

ogist Yao Tandong estimates that the glaciers feeding the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers are disappearing at the rate of 7% per year.¹²

The Indus and Mekong Rivers will be similarly affected by the melting of glaciers. Lack of water during the summer season could have a serious impact on the irrigation.

Mature forests contain vast amounts of sequestered carbon, not only in their trees, but also in the carbon-rich soil of the forest floor. When a forest is logged or burned to make way for agriculture, this carbon is released into the atmosphere.

One fifth of the global carbon emissions are at present due to destruction of forests. This amount is greater than the CO₂ emissions for the world's transportation systems. An intact forest pumps water back into the atmosphere, increasing inland rainfall and benefiting agriculture. By contrast, deforestation, for example in the Amazonian rainforest, accelerates the flow of water back into the ocean, thus reducing inland rainfall. There is a danger that the Amazonian rainforest may be destroyed to such an extent that the region will become much more dry. If this happens, the forest may become vulnerable to fires produced by lightning strikes. This is one of the feedback loops against which the Stern Report warns: the drying and burning of the Amazonian rainforest may become irreversible, greatly accelerating climate change, if destruction of the forest proceeds beyond a certain point.

e) Erosion of topsoil.

¹²<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/04/global-glaciers-melting-three-times-rate-20th-century>



Figure 8.12: The same glacier in 2006. Source: www.nichols.edu

Besides depending on an adequate supply of water, food production also depends on the condition of the thin layer of topsoil that covers the world's croplands. This topsoil is being degraded and eroded at an alarming rate: According to the World Resources Institute and the United Nations Environment Programme, "It is estimated that since World War II, 1.2 billion hectares... has suffered at least moderate degradation as a result of human activity. This is a vast area, roughly the size of China and India combined." This area is 27% of the total area currently devoted to agriculture. The report goes on to say that the degradation is greatest in Africa. The risk of topsoil erosion is greatest when marginal land is brought into cultivation, since marginal land is usually on steep hillsides which are vulnerable to water erosion when wild vegetation is removed.

David Pimental and his associates at Cornell University pointed out in 1995 that "Because of erosion-associated loss of productivity and population growth, the per capita food supply has been reduced over the past 10 years and continues to fall. The Food and Agricultural Organization reports that the per capita production of grains which make up 80% of the world's food supply, has been declining since 1984...During the past 40 years nearly one-third of the world's cropland (1.5 billion hectares) has been abandoned because of soil erosion and degradation. Most of the replacement has come from marginal land made available by removing forests. Agriculture accounts for 80% of the annual deforestation."

Topsoil can also be degraded by the accumulation of salt when irrigation water evaporates. The worldwide area of irrigated land has increased from 8 million hectares in 1800 to more than 100 million hectares today. This land is especially important to the world food supply because it is carefully tended and yields are large in proportion to the area. To protect this land from salination, it should be irrigated in such a way that evaporation is minimized.

Finally cropland with valuable topsoil is being lost to urban growth and highway development, a problem that is made more severe by growing populations and by economic

growth.

Every year, more than 100,000 square kilometers of rain forest are cleared and burned, an area which corresponds to that of Switzerland and the Netherlands combined. Almost half of the world's tropical forests have already been destroyed. Ironically, the land thus cleared often becomes unsuitable for agriculture within a few years. Tropical soils may seem to be fertile when covered with luxuriant vegetation, but they are usually very poor in nutrients because of leeching by heavy rains. The nutrients which remain are contained in the vegetation itself; and when the forest cover is cut and burned, the nutrients are rapidly lost.

Often the remaining soil is rich in aluminum oxide and iron oxide. When such soils are exposed to oxygen and sun-baking, a rock-like substance called Laterite is formed.

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.

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.

These land purchases are very often kept secret from the local populations by corrupt governments.¹³

Some conclusions

There is a danger that just as global population reaches the unprecedented level of 9 billion or more, the agricultural base for supporting it may suddenly collapse. Ecological catastrophe, possibly compounded by war and other disorders, could produce famine and death on a scale unprecedented in history, a disaster of unimaginable proportions, involving billions rather than millions of people.

The resources of the earth and the techniques of modern science can support a global population of moderate size in comfort and security; but the optimum size is undoubtedly smaller than the world's present population. Given a sufficiently small global population, renewable sources of energy can be found to replace disappearing fossil fuels. Technology may also be able to find renewable substitutes for many disappearing mineral resources for a global population of moderate size. What technology cannot do, however, is to give a global population of 9 billion people the standard of living which the industrialized countries enjoy today.

¹³<http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-china-foreign-farmland-20140329-story.html>
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13688683>

8.9 Aurelio Peccei

The Club of Rome

In 1968 Aurelio Peccei, Thorkil Kristensen and others founded the Club of Rome, an organization of economists and scientists devoted to studying the predicament of human society. One of the first acts of the organization was to commission an MIT study of future trends using computer models. The result was a book entitled “Limits to Growth”, published in 1972. From the outset the book was controversial, but it became a best-seller. It was translated into many languages and sold 30 million copies. The book made use of an exponential index for resources, i.e. the number of years that a resource would last if used at an exponentially increasing rate.

Today the more accurate Hubbert Peak model is used instead to predict rate of use of a scarce resource as a function of time. Although the specific predictions of resource availability in “Limits to Growth” lacked accuracy, its basic thesis, that unlimited industrial growth on a finite planet is impossible, was indisputably correct. Nevertheless the book was greeted with anger and disbelief by the community of economists, and these emotions still surface when it is mentioned.

Economic activity is usually divided into two categories, 1) production of goods and 2) provision of services. It is the rate of production of goods that will be limited by the carrying capacity of the global environment. Services that have no environmental impact will not be constrained in this way. Thus a smooth transition to a sustainable economy will involve a shift of a large fraction the work force from the production of goods to the provision of services.

In his recent popular book “The Rise of the Creative Class” the economist Richard Florida points out that in a number of prosperous cities, for example Stockholm, a large fraction of the population is already engaged in what might be called creative work, a type of work that uses few resources, and produces few waste products, work which develops knowledge and culture rather than producing material goods. For example, producing computer software requires few resources and results in few waste products. Thus it is an activity with a very small ecological footprint.

Similarly, education, research, music, literature and art are all activities that do not weigh heavily on the carrying capacity of the global environment. Furthermore, cultural activities lead in a natural way to global cooperation and internationalism, since cultural achievements are shared by the people of the entire world. Indeed, the shared human inheritance of culture and knowledge is growing faster than ever before.

Florida sees this as a pattern for the future, and maintains that everyone is capable of creativity. He visualizes the transition to a sustainable future economy as one in which a large fraction of the work force moves from industrial jobs to information-related work. Meanwhile, as Florida acknowledges, industrial workers feel uneasy and threatened by such trends.¹⁴

¹⁴<http://www.clubofrome.org/?p=326>
<http://www.donellameadows.org/wp-content/userfiles/Limits-to-Growth-digital-scan-version.pdf>

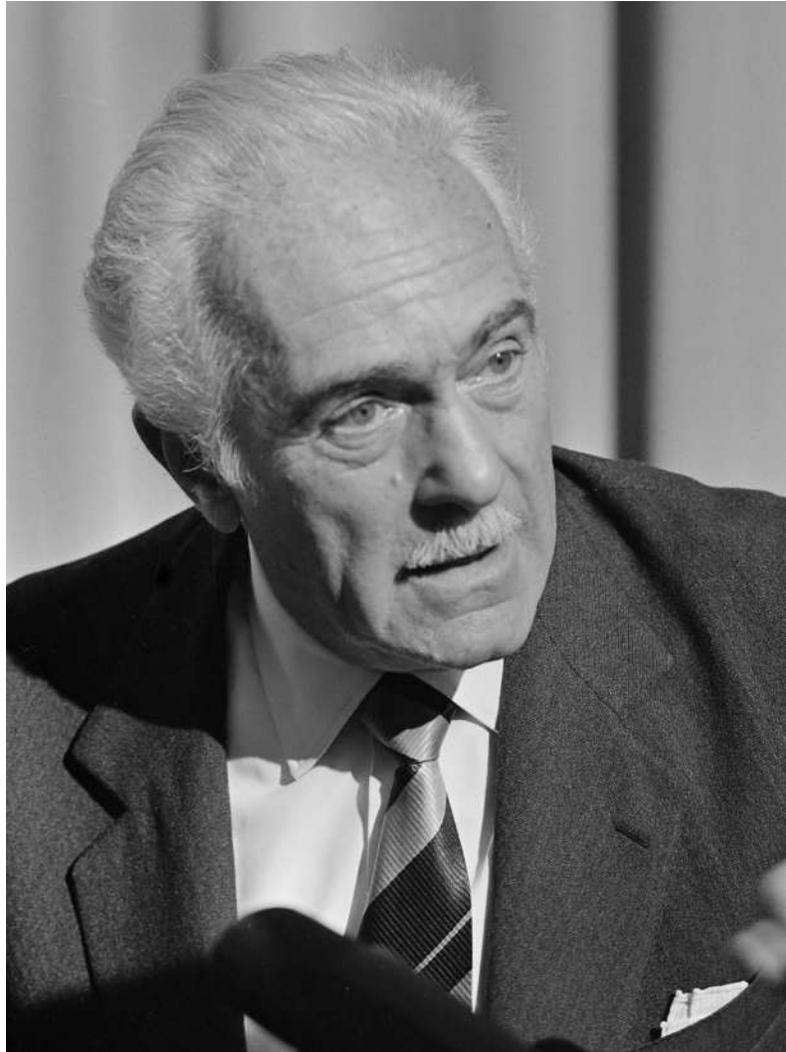


Figure 8.13: Aurelio Peccei (1908-1984), main founder of the Club of Rome. Concerning our present economic system, he wrote: “The only way we have devised to meet the surging waves of our rampant militarism and consumerism is to draw increasingly on the natural environment and to exploit, indiscriminately, the most accessible mineral and fuel deposits and all living resources we can lay our hands on. Such actions irreversibly impoverish our unique, irreplaceable, world, whose bounty and generosity are not infinite. Even if all the other adverse situations we find ourselves in today were to be alleviated, in itself, our high-handed treatment of Nature can bring about our doom.” Photograph by Koen Suyk/Anefo (Nationaal Archief), CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikimedia Commons



Figure 8.14: **When a forest is destroyed, topsoil is often lost to erosion. Source: United Nations.**

Biological Carrying capacity and Economics

Classical economists pictured the world as largely empty of human activities. According to the empty-world picture of economics, the limiting factors in the production of food and goods are shortages of human capital and labor. The land, forests, fossil fuels, minerals, oceans filled with fish, and other natural resources upon which human labor and capital operate, are assumed to be present in such large quantities that they are not limiting factors. In this picture, there is no naturally-determined upper limit to the total size of the human economy. It can continue to grow as long as new capital is accumulated, as long as new labor is provided by population growth, and as long as new technology replaces labor by automation.

Biology, on the other hand, presents us with a very different picture. Biologists remind us that if any species, including our own, makes demands on its environment which exceed the environment's carrying capacity, the result is a catastrophic collapse both of the environment and of the population which it supports. Only demands which are within the carrying capacity are sustainable. For example, there is a limit to regenerative powers of a forest.

It is possible to continue to cut trees in excess of this limit, but only at the cost of a loss of forest size, and ultimately the collapse and degradation of the forest. Similarly, cattle populations may for some time exceed the carrying capacity of grasslands, but the

ultimate penalty for overgrazing will be degradation or desertification of the land. Thus, in biology, the concept of the carrying capacity of an environment is extremely important; but in economic theory this concept has not yet been given the weight which it deserves.

Exponential growth of human population and economic activity have brought us, in a surprisingly short time, from the empty-world situation to a full-world situation. In today's world, we are pressing against the absolute limits of the earth's carrying capacity, and further growth carries with it the danger of future collapse.

Full-world economics, the economics of the future, will no longer be able to rely on industrial growth to give profits to stockbrokers or to solve problems of unemployment or to alleviate poverty. In the long run, neither the growth of industry nor that of population is sustainable; and we have now reached or exceeded the sustainable limits.

The limiting factors in economics are no longer the supply of capital or human labor or even technology. The limiting factors are the rapidly vanishing supplies of petroleum and metal ores, the forests damaged by acid rain, the diminishing catches from over-fished oceans, and the cropland degraded by erosion or salination, or lost to agriculture under a cover of asphalt.

Neoclassical economists have maintained that it is generally possible to substitute man-made capital for natural resources; but a closer examination shows that there are only very few cases where this is really practical. (See G.E. Tverberg, "Thoughts on why energy use and CO₂ emissions are rising as fast as GDP", www.ourfiniteworld.com, November 30, 2011.)

The size of the human economy is, of course, the product of two factors the total number of humans, and the consumption per capita. If we are to achieve a sustainable global society in the future, a society whose demands are within the carrying capacity of of the global environment, then both these factors must be reduced.

The responsibility for achieving sustainability is thus evenly divided between the North and the South: Where there is excessively high consumption per capita, it must be reduced; and this is primarily the responsibility of the industrialized countries. High birth rates must also be reduced; and this is primarily the responsibility of the developing countries. Both of these somewhat painful changes are necessary for sustainability; but both will be extremely difficult to achieve because of the inertia of institutions, customs and ways of thought which are deeply embedded in society, in both the North and the South.

Population and food supply

Let us look first at the problem of high birth rates: The recent spread of modern medical techniques throughout the world has caused death rates to drop sharply; but since social customs and attitudes are slow to change, birth rates have remained high. As a result, between 1930 and 2011, the population of the world increased with explosive speed from two billion to seven billion.

During the last few decades, the number of food-deficit countries has lengthened; and it now reads almost like a United Nations roster. The food-importing nations are dependent,



Figure 8.15: **Our global food system is broken.** Source: Oxfam

almost exclusively, on a single food-exporting region, the grain belt of North America. In the future, this region may be vulnerable to droughts produced by global warming.

An analysis of the global ratio of population to cropland shows that we probably already have exceeded the sustainable limit of population through our dependence on petroleum: Between 1950 and 1982, the use of cheap petroleum-derived fertilizers increased by a factor of 8, and much of our present agricultural output depends their use. Furthermore, petroleum-derived synthetic fibers have reduced the amount of cropland needed for growing natural fibers, and petroleum-driven tractors have replaced draft animals which required cropland for pasturage. Also, petroleum fuels have replaced fuelwood and other fuels derived for biomass. The reverse transition, from fossil fuels back to renewable energy sources, will require a considerable diversion of land from food production to energy production.

As population increases, the cropland per person will continue to fall, and we will be forced to make still heavier use of fertilizers to increase output per hectare. Also marginal land will be used in agriculture, with the probable result that much land will be degraded through erosion or salination.

Reserves of oil are likely to be exhausted by the middle of this century. Thus there is a danger that just as global population reaches the unprecedented level of 9 billion or more, the agricultural base for supporting it may suddenly collapse. The resulting catastrophe, possibly compounded by war and other disorders, could produce famine and death on a scale unprecedented in history, a disaster of unimaginable proportions, involving billions rather than millions of people. The present tragic famine in Africa is to this possible future disaster what Hiroshima is to the threat of thermonuclear war a tragedy of smaller scale, whose horrors should be sufficient, if we are wise, to make us take steps to avoid the larger catastrophe.

At present a child dies from starvation every six seconds. Five million children die from hunger every year. Over a billion people in today's world are chronically undernourished.

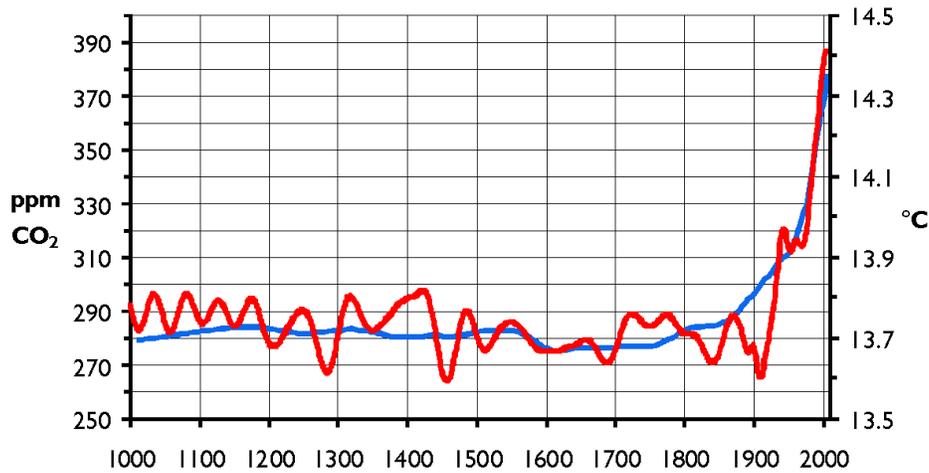


Figure 8.16: The Hanno graph used by the United Nations Climate Change Compendium 2009. Source: wattsupwiththat.com

There is a threat that unless prompt and well-informed action is taken by the international community, the tragic loss of life that is already being experienced will increase to unimaginable proportions.

As glaciers melt in the Himalayas, threatening the summer water supplies of India and China; as ocean levels rise, drowning the fertile rice-growing river deltas of Asia; as aridity begins to decrease the harvests of Africa, North America and Europe; as populations grow; as aquifers are overdrawn; as cropland is lost to desertification and urban growth; and as energy prices increase, the billion people who now are undernourished but still survive, might not survive. They might become the victims of a famine whose proportions could exceed anything that the world has previously experienced.

8.10 E.F. Schumacher: *Small is Beautiful*

Some quotations from *Small is Beautiful*

Wisdom demands a new orientation of science and technology toward the organic, the gentle, the elegant and beautiful.

An attitude to life which seeks fulfilment in the single-minded pursuit of wealth - in short, materialism - does not fit into this world, because it contains within itself no limiting principle, while the environment in which it is placed is strictly limited.

If greed were not the master of modern man—ably assisted by envy—how could it be that the frenzy of economism does not abate as higher “standards of living”

are attained, and that it is precisely the richest societies which pursue their economic advantage with the greatest ruthlessness? How could we explain the almost universal refusal on the part of the rulers of the rich societies—where organized along private enterprise or collective enterprise lines—to work towards the humanisation of work? It is only necessary to assert that something would reduce the “standard of living” and every debate is instantly closed. That soul-destroying, meaningless, mechanical, monotonous, moronic work is an insult to human nature which must necessarily and inevitably produce either escapism or aggression, and that no amount of “bread and circuses” can compensate for the damage done—these are facts which are neither denied nor acknowledged but are met with an unbreakable conspiracy of silence—because to deny them would be too obviously absurd and to acknowledge them would condemn the central preoccupation of modern society as a crime against humanity.

Any intelligent fool can make things bigger, more complex, and more violent. It takes a touch of genius - and a lot of courage - to move in the opposite direction.

Modern man does not experience himself as a part of nature but as an outside force destined to dominate and conquer it. He even talks of a battle with nature, forgetting that, if he won the battle, he would find himself on the losing side.

Much of the economic decay of southeast Asia (as of many other parts of the world) is undoubtedly due to a heedless and shameful neglect of trees.

How could we even begin to disarm greed and envy? Perhaps by being much less greedy and envious ourselves; perhaps by resisting the temptation of letting our luxuries become needs; and perhaps by even scrutinising our needs to see if they cannot be simplified and reduced.

The all-pervading disease of the modern world is the total imbalance between city and countryside, an imbalance in terms of wealth, power, culture, attraction and hope. The former has become over-extended and the latter has atrophied. The city has become the universal magnet, while rural life has lost its savour. Yet it remains an unalterable truth that, just as a sound mind depends on a sound body, so the health of the cities depends on the health of the rural areas. The cities, with all their wealth, are merely secondary producers, while primary production, the precondition of all economic life, takes place in the countryside. The prevailing lack of balance, based on the age-old exploitation of countryman and raw material producer, today threatens all countries throughout the world, the rich even more than the poor. To restore a proper balance between city and rural life is perhaps the greatest task in front of modern man.

The Buddhist point of view takes the function of work to be at least threefold: to give a man a chance to utilise and develop his faculties; to enable him to overcome his egocentredness by joining with other people in a common task; and to bring forth the goods and services needed for a becoming existence. Again.

The economics of permanence implies a profound reorientation of science and technology, which have to open their doors to wisdom and, in fact, have to incorporate wisdom into their very structure... Wisdom demands a new orientation of science and technology towards the organic, the gentle, the non-violent, the elegant and beautiful.

Where is the rich society that says: "Halt! We have enough"?

Already, there is overwhelming evidence that the great self-balancing system of nature is becoming increasingly unbalanced in particular respects and at specific points.

The greatest danger invariably arises from the ruthless application, on a vast scale, of partial knowledge such as we are currently witnessing in the application of nuclear energy, of the new chemistry in agriculture, of transportation technology, and countless other things.

It is moreover obvious that men organised in small units will take better care of their bit of land or other natural resources than anonymous companies or megalomaniac governments which pretend to themselves that the whole universe is their legitimate quarry.

I suggest that the foundations of peace cannot be laid by universal prosperity, in the modern sense. because such prosperity, if attainable at all. is attainable only by cultivating such drives of human nature as greed and envy, which destroy intelligence, happiness, serenity, and thereby the peacefulness of man.

Nothing makes economic sense unless its continuance for a long time can be projected without running into absurdities.



Figure 8.17: E.F. Schumacher (1911-1977), author of *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. He was the protégé of John Maynard Keynes and also the teacher of Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen.

8.11 Helena Norberg-Hodge: *Ancient Futures*

Our ancestors were hunter-gatherers, living in close contact with nature, and respecting the laws and limitations of nature. There are many hunter-gatherer cultures existing today, from whose values and outlook we could learn much. Unfortunately, instead of learning from them, we often move in with our bulldozers and make it impossible for their way of life to continue. During the past several decades, for example, approximately one tribe of South American forest Indians has died out every year. Of the 6000 human languages now spoken, it is estimated that half will vanish during the next 50 years.

In some parts of Africa, before cutting down a tree, a man will offer a prayer of apology to the spirit of the tree, explaining why necessity has driven him to such an act. The attitude involved in this ritual is something which industrialized society needs to learn, or relearn. Older cultures have much to teach industrial society because they already have experience with full-world situation which we are fast approaching.

In a traditional culture, where change is extremely slow, population has an opportunity to expand to the limits which the traditional way of life allows, so that it reaches an equilibrium with the environment. For example, in a hunter-gatherer culture, population has expanded to the limits which can be supported without the introduction of agriculture. The density of population is, of course, extremely low, but nevertheless it is pressing against the limits of sustainability. Overhunting or overfishing would endanger the future. Respect for the environment is thus necessary for the survival of such a culture.

Similarly, in a stable, traditional agricultural society which has reached an equilibrium with its environment, population is pressing against the limits of sustainability. In such a culture, one can usually find expressed as a strong ethical principle the rule that the land must not be degraded, but must be left fertile for the use of future generations.

Today, the whole world seems to be adopting values, fashions, and standards of behavior presented in the mass media of western society. The unsustainable, power-worshipping, consumption-oriented values of western society are so strongly propagandized by television, films and advertising, that they overpower and sweep aside the wisdom of older societies. This is unfortunate, since besides showing us unsustainable levels of affluence and economic waste, the western mass media depict values and behavior patterns which are hardly worthy of imitation. We need to reverse this trend. The industrialized countries must learn from the values of older traditional cultures. The wisdom of our ancestors, their respect for nature and their hospitable traditions of sharing, can help us to create a new economic system founded on social and environmental ethics.¹⁵

Some quotations for Helena Norberg-Hodge

If our starting point is a respect for nature and people, diversity is an inevitable consequence. If technology and the needs of the economy are our

¹⁵<http://www.learndev.org/dl/harmony8.pdf>
<http://dissentvoice.org/2015/05/gandhi-as-an-economist/>
<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401804813.html>



Figure 8.18: Helena Norberg-Hodge (born in 1946) is the founder and director of Local Futures, which was previously named International Society for Ecology and Culture. She states that the organization is “dedicated to the revitalization of cultural and biological diversity, and the strengthening of local communities and economies worldwide”. In her important book, *Ancient Futures*, Norberg-Hodge says that modern industrial societies ought to learn from more sustainable traditional cultures, rather than the reverse.

starting point, then we have what we are faced with today - a model of development that is dangerously distanced from the needs of particular peoples and places and rigidly imposed from the top down.

The old culture reflected fundamental human needs while respecting natural limits. And it worked. It worked for nature, and it worked for people. The various connecting relationships in the traditional system were mutually reinforcing, encouraging harmony and stability.

As signs of climate instability increase, radical and rapid action is becoming ever more urgent.

One of the best ways of reducing both CO₂ emissions and poverty in the South would be to strengthen the existing demographic pattern by keeping villages and small towns alive. This would allow communities to maintain social cohesion and closer contact with the land.

It may seem absurd to believe that a primitive culture in the Himalayas has anything to teach our industrialized society. But our search for a future that works keeps spiraling back to an ancient connection between ourselves and the earth, an interconnectedness that ancient cultures have never abandoned.

8.12 Sir Partha Dasgupta; Population stabilization

It is vital for the world to stabilize its population, not only because of the threat of a catastrophic future famine, but also because rapid population growth is closely linked with poverty. Today, a large fraction of the world's people live in near-poverty or absolute poverty, lacking safe water, sanitation, elementary education, primary health care and proper nutrition. Governments struggling to solve these problems, and to provide roads, schools, jobs and medical help for all their citizens, find themselves defeated by the rapid doubling times of populations. For example, in Liberia, the rate of population growth is 4% per year, which means that the population of Liberia doubles in size every eighteen years.

Under such circumstances, despite the most ambitious development programs, the infrastructure per capita decreases. Also, since new jobs must be found for the new millions added to the population, the introduction of efficient modern methods in industry and agriculture aggravates the already-serious problem of unemployment.

Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because in many countries these social reforms have proved to be strongly correlated with lower birth rates. Religious leaders who oppose programs for the education of women and for family planning on "ethical" grounds should think carefully about the scope and consequences of the catastrophic global famine which will



Figure 8.19: Sir Partha Dasgupta, of Cambridge University. He has pointed out that all of the measures needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor, and general economic development. Sir Partha's father was also a famous economist; in fact he was the teacher of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen.

undoubtedly occur within the next 50 years if population is allowed to increase unchecked.

One of the most important keys to controlling the global population explosion is giving women better education and equal rights. These goals are desirable for the sake of increased human happiness, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented point of view which women can give us; but in addition, education and improved status for women have shown themselves to be closely connected with lowered birth rates.

When women lack education and independent careers outside the home, they can be forced into the role of baby-producing machines by men who do not share in the drudgery of cooking, washing and cleaning; but when women have educational, legal, economic, social and political equality with men, experience has shown that they choose to limit their families to a moderate size.

Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out that the changes needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor and general economic development.¹⁶

Social Values and Levels of Consumption

Let us next turn to the problem of reducing the per-capita consumption in the industrialized countries. The whole structure of western society seems designed to push its citizens in the opposite direction, towards ever-increasing levels of consumption. The mass media hold before us continually the ideal of a personal utopia filled with material goods. Every young man in a modern industrial society feels that he is a failure unless he fights his way to the "top"; and in recent years, women too have been drawn into this competition.

Of course not everyone can reach the top; there would not be room for everyone; but society urges all us to try, and we feel a sense of failure if we do not reach the goal. Thus, modern life has become a struggle of all against all for power and possessions.

One of the central problems in reducing consumption is that in our present economic and social theory, consumption has no upper bound; there is no definition of what is enough; there is no concept of a state where all of the real needs of a person have been satisfied. In our growth-oriented present-day economics, it is assumed that, no matter how much a person earns, he or she is always driven by a desire for more.

The phrase "conspicuous consumption" was invented by the Norwegian-American economist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) in order to describe the way in which our society uses economic waste as a symbol of social status. In "The Theory of the Leisure Class", first published in 1899, Veblen pointed out that it is wrong to believe that human economic behavior is rational, or that it can be understood in terms of classical economic theory. To understand it, Veblen maintained, one might better make use of insights gained from anthropology, psychology, sociology, and history.

The sensation caused by the publication of Veblen's book, and the fact that his phrase,

¹⁶<http://www.poverties.org/famine-in-africa.html>

“conspicuous consumption”, has become part of our language, indicate that his theory did not completely miss its mark. In fact, modern advertisers seem to be following Veblen’s advice: Realizing that much of the output of our economy will be used for the purpose of establishing the social status of consumers, advertising agencies hire psychologists to appeal to the consumer’s longing for a higher social position.

When possessions are used for the purpose of social competition, demand has no natural upper limit; it is then limited only by the size of the human ego, which, as we know, is boundless. This would be all to the good if unlimited economic growth were desirable. But today, when further industrial growth implies future collapse, western society urgently needs to find new values to replace our worship of power, our restless chase after excitement, and our admiration of excessive consumption.

The values which we need, both to protect nature from civilization and to protect civilization from itself, are perhaps not new: Perhaps it would be more correct to say that we need to rediscover ethical values which once were part of human culture, but which were lost during the process of industrialization, when technology allowed us to break traditional environmental constraints.

Our ancestors were hunter-gatherers, living in close contact with nature, and respecting the laws and limitations of nature. There are many hunter-gatherer cultures existing today, from whose values and outlook we could learn much. Unfortunately, instead of learning from them, we often move in with our bulldozers and make it impossible for their way of life to continue. During the past several decades, for example, approximately one tribe of South American forest Indians has died out every year. Of the 6000 human languages now spoken, it is estimated that half will vanish during the next 50 years.

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Similarly, in a stable, traditional agricultural society which has reached an equilibrium with its environment, population is pressing against the limits of sustainability. In such a culture, one can usually find expressed as a strong ethical principle the rule that the land must not be degraded, but must be left fertile for the use of future generations.

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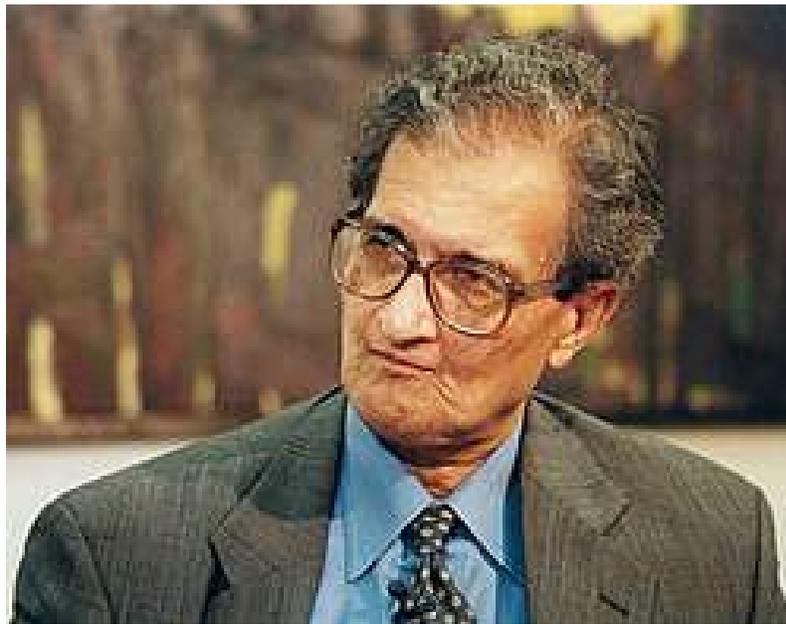


Figure 8.20: **Amartya Sen was born in 1933 into an academic family living in Decca, Bangladesh. He was awarded a Nobel Prize in Economics in 1998. His studies of Amartyafamines and of developmental economics are particularly notable.**

This is unfortunate, since besides showing us unsustainable levels of affluence and economic waste, the western mass media depict values and behavior patterns which are hardly worthy of imitation. We need to reverse this trend. The industrialized countries must learn from the values of older traditional cultures. The wisdom of our ancestors, their respect for nature and their hospitable traditions of sharing, can help us to create a new economic system founded on social and environmental ethics.¹⁷

8.13 Amartya Sen: Inequality and famine

In his autobiographical notes, written for the Swedish Academy, Professor Sen wrote: “I was at Presidency College during 1951 to 1953. The memory of the Bengal famine of 1943, in which between two and three million people had died, and which I had watched from Santiniketan, was still quite fresh in my mind. I had been struck by its thoroughly class-dependent character. (I knew of no one in my school or among my friends and relations whose family had experienced the slightest problem during the entire famine; it was not a famine that afflicted even the lower middle classes - only people much further down the economic ladder, such as landless rural labourers.) Calcutta itself, despite its immensely

¹⁷<http://www.learndev.org/dl/harmony8.pdf>
<http://dissidentvoice.org/2015/05/gandhi-as-an-economist/>
<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401804813.html>

rich intellectual and cultural life, provided many constant reminders of the proximity of unbearable economic misery, and not even an elite college could ignore its continuous and close presence.”

Benefits of equality

As was mentioned in Chapter 5, 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 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 8.21: World wealth levels in 2014. 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.



Figure 8.22: In many countries, children live by scavenging from garbage dumps.



Figure 8.23: Even in rich countries, many millions of people live in poverty,

Extreme inequality today

Here are some quotations from a report by the Global Inequality organization:¹⁸

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.

¹⁸<https://inequality.org/facts/global-inequality/>

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.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 9

WE CAN AFFORD THE GREEN NEW DEAL

9.1 Cutting military budgets

The cost of US wars since 2001

According to the National Priorities Project¹, the total cost of US wars between November 11, 2001 and April 8, 2019 has been 4.77 trillion US dollars, or written out in detail \$4,773,527,023,293.00. Every hour US taxpayers are paying 32.08 million dollars for the total costs of war. Globally, the world spent 1.9 trillion dollars on military budgets in 2018, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Every war is a war against children

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

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

¹<https://www.nationalpriorities.org/cost-of/war/>

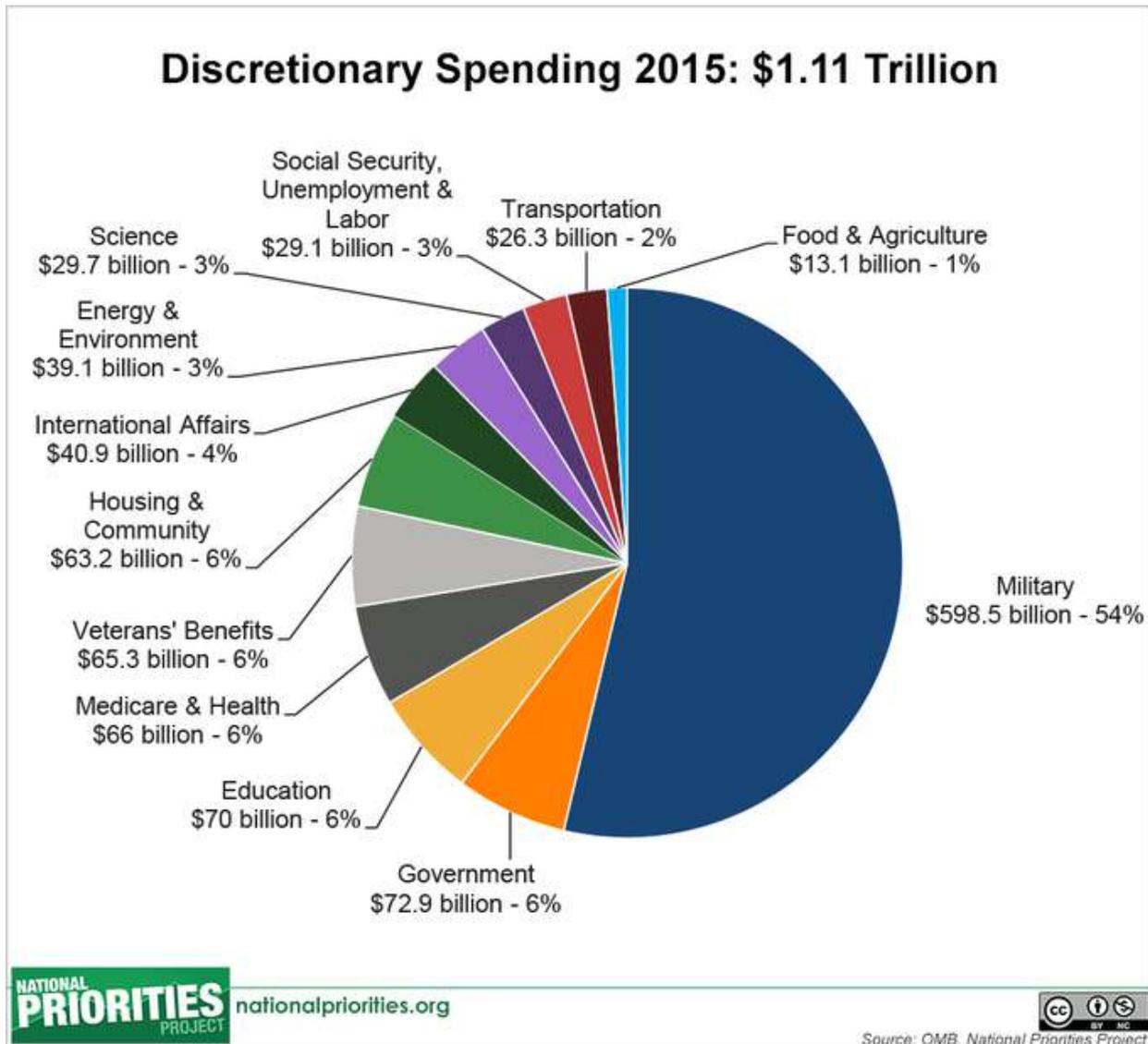


Figure 9.1: In the fiscal year US 2015, military spending accounted for 54 percent of all federal discretionary spending, a total of \$598.5 billion. Military spending includes: all regular activities of the Department of Defense; war spending; nuclear weapons spending; international military assistance; and other Pentagon-related spending.

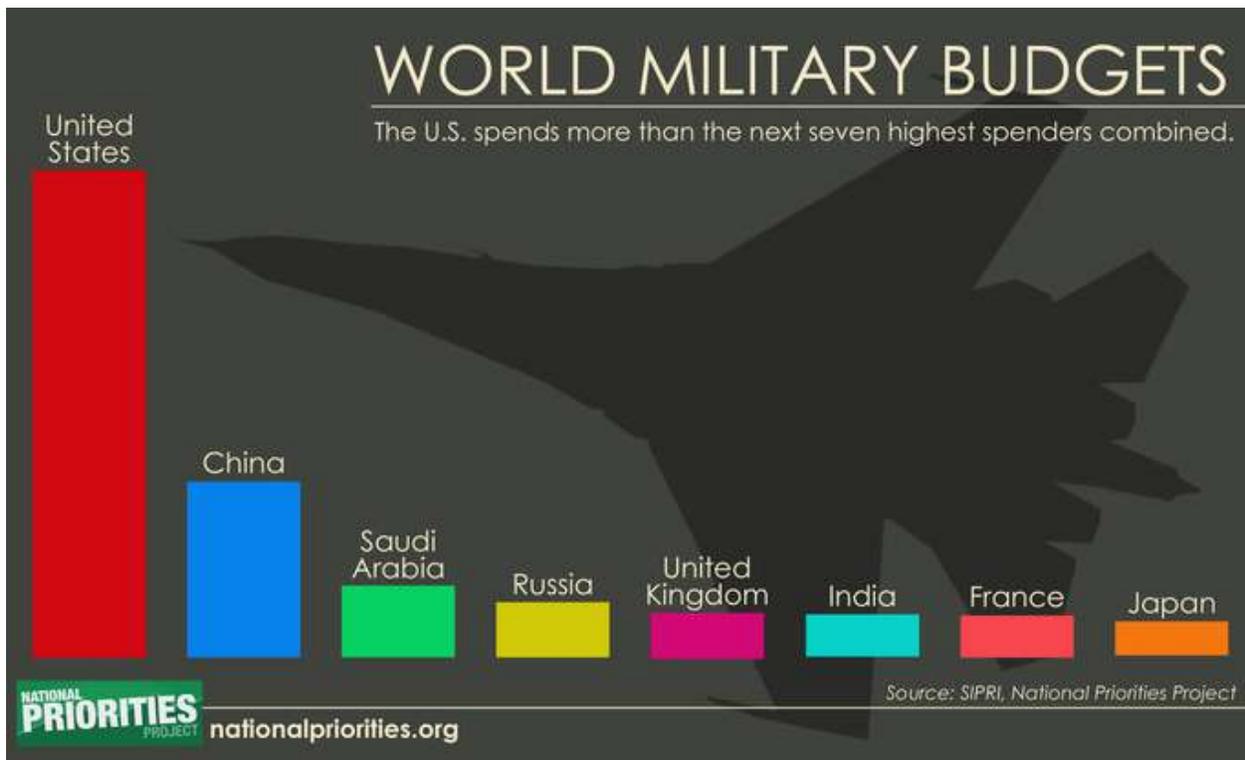


Figure 9.2: U.S. military spending dwarfs the budget of the #2 country - China. For every dollar China spends on its military, the U.S. spends \$2.77. The U.S. outpaces all other nations in military expenditures. World military spending totaled more than \$1.6 trillion in 2015. The U.S. accounted for 37 percent of the total. U.S. military expenditures are roughly the size of the next seven largest military budgets around the world, combined.



Figure 9.3: An attempt was made to audit Pentagon spending, but the firm entrusted with this task eventually pronounced it impossible because of confusing records and lack of records. Trillions of dollars are unaccounted for.



Figure 9.4: No War! No Warming! There are two important connections between war and global warming. Firstly, military organizations run on oil and are the largest single users of fossil fuels. Secondly, and even more importantly, money saved by slashing military budgets would be more than enough to carry out programs to avoid catastrophic climate change.



Figure 9.5: Military-industrial complexes want war. Ordinary people do not want it. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, global military expenses in 2018 amounted to 1.8 trillion dollars. This almost unimaginable river of money is the basic reason why the terrible suffering and waste of war is inflicted on the world's people.

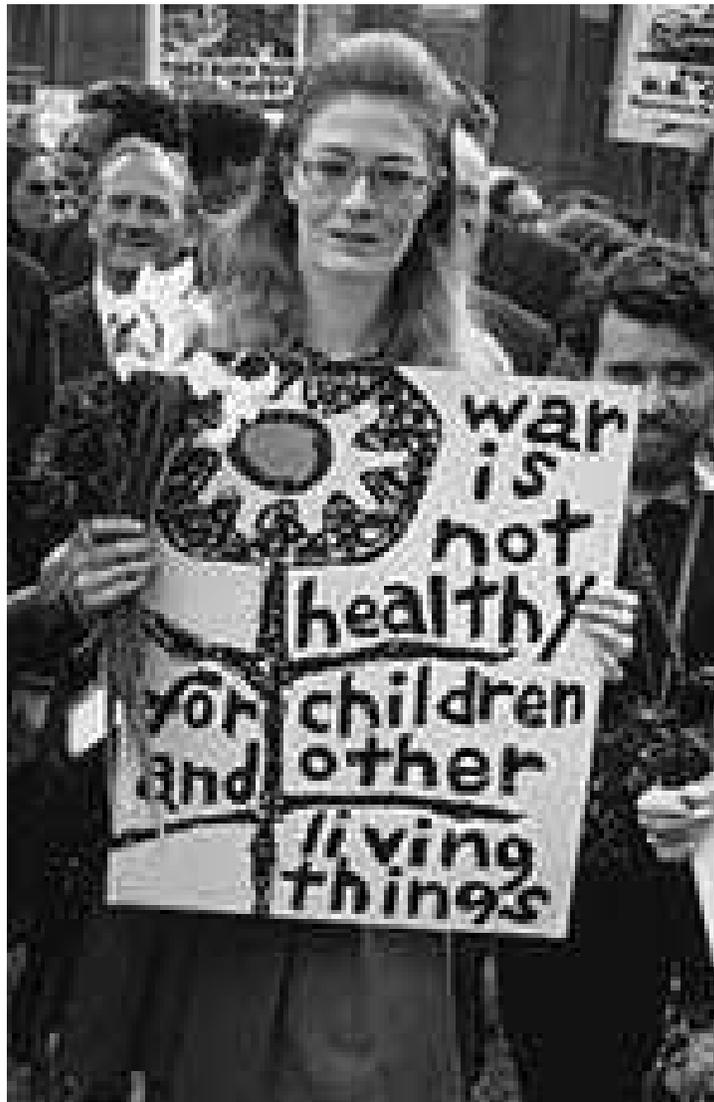


Figure 9.6: The actress Vanessa Redgrave was part of a 1968 protest against the Vietnam War.



Figure 9.7: We must do whatever is necessary to save the future.



Figure 9.8: Young protesters from the Sunrise Movement call on leaders to back the Green New Deal.

9.2 The Extinction Rebellion

In an open letter to governments, reported in *The Guardian* ², leaders of the environmental movement said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/dec/09/act-now-to-prevent-an-environmental-catastrophe>



Figure 9.9: Young protesters in London demanding action to prevent catastrophic climate change.

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

9.3 The cost of inaction

In a sense, the cost of inaction is incalculably high. At stake is the entire future of human civilization and the biosphere. Our children's future and our grandchildren's future will be lost if we do not take rapid action to avoid catastrophic climate change. Nevertheless, scientists studying two of the most dangerous feedback loops, the albedo effect from melting of Arctic sea ice, and the release of methane from melting permafrost, have attempted to put a price tag on the cost of inaction under various scenarios. Their results were recently published in *Nature*³, and reported in *The National Geographic*⁴.

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

³<https://www.nature.com/articles/s41467-019-09863-x>

⁴<https://www.msn.com/en-us/weather/topstories/a-warming-arctic-could-cost-the-world-trillions-of-dollars/ar-BBWcxsz?li=BBnbcA1>

GLOBAL ATMOSPHERIC CARBON DIOXIDE SETS NEW RECORD HIGH IN 2017

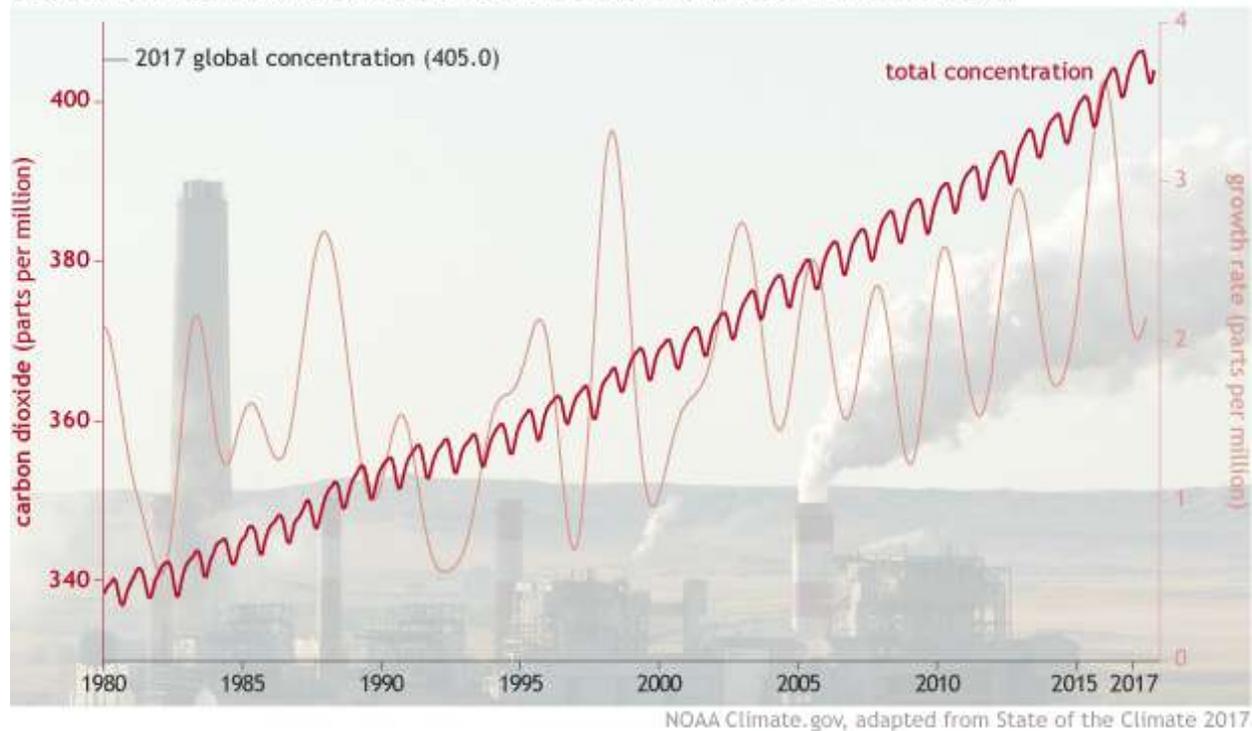


Figure 9.10: Today the atmospheric concentration of CO₂ is 413 ppm., roughly double the pre-industrial concentration. The last time that it was this high was in the Pliocene Epoch 5.3 to 2.6 million years ago. Sea levels were then 20 meters higher than they are right now, and trees were growing at the South Pole. Unless we quickly lower carbon emissions, most coastal cities and low-lying countries will be lost to rising seas.

24, 2019, states the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

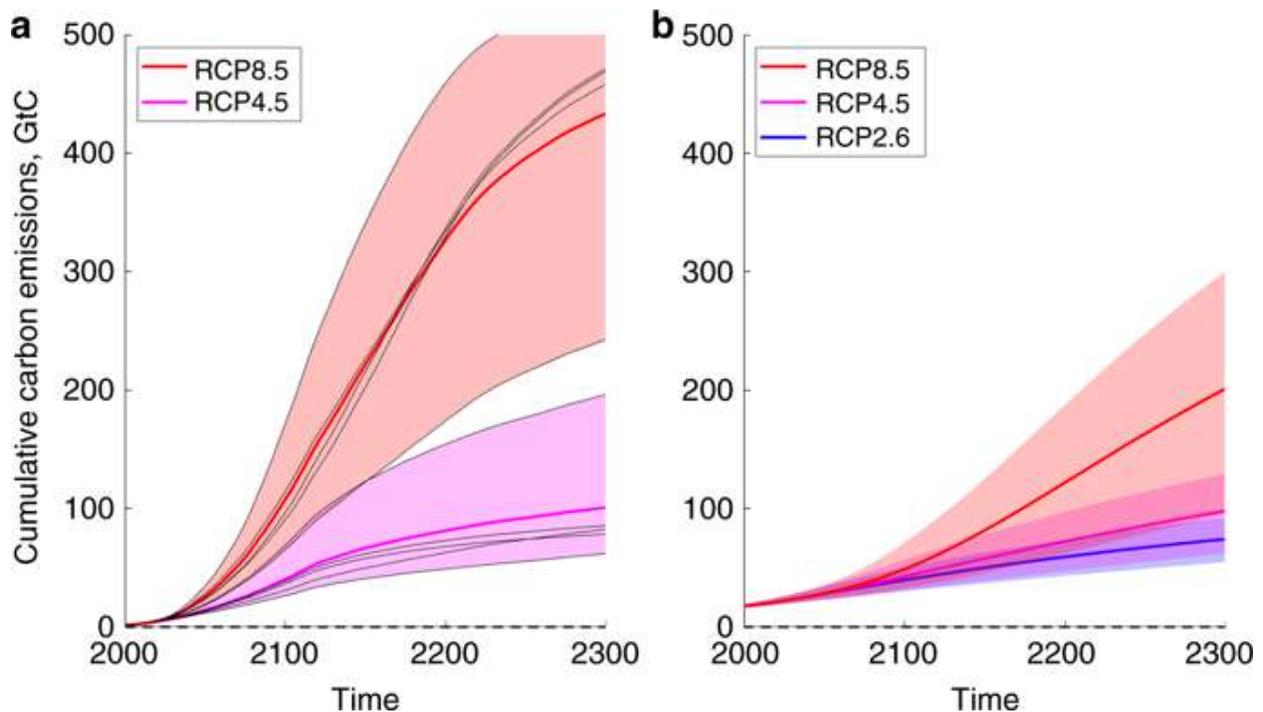


Figure 9.11: Cumulative carbon emissions in gigatons under various scenarios.

Global carbon debt increasing by \$16 trillion annually

Another estimate of the cost of climate inaction has been made by Dr. Gideon Polya in an article entitled “Inescapable \$200-250 Trillion Global Carbon Debt Increasing by \$16 Trillion Annually”⁵. Here are some quotations from the article:

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

Unlike Conventional Debt that can be variously expunged by bankruptcy, printing money or default, Carbon Debt is inescapable - thus, for example, national commitments to GHG pollution reduction made to the 2015 Paris Climate Conference amount to a temperature rise of over 3 degrees Centigrade (3C) , and unless huge sea walls are built Netherlands-style , coastal cities of the world housing hundreds of millions of people will be submerged by rising

⁵<https://countercurrents.org/2019/04/27/inescapable-200-250-trillion-global-carbon-debt-increasing-by-16-trillion-annually-gideon-polya/>

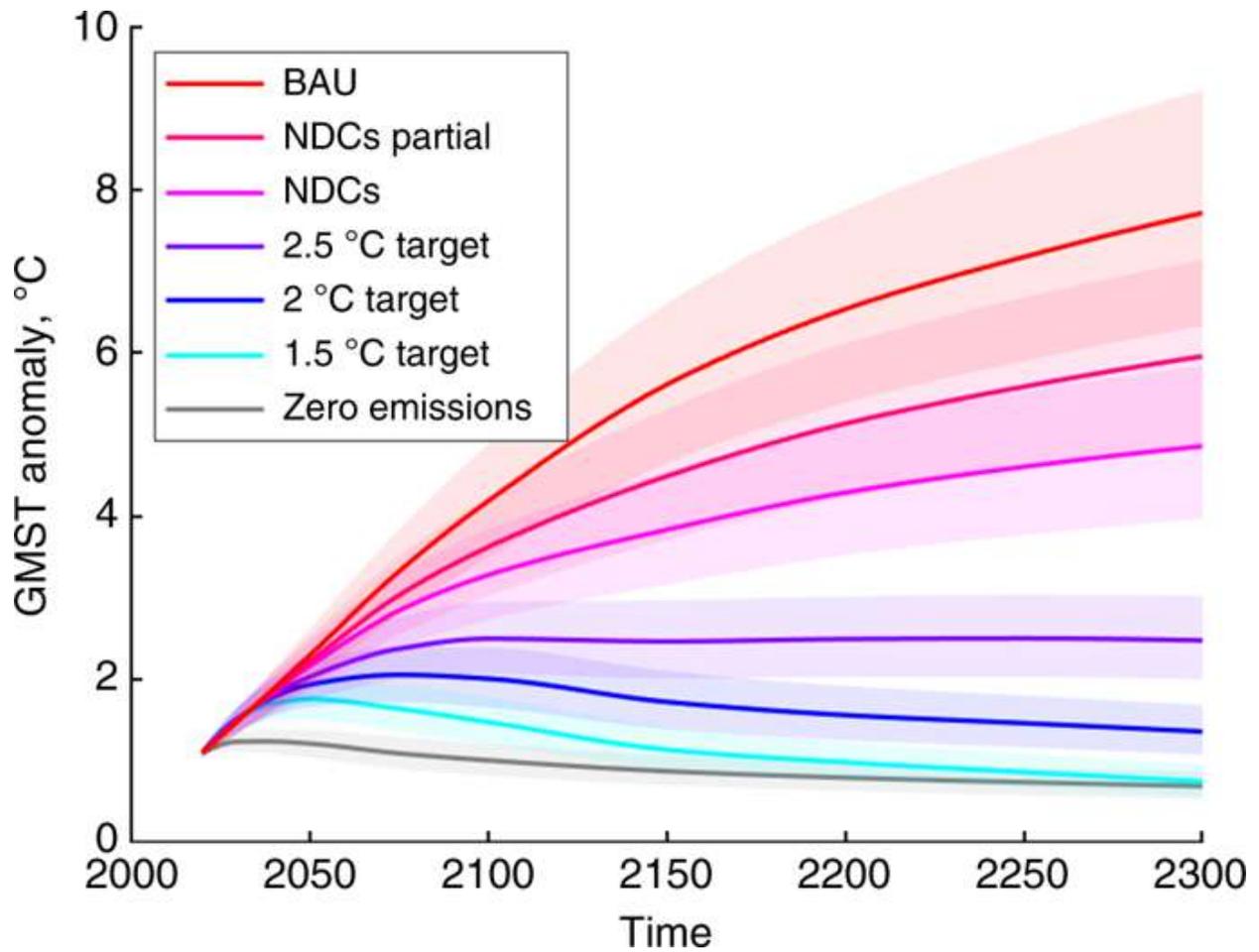


Figure 9.12: Global mean temperature simulations under the range of climate scenarios considered.

sea levels (notably in Asia), mega-delta agricultural lands vital for feeding Humanity will be subject to inundation and salinization, and low-lying Island States will cease to exist

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

Explanations for this extraordinary mainstream media lying by omission over Carbon Debt can be variously advanced, ranging from entrenched mendacity by US- and corporate- subverted media to cognitive dissonance in the face of a worsening climate emergency. However I am confident in predicting that if governments do not take action on the world’s massive Carbon Debt then intergenerational justice action by the utterly betrayed and robbed young people of the world will make the present Extinction Rebellion climate demonstrations in London look like a proverbial Teddy Bear’s Picnic. A young people-led Climate Revolution (non-violent one hopes) is coming...

Up to one million species face extinction

According to a recent United Nations report⁶

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

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

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

⁶<https://news.yahoo.com/one-million-species-risk-extinction-due-humans-draft-131407174.html>

Refugees from climate change

The United Nations High Commission on Refugees

In an article on *Climate Change and Disasters* the United Nations High Commission on Refugees makes the following statement:

“The Earth’s climate is changing at a rate that has exceeded most scientific forecasts. Some families and communities have already started to suffer from disasters and the consequences of climate change, forced to leave their homes in search of a new beginning.

“For UNHCR, the consequences of climate change are enormous. Scarce natural resources such as drinking water are likely to become even more limited. Many crops and some livestock are unlikely to survive in certain locations if conditions become too hot and dry, or too cold and wet. Food security, already a concern, will become even more challenging.

“People try to adapt to this situation, but for many this will mean a conscious move to another place to survive. Such moves, or the effects of climate change on natural resources, may spark conflict with other communities, as an increasing number of people compete for a decreasing amount of resources.

“Since 2009, an estimated one person every second has been displaced by a disaster, with an average of 22.5 million people displaced by climate- or weather-related events since 2008 (IDMC 2015). Disasters and slow onsets, such as droughts in Somalia in 2011 and 2012, floods in Pakistan between 2010 and 2012, and the earthquake in Nepal in 2015, can leave huge numbers of people traumatized without shelter, clean water and basic supplies.”

Populations displaced by sea level rise

In a recent article⁷ discussed the long-term effects of sea level rise and the massive refugee crisis that it might create. By 2060, about 1.4 billion people could be climate change refugees, according to the paper, and that number could reach 2 billion by 2100.

The lead author, Prof. Emeritus Charles Geisler of Cornell University says: “The colliding forces of human fertility, submerging coastal zones, residential retreat, and impediments to inland resettlement is a huge problem. We offer preliminary estimates of the lands unlikely to support new waves of climate refugees due to the residues of war, exhausted natural resources, declining net primary productivity, desertification, urban sprawl, land concentration, ‘paving the planet’ with roads and greenhouse gas storage zones offsetting permafrost melt.”

We should notice that Prof. Geisler’s estimate of 2 billion climate refugees by 2100 includes all causes, not merely sea level rise. However, the number of refugees from sea level rise alone will be very large, since all the world’s coastal cities, and many river deltas will be at risk.

⁷Geisler C. et al., *Impediments to inland resettlement under conditions of accelerated sea level rise*, Land Use Policy, Vol 55, July 2017, Pages 322-330

Populations displaced by drought and famine

Climate change could produce a refugee crisis that is "unprecedented in human history", Barack Obama has warned as he stressed global warming was the most pressing issue of the age.

Speaking at an international food conference in Milan, the former US President said rising temperatures were already making it more difficult to grow crops and rising food prices were "leading to political instability".

If world leaders put aside "parochial interests" and took action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by enough to restrict the rise to one or two degrees Celsius, then humanity would probably be able to cope.

Failing to do this, Mr Obama warned, increased the risk of "catastrophic" effects in the future, "not only real threats to food security, but also increases in conflict as a consequence of scarcity and greater refugee and migration patterns".

"If you think about monsoon patterns in the Indian subcontinent, maybe half a billion people rely on traditional rain patterns in those areas,"

Populations displaced by rising temperatures

A new study published in *Nature: Climate Change* has warned that up to 75% of the world's population could face deadly heat waves by 2100 unless greenhouse gas emissions are rapidly controlled.⁸ The following is an excerpt from the article:

"Here we conducted a global analysis of documented lethal heat events to identify the climatic conditions associated with human death and then quantified the current and projected occurrence of such deadly climatic conditions worldwide. We reviewed papers published between 1980 and 2014, and found 783 cases of excess human mortality associated with heat from 164 cities in 36 countries.

"Based on the climatic conditions of those lethal heat events, we identified a global threshold beyond which daily mean surface air temperature and relative humidity become deadly. Around 30% of the world's population is currently exposed to climatic conditions exceeding this deadly threshold for at least 20 days a year.

"By 2100, this percentage is projected to increase to 48% under a scenario with drastic reductions of greenhouse gas emissions and 74% under a scenario of growing emissions. An increasing threat to human life from excess heat now seems almost inevitable, but will be greatly aggravated if greenhouse gases are not considerably reduced."⁹

⁸Mora, C. et al., *Global risk of deadly heat*, *Nature: Climate Change*, 19 June 2017

⁹See also <https://phys.org/news/2017-08-deadly-south-asia-century.html> and <https://cleantechnica.com/2017/09/28/extreme-heatwaves-like-recent-lucifer-heatwave-become-normal-europe-2050s/>

Populations displaced by war

A recent article in *The Guardian*¹⁰ discusses the relationship between climate change and war, Here are some excerpts from the article:

“Climate change is set to cause a refugee crisis of ‘unimaginable scale’, according to senior military figures, who warn that global warming is the greatest security threat of the 21st century and that mass migration will become the ‘new normal’.

“The generals said the impacts of climate change were already factors in the conflicts driving a current crisis of migration into Europe, having been linked to the Arab Spring, the war in Syria and the Boko Haram terrorist insurgency.

“Military leaders have long warned that global warming could multiply and accelerate security threats around the world by provoking conflicts and migration. They are now warning that immediate action is required.

“Climate change is the greatest security threat of the 21st century,’ said Maj Gen Muniruzzaman.

“Muniruzzaman, chairman of the Global Military Advisory Council on climate change and a former military adviser to the president of Bangladesh. He said one meter of sea level rise will flood 20% of his nation. ‘We’re going to see refugee problems on an unimaginable scale, potentially above 30 million people.’

“Previously, Bangladesh’s finance minister, Abul Maal Abdul Muhith, called on Britain and other wealthy countries to accept millions of displaced people.

“Brig Gen Stephen Cheney, a member of the US Department of State’s foreign affairs policy board and CEO of the American Security Project, said: ‘Climate change could lead to a humanitarian crisis of epic proportions. We’re already seeing migration of large numbers of people around the world because of food scarcity, water insecurity and extreme weather, and this is set to become the new normal’.

Political reactions to migration

Brexit

Across the developed world, the reaction to threatened migration of refugees from climate change has been less than generous, to say the least. The recent decision of Britain to leave the European Union was motivated largely by the fear of British workers that EU laws would force their country to accept large numbers of refugees.

Swings to the right in Europe

In Germany, Angela Merkel’s generous policies towards refugees have cost her votes, while an openly racist party, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party, has gained in strength. Frauke Petry, 40, the party’s leader, has said border guards might need to turn guns on

¹⁰Thursday, 1 December, 2016

anyone crossing a frontier illegally. The party's policy platform says "Islam does not belong in Germany" and calls for a ban on the construction of mosques.

In September, 2017, eight people from the neo-Nazi Freital Group were put on trial in Dresden for bomb attacks on homes for asylum applicants. Hundreds of similar assaults occur in Germany every year, but they had never before been tried as terrorism in a federal court.

In the German election, which took place on Sunday, October 1, 2017, Angela Merkel won a fourth term as Chancellor, but her party won only 33% of the votes, a percentage much reduced from the 41% won in the election of 2013. Angela Merkel was paying a high price for her refugee-friendly policies.

Meanwhile the far right anti-immigration AfD party made a historic breakthrough, winning 13.5% of the vote, thus becoming the first overtly nationalist party to sit in the Bundestag in 60 years. The Greens have already complained that "Nazis have returned to parliament". In fact, members of the AfD party have begun to say that Germans should stop being ashamed of their country's Nazi past.

In France, the National Front is a nationalist party that uses populist rhetoric to promote its anti-immigration and anti-European Union positions. The party favors protectionist economic policies and would clamp down on government benefits for immigrants.

Similarly, in the Netherlands, the anti-European Union, anti-Islam Party for Freedom has called for closing all Islamic schools and recording the ethnicity of all Dutch citizens. In early November, the party was leading in polls ahead of next year's parliamentary elections.

Other far-right anti-immigrant parties in Europe include Golden Dawn (Greece), Jobbic (Hungary), Sweden Democrats (Sweden), Freedom Party (Austria), and People's Party - Our Slovakia (Slovakia). All of these parties have gained in strength because of the widespread fear of immigration.

Populism in the United States

The election of Donald Trump, who ran for President in 2016 on an openly racist and anti-immigrant platform, can also be seen as the result of fear of immigration, especially on the part of industrial workers.

A more humane response to the refugee crisis

In the long-term future, climate change will make the refugee crisis much more severe. Heat and drought will make large regions of the world uninhabitable, and will threaten many populations with famine. The severity of the refugee crisis will depend on how quickly we reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

While making many parts of the world uninhabitable, long-term climate change will make other regions more suitable for human habitation and agriculture. For example, farming will become more possible in Siberia, Greenland, the Canadian Arctic, Alaska and

Patagonia. A humane response to the refugee crisis could include the generous opening of these regions to refugees.

The global population of humans is currently increasing by almost a billion people every decade. Global population must be stabilized, and in the long run, gradually reduced. Money currently wasted (or worse than wasted) on armaments could be used instead to promote universal primary health care, and with it, universal access to the knowledge and materials needed for family planning.

Finally, reduced consumption of meat, particularly beef, would shorten the food chain thus make more food available for famine relief.

9.4 Social systems in Scandinavia

The Green New Deal can simultaneously address the climate crisis and the problem of excessive economic inequality. In this context, it is interesting to look at the social and economic systems of the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland. In these countries the contrast between the rich and poor has been very much reduced. It is almost true to say that poverty has been eliminated in these countries. At the same time, the Scandinavians have strong policies to address the climate emergency. Thus Scandinavian successes are a counter-argument to those who say that the Green New Deal cannot be put into practice.¹¹

The Danish system today

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

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

It is illegal in Denmark to fire a woman because she has become pregnant, or to deny her work because the employer fears that she may become pregnant. Thus, Danish women grow up expecting to find jobs outside the home. Danish women are happy to have careers, but it is also a necessity, because with taxes so high that a single income is not enough

¹¹But, of course, it cannot be put into practice while maintaining an economic oligarchy.

to give a family the desired standard of living. Husbands are grateful to their wives for helping to support the family. In the case of single mothers, support is given by the state.

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

Renewable energy in Denmark

Here are some excerpts from a recent report by the Danish Ministry of Energy, Utilities and Climate:¹²

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

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

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

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

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

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

- **At least 50% of Denmark's energy needs must be covered by renewable energy by 2030.**
- **Coal must be completely phased out of the power supply by 2030.**
- **Moratorium on all exploration and drilling activities for oil, gas and shale gas on land and inland waters of Denmark.**
- **Denmark must be a low-emission society independent of fossil fuels in 2050.**

¹²Denmark: Energy and climate pioneer. Status of the green transition



Figure 9.13: Senator Bernie Sanders, the popular front-running candidate for the US Presidency in 2020, says that he is a socialist. When asked to explain this in detail, Senator Sanders said that he believes that the United States would benefit from a social system similar to the systems in present-day Scandinavia.



Figure 9.14: A day-care center in Sweden. In the Scandinavian countries, most women work, and state-provided day-care centers for pre-school children make this possible.

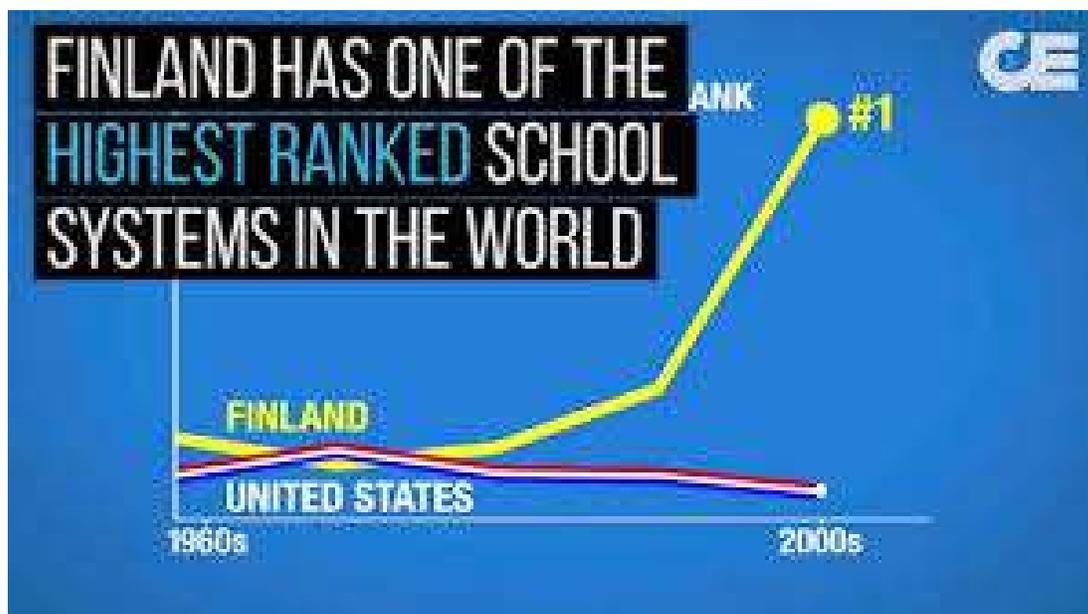


Figure 9.15: Finland has the best school system in the world. One reason for this is that the teachers are very highly selected and highly paid. Another reason is that the children are given frequent short rest periods, during which they may go outdoors and breath fresh air. They return from these small breaks with improved concentration.



Figure 9.16: The long-serving Danish Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning (1873-1942). He was the architect of the Danish social and economic system, which combines a free-market economy with such social benefits as universal free health care, state-provided day-care centers and free higher education. Thanks to Stauning's initiatives, those who qualify for college or university in Denmark are not only given free tuition, but also a stipend to support their living expenses. A high progressive income tax in Denmark pays for these benefits and reduces economic inequality. Stauning forged a coalition that united both labor and employers behind his reforms.

9.5 Roosevelt saves his nation and the world

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 9.17: Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) in 1933. Wikipedia says of him: “Roosevelt is widely considered to be one of the most important figures in American history, as well as among the most influential figures of the 20th century. Though he has been subject to substantial criticism, he is generally rated by scholars as one of the three greatest U.S. presidents, along with George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.”



Figure 9.18: Eleanor and Franklin with two of their children in 1908. Eleanor was called Roosevelt even before her marriage. She was the niece of US President Theodore Roosevelt, a distant cousin of Franklin. She is remembered as an outstanding advocate of racial equality, journalistic freedom and human rights.



Figure 9.19: A photograph of FDR with his dog Fala and Ruthie Bie, the daughter of caretakers at his Hyde Park estate. Roosevelt was careful never to be seen using his wheelchair in public. Although disabled, he managed to give a public impression of buoyant energy and confidence. One of his slogans, which he used to end the depression, was “The only thing that we have to fear is fear itself!”

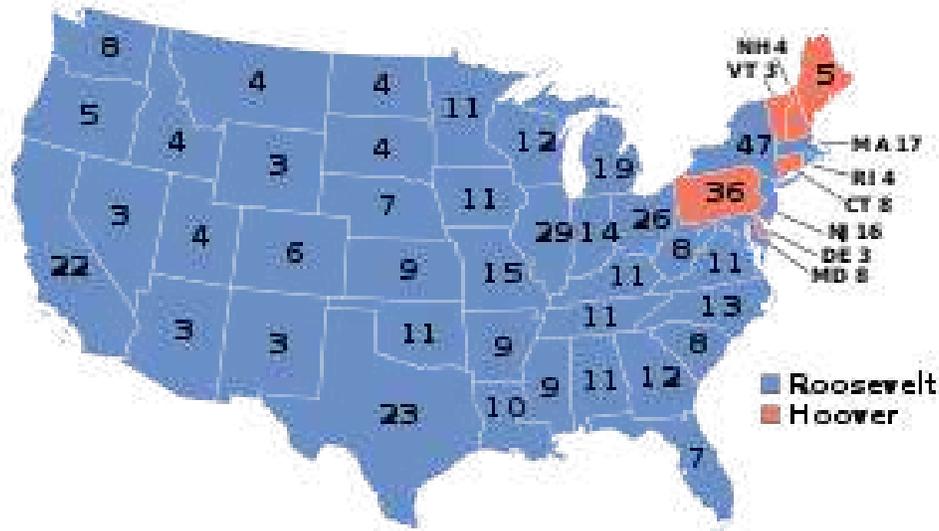


Figure 9.20: The 1932 electoral vote. Roosevelt also won landslide victories in 1936, 1940 and 1944. FDR died in office, shortly before the end of World War II. His administration's support for England during the the dark hours of the Battle of Britain had prevented Hitler's forces from invading the UK. In 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt helped to carry through FDR's plans for setting up the United Nations, and she was one of the two main drafters of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



Figure 9.21: A photo of Eleanor Roosevelt with Charles Malik and their grandchildren. Malik and Eleanor Roosevelt worked together to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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

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Chapter 10

COOPERATION AND RECIPROCITY

10.1 The evolution of cooperation

Cultural evolution depends on the non-genetic storage, transmission, diffusion and utilization of information. The development of human speech, the invention of writing, the development of paper and printing, and finally in modern times, mass media, computers and the Internet - all these have been crucial steps in society's explosive accumulation of information and knowledge. Human cultural evolution proceeds at a constantly-accelerating speed, so great in fact that it threatens to shake society to pieces.

Every species changes gradually through genetic evolution; but with humans, cultural evolution has rushed ahead with such a speed that it has completely outstripped the slow rate of genetic change. Genetically we are quite similar to our neolithic ancestors, but their world has been replaced by a world of quantum theory, relativity, supercomputers, antibiotics, genetic engineering and space telescopes - unfortunately also a world of nuclear weapons and nerve gas.

Because of the slowness of genetic evolution in comparison to the rapid and constantly-accelerating rate of cultural change, our bodies and emotions (as Malthus put it, the "passions of mankind") are not completely adapted to our new way of life. They still reflect the way of life of our hunter-gatherer ancestors.

Within rapidly-moving cultural evolution, we can observe that technical change now moves with such astonishing rapidity that neither social institutions, nor political structures, nor education, nor public opinion can keep pace. The lightning-like pace of technical progress has made many of our ideas and institutions obsolete. For example, the absolutely-sovereign nation-state and the institution of war have both become dangerous anachronisms in an era of instantaneous communication, global economic interdependence and all-destroying weapons.

In many respects, human cultural evolution can be regarded as an enormous success. However, at the start of the 21st century, most thoughtful observers agree that civilization

is entering a period of crisis. As all curves move exponentially upward - population, production, consumption, rates of scientific discovery, and so on - one can observe signs of increasing environmental stress, while the continued existence and spread of nuclear weapons threatens civilization with destruction. Thus while the explosive growth of knowledge has brought many benefits, the problem of achieving a stable, peaceful and sustainable world remains serious, challenging and unsolved.

From Thomas Huxley to Lynn Margulis and symbiosis

Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was acutely aware of close and mutually beneficial relationships between organisms. For example, in his work on the fertilization of flowers, he studied the ways in which insects and plants can become exquisitely adapted to each other's needs.

On the other hand Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895), although he was a strong supporter of Darwin, saw competition as the main mechanism of evolution. In his essay *Struggle for Existence and its Bearing Upon Man* Huxley wrote: "From the point of view of the moralist, the animal world is about on the same level as a gladiators' show. The creatures are fairly well treated and set to fight; hereby the strongest, the swiftest, and the cunningest live to fight another day. The spectator has no need to turn his thumbs down, as no quarter is granted."

Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) argued strongly against Huxley's point of view in his book *Mutual Aid; A Factor of Evolution*. "If we ask Nature", Kropotkin wrote, "who are the fittest: those who are continually at war with each other, or those who support one another?", we at once see that those animals that acquire habits of mutual aid are undoubtedly the fittest. They have more chances to survive, and they attain, in their respective classes, the highest development of intelligence and bodily organization."

Today, the insights of modern biology show that although competition plays an important role, most of the great upward steps in evolution have involved cooperation. The biologist Lynn Margulis (1938-2011) has been one of the pioneers of the modern viewpoint which recognizes symbiosis as a central mechanism in evolution.

One-celled organisms seen as examples of cooperation

The first small bacterial cells (prokaryotic cells) can be thought of as cooperative communities in which autocatalytic molecules thrived better together than they had previously done separately.

The next great upward step in evolution, the development of large and complex (eukaryotic) cells, also involved cooperation: Many of their components, for example mitochondria (small granular structures that are needed for respiration) and chloroplasts (the photosynthetic units of higher plants) are believed to have begun their existence as free-living prokaryotic cells. They now have become components of complex cells, cooperating biochemically with the other subcellular structures. Both mitochondria and chloroplasts possess their own DNA, which shows that they were once free-living bacteria-like organisms, but they have survived better in a cooperative relationship.

Cooperation between cells; multicellular organisms

Multicellular organisms evolved from cooperative communities of eukaryotic cells. Some insights into how this happened can be gained from examples which are just on the borderline between the multicellular organisms and single-celled ones. The cooperative behavior of a genus of unicellular eukaryotes called slime molds is particularly interesting because it gives us a glimpse of how multicellular organisms may have originated. The name of the slime molds is misleading, since they are not fungi, but are similar to amoebae.

Under ordinary circumstances, the individual cells wander about independently searching for food, which they draw into their interiors and digest. However, when food is scarce, they send out a chemical signal of distress. (Researchers have analyzed the molecule which expresses slime mold unhappiness, and they have found it to be cyclic adenosine monophosphate.) At this signal, the cells congregate and the mass of cells begins to crawl, leaving a slimy trail. As it crawls, the community of cells gradually develops into a tall stalk, surmounted by a sphere - the "fruiting body". Inside the sphere, spores are produced by a sexual process. If a small animal, for example a mouse, passes by, the spores may adhere to its coat; and in this way they may be transported to another part of the forest where food is more plentiful.

Slime molds represent a sort of missing link between unicellular and multicellular organisms. Normally the cells behave as individualists, wandering about independently, but when challenged by a shortage of food, the slime mold cells join together into an entity which closely resembles a multicellular organism.

The cells even seem to exhibit altruism, since those forming the stalk have little chance of survival, and yet they are willing to perform their duty, holding up the sphere at the top so that the spores will survive and carry the genes of the community into the future.

Multicellular organisms often live in a symbiotic relationship with other species. For example, in both animals and humans, bacteria are essential for the digestion of food. Fungi on the roots of plants aid their absorption of water and nutrients. Communities of bacteria and other organisms living in the soil are essential for the recycling of nutrients. Insects are essential to many plants for pollination.

Cooperation in groups of animals and human groups

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

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

Gracilization and decreasing sexual dimorphism

Early ancestors of modern humans had a relatively heavy (robust) bone structure in relation to their height. This robust bone structure seems to have been favored by frequent combat. During their evolution, modern humans became less robust and more gracile. In other words, their skeletons became lighter in relation to their height. Simultaneously the height and weight of males became less different from the height and weight of females. These trends are generally interpreted as indicating that combat became less important as present-day humans evolved.

Ethics and growth of the social unit

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

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

Interdependence in modern human society

All of the great upward steps in the evolution of life on earth have involved cooperation: Prokaryotes, the first living cells, can be thought of as cooperative communities of autocatalysts; large, complex eukaryote cells are now believed to have evolved as cooperative communities of prokaryotes; multicellular organisms are cooperative communities of eukaryotes; multicellular organisms cooperate to form societies; and different species cooperate to form ecosystems. Indeed, James Lovelock has pointed out that the earth as a whole is a complex interacting system that can be regarded as a huge organism.

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

Without large-scale cooperation, modern science would never have evolved. It developed as a consequence of the invention of printing, which allowed painfully gained detailed knowledge to be widely shared. Science derives its great power from concentration. Attention and resources are brought to bear on a limited problem until all aspects of it are

understood. It would make no sense to proceed in this way if knowledge were not permanent, and if the results of scientific research were not widely shared. But today the printed word and the electronic word spread the results of research freely to the entire world. The whole human community is the repository of shared knowledge.

The achievements of modern society are achievements of cooperation. We can fly, but no one builds an airplane alone. We can cure diseases, but only through the cooperative efforts of researchers, doctors and medicinal firms. We can photograph and understand distant galaxies, but the ability to do so is built on the efforts of many cooperating individuals.

An isolated sponge cell can survive, but an isolated human could hardly do so. Like an isolated bee, a human would quickly die without the support of the community. The comfort and well-being that we experience depends on far-away friendly hands and minds, since trade is global, and the exchange of ideas is also global.

Finally, we should be conscious of our cooperative relationships with other species. We could not live without the bacteria that help us to digest our food. We could not live without the complex communities of organisms in the soil that convert dead plant matter into fertile topsoil. We could not live without plants at the base of the food chain, but plants require pollination, and pollination frequently requires insects. An intricate cooperative network of inter-species relationships is necessary for human life, and indeed necessary for all life. Competition plays a role in evolution, but the role of cooperation is greater.

10.2 Gift economies

The Wikipedia article on gift economies describes them as follows:

“A gift economy, gift culture, or gift exchange is a mode of exchange where valuables are not traded or sold, but rather given without an explicit agreement for immediate or future rewards. This exchange contrasts with a barter economy or a market economy, where goods and services are primarily exchanged for value received. Social norms and custom govern gift exchange. Gifts are not given in an explicit exchange of goods or services for money or some other commodity.

“The nature of gift economies forms the subject of a foundational debate in anthropology. Anthropological research into gift economies began with Bronislaw Malinowski’s description of the Kula ring in the Trobriand Islands during World War I. The Kula trade appeared to be gift-like since Trobrianders would travel great distances over dangerous seas to give what were considered valuable objects without any guarantee of a return. Malinowski’s debate with the French anthropologist Marcel Mauss quickly established the complexity of ‘gift exchange’ and introduced a series of technical terms such as reciprocity, inalienable possessions, and presentation to distinguish between the different forms of exchange.

“According to anthropologists Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, it is the unsettled relationship between market and non-market exchange that attracts the most attention.

Gift economies are said, by some, to build communities, with the market serving as an acid on those relationships.

“Gift exchange is distinguished from other forms of exchange by a number of principles, such as the form of property rights governing the articles exchanged; whether gifting forms a distinct ”sphere of exchange” that can be characterized as an ”economic system”; and the character of the social relationship that the gift exchange establishes. Gift ideology in highly commercialized societies differs from the ”prestations” typical of non-market societies. Gift economies must also be differentiated from several closely related phenomena, such as common property regimes and the exchange of non-commodified labour.”

One can think of many examples of gift economies. Within human families, services are freely given without payment of any kind. Within families we see the idealistic principle “From each according to his (or her) ability, to each according to his (or her) need” at work. It may be that the appeal of communism comes from nostalgia for the gift economy of the extended family groups of primitive tribes. Altruism, especially towards those near to us, harmonizes with inherited human nature. A problem arises, however, when one attempts to make a gift economy work for a large group of people who do not know each other. This explains the failure of communism in large societies such as the former Soviet Union.

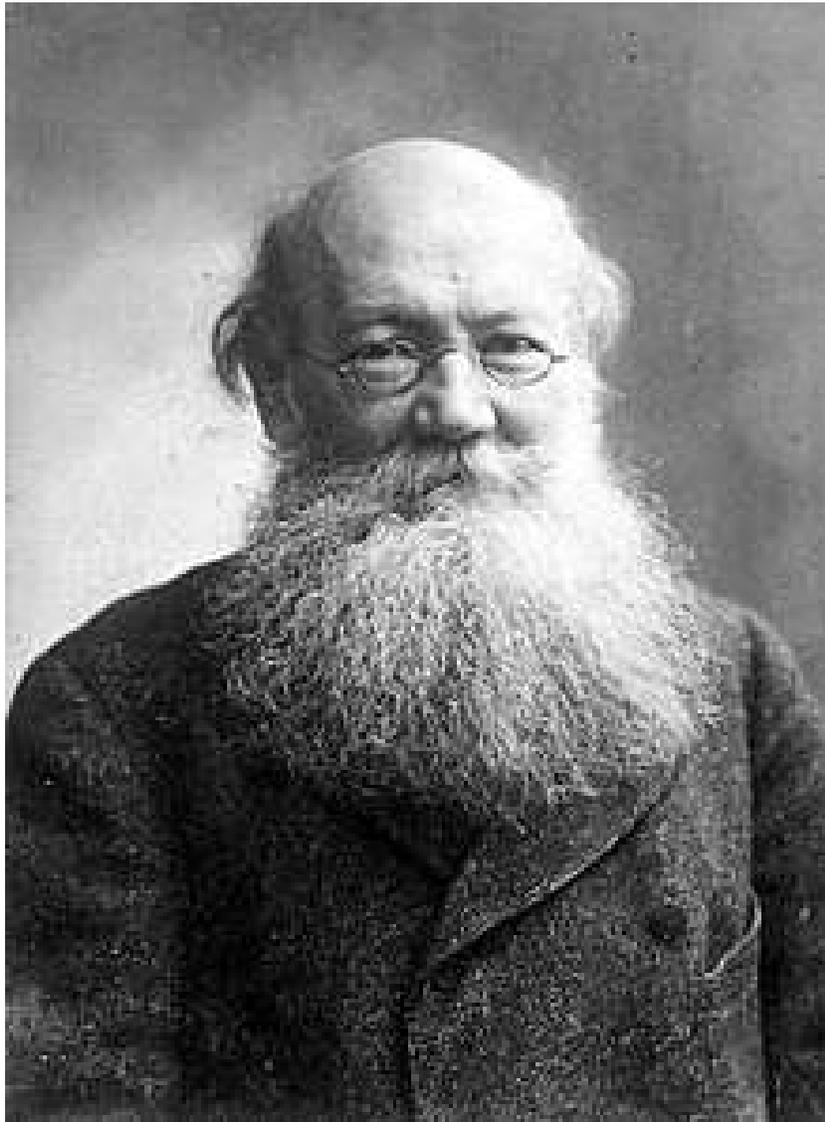


Figure 10.1: Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921). He was the author of *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*, and an early advocate for the evolutionary importance of cooperation.



Figure 10.2: Lynn Margulis (1938-2011). Her pioneering studies of symbiosis finally convinced biologists that cooperation is a more important mechanism in evolution than competition.

10.3 Karma

The principle of reciprocity is an ancient one in human history, and it is thus embedded in our emotions. It is an important part of human nature. Reciprocity is the basis of non-market economies, and also the basis of social interactions between family members, friends and colleagues. In hunter-gatherer societies, it is customary to share food among all the members of the group. “Today I receive food from you, and tomorrow you will receive food from me.” Similarly, among friends in modern society, no payment is made for hospitality, but it is expected that sooner or later the hospitality will be returned.

According to Wikipedia “Reciprocity in Social Psychology refers to responding to a positive action with another positive action, rewarding kind actions. As a social construct, reciprocity means that in response to friendly actions, people are frequently much nicer and much more cooperative than predicted by the self-interest model; conversely, in response to hostile actions they are frequently much more nasty and even brutal.” As Wikipedia points out, reciprocity can also be negative, as in the case of escalatory cycles of revenge and counter-revenge.

The Buddhist concept of karma has great value in human relations. The word “karma” means simply “action”. In Buddhism, one believes that actions return to the actor. Good actions will be returned, and bad actions will also be returned. This is obviously true in social relationships. If we behave with kindness and generosity to our neighbors, they will return our kindness. Conversely, a harmful act may lead to vicious circles of revenge and counter revenge, such as those we see today in the Middle East and elsewhere. These vicious circles can only be broken by returning good for evil.

However the concept of karma has a broader and more abstract validity beyond the direct return of actions to the actor. When we perform a good action, we increase the total amount of good karma in the world. If all people similarly behave well, the the world as a whole will become more pleasant and more safe. Human nature seems to have a built-in recognition of this fact, and we are rewarded by inner happiness when we perform good and kind actions. In his wonderful book, “Ancient Wisdom, Modern World”, the Dalai Lama says that good actions lead to happiness and bad actions to unhappiness even if our neighbors do not return these actions. Inner peace, he tells us, is incompatible with bad karma and can be achieved only through good karma, i.e. good actions.

In Buddhist philosophy, the concept of Karma, action and reaction, also extends to our relationship with nature. Both Hindu and Buddhist traditions emphasize the unity of all life on earth. Hindus regard killing an animal as a sin, and many try to avoid accidentally stepping on insects as they walk.

The Hindu and Buddhist picture of the relatedness of all life on earth has been confirmed by modern biological science. We now know that all living organisms have the same fundamental biochemistry, based on DNA, RNA, proteins and polysaccharides, and we know that our own human genomes are more similar to than different from the genomes of our close relations in the animal world.

The peoples of the industrialized nations urgently need to acquire a non-anthropocentric element in their ethics, similar to reverence for all life found in the Hindu and Buddhist

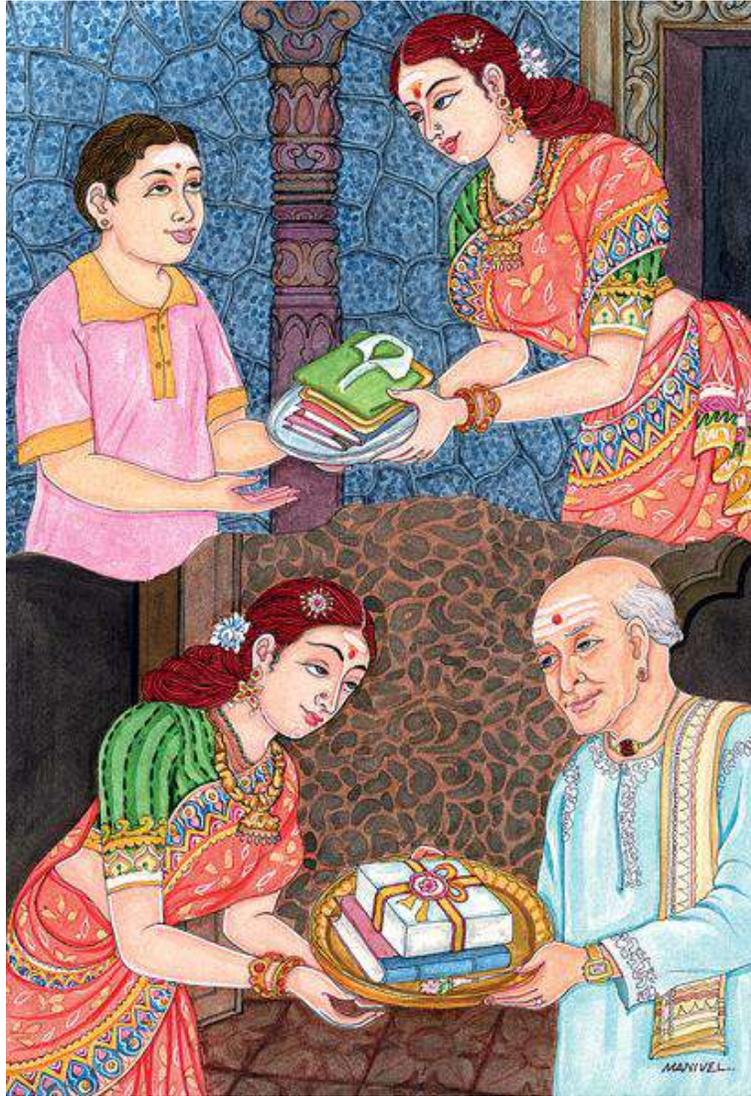


Figure 10.3: This painting illustrates the concept of karma. A lady gives books and clothing to a poor student. Later she receives a gift from a neighbor. There may sometimes be a direct causal connection between such events, but often they are connected only by the fact that each act of kindness makes the world a better place. (Himalayan Academy Publications, Kapaa, Kauai, Hawaii.)

traditions, as well as in the teachings of Saint Francis of Assisi and Albert Schweitzer. We need to learn to value other species for their own sakes, and not because we expect to use them for our own economic goals.

Today a few societies still follow a way of life similar to that of our hunter-gatherer ancestors. Anthropologists are able to obtain a vivid picture of the past by studying these societies. Often the religious ethics of the hunter-gatherers emphasizes the importance of harmony with nature. For example, respect for nature appears in the tribal traditions of Native Americans. The attitude towards nature of the Sioux can be seen from the following quotations from “Land of the Spotted Eagle” by the Lakota (Western Sioux) chief, Standing Bear (ca. 1834-1908):

“The Lakota was a true lover of Nature. He loved the earth and all things of the earth... From Waken Tanka (the Great Spirit) there came a great unifying life force that flowered in and through all things, the flowers of the plains, blowing winds, rocks, trees, birds, animals, and was the same force that had been breathed into the first man. Thus all things were kindred and were brought together by the same Great Mystery.”

“Kinship with all creatures of the earth, sky, and water was a real and active principle. For the animal and bird world there existed a brotherly feeling that kept the Lakota safe among them. And so close did some of the Lakota come to their feathered and furred friends that in true brotherhood they spoke a common tongue.”

“The animal had rights, the right of man’s protection, the right to live, the right to multiply, the right to freedom, and the right to man’s indebtedness, and in recognition of these rights the Lakota never enslaved the animal, and spared all life that was not needed for food and clothing.”

“This concept of life was humanizing and gave to the Lakota an abiding love. It filled his being with the joy and mystery of things; it gave him reverence for all life; it made a place for all things in the scheme of existence with equal importance to all. The Lakota could despise no creature, for all were one blood, made by the same hand, and filled with the essence of the Great Mystery.”

A similar attitude towards nature can be found in traditional Inuit cultures, and in some parts of Africa, a man who plans to cut down a tree offers a prayer of apology, telling the tree why necessity has forced him to harm it. This preindustrial attitude is something from which the industrialized North could learn. In industrial societies, land “belongs” to some one has the “right” to ruin the land or to kill the communities of creatures living on it if this happens to give some economic advantage, in much the same way that a Roman slaveowner was thought to have the “right” to kill his slaves. Preindustrial societies have a much less rapacious and much more custodial attitude towards the land and towards its non-human inhabitants.

We have received many gifts from modern technology, but if we are to build a happy, sustainable and war-free world we must combine our new scientific techniques with humanity’s ancient wisdom.



Figure 10.4: Chief Luther Standing Bear, author of “Land of the Spotted Eagle” and many other books.

10.4 Modern science as a gift economy

We stand on each other's shoulders

The sharing of scientific and technological knowledge is essential to modern civilization. The great power of science is derived from an enormous concentration of attention and resources on the understanding of a tiny fragment of nature. It would make no sense to proceed in this way if knowledge were not permanent, and if it were not shared by the entire world.

Science is not competitive. It is cooperative. It is a great monument built by many thousands of hands, each adding a stone to the cairn. This is true not only of scientific knowledge but also of every aspect of our culture, history, art and literature, as well as the skills that produce everyday objects upon which our lives depend. Civilization is cooperative. It is not competitive.

The Internet and Wikipedia as gift economies

Access to the Internet is available to everyone throughout the world, essentially free of charge. Through search engines, all of human knowledge has become instantly available to everyone. The authors who write for Wikipedia are not paid to do so. In fact, the names of the authors do not even appear on their articles. Their work is simply a gift to society. The gift economies of families have now been enlarged to include the entire human family.

The fragility of modern society

Our cultural heritage is not only immensely valuable; it is also so great that no individual comprehends all of it. We are all specialists, who understand only a tiny fragment of the enormous edifice. No scientist understands all of science. Perhaps Leonardo da Vinci could come close in his day, but today it is impossible. Nor do the vast majority people who use cell phones, personal computers and television sets every day understand in detail how they work. Our health is preserved by medicines, which are made by processes that most of us do not understand, and we travel to work in automobiles and buses that we would be completely unable to construct.

As our civilization has become more and more complex, it has become increasingly vulnerable to disasters. We see this whenever there are power cuts or transportation failures due to severe storms. If electricity should fail for a very long period of time, our complex society would cease to function. The population of the world is now so large that it is completely dependent on the high efficiency of modern agriculture. We are also very dependent on the stability of our economic system.

The fragility of modern society is particularly worrying, because, with a little thought, we can predict several future threats which will stress our civilization very severely. We

will need much wisdom and solidarity to get safely through the difficulties that now loom ahead of us.

We can already see the the problem of famine in vulnerable parts of the world. Climate change will make this problem more severe by bringing aridity to parts of the world that are now large producers of grain, for example the Middle West of the United States. Climate change has caused the melting of glaciers in the Himalayas and the Andes. When these glaciers are completely melted, China, India and several countries in South America will be deprived of their summer water supply. Water for irrigation will also become increasingly problematic because of falling water tables. Rising sea levels will drown many rice-growing areas in South-East Asia. Finally, modern agriculture is very dependent on fossil fuels for the production of fertilizer and for driving farm machinery. In the future, high-yield agriculture will be dealt a severe blow by the rising price of fossil fuels.

Economic collapse is another threat that we will have to face in the future. Our present fractional reserve banking system is dependent on economic growth. But perpetual growth of industry on a finite planet is a logical impossibility. Thus we are faced with a period of stress, where reform of our growth-based economic system and great changes of lifestyle will both become necessary.

How will we get through the difficult period ahead? I believe that solutions to the difficult problems of the future are possible, but only if we face the problems honestly and make the adjustments which they demand. Above all, we must maintain our human solidarity.

The great and complex edifice of human civilization is far too precious to be risked in a thermonuclear war. It has been built by all humans, working together. And by working together, we must now ensure that it is handed on intact to our children and grandchildren.

10.5 The collective human consciousness

No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, John Donne (1572-1631)

If I have seen further it is by standing on ye shoulders of Giants, Isaac Newton (1643-1727)

One needs an exceptional stupidity even to question the urgency we are under to establish some effective World Pax, before gathering disaster overwhelms us. The problem of reshaping human affairs on a world-scale, this World problem, is drawing together an ever-increasing multitude of minds. H.G. Wells (1866-1946)

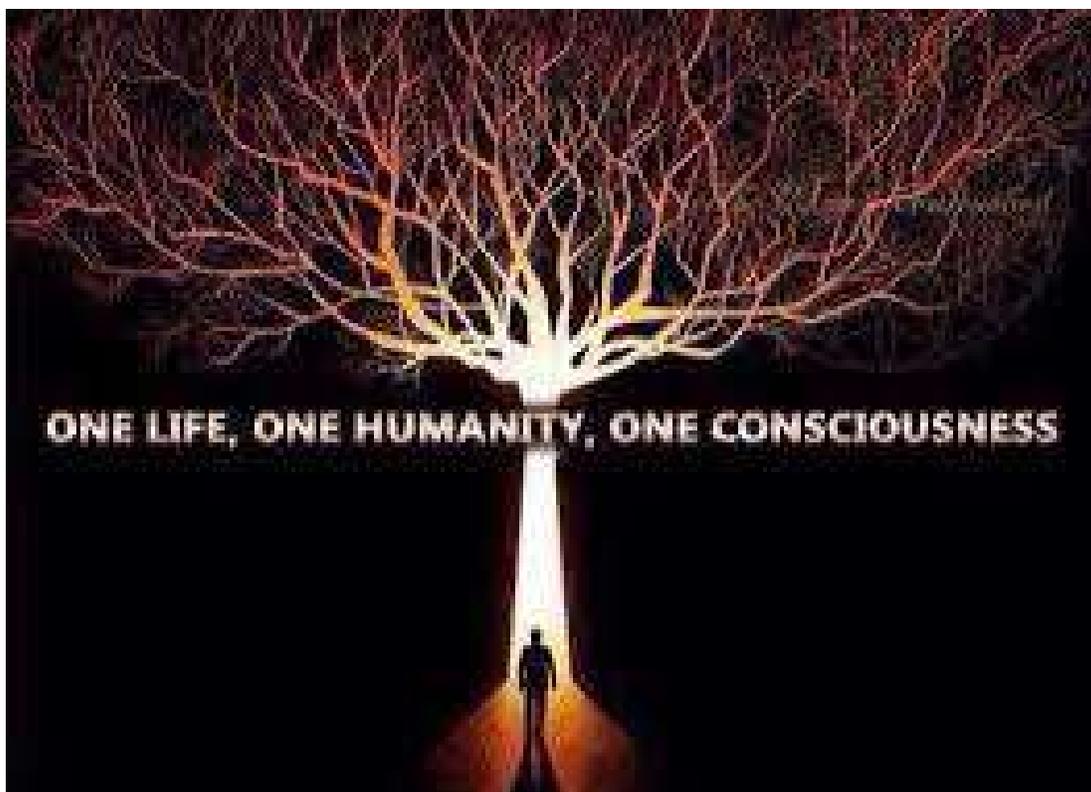
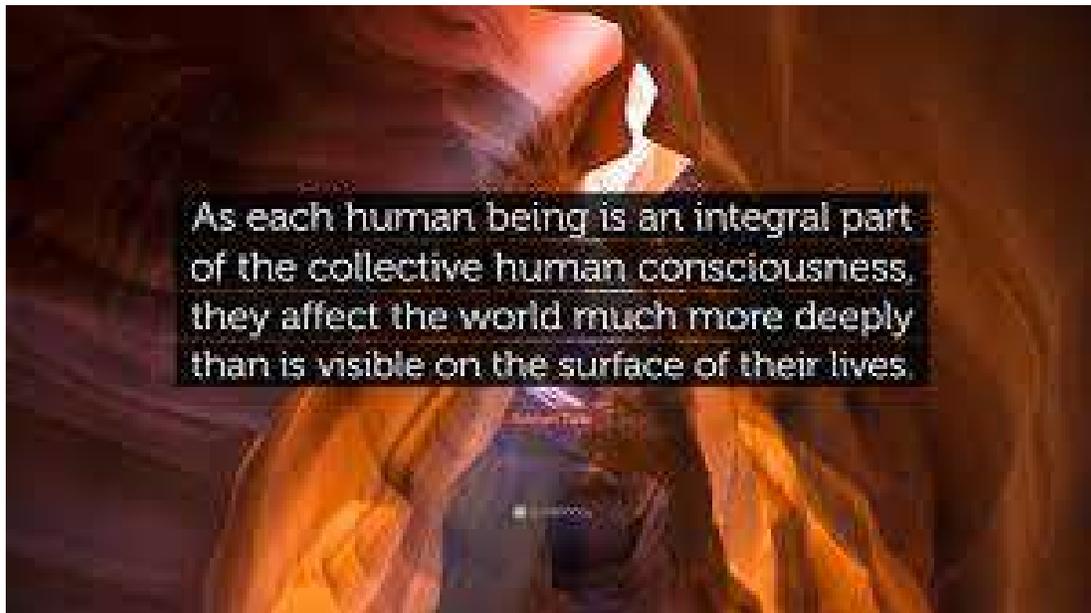
The Open Access Movement has fought valiantly to ensure that scientists do not sign their copyrights away but instead ensure their work is published on the Internet, under terms that allow anyone to access it., Aaron Schwartz (1986-2013)

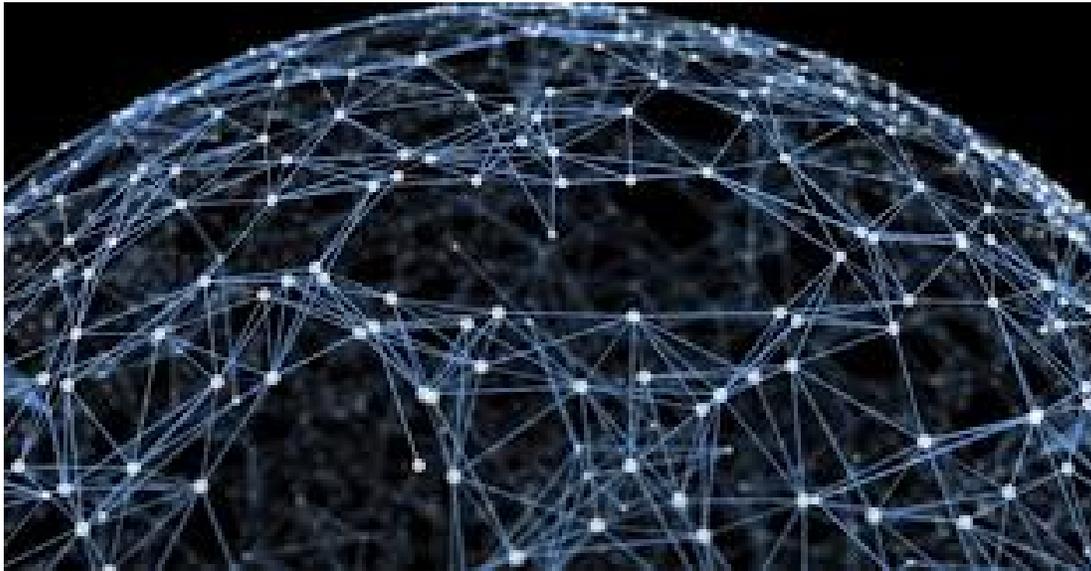
Sharp qualitative discontinuities have occurred several times before during the earth's 4-billion year evolutionary history: A dramatic change occurred when autocatalytic systems first became surrounded by a cell membrane. Another sharp transition occurred when photosynthesis evolved, and a third when the enormously more complex eukaryotic cells developed from the prokaryotes. The evolution of multicellular organisms also represents a sharp qualitative change. Undoubtedly the change from molecular information transfer to cultural information transfer is an even more dramatic shift to a higher mode of evolution than the four sudden evolutionary gear-shifts just mentioned. Human cultural evolution began only an instant ago on the time-scale of genetic evolution. Already it has completely changed the planet. We have no idea where it will lead.

The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Human society is a superorganism, far greater than any individual in history or in the present. The human superorganism has a supermind, a collective consciousness far greater than the consciousness of individuals. Each individual contributes a stone to the cairn of civilization, but our astonishing understanding of the universe is a collective achievement.

Science derives its great power from the concentration of enormous resources on a tiny fragment of reality. It would make no sense to proceed in this way if knowledge were not permanent and if information were not shared globally. But scientists of all nations pool their knowledge at international conferences and through international publications. Scientists stand on each other's shoulders. Their shared knowledge is far greater than the fragments that each contributes.

Other aspects of culture are also cooperative and global. For example, Japanese woodblock printers influenced the French Impressionists. The nonviolent tradition of Shelly, Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela is international. Culture is cooperative. It is not competitive. Global cultural cooperation can lead us to a sustainable and peaceful society. Our almost miraculous modern communications media, if properly used, can give us a stable, prosperous and cooperative future society.





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Appendix A

THE URGENT NEED FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY

A.1 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 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, 2019.¹:

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.

¹<https://truthout.org/video/george-monbiot-on-the-uk-climate-emergency/>



It will essentially, necessarily destroy our life-support systems. Among those characteristics is the drive for perpetual economic growth on a finite planet.”

A.2 The 2018 IPCC report

Excerpts from an article summarizing the report

Here are excerpts from an article entitled **UN Experts Warn of 'Climate Catastrophe' by 2040** by Jessica Corbett. The article was published in Common Dreams on Monday, October 8, 2018.²:

“The climate crisis is here and already impacting the most vulnerable,” notes 350.org’s program director. “Staying under 1.5°C is now a matter of political will.”

Underscoring the need for “rapid, far-reaching, and unprecedented” changes to life as we know it to combat the global climate crisis, a new report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) - the United Nations’ leading body for climate science - details what the world could look like if the global temperature rises to 1.5°C versus 2°C (2.7°F versus 3.6°F) above pre-industrial levels, and outlines pathways to reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty.

²<https://www.commondreams.org/news/2018/10/08/un-experts-warn-climate-catastrophe-2040-without-rapid-and-unprecedented-global>

“Climate change represents an urgent and potentially irreversible threat to human societies and the planet,” the report reads. “Human-induced warming has already reached about 1°C (1.8°F) above pre-industrial levels at the time of writing of this Special Report... If the current warming rate continues, the world would reach human-induced global warming of 1.5°C around 2040.”

Approved by the IPCC in South Korea on Saturday ahead of COP24 in Poland in December, *Global Warming of 1.5°C* was produced by 91 authors and reviewers from 40 countries. Its release has elicited calls to action from climate campaigners and policymakers the world over.

“This is a climate emergency. The IPCC 1.5 report starkly illustrates the difference between temperature rises of 1.5°C and 2°C - for many around the world this is a matter of life and death,” declared Karin Nansen, chair of Friends of the Earth International (FOEI). “It is crucial to keep temperature rise well below 1.5 degrees ... but the evidence presented by the IPCC shows that there is a narrow and shrinking window in which to do so.”

The report was requested when the international community came together in December of 2015 for the Paris agreement, which aims to keep global warming within this century “well below” 2°C, with an ultimate target of 1.5°C. President Donald Trump’s predecessor supported the accord, but Trump has vowed to withdraw the United States, even as every other nation on the planet has pledged their support for it. In many cases, however, sworn support hasn’t led to effective policy.

“It’s a fresh reminder, if one was needed, that current emissions reduction pledges are not enough to meet the long-term goals of the Paris agreement. Indeed, they are not enough for any appropriately ambitious temperature target, given what we know about dangerous climate impacts already unfolding even at lower temperature thresholds,” Rachel Cleetus, lead economist and climate policy manager for the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), wrote ahead of its release.

“The policy implications of the report are obvious: We need to implement a suite of policies to sharply limit carbon emissions and build climate resilience, and we must do all this in a way that prioritizes equitable outcomes particularly for the world’s poor and marginalized communities,” Cleetus added.

“We want a just transition to a clean energy system that benefits people not corporations,” Nansen emphasized. “Only with a radical transformation of our energy, food and economic systems, embracing environmental, social, gender and economic justice, can we prevent climate catastrophe and temperature rises exceeding 1.5°C.”

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.

A.3 Greta Thunberg

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 A.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%...”

A.4 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.

A.5 Solar energy

Before the start of the industrial era, human society relied exclusively on renewable energy sources - but can we do so again, with our greatly increased population and greatly

increased demands? Will we ultimately be forced to reduce the global population or our per capita use of energy, or both? Let us now try to examine these questions.

Biomass, wind energy, hydropower and wave power derive their energy indirectly from the sun, but in addition, various methods are available for utilizing the power of sunlight directly. These include photovoltaic panels, solar designs in architecture, solar systems for heating water and cooking, concentrating photovoltaic systems, and solar thermal power plants.

Photovoltaic cells and concentrating photovoltaic systems

Solar power was the fastest-growing source of new energy in 2016, surpassing the net growth of all other energy sources including coal, according to a new report from the International Energy Agency (IEA).

The IEA report found new solar capacity increased by 50 percent in 2016, and IEA executive director Fatih Birol hailed solar's rapid growth. "What we are witnessing is the birth of a new era in solar photovoltaics [PV]. We expect that solar PV capacity growth will be higher than any other renewable technology up to 2022."³

The report also shows renewables as a whole accounted for two-thirds of all new energy capacity in 2016. "We see renewables growing by about 1,000 GW (gigawatts) by 2022, which equals about half of the current global capacity in coal power, which took 80 years to build," Birol said in a statement accompanying the report.⁴

Solar photovoltaic cells⁵ are thin coated wafers of a semiconducting material (usually silicon). The coatings on the two sides are respectively charge donors and charge acceptors. Cells of this type are capable of trapping solar energy and converting it into direct-current electricity. The electricity generated in this way can be used directly (as it is, for example, in pocket calculators) or it can be fed into a general power grid. Alternatively it can be used to split water into hydrogen and oxygen. The gases can then be compressed and stored, or exported for later use in fuel cells. In the future, we may see solar photovoltaic arrays in sun-rich desert areas producing hydrogen as an export product. As their petroleum reserves become exhausted, the countries of the Middle East and Africa may be able to shift to this new technology and still remain energy exporters.

It is interesting to notice that the primary process of photosynthesis in plants is closely similar to the mechanism by which solar cells separate charges and prevent the back-reaction. We can see why a back-reaction must be prevented if we consider the excitation of a single atom. An absorbed photon lifts an electron from a filled atomic orbital to an empty one, leaving a positively-charged hole in the orbital from which the electron came. However, a back-reaction occurs almost immediately: The excited electron falls back into

³<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/oct/04/solar-power-renewables-international-energy-agency>

⁴<https://www.iea.org/newsroom/news/2017/october/solar-pv-grew-faster-than-any-other-fuel-in-2016-opening-a-new-era-for-solar-pow.html>

⁵<https://www.iea.org/renewables/>

the orbital from which it came, and the absorbed energy is re-emitted. One can say that the electron and hole have recombined.

In higher plants, the back reaction is prevented because the photon is absorbed in a membrane which has a sandwich-like structure. Dye molecules (usually chlorophyll molecules) are sandwiched between a layer of charge donor molecules on one side of the membrane, and a layer of charge acceptor molecule on the other side. The electron quickly migrates to the acceptors, which are molecules with low-lying unfilled orbitals. Meanwhile the hole has quickly moved to the opposite side of the membrane, where it combines with an electron from a donor molecule. A donor molecule is a molecule whose highest filled orbital is high in energy. In this process, the back reaction is prevented. The electron and hole are on opposite sides of the membrane, and they can only recombine after they have driven the metabolism of the plant.

In a photovoltaic solar cell, the mechanism by which the back-reaction is prevented is exactly similar. It too has a sandwich-like structure, with charge donors on one side, charge-acceptors on the other, and photon absorbers in the middle. Here too, the electron and hole quickly migrate to opposite sides. They can only recombine by traveling through the external circuit, which is analogous to a plant's metabolism, and performing useful work.

The cost of manufacturing photovoltaics continues to fall rapidly. In 2017, a homeowner paid approximately \$3,360 per kilowatt to have rooftop solar panels installed. Usually photovoltaic panels are warranted for a life of 20 years, but they are commonly still operational after 30 years or more. Using the fact that there are 8760 hours in a year, and thus 175200 hours in 20 years, we can calculate that the cost of electricity to a solar-using homeowner today is about 1.92 cents per kilowatt hour. This can be compared with electricity generated from coal, which in 2011 cost 3.23 cents per kilowatt hour, while electricity generated from natural gas cost 4.51 cents per kilowatt hour. We must also remember that photovoltaics are falling rapidly in price, and that the fossil fuel costs do not include externalities, such as their contribution to climate change.

Concentrating photovoltaic systems are able to lower costs still further by combining silicon solar cells with reflectors that concentrate the sun's rays. The most inexpensive type of concentrating reflector consists of a flat piece of aluminum-covered plastic material bent into a curved shape along one of its dimensions, forming a trough-shaped surface. (Something like this shape results when we hold a piece of paper at the top and bottom with our two hands, allowing the center to sag.) The axis of the reflector can be oriented so that it points towards the North Star. A photovoltaic array placed along the focal line will then receive concentrated sunlight throughout the day.

Photovoltaic efficiency is defined as the ratio of the electrical power produced by a cell to the solar power striking its surface. For commercially available cells today, this ratio is between 9% and 14%. If we assume 5 hours of bright sunlight per day, this means that a photo cell in a desert area near to the equator (where 1 kW/m^2 of peak solar power reaches the earth's surface) can produce electrical energy at the average rate of 20-30 W_e/m^2 , the average being taken over an entire day and night. The potential power per unit area for photovoltaic systems is far greater than for biomass. However, the mix of

renewable energy sources most suitable for a particular country depends on many factors. We will see below that biomass is a promising future source of energy for Sweden, because of Sweden's low population density and high rainfall. By contrast, despite the high initial investment required, photovoltaics are undoubtedly a more promising future energy source for southerly countries with clear skies.

In comparing photovoltaics with biomass, we should be aware of the difference between electrical energy and energy contained in the chemical bonds of a primary fuel such as wood or rapeseed oil. If Sweden (for example) were to supply all its energy needs from biomass, part of the biomass would have to be burned to generate electricity. The efficiency of energy conversion in electricity generation from fuel is 20%-35%. Of course, in dual use power plants, part of the left-over heat from electrical power generation can be used to heat homes or greenhouses. However, hydropower, wind power and photovoltaics have an advantage in generating electrical power, since they do so directly and without loss, whereas generation of electricity from biomass involves a loss from the inefficiency of the conversion from fuel energy to electrical energy. Thus a rational renewable energy program for Sweden should involve a mixture of biomass for heating and direct fuel use, with hydropower and wind power for generation of electricity. Perhaps photovoltaics will also play a role in Sweden's future electricity generation, despite the country's northerly location and frequently cloudy skies.

The global market for photovoltaics is expanding at the rate of 30% per year. This development is driven by rising energy prices, subsidies to photovoltaics by governments, and the realization of the risks associated with global warming and consequent international commitments to reduce carbon emissions. The rapidly expanding markets have resulted in lowered photovoltaic production costs, and hence further expansion, still lower costs, etc. - a virtuous feedback loop.

Solar thermal power plants

Solar Parabolic Troughs can be used to heat a fluid, typically oil, in a pipe running along the focal axis. The heated fluid can then be used to generate electrical power. The liquid that is heated in this way need not be oil. In a solar thermal power plant in California, reflectors move in a manner that follows the sun's position and they concentrate solar energy onto a tower, where molten salt is heated to a temperature of 1050 degrees F (566 °C). The molten salt stores the heat, so that electricity can be generated even when the sun is not shining. The California plant generates 10 MW_e.

Solar designs in architecture

At present, the average global rate of use of primary energy is roughly 2 kW_t per person. In North America, the rate is 12 kW_t per capita, while in Europe, the figure is 6 kW_t. In Bangladesh, it is only 0.2 kW_t. This wide variation implies that considerable energy savings are possible, through changes in lifestyle, and through energy efficiency.



Figure A.2: A rooftop array of photovoltaic cells.



Figure A.3: A solar thermal power plant. Arrays of heliostatic reflectors concentrate the sun's rays onto molten salt in the tower. The plant produces electricity at night because the salt remains hot..



Figure A.4: A solar cooker.



Figure A.5: A rooftop solar thermal array for domestic water heating.

Important energy savings can be achieved through solar design in architecture. For example, insulation can be improved in walls, and insulating shutters can be closed at night.

In double envelope construction, a weatherproof shell surrounds the inner house. Between the outer shell and the house, sun-heated air circulates. A less extreme example of this principle is the construction of south-facing conservatories. The sun-heated air in the conservatories acts as a thermal buffer, and reduces heat loss from the house.

Solar design aims at making houses cool in the summer and warm in the winter. Awnings can be spread out in the summer to shade windows, and rolled together in the winter to allow sunshine to enter the house. Alternatively, deciduous trees can be planted in front of south-facing windows. During the summer, the leaves of the trees shade the windows, while in the winter, the leaves fall, allowing the sun to enter.

During daylight hours, houses can be illuminated by fiber optic light pipes, connected to a parabolic collector on the roof. The roof can also contain arrays of solar photovoltaic cells and solar water heaters.

Houses can be heated in the winter by heat pumps connected to a deeply buried network of pipes. Heat pumps function in much the same way as refrigerators or air conditioners. When they are used to warm houses in the winter, a volatile liquid such as ammonia is evaporated underground, where the temperature is relatively constant, not changing much between summer and winter. In the evaporation process, heat is absorbed from the ground. The gas is then compressed and re-liquefied within the house, and in this process, it releases the heat that was absorbed underground. Electricity is of course required to drive a heat pump, but far less electrical power is needed to do this than would be required to heat the house directly.

In general, solar design of houses and other buildings requires an initial investment, but over time, the investment is amply repaid through energy savings.

Solar systems for heating water and cooking

Solar heat collectors are already in common use to supply hot water for families or to heat swimming pools. A common form of the solar heat collector consists of a flat, blackened heat-collecting plate to which tubes containing the fluid to be heated are connected. The plate is insulated from the atmosphere by a layer of air (in some cases a partial vacuum) above which there is a sheet of glass. Water flowing through the tubes is collected in a tank whenever it is hotter than the water already there. In cases where there is a danger of freezing, the heated fluid may contain antifreeze, and it may then exchange heat with water in the collection tank. Systems of this kind can function even in climates as unfavorable as that of Northern Europe, although during winter months they must be supplemented by conventional water-heaters.

In the developing countries, wood is often used for cooking, and the result is sometimes deforestation, soil erosion and desertification. In order to supply an alternative, many designs for solar cooking have been developed. Often the designs are very simple, and

many are both easy and inexpensive to build, the starting materials being aluminum foil and cardboard boxes.

A.6 Wind energy

Wind parks in favorable locations, using modern wind turbines, are able to generate $10 \text{ MW}_e/\text{km}^2$ or $10 \text{ W}_e/\text{m}^2$. Often wind farms are placed in offshore locations. When they are on land, the area between the turbines can be utilized for other purposes, for example for pasturage. For a country like Denmark, with good wind potential but cloudy skies, wind turbines can be expected to play a more important future role than photovoltaics. Denmark is already a world leader both in manufacturing and in using wind turbines. Today, on windy days, 100% of all electricity used in Denmark is generated by wind power, and the export of wind turbines makes a major contribution to the Danish economy. The use of wind power is currently growing at the rate of 38% per year. In the United States, it is the fastest-growing form of electricity generation.

The location of wind parks is important, since the energy obtainable from wind is proportional to the cube of the wind velocity. We can understand this cubic relationship by remembering that the kinetic energy of a moving object is proportional to the square of its velocity multiplied by the mass. Since the mass of air moving past a wind turbine is proportional to the wind velocity, the result is the cubic relationship just mentioned.

Before the decision is made to locate a wind park in a particular place, the wind velocity is usually carefully measured and recorded over an entire year. For locations on land, mountain passes are often very favorable locations, since wind velocities increase with altitude, and since the wind is concentrated in the passes by the mountain barrier. Other favorable locations include shorelines and offshore locations on sand bars. This is because onshore winds result when warm air rising from land heated by the sun is replaced by cool marine air. Depending on the season, the situation may be reversed at night, and an offshore wind may be produced if the water is warmer than the land.

The cost of wind-generated electrical power is currently lower than the cost of electricity generated by burning fossil fuels.

The “energy payback ratio” of a power installation is defined as the ratio of the energy produced by the installation over its lifetime, divided by the energy required to manufacture, construct, operate and decommission the installation. For wind turbines, this ratio is 17-39, compared with 11 for coal-burning plants. The construction energy of a wind turbine is usually paid back within three months.

Besides the propeller-like design for wind turbines there are also designs where the rotors turn about a vertical shaft. One such design was patented in 1927 by the French aeronautical engineer Georges Jean Marie Darrieus. The blades of a Darrieus wind turbine are airfoils similar to the wings of an aircraft. As the rotor turns in the wind, the stream of air striking the airfoils produces a force similar to the “lift” of an airplane wing. This force pushes the rotor in the direction that it is already moving. The Darrieus design has some advantages over conventional wind turbine design, since the generator can be placed



Figure A.6: Rows of wind turbines.



Figure A.7: Vertical axis wind turbines.



Figure A.8: **Wind turbines on the Danish island of Samsø** The island was the first in the world to achieve 100% renewable energy.

at the bottom of the vertical shaft, where it may be more easily serviced. Furthermore, the vertical shaft can be lighter than the shaft needed to support a conventional wind turbine.

One problem with wind power is that it comes intermittently, and demand for electrical power does not necessarily come at times when the wind is blowing most strongly. To deal with the problem of intermittency, wind power can be combined with other electrical power sources in a grid. Alternatively, the energy generated can be stored, for example by pumped hydroelectric storage or by using hydrogen technology, as will be discussed below.

Bird lovers complain that birds are sometimes killed by rotor blades. This is true, but the number killed is small. For example, in the United States, about 70,000 birds per year are killed by turbines, but this must be compared with 57 million birds killed by automobiles and 97.5 million killed by collisions with plate glass.

The aesthetic aspects of wind turbines also come into the debate. Perhaps in the future, as wind power becomes more and more a necessity and less a matter of choice, this will be seen as a “luxury argument”.

A Danish island reaches 100% renewable energy

The Danish island of Samsø is only 112 square kilometers in size, and its population numbers only 4,300. Nevertheless, it has a unique distinction. Samsø was the first closed land area to declare its intention of relying entirely on renewable energy, and it has now achieved this aim, provided that one stretches the definitions slightly.

In 1997, the Danish Ministry of Environment and Energy decided to sponsor a renewable-energy contest. In order to enter, communities had to submit plans for how they could make a transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy. An engineer (who didn't live

there) thought he knew how Samsø could do this, and together with the island's mayor he submitted a plan which won the contest. As a result, the islanders became interested in renewable energy. They switched from furnaces to heat pumps, and formed cooperatives for the construction of windmill parks in the sea near to the island. By 2005, Samsø was producing, from renewable sources, more energy than it was using. The islanders still had gasoline-driven automobiles, but they exported from their windmill parks an amount of electrical energy that balanced the fossil fuel energy that they imported. This is a story that can give us hope for the future, although a farming community like Samsø cannot serve as a model for the world.

A.7 Hydroelectric power

In 2015, hydroelectric power supplied 16.6% of all electrical power, and 70% of the electrical power generated from renewable energy. In the developed countries, the potential for increasing this percentage is small, because most of the suitable sites for dams are already in use. Mountainous regions of course have the greatest potential for hydroelectric power, and this correlates well with the fact that virtually all of the electricity generated in Norway comes from hydro, while in Iceland and Austria the figures are respectively 83% and 67%. Among the large hydroelectric power stations now in use are the La Grande complex in Canada (16 GW_e) and the Itapú station on the border between Brazil and Paraguay (14 GW_e). The Three Gorges Dam in China produces 18.2 GW_e .

Even in regions where the percentage of hydro in electricity generation is not so high, it plays an important role because hydropower can be used selectively at moments of peak demand. Pumping of water into reservoirs can also be used to store energy.

The creation of lakes behind new dams in developing countries often involves problems, for example relocation of people living on land that will be covered by water, and loss of the land for other purposes⁶. However the energy gain per unit area of lake can be very large - over 100 W_e/m^2 . Fish ladders can be used to enable fish to reach their spawning grounds above dams. In addition to generating electrical power, dams often play useful roles in flood control and irrigation.

At present, hydroelectric power is used in energy-intensive industrial processes, such as the production of aluminum. However, as the global energy crisis becomes more severe, we can expect that metals derived from electrolysis, such as aluminum and magnesium, will be very largely replaced by other materials, because the world will no longer be able to afford the energy needed to produce them.

⁶Over a million people were displaced by the construction of the Three Gorges Dam in China, and many sites of cultural value were lost

Table A.1: Technical potential and utilization of hydropower. (Data from World Energy Council, 2003.)

Region	Technical potential	Annual output	Percent used
Asia	0.5814 TW_e	0.0653 TW_e	11%
S. America	0.3187 TW_e	0.0579 TW_e	18%
Europe	0.3089 TW_e	0.0832 TW_e	27%
Africa	0.2155 TW_e	0.0091 TW_e	4%
N. America	0.1904 TW_e	0.0759 TW_e	40%
Oceania	0.0265 TW_e	0.0046 TW_e	17%
World	1.6414 TW_e	0.2960 TW_e	18%



Figure A.9: Hydroelectric power does not suffer from the problem of intermittency, but may sometimes produce undesirable social and ecological impacts.

A.8 Energy from the ocean

Tidal power

The twice-daily flow of the tides can be harnessed to produce electrical power. Ultimately tidal energy comes from the rotation of the earth and its interaction with the moon's gravitational field. The earth's rotation is very gradually slowing because of tidal friction, and the moon is gradually receding from the earth, but this process will take such an extremely long time that tidal energy can be thought of as renewable.

There are two basic methods for harnessing tidal power. One can build barriers that create level differences between two bodies of water, and derive hydroelectric power from the head of water thus created. Alternatively it is possible to place the blades of turbines in a tidal stream. The blades are then turned by the tidal current in much the same way that the blades of a wind turbine are turned by currents of air.

There are plans for using the second method on an extremely large scale in Cook Strait, near New Zealand. A company founded by David Beach and Chris Bathurst plans to anchor 7,000 turbines to the sea floor of Cook Strait in such a way that they will float 40 meters below the surface. Beach and Bathurst say that in this position, the turbines will be safe from the effects of earthquakes and storms. The tidal flow through Cook Strait is so great that the scheme could supply all of New Zealand's electricity if the project is completed on the scale visualized by its founders.

Choosing the proper location for tidal power stations is important, since the height of tides depends on the configuration of the land. For example, tides of 17 meters occur in the Bay of Fundy, at the upper end of the Gulf of Maine, between New Brunswick and Nova

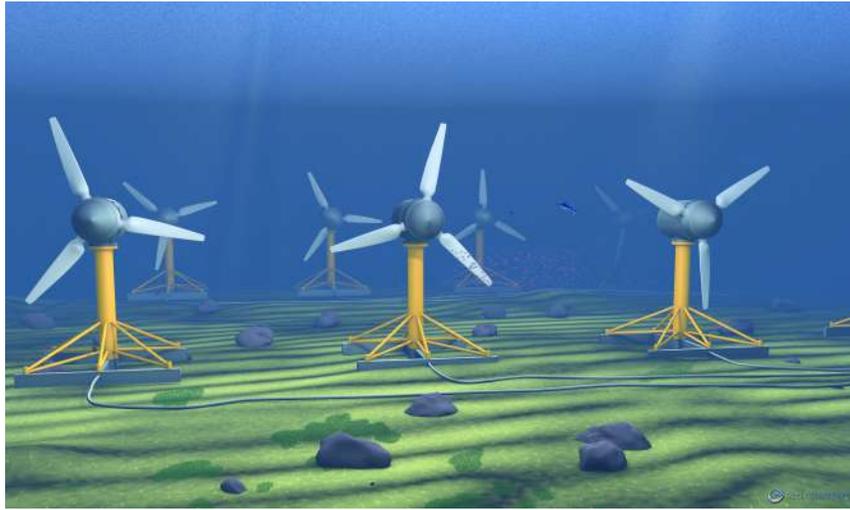


Figure A.10: **Underwater turbines can make use of the energy of ocean currents.**

Scotia. Here tidal waves are funneled into the bay, creating a resonance that results in the world's greatest level difference between high and low tides. An 18 MW_e dam-type tidal power generation station already exists at Annapolis River, Nova Scotia, and there are proposals to increase the use of tidal power in the Bay of Fundy. Some proposals involve turbines in the tidal stream, similar to those proposed for use in the Cook Strait.

In the future, favorable locations for tidal power may be exploited to their full potentialities, even though the output of electrical energy exceeds local needs. The excess energy can be stored in the form of hydrogen (see below) and exported to regions deficient in renewable energy resources.

Wave energy

At present, the utilization of wave energy is in an experimental stage. In Portugal, there are plans for a wave farm using the Pelamis Wave Energy Converter. The Pelamis is a long floating tube with two or more rigid sections joined by hinges. The tube is tethered with its axis in the direction of wave propagation. The bending between sections resulting from passing waves is utilized to drive high pressure oil through hydraulic motors coupled to electrical generators. Each wave farm in the Portuguese project is planned to use three Pelamis converters, each capable of producing 750 kW_e. Thus the total output of each wave farm will be 2.25 MW_e.

Another experimental wave energy converter is Salter's Duck, invented in the 1970's by Prof. Stephen Salter of the University of Edinburgh, but still being developed and improved. Like the Pelamis, the Duck is also cylindrical in shape, but the axis of the cylinder is parallel to the wave front, i.e. perpendicular to the direction of wave motion. A floating cam, attached to the cylinder, rises and falls as a wave passes, driving hydraulic motors within the cylinder. Salter's Duck is capable of using as much as 65% of the wave's

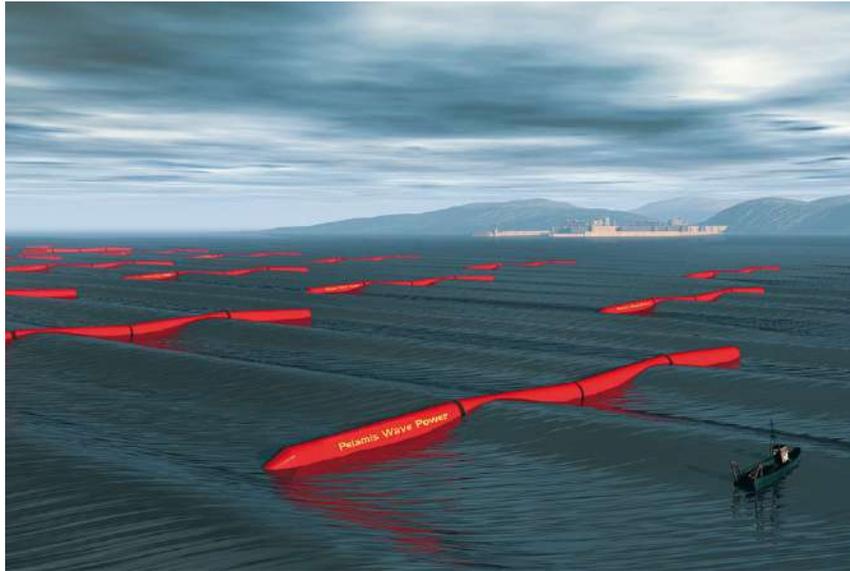


Figure A.11: The Pelamis wave energy transformer floats on the ocean like a giant sea snake. It consists of several segments which move against each other and build up hydraulic pressure. This in turn drives a turbine. A new Pelamis generation is currently under construction.

energy.

The energy potentially available from waves is very large, amounting to as much as 100 kilowatts per meter of wave front in the best locations.

Ocean thermal energy conversion

In tropical regions, the temperature of water at the ocean floor is much colder than water at the surface. In ocean thermal energy conversion, cold water is brought to the surface from depths as great as 1 km, and a heat engine is run between deep sea water at a very low temperature and surface water at a much higher temperature.

According to thermodynamics, the maximum efficiency of a heat engine operating between a cold reservoir at the absolute temperature T_C and a hot reservoir at the absolute temperature T_H is given by $1 - T_C/T_H$. In order to convert temperature on the centigrade scale to absolute temperature (degrees Kelvin) one must add 273 degrees. Thus the maximum efficiency of a heat engine operating between water at the temperature of 25 °C and water at 5 °C is $1 - (5 + 273)/(25 + 273) = 0.067 = 6.7\%$. The efficiency of heat engines is always less than the theoretical maximum because of various losses, such as the loss due to friction. The actual overall efficiencies of existing ocean thermal energy conversion (OTEC) stations are typically 1-3%. On the other hand, the amount of energy potentially available from differences between surface and bottom ocean temperatures is extremely large.

Since 1974, OTEC research has been conducted by the United States at the Natural

Energy Laboratory of Hawaii. The Japanese government also supports OTEC research, and India has established a 1 MW_e OTEC power station floating in the ocean near to Tamil Nadu.

Renewable energy from evaporation

A September 26, 2017 article by Ahmet-Hamdi Cavusoglu et al. in *Nature Communications* points to evaporation as a future source of renewable energy. Here are some excerpts from the article:

“About 50% of the solar energy absorbed at the Earth’s surface drives evaporation, fueling the water cycle that affects various renewable energy resources, such as wind and hydropower. Recent advances demonstrate our nascent ability to convert evaporation energy into work, yet there is little understanding about the potential of this resource.

“Here we study the energy available from natural evaporation to predict the potential of this ubiquitous resource. We find that natural evaporation from open water surfaces could provide power densities comparable to current wind and solar technologies while cutting evaporative water losses by nearly half. We estimate up to 325 GW of power is potentially available in the United States. Strikingly, water’s large heat capacity is sufficient to control power output by storing excess energy when demand is low, thus reducing intermittency and improving reliability. Our findings motivate the improvement of materials and devices that convert energy from evaporation...

“Recent advances in water responsive materials and devices demonstrate the ability to convert energy from evaporation into work. These materials perform work through a cycle of absorbing and rejecting water via evaporation. These water-responsive materials can be incorporated into evaporation-driven engines that harness energy when placed above a body of evaporating water. With improvements in energy conversion efficiency, such devices could become an avenue to harvest energy via natural evaporation from water reservoirs.”

Ozgur Sahin, a biophysicist at Columbia, has developed technology that uses spores from the harmless soil-dwelling bacterium *B. subtilis* to absorb and release water when the relative humidity of the surrounding air changes. At high humidity, the spores take in water and expand, and at low humidity they release water and contract, acting like a muscle.

A.9 Biomass

Biomass is defined as any energy source based on biological materials produced by photosynthesis - for example wood, sugar beets, rapeseed oil, crop wastes, dung, urban organic wastes, processed sewage, etc. Using biomass for energy does not result in the net emission of CO₂, since the CO₂ released by burning the material had previously been absorbed from the atmosphere during photosynthesis. If the biological material had decayed instead of being burned, it would released the same amount of CO₂ as in the burning process.



Figure A.12: **Rapeseed is grown in several countries, including Denmark and the UK. Experimental Danish buses are already running on rapeseed oil.**

The solar constant has the value $1.4 \text{ kilowatts/m}^2$. It represents the amount of solar energy per unit area⁷ that reaches the earth, before the sunlight has entered the atmosphere. Because the atmosphere reflects 6% and absorbs 16%, the peak power at sea level is reduced to 1.0 kW/m^2 . Clouds also absorb and reflect sunlight. Average cloud cover reduces the energy of sunlight a further 36%. Also, we must take into account the fact that the sun's rays do not fall perpendicularly onto the earth's surface. The angle that they make with the surface depends on the time of day, the season and the latitude.

In Sweden, which lies at a northerly latitude, the solar energy per unit of horizontal area is less than for countries nearer the equator. Nevertheless, Göran Persson, during his term as Prime Minister of Sweden, announced that his government intends to make the country independent of imported oil by 2020 through a program that includes energy from biomass.

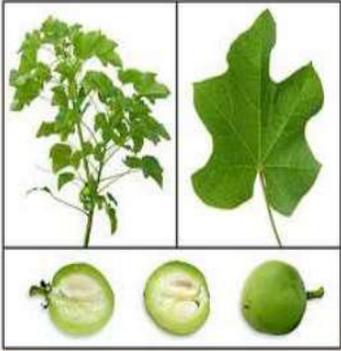
In his thesis, *Biomass in a Sustainable Energy System*, the Swedish researcher Pål Börjesson states that of various crops grown as biomass, the largest energy yields come from short-rotation forests (*Salix viminalis*, a species of willow) and sugar beet plantations. These have an energy yield of from 160 to 170 GJ_t per hectare-year. (The subscript t means "thermal". Energy in the form of electricity is denoted by the subscript e). One can calculate that this is equivalent to about $0.5 \text{ MW}_t/\text{km}^2$, or $0.5 \text{ W}_t/\text{m}^2$. Thus, although 1.0 kW/m^2 of solar energy reaches the earth at noon at the equator, the trees growing in northerly Sweden can harvest a day-and-night and seasonal average of only 0.5 Watts of thermal energy per horizontal square meter⁸. Since Sweden's present primary energy use is approximately 0.04 TW_t , it follows that if no other sources of energy were used, a square area of *Salix* forest 290 kilometers on each side would supply Sweden's present energy needs. This corresponds to an area of $84,000 \text{ km}^2$, about 19% of Sweden's total

⁷The area is assumed to be perpendicular to the sun's rays.

⁸In tropical regions, the rate of biomass production can be more than double this amount.

Jatropha Benefits

- Oil provides energy for light, transportation, and cooking.
- Jatropha is a natural fence (leaves are poisonous to animals).
- The Jatropha plant improves the soil and prevents erosion.
- Jatropha biomass starts a year after first planting, and is at a maximum after 5 years.
- Glycerin, a by product of Jatropha oil, can be used to produce soap.



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Figure A.13: In some countries, Jatropha is a promising source of biomass..

area⁹. Of course, Sweden's renewable energy program will not rely exclusively on energy crops, but on a mixture of sources, including biomass from municipal and agricultural wastes, hydropower, wind energy and solar energy.

At present, both Sweden and Finland derive about 30% of their electricity from biomass, which is largely in the form of waste from the forestry and paper industries of these two countries.

Despite their northerly location, the countries of Scandinavia have good potentialities for developing biomass as an energy source, since they have small population densities and adequate rainfall. In Denmark, biodiesel oil derived from rapeseed has been used as fuel for experimental buses. Rapeseed fields produce oil at the rate of between 1,000 and 1,300 liters per hectare-crop. The energy yield is 3.2 units of fuel product energy for every unit of fuel energy used to plant the rapeseed, and to harvest and process the oil. After the oil has been pressed from rapeseed, two-thirds of the seed remains as a protein-rich residue which can be fed to cattle.

Miscanthus is a grassy plant found in Asia and Africa. Some forms will also grow in Northern Europe, and it is being considered as an energy crop in the United Kingdom. Miscanthus can produce up to 18 dry tonnes per hectare-year, and it has the great advantage that it can be cultivated using ordinary farm machinery. The woody stems are very suitable for burning, since their water content is low (20-30%).

For some southerly countries, honge oil, derived from the plant *Pongamia pinnata* may prove to be a promising source of biomass energy. Studies conducted by Dr. Udishi

⁹Additional land area would be needed to supply the energy required for planting, harvesting, transportation and utilization of the wood.

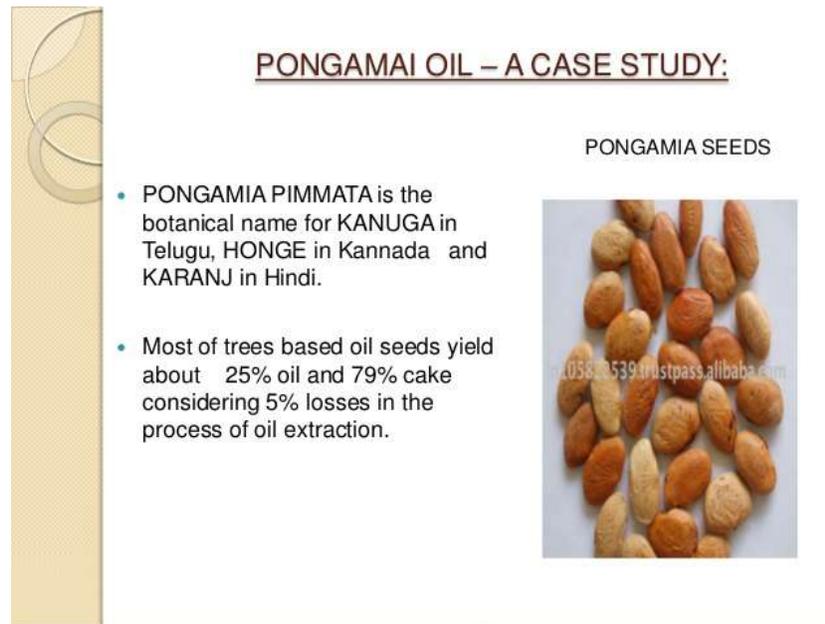


Figure A.14: **The price of honge oil is quite competitive with other forms of oil.**

Shrinivasa at the Indian Institute of Sciences in Bangalore indicate that honge oil can be produced at the cost of \$150 per ton. This price is quite competitive when compared with other potential fuel oils.

Recent studies have also focused on a species of algae that has an oil content of up to 50%. Algae can be grown in desert areas, where cloud cover is minimal. Farm waste and excess CO₂ from factories can be used to speed the growth of the algae.

It is possible that in the future, scientists will be able to create new species of algae that use the sun's energy to generate hydrogen gas. If this proves to be possible, the hydrogen gas may then be used to generate electricity in fuel cells, as will be discussed below in the section on hydrogen technology. Promising research along this line is already in progress at the University of California, Berkeley.

Biogas is defined as the mixture of gases produced by the anaerobic digestion of organic matter. This gas, which is rich in methane (CH₄), is produced in swamps and landfills, and in the treatment of organic wastes from farms and cities. The use of biogas as a fuel is important not only because it is a valuable energy source, but also because methane is a potent greenhouse gas, which should not be allowed to reach the atmosphere. Biogas produced from farm wastes can be used locally on the farm, for cooking and heating, etc. When biogas has been sufficiently cleaned so that it can be distributed in a pipeline, it is known as "renewable natural gas". It may then be distributed in the natural gas grid, or it can be compressed and used in internal combustion engines. Renewable natural gas can also be used in fuel cells, as will be discussed below in the section on Hydrogen Technology.

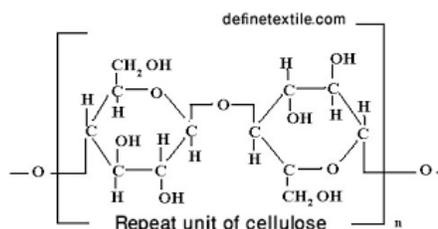


Figure A.15: Cellulose is a polysaccharide. In other words, it is a long polymer whose subunits are sugars. The links between the sugar subunits in the chain can be broken, for example by the action of enzymes or acids. After this has been done, the resulting sugars can be fermented into alcohols, and these can be used to fuel motor vehicles or aircraft.

Cellulostic ethanol

The fact that alcohols such as ethanol can be produced from cellulose has long been known.¹⁰ In 1819, the French chemist Henri Braconnot demonstrated that cellulose could be broken down into sugars by treating it with sulfuric acid. The sugars thus produced could then be fermented into alcohols which could be used as liquid fuels.

In 1898, Germany built factories to commercialize this process, and shortly afterwards the same was done in the United States using a slightly different technique. These plants producing cellulostic ethanol operated during World War I, but the plants closed after the end of the war because of the cheapness and easy availability of fossil fuels. The production of cellulostic ethanol was revived during World War II.

During the last two decades, development of enzymatic techniques has supplied a better method of breaking the long cellulose polymer chain into sugars. In fact, it has recently become possible to use microbial enzymes both for this step and for the fermentation step.

In a September 9, 2008 article in the *MIT Technology Review*. Prachi Patal wrote: “New genetically modified bacteria could slash the costs of producing ethanol from cellulostic biomass, such as corn cobs and leaves, switchgrass, and paper pulp. The microbes produce ethanol at higher temperatures than are possible using yeast, which is currently employed to ferment sugar into the biofuel. The higher temperature more than halves the quantity of the costly enzymes needed to split cellulose into the sugars that the microbes can ferment. What’s more, while yeast can only ferment glucose, ‘this microorganism is good at using all the different sugars in biomass and can use them simultaneously and rapidly,’ says Lee Lynd, an engineering professor at Dartmouth College, who led the microbe’s development...

“Lynd wants to create microbes that would do it all: efficiently break down the cellulose and hemicellulose, and then ferment all the resulting sugars. Lynd, a cofounder of Mascoma, is working with colleagues at the startup, based in Cambridge, MA, to develop a simple one-step process for making cellulostic ethanol. In the combined process, a mixture of biomass and the microbes would go into a tank, and ethanol would come out.”

Cellulostic ethanol has several advantages over alcohol derived from grain;

¹⁰See the Wikipedia article on *Cellulostic Ethanol*

- Cellulostic ethanol avoids the food-fuel competition.
- The net greenhouse-gas-reducing effect of ethanol derived from grain is questionable.
- Cellulostic ethanol can use cardboard and paper waste as starting substances, thus reducing the quantity of trash in waste dumps.

A.10 Geothermal energy

The ultimate source of geothermal energy is the decay of radioactive nuclei in the interior of the earth. Because of the heat produced by this radioactive decay, the temperature of the earth's core is 4300 °C. The inner core is composed of solid iron, while the outer core consists of molten iron and sulfur compounds. Above the core is the mantle, which consists of a viscous liquid containing compounds of magnesium, iron, aluminum, silicon and oxygen. The temperature of the mantle gradually decreases from 3700 °C near the core to 1000 °C near the crust. The crust of the earth consists of relatively light solid rocks and it varies in thickness from 5 to 70 km.

The outward flow of heat from radioactive decay produces convection currents in the interior of the earth. These convection currents, interacting with the earth's rotation, produce patterns of flow similar to the trade winds of the atmosphere. One result of the currents of molten conducting material in the interior of the earth is the earth's magnetic field. The crust is divided into large sections called "tectonic plates", and the currents of molten material in the interior of the earth also drag the plates into collision with each other. At the boundaries, where the plates collide or split apart, volcanic activity occurs. Volcanic regions near the tectonic plate boundaries are the best sites for collection of geothermal energy.

The entire Pacific Ocean is ringed by regions of volcanic and earthquake activity, the so-called Ring of Fire. This ring extends from Tierra del Fuego at the southernmost tip of South America, northward along the western coasts of both South America and North America to Alaska. The ring then crosses the Pacific at the line formed by the Aleutian Islands, and it reaches the Kamchatka Peninsula in Russia. From there it extends southward along the Kurile Island chain and across Japan to the Philippine Islands, Indonesia and New Zealand. Many of the islands of the Pacific are volcanic in nature. Another important region of volcanic activity extends northward along the Rift Valley of Africa to Turkey, Greece and Italy. In the Central Atlantic region, two tectonic plates are splitting apart, thus producing the volcanic activity of Iceland. All of these regions are very favorable for the collection of geothermal power.

The average rate at which the energy created by radioactive decay in the interior of the earth is transported to the surface is $0.06 \text{ W}_t/\text{m}^2$. However, in volcanic regions near the boundaries of tectonic plates, the rate at which the energy is conducted to the surface is much higher - typically $0.3 \text{ W}_t/\text{m}^2$. If we insert these figures into the thermal conductivity law

$$q = K_T \frac{\Delta T}{z}$$



Figure A.16: The source of geothermal energy is the radioactive decay of elements deep within the earth.



Figure A.17: The “ring of fire” is especially favorable for geothermal energy installations. The ring follows the western coasts of South America and North America to Alaska, After crossing the Bering Sea, it runs southward past Japan and Indonesia to New Zealand. Earthquakes and volcanic activity along this ring are produced by the collision of tectonic plates. Another strip-like region very favorable for geothermal installations follows Africa’s Rift Valley northward through Turkey and Greece to Italy, while a third pass through Iceland.

we can obtain an understanding of the types of geothermal resources available throughout the world. In the thermal conductivity equation, q is the power conducted per unit area, while K_T is the thermal conductivity of the material through the energy is passing. For sandstones, limestones and most crystalline rocks, thermal conductivities are in the range 2.5-3.5 $W_t/(m \text{ } ^\circ C)$. Inserting these values into the thermal conductivity equation, we find that in regions near tectonic plate boundaries we can reach temperatures of 200 $^\circ C$ by drilling only 2 kilometers into rocks of the types named above. If the strata at that depth contain water, it will be in the form of highly-compressed steam. Such a geothermal resource is called a *high-enthalpy* resource¹¹.

In addition to high-enthalpy geothermal resources there are *low-enthalpy* resources in nonvolcanic regions of the world, especially in basins covered by sedimentary rocks. Clays and shales have a low thermal conductivity, typically 1-2 $W_t/(m \text{ } ^\circ C)$. When we combine these figures with the global average geothermal power transmission, $q = 0.06 W_t/m^2$, the thermal conduction equation tells us that $\Delta T/z = 0.04 \text{ } ^\circ C/m$. In such a region the geothermal resources may not be suitable for the generation of electrical power, but nevertheless adequate for heating buildings. The Creil district heating scheme north of Paris is an example of a project where geothermal energy from a low enthalpy resource is used for heating buildings.

The total quantity of geothermal electrical power produced in the world today is 8 GW_e , with an additional 16 GW_t used for heating houses and buildings. In the United States alone, 2.7 GW_e are derived from geothermal sources. In some countries, for example Iceland and Canada, geothermal energy is used both for electrical power generation and for heating houses.

There are three methods for obtaining geothermal power in common use today: Deep wells may yield dry steam, which can be used directly to drive turbines. Alternatively water so hot that it boils when brought to the surface may be pumped from deep wells in volcanic regions. The steam is then used to drive turbines. Finally, if the water from geothermal wells is less hot, it may be used in binary plants, where its heat is exchanged with an organic fluid which then boils. In this last method, the organic vapor drives the turbines. In all three methods, water is pumped back into the wells to be reheated. The largest dry steam field in the world is The Geysers, 145 kilometers north of San Francisco, which produces 1,000 MW_e .

There is a fourth method of obtaining geothermal energy, in which water is pumped down from the surface and is heated by hot dry rocks. In order to obtain a sufficiently large area for heat exchange the fissure systems in the rocks must be augmented, for example by pumping water down at high pressures several hundred meters away from the collection well. The European Union has established an experimental station at Soultz-sous-Forêts in the Upper Rhine to explore this technique. The experiments performed at Soultz will determine whether the "hot dry rock" method can be made economically viable. If so, it can potentially offer the world a very important source of renewable energy.

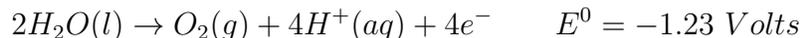
¹¹Enthalpy $\equiv H \equiv U + PV$ is a thermodynamic quantity that takes into account not only the internal energy U of a gas, but also energy PV that may be obtained by allowing it to expand.

The molten lava of volcanoes also offers a potential source of geothermal energy that may become available in the future, but at present, no technology has been developed that is capable of using it.

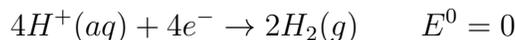
A.11 Hydrogen technologies

Electrolysis of water

When water containing a little acid is placed in a container with two electrodes and subjected to an external direct current voltage greater than 1.23 Volts, bubbles of hydrogen gas form at one electrode (the cathode), while bubbles of oxygen gas form at the other electrode (the anode). At the cathode, the half-reaction

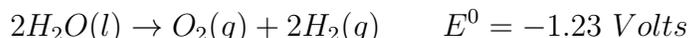


takes place, while at the anode, the half-reaction



occurs.

Half-reactions differ from ordinary chemical reactions in containing electrons either as reactants or as products. In electrochemical reactions, such as the electrolysis of water, these electrons are either supplied or removed by the external circuit. When the two half-reactions are added together, we obtain the total reaction:



Notice that $4H^+$ and $4e^-$ cancel out when the two half-reactions are added. The total reaction does not occur spontaneously, but it can be driven by an external potential E , provided that the magnitude of E is greater than 1.23 volts.

When this experiment is performed in the laboratory, platinum is often used for the electrodes, but electrolysis of water can also be performed using electrodes made of graphite.

Electrolysis of water to produce hydrogen gas has been proposed as a method for energy storage in a future renewable energy system. For example, it might be used to store energy generated by photovoltaics in desert areas of the world. Compressed hydrogen gas could then be transported to other regions and used in fuel cells. Electrolysis of water and storage of hydrogen could also be used to solve the problem of intermittency associated with wind energy or solar energy.

Half reactions

Chemical reactions in which one or more electrons are transferred are called *oxidation-reduction reactions*. Any reaction of this type can be used in a fuel cell. As an example,

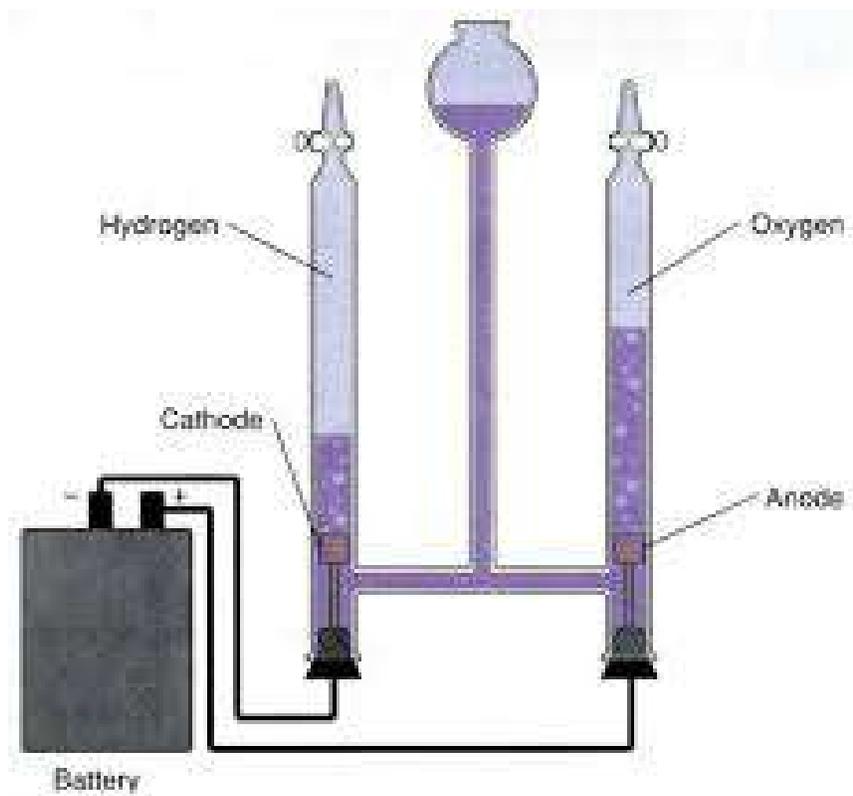


Figure A.18: Electrolysis of water.

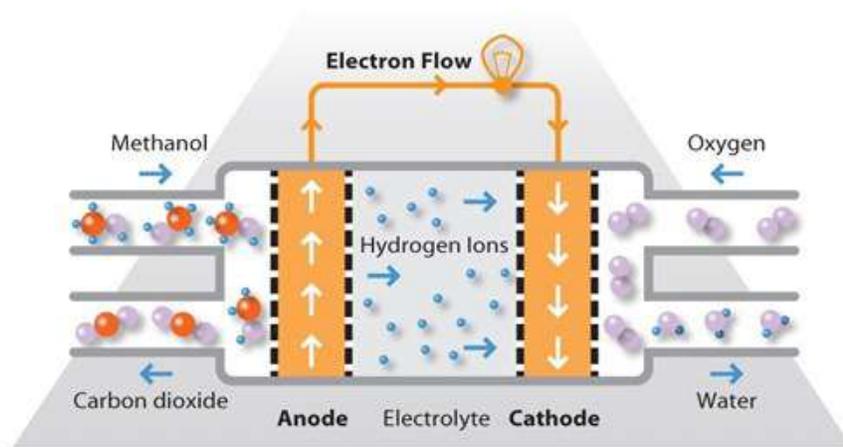
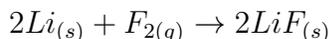


Figure A.19: A methanol fuel cell.

we can consider the oxidation-reduction reaction in which solid lithium metal reacts with fluorine gas;



This reaction can be split into two half-reactions,



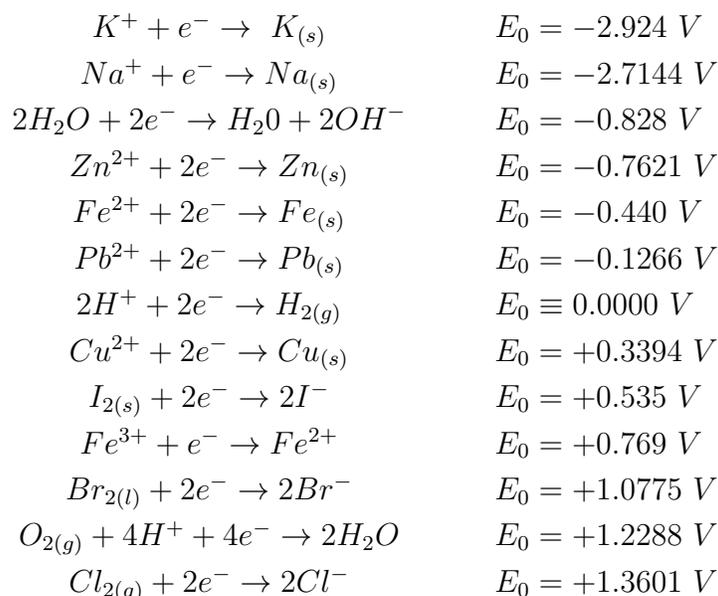
and



The quantity E_0 which characterizes these half-reactions is called *standard potential* of the half-reaction, and it is measured in Volts. If the oxidation-reduction reaction is used as the basis of a fuel cell, the voltage of the cell is the difference between the two standard potentials. In the lithium fluoride example, it is

$$2.87 \text{ V} - (-3.040 \text{ V}) = 5.91 \text{ V}$$

Here are a few more half-reactions and their standard potentials:



Fuel cells are closely related to storage batteries. Essentially, when we recharge a storage battery we are just running a fuel cell backwards, applying an electrical potential which is sufficient to make a chemical reaction run in a direction opposite to the way that it would run spontaneously. When the charged battery is afterwards used to drive a vehicle or to power an electronic device, the reaction runs in the spontaneous direction, but the energy of the reaction, instead of being dissipated as heat, drives electrons through an external circuit and performs useful work.

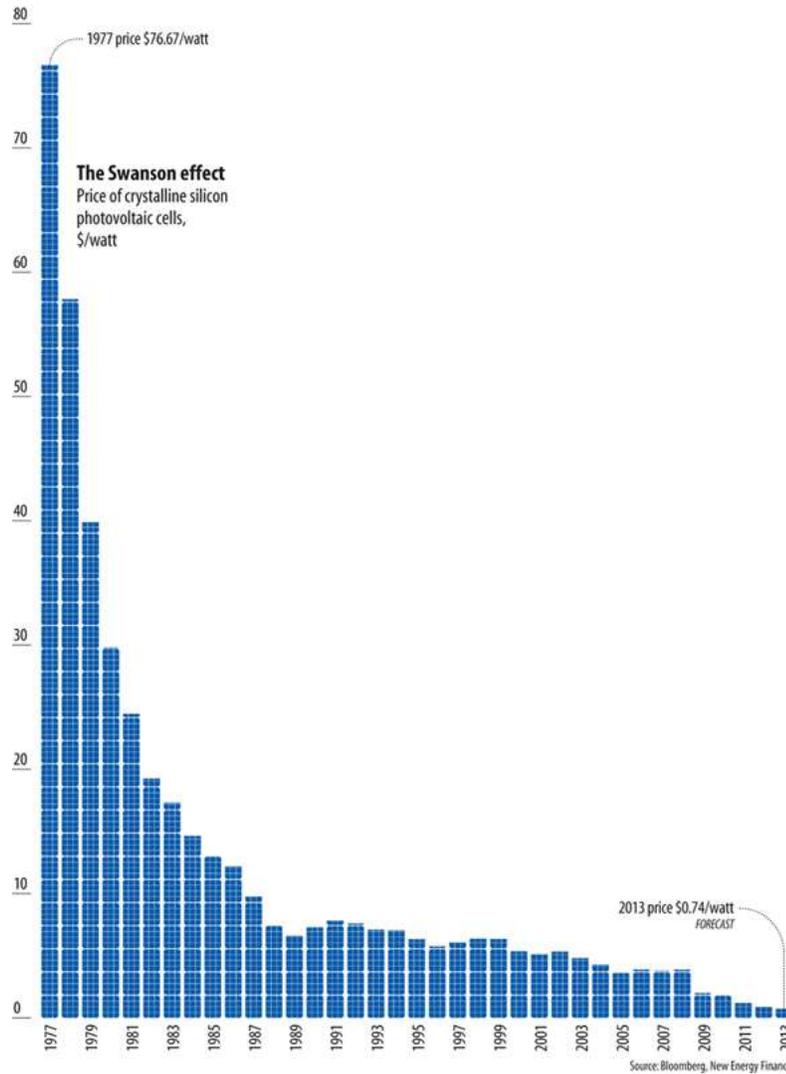


Figure A.20: The cost of photovoltaic cell panels is falling rapidly

A.12 Renewables are now much cheaper than fossil fuels!

According to an article written by Megan Darby and published in *The Guardian* on 26 January, 2016, “Solar power costs are tumbling so fast the technology is likely to fast outstrip mainstream energy forecasts.

“That is the conclusion of Oxford University researchers, based on a new forecasting model published in *Research Policy*¹².

“Commercial prices have fallen by 58% since 2012 and by 16

“Since the 1980s, panels to generate electricity from sunshine have got 10% cheaper

¹²<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0048733315001699>

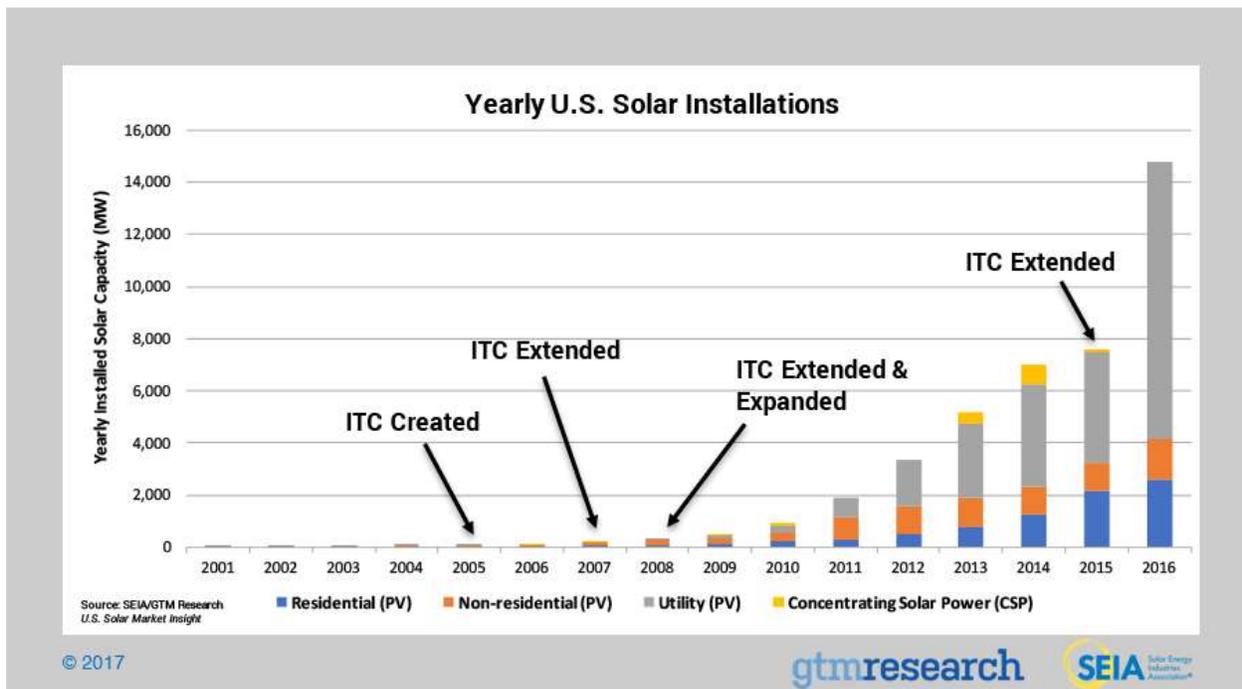


Figure A.21: Driven by falling prices, new solar installations in the United States are increasing rapidly. The acronym ITC stands for Solar Investment Tax Credit. Commercial prices have fallen by 58% since 2012 and by 16% in the last year

each year. That is likely to continue, the study said, putting solar on course to meet 20% of global energy needs by 2027.’ ’

A.13 Lester R. Brown

In December 2008, Lester R. Brown called attention to the following facts:

- The renewable energy industry - wind, solar, geothermal - are expanding by over 30 percent yearly;
- There are now, in the U.S., 24,000 megawatts of wind generating capacity online, but there is a staggering 225,000 megawatts of planned wind farms;
- What is needed is a World War II-type mobilization to produce electric-powered cars that will operate at an equivalent gas cost of \$1 per gallon (Replacing each SUV with a plug-in hybrid could save \$20,000 of oil imports over its lifetime);



Figure A.22: Lester R. Brown, born in 1934, is the author of more than 50 books, and he has been called “...one of the world’s most influential thinkers” (Washington Post). He is the founder of the Worldwatch Institute and the Earth Policy Institute. Books produced by Brown and his coworkers at the EPI can be freely downloaded and circulated. The 2015 book *The Great Transition: Shifting From Fossil Fuels to Solar and Wind Energy* can be freely downloaded from the following link: <http://www.earth-policy.org/books/tgt>

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