TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE

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Introduction¹

How can we try to predict the future?

As the Danish humorist Storm Petersen once said, "It's hard to make predictions, especially about the future". How can we try to accomplish this difficult task? I think that the only method open to us is to look at what has happened in the past, to look at trends and changes, and on the basis of this knowledge, attempt to extrapolate these trends into the future. Even so, we may be wrong because of totally unforeseen events or factors, The bulk if this book is devoted to looking at past and present events and trends, in order to have some basis for prediction the future. In the last chapter, I will try to make some predictions.

Today the world is facing some serious threats, some of which are listed below.

The climate emergency

As United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres recently said, "We are on the road to climate hell, and our foot is on the accelerator". Despite promises made at the Glasgow and Cairo climate conferences, greenhouse gas emissions continue to increase. One should be almost grateful for the climaterelated disasters that are starting to occur (for example disastrous floods in Pakistan, and widespread deaths of humans and animals from extreme heat) because perhaps they will wake us up so that we will demand that our governments stop sacrificing the future of the Earth for the present economy.

Nuclear insanity

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons has been passed by an overwhelming majority of countries at the United Nations General Assembly, but all of the nuclear armed nations have refused to sign the treaty. In connection with the current war in Ukraine, threats and counter-threats have been made, and the United States has moved nuclear weapons to positions near to Russia.

¹This book makes heavy use of chapters that I have previously published in various books, but some new material has also been added.

In the long run, because of the finite yearly danger of nuclear war through accident or miscalculation, and because of radioactive fallout and the nuclear winter effect, it is clear that the survival of human civilization and much of the biosphere can only be assured if nuclear weapons are eliminated.

The population explosion and famine

In 2022, the global population of humans passed eight billion. This huge human population is currently putting increasing stress on the global environment, and we are stating to see a decline in the global population of animals, insects, birds and fish, as well as the extinction of many species.

Also, as glaciers melt in the Himalayas and Andes, depriving China, India and several South American countries of their summer water supplies; as fertile rice-growing regions of low-lying countries like Bangladesh and Vietnam are drowned by sea level rise; as modern high-yield agriculture becomes increasingly impossible because of the lack of petroleum-based inputs, we can predict that an extremely large-scale famine will occur, involving billions rather than millions of people.

What can we do to make a better future?

All of the dangers just listed are due to human actions, and therefore, by changing the way we act, we have the power to make a better future. For example, renewables are now cheaper than fossil fuels. By vigorously supporting the Green New Deal, and rapidly putting renewable energy infrastructure in place, we can do much to avoid catastrophic climate change. Regarding the population explosion, and the threat of famine, we can cut military spending and use the money saved to provide primary health care to people throughout the world. Materials and information on contraception should simultaneously be provided. What can we do about nuclear weapons? Surely the nuclear armed nations can see that. in a nuclear war, all nations would suffer equally, including themselves. The people of these nations should put pressure on their governments to abandon their nuclear-armed status.

Contents

1	\mathbf{TH}	E TRANSITION TO 100% RENEWABLE ENERGY 9
	1.1	Quick action is needed to save the long-term future
	1.2	Is the transition to 100% renewable energy possible?
	1.3	Renewables are now much cheaper than fossil fuels!
	1.4	An economic tipping point
	1.5	An unprecedented investment opportunity 18
	1.6	For creating jobs, renewables beat fossil fuels
2	EX'	TINCTION EVENTS AND FEEDBACK LOOPS 27
	2.1	A warning from the World Bank
	2.2	Permian-Triassic extinction event
	2.3	The Holocene (Anthropocene) extinction
	2.4	Global warming and atmospheric water vapor
	2.5	The albedo effect
	2.6	The methane hydrate feedback loop
	2.7	A feedback loop from warming of soils
	2.8	Drying of forests and forest fires
	2.9	Tipping points and feedback loops 38
3	WA	RNINGS FROM THE POLES 43
	3.1	A British-US expedition studies Thwaites Glacier melting
	3.2	Thwaites Glacier could shatter like a windscreen
	3.3	100.4 degrees Fahrenheit north of the Arctic Circle
	3.4	166 billion tons lost in 2021 $\ldots \ldots 46$
	3.5	The threat of catastrophic destabilization
	3.6	Wikipedia's article on ice cores
	3.7	The albedo effect
	3.8	5-meter-high waves in the Beaufort sea
	3.9	The death spiral of Arctic sea ice
4	CLI	MATE CHANGE AND AGRICULTURE 53
	4.1	Lester Brown's lecture in Copenhagen
	4.2	Predictions of drought in the Stern Review

	4.3	Ocean current changes and failure of monsoons	54
	4.4	Falling water tables around the world	54
	4.5	Glacial melting and summer water supplies	55
	4.6	Advances in desalinization technology	55
	4.7	The Green Revolution	56
	4.8	Energy inputs of agriculture	57
	4.9	Sustainable future populations	58
	4.10	The demographic transition	30
	4.11	Urbanization	32
	4.12	Achieving economic equality	34
	4.13	Achieving a steady-state economic system	35
	4.14	Harmful effects of industrialized farming	35
5	POI	PULATION STABILIZATION TO AVOID FAMINE 7	'3
	5.1	Population stabilization today	73
	5.2	Information-driven population growth	75
	5.3	Biology and economics	79
	5.4	Loss of biodiversity	31
	5.5	Economics without growth	33
	5.6	China and India	38
	5.7	Population projections in Africa	94
	5.8	What is the future of megacities?	96
	5.9	The threat of a large-scale global famine)8
	5.10	Reforming our food and agricultural systems)0
6	FRO	OM TRIBALISM TO NATIONALISM 11	.1
	6.1	Abolition of war: Insights from the biological sciences	1
	6.2	Population genetics	21
	6.3	Formation of group identity	23
	6.4	Religion and ethnic identity 12	23
	6.5	Tribal markings; ethnicity; pseudospeciation	24
	6.6	The mystery of self-sacrifice in war	28
	6.7	Fischer, Haldane, Hamilton and Wilson	28
	6.8	Cooperation in groups of animals and human groups	29
	6.9	Trading in primitive societies	29
	6.10	Interdependence in modern human society	30
	6.11	Two sides of human nature	30
	6.12	Tribalism and agreed-upon lies	31
	6.13	From tribalism to nationalism	31
	6.14	Nationalism in Europe	32

CONTENTS

7	TH	E THREATS AND COSTS OF WAR	161
	7.1	The training of soldiers	161
	7.2	Killing civilians	162
	7.3	The direct and indirect costs of war	170
	7.4	Medical and psychological consequences; loss of life	171
	7.5	Effects of war on children	172
	7.6	Refugees	172
	7.7	Damage to infrastructure	173
	7.8	Ecological damage	173
	7.9	Links between poverty and war	174
	7.10	The threat of nuclear war	176
	7.11	Atoms for peace?	181
	7.12	Cancer threat from radioactive leaks at Hanford	192
	7.13	An accident waiting to happen	194
	7.14	Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence	198
	7.15	Nuclear weapons are criminal! Every war is a crime!	205
8	EDU	UCATION FOR PEACE, NOT NATIONALISM	213
	8.1	Traditional school systems aim at indoctrination in nationalism	213
	8.2	The urgent need for peace education	214
	8.3	The growth of global consciousness	214
	8.4	Reformed teaching of history	214
	8.5	Reformed education of economists and businessmen	215
	8.6	Law for a united world	215
	8.7	Teaching global ethics	216
	8.8	The social responsibility of scientists	216
	8.9	Large nations compared with global government	217
	8.10	Culture, education and human solidarity	218
	8.11	The Danish National Group of Pugwash Conferences	220
	8.12	United Nations Day Student Peace Prizes	221
	8.13	The Grundtvigian Peoples' Colleges	222
	8.14	The World Conference of Religions for Peace	223
	8.15	The Hiroshima Peace Committee and the last remaining hibakushas	225
	8.16	The Catholic Church	226
	8.17	The Dalai Lama	227
	8.18	Unfulfilled responsibilities of the mainstream media	228
	8.19	The alternative media	229
	8.20	Johan Galtung	229
	8.21	Universities Offering Peace Studies Degrees	230
	8.22	Jakob von Uexküll and The World Future Council	231

9	TH	E WAR MACHINE	247
	9.1	Eisenhower's farewell address	247
	9.2	The threats and costs of war	249
	9.3	The threat of nuclear war	254
	9.4	Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence	259
	9.5	Dangers of nuclear power generation	263
	9.6	Military-industrial complexes today	268
	9.7	A culture of violence	276
	9.8	Militarism is the US national religion	277
10	\mathbf{TH}	E POPULARITY OF RACISM	289
	10.1	Racism, colonialism and exceptionalism	289
	10.2	Heart of Darkness	289
	10.3	The racism of Cecil Rhodes	292
	10.4	Nazi atrocities	293
	10.5	Donald trump was elected on a platform of racism	299
	10.6	Children in cages	306
	10.7	Demonizing the Squad	310
11	NE	O-NAZISM	313
	11.1	Revival of Nazi ideology after World War II	313
	11.2	Apartheid	326
12	\mathbf{TH}	E FAR RIGHT	331
	12.1	Alt-right	331
	12.2	The Klu Klux Klan	338
	12.3	Proud Boys	343
	12.4	Evangelicals	345
	12.5	The El Paso mass murders	350
	12.6	Right-wing parties in Europe and elsewhere.	350
	12.7	Trump copies Hitler's rhetoric	352
13	SON	ME CAUTIOUS PREDICTIONS	363
	10 1		969
	13.1	The climate emergency	303
	13.1 13.2	The climate emergency	363 367
	13.1 13.2 13.3	The climate emergency	363 367 368
	13.1 13.2 13.3 13.4	The climate emergency	363 367 368 377

Chapter 1

THE TRANSITION TO 100% RENEWABLE ENERGY

1.1 Quick action is needed to save the long-term future

The worst effects of catastrophic climate change lie in the distant future, a century or even many centuries from the present; but disaster can only be avoided if quick action is taken. The nations of the world must act immediately to reduce and eventually stop the use of fossil fuels and the destruction of forests. If decisive action is not taken within the next few decades, feedback loops will make human intervention useless. These feedback loops include the albido effect, the methane hydrate feedback loop, and the fact as tropical forests become drier, they become vulnerable to fires ignited by lightning. These fires accelerate the drying, and thus a feed-back loop is formed.

As time passes, and as the disastrous consequences of climate change become more apparent, the political will required for action will increase; but by that time it may be too late. We are rapidly approaching several crucial tipping points.

At present, the average global rate of use of primary energy is roughly 2 kW_t per person. 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 1.1: The Carbon Bubble according to data by the Carbon Tracker Initiative 2013. Uploaded by Mueller Felix. [CC BY-SA 3.0], Wikimedia Commons. In order to avoid tipping points that will make human attempts to avoid catastrophic climate change useless, we must leave most of the known fossil fuel reserves in the ground!

1.2 Is the transition to 100% renewable energy possible?

If we ask whether the transition to 100% renewable energy is possible, the answer is very simple: It is not only possible; it is inevitable! This is because the supply of fossil fuels is finite, and at the present rate of use they will be exhausted in less than a century. While the transition to 100% renewables is inevitable, the vitally important point to remember is that if we are to avoid disaster, the transition must come quickly.

In this book, we will use kilowatts (kW), megawatts (MW) and terawatts (TW) as the units in which we discuss the rate of use of energy. A megawatt is equal to a thousand kilowatts or a million watts. A terawatt is equal to a thousand megawatts, or a million kilowatts or a billion (1,000,000,000) watts.

The total available energy from fossil fuels can be measured in terawatt.years (TWy). Rough estimates of global coal reserves of coal, oil and natural gas are given by the table shown below.

The present rate of use of fossil fuels is greater than the 2005 rate shown in the table, and the remaining reserves are smaller than those shown. It is assumed that as oil becomes exhausted, coal will be converted into liquid fuels, as was done in Germany during World War II.

A second table, shown below, illustrates the historical and projected total global energy demand as a function of time between 1980 and 2030. In this slightly out-of-date table, the last year using historical data is 2003, later years being estimates based on projections.

Remaining reserves and rates of use of fossil fuels

	Reserves	2005 rate of use	Years remaining
Coal	780 TWy	3.5 TW	217 years
Oil	250 TWy	6.0 TW	42 years
Natural gas	250 TWy	3.7 TW	68 years
Total	1260 TWy	13.2 TW	(95 years)

Year	Demand	Population	Per Capita
1980	9.48 TW	4.45 bil.	2.13 kW
1985	10.3 TW	4.84 bil.	2.11 kW
1990	11.6 TW	5.99 bil.	2.20 kW
1995	12.3 TW	5.68 bil.	2.16 kW
2003	14.1 TW	6.30 bil.	2.23 kW
2010	17.1 TW	6.84 bil.	2.50 kW
2015	18.9 TW	7.23 bil.	2.58 kW
2020	20.5 TW	7.61 bil.	2.70 kW
2022	22.3 TW	8.00 bil.	2.82 kW
2030	24.2 TW	8.40 bil.	2.93 kW

Notice that the per capita energy use is almost constant. Our rapidly growing demand for energy is primarily the result of the world's rapidly growing population of humans. It would be wise to stabilize human populations because of the threat of human-caused ecological catastrophes and the danger of an extremely large-scale famine, involving billions of people rather than millions. Such a famine is threatened because growing populations require a growing food supply, climate changes threaten agriculture through droughts, melting glaciers and loss of agricultural land. The end of the fossil fuel era will also mean the end of high-yield petroleum.based agriculture.



Figure 1.2: A map of the world showing per capita rates of energy use.



Figure 1.3: Energy use per capita by country (World Bank data)

The rate of growth of renewable energy

There is reason for hope that even the high energy demands show in the second table can be met by renewables. The basis of this hope can be found in the extremely high present rate of growth of renewable energy, and in the remarkable properties of exponential growth. According to figures recently released by the Earth Policy Institute, the global installed photovoltaic capacity is currently able to deliver 242,000 megawatts, and it is increasing at the rate of 27.8% per year. Wind energy can now deliver 370,000 megawatts, and it is increasing at the rate of roughly 20% per year.

Because of the astonishing properties of exponential growth, we can calculate that if these growth rates are maintained, renewable energy can give us 24.8 terawatts within only 15 years! This is far more than the world's present use of all forms of energy.

1.3 Renewables are now much cheaper than fossil fuels!

According to an article written by Megan Darby and published in *The Guardian* on 26 January, 2016, "Solar power costs are tumbling so fast the technology is likely to fast outstrip mainstream energy forecasts.

"That is the conclusion of Oxford University researchers, based on a new forecasting model published in Research Policy¹.

"Commercial prices have fallen by 58% since 2012 and by 16

"Since the 1980s, panels to generate electricity from sunshine have got 10% cheaper each year. That is likely to continue, the study said, putting solar on course to meet 20% of global energy needs by 2027.'

Solar energy

Unlike the burning of fossil fuels, renewables like solar energy do not release pollutants into the atmosphere. In China. public opinion has shifted in favor of renewables because of air pollution in cities.

Photovoltaic cells

The price of solar photovoltaic panels has declined 99 percent over the last four decades, from \$74 a watt in 1972 to less than 70 cents a watt in 2014.

Between 2009 and 2014, solar panel prices dropped by three fourths, helping global PV installations grow 50 percent per year.

Deutsche Bank notes that as of early 2014, solar PV was already competitive with average residential, commercial or industrial electricity rates in 14 countries, and in California - even without subsidies. By late 2014 there were nearly 600,000 individual PV systems in

¹http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0048733315001699



Figure 1.4: The cost of photovoltaic cell panels is falling rapidly



Figure 1.5: 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



Figure 1.6: Air pollution from the burning of coal has become a serious problem in China. This problem has helped to shift Chinese public opinion away from the burning of coal and towards renewables. China has now become a major manufacturer of photovoltaic cells.

the United States, almost twice as many as in 2012. This number may well pass 1 million in 2016.

In 2013, just 12 percent of U.S homebuilders offered solar panels as an option for new single-family homes. More than half of them anticipate doing so by 2016. Four of the top five U.S. home construction firms - DR Horton, Lennar Corp, PulteGroup and KB Home - now automatically include solar panels on every new house in certain markets.

In 2007 there were only 8,000 rooftop solar installations in coal-heavy Australia; now there are over a million.

Saudi Arabia has 41,000 megawatts of solar PV operating, under construction and planned - enough to generate up to two thirds of the country's electricity.

For the roughly 1.3 billion people without access to electricity, it is now often cheaper and more efficient simply to install solar panels rooftop-by-rooftop than to build a central power plant and transmission infrastructure.

Wind energy

Over the past decade, world wind power capacity grew more than 20 percent a year, its increase driven by its many attractive features, by public policies supporting its expansion, and by falling costs.

By the end of 2014, global wind generating capacity totaled 369,000 megawatts, enough to power more than 90 million U.S. homes. Wind currently has a big lead on solar PV, which has enough worldwide capacity to power roughly 30 million U.S. homes.

China is now generating more electricity from wind farms than from nuclear plants, and should have little trouble meeting its official 2020 wind power goal of 200,000 megawatts. For perspective, that would be enough to satisfy the annual electricity needs of Brazil.

In nine U.S. states, wind provides at least 12 percent of electricity. Iowa and South Dakota are each generating more than one quarter of their electricity from wind.

In the Midwestern United States, contracts for wind power are being signed at a price of 2.5 cents per kilowatt-hour (kWh), which compares with the nationwide average grid price of 10-12 cents per kWh.

Although a wind farm can cover many square miles, turbines occupy little land. Coupled with access roads and other permanent features, a wind farm's footprint typically comes to just over 1 percent of the total land area covered by the project.

Wind energy yield per acre is off the charts. For example, a farmer in northern Iowa could plant an acre in corn that would yield enough grain to produce roughly \$1,000 worth of fuel-grade ethanol per year, or the farmer could put on that same acre a turbine that generates \$300,000 worth of electricity per year. Farmers typically receive \$3,000 to \$10,000 per turbine each year in royalties. As wind farms spread across the U.S. Great Plains, wind royalties for many ranchers will exceed their earnings from cattle sales.

The problem of intermittency

Many forms of renewable energy encounter the problem of intermittency. For example, on windy days, Denmark's windmills generate more than enough electricity to meet the needs of the country, but on days when the wind is less strong, the electrical energy generated is insufficient. Denmark solves this problem by selling surplus electrical power to Germany on windy days, and buying power from hydroelectric-rich Norway on less windy days.

The problem of intermittency can alternatively be solved by pumping water to uphill reservoirs when the wind is strong, and letting the stored water drive turbines when the wind is weak. The problem of intermittency can also be solved with lithium ion storage batteries, by splitting water into hydrogen and oxygen, or by using other types of fuel cells.

Developing countries: No need for grids

When cell phones came into general use, developing countries with no telephone networks were able to use the new technology through satellites, thus jumping over the need for country-wide telephone lines. Similarly, village solar or wind installations in the developing countries can supply power locally, bypassing the need for a grid.

1.4 An economic tipping point

Subsidies to the fossil fuel industry

http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/53/sonew070215a http://priceofoil.org/fossil-fuel-subsidies/

1.5 An unprecedented investment opportunity

Investment in electric vehicles

On July 5, 2017, the Volvo Car Group made the following announcement: 2

"Volvo Cars, the premium car maker, has announced that every Volvo it launches from 2019 will have an electric motor, marking the historic end of cars that only have an internal combustion engine (ICE) and placing electrification at the core of its future business.

"The announcement represents one of the most significant moves by any car maker to embrace electrification and highlights how over a century after the invention of the internal combustion engine electrification is paving the way for a new chapter in automotive history.

"This is about the customer,' said Håkan Samuelsson, president and chief executive. People increasingly demand electrified cars and we want to respond to our customers'

 $^{^{2}} https://www.media.volvocars.com/global/en-gb/media/pressreleases/210058/volvo-cars-to-go-all-electric$

current and future needs. You can now pick and choose whichever electrified Volvo you wish.'

"Volvo Cars will introduce a portfolio of electrified cars across its model range, embracing fully electric cars, plug in hybrid cars and mild hybrid cars.

"It will launch five fully electric cars between 2019 and 2021, three of which will be Volvo models and two of which will be high performance electrified cars from Polestar, Volvo Cars' performance car arm. Full details of these models will be announced at a later date."

The electric vehicle investment opportunity was also illustrated by the 2017 vote of Germany's Bundesrat to ban the manufacture of internal combustion engines after 2030 3 .

The article announcing the vote adds that "It's a strong statement in a nation where the auto industry is one of the largest sectors of the economy; Germany produces more automobiles than any other country in Europe and is the third largest in the world. The resolution passed by the Bundesrat calls on the European Commission (the executive arm of the European Union) to 'evaluate the recent tax and contribution practices of Member States on their effectiveness in promoting zero-emission mobility,' which many are taking to mean an end to the lower levels of tax currently levied on diesel fuel across Europe."

France plans to end the sale of vehicles powered by gasoline and diesel by 2040, environment minister Nicolas Hulot announced recently.

Hulot made the announcement on Thursday, June 13, 2017, in Paris as he launched the country's new Climate Plan to accelerate the transition to clean energy and to meet its targets under the Paris climate agreement.

To ease the transition, Hulot said the French government will offer tax incentives to replace fossil-fuel burning cars with clean alternatives.

Furthermore, the government of India has recently announced its intention to only nave electric vehicles by 2030⁴. This hugely ambitious plan was announced during the 2017 Confederation of Indian Industry Annual Session. Besides the avoidance of climate change, which might make many regions of India uninhabitable, the motive for replacing 28 million combustion engine vehicles by electric ones was the severe air pollution from which India suffers. Severe air pollution also motivates efforts by the government of China to promote the transition to electric vehicles.

The governments of Norway and the Netherlands have taken steps towards banning the internal combustion engine⁵. Both the upper and lower houses of the Netherlands' government voted to ban cars driven by internal combustion engines by 2025, the same year in which Norway plans to sell nothing but zero-emission vehicles.

In a report commissioned by the investment bankers Cowan & Co, managing director and senior research analyst Jeffrey Osborne, predicted that electric vehicles will cost less

 $^{^{3}} https://arstechnica.com/cars/2016/10/germanys-bundesrat-votes-to-ban-the-internal-combustion-engine-by-2030/$

 $^{{}^{4}} https://www.greentechmedia.com/articles/read/what-country-will-become-the-first-to-ban-internal-combustion-cars}$

⁵http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/the-dutch-revolution-in-smart-charging-of-electric-vehicles-597268791.html

than gasoline-powered cars by the early- to mid-2020s due to falling battery prices as well as the costs that traditional carmakers will incur as they comply to new fuel-efficiency standards. Osbourne pointed out that a number of major car brands are hopping onto the electric bandwagon to compete in a space carved out by industry disrupter, Tesla.

"We see the competitive tides shifting in 2019 and beyond as European [car makers] roiled by the diesel scandal and loss of share to Tesla in the high margin luxury segment step on the gas and accelerate the pace of EV introductions", he wrote.

Bloomberg New Energy Finance reported similar predictions: "Falling battery costs will mean electric vehicles will also be cheaper to buy in the U.S. and Europe as soon as 2025," the report said. "Batteries currently account for about half the cost of EVs, and their prices will fall by about 77 percent between 2016 and 2030."

In October, 2017, General Motors unveiled plans to roll out 20 new entirely electric car models by 2023, with two of the new EVs coming out in the next 18 months. Meanwhile, Ford announced the creation of "Team Edison," intended to accelerate the company's EV development and partnership work. The name, is "seemingly in direct response to Tesla, which recently surpassed Ford's market capitalization."

Investment in wind turbine energy

In Denmark, the wind turbine industry contributes substantially to the country's positive balance of payments. According to Wikipedia, "The Danish wind turbine industry is the world's largest. Around 90% of the national output is exported, and Danish companies accounted for 38% of the world turbine market in 2003, when the industry employed some 20,000 people and had a turnover of around 3 billion euro."

Denmark's two largest wind turbine manufacturers are Vestas and Simiens Wind Power. Vestas employs more that 21000 people globally. In February 2016, Vestas got its largest order of 1,000 MW (278 x 3.6 MW) for the Fosen project near Trondheim in Norway. It costs DKK 11 billion, and should deliver 3.4 TWh per year.

In 2015 Siemens Wind had a combined market share of 63% of European offshore wind turbines (nearly 75% in 2009 by capacity and number). In 2011, Siemens Wind Power had 6.3% share of the world wind turbine market, and was the second largest in 2014.

In many countries, including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, India, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, and United States, wind turbine cooperatives have sprung up. In these cooperatives, communities share the costs and profits of wind turbine projects. For example, the Hepburn Wind Project in Victoria, Australia, owns two 2MW wind turbines which produce enough power for 2,300 households.

Investment in solar energy

Global retinues from solar photovoltaic installations are expected to reach \$1.2 trillion between the present and 2024 according to a recent $\operatorname{article}^{6}$

 $^{^{6} \}rm https://cleantechnica.com/2016/01/25/global-revenue-solar-pv-installations-expected-reach-1-2-trillion/$

Another article⁷ states that "The global electric power industry is evolving into a model that offers more diversity, both in terms of generation and in the ownership of generation assets, and solar PV is one technology at the head of this change. Following years of unsustainable pricing and oversupply, demand for solar PV systems has finally caught up, with 2015 expected to be the year when the global solar PV market shifts and starts to compete with other technologies. According to a recent report from Navigant Research, global revenue from solar PV installations is expected to total more than \$1.2 trillion from 2015 to 2024."

1.6 For creating jobs, renewables beat fossil fuels

Here are some excerpts from a 2016 report issued by the Solar Foundation:

- One out of every 50 new jobs added in the United States in 2016 was created by the solar industry, representing 2 percent of all new jobs.
- Solar jobs in the United States have increased at least 20 percent per year for the past four years, and jobs have nearly tripled since the first Solar Jobs Census was released in 2010.
- Over the next 12 months, employers surveyed expect one out of every 50 new jobs added in the United States in 2016 was created by the solar industry, representing 2 percent of all new jobs.
- In 2016, the five states with the most solar jobs were California, Massachusetts, Texas, Nevada, and Florida.
- The solar industry added \$84 billion to the US GDP in 201t to see total solar industry employment increase by 10 percent to 286,335 solar workers.
- The solar industry added \$84 billion to the US GDP in 2016.

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TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE

Chapter 2

EXTINCTION EVENTS AND FEEDBACK LOOPS

Introduction

Scientists warn that if the transition to renewable energy does not happen within very few decades, there is a danger that we will reach a tipping point beyond which feedback loops, such as the albedo effect and the methane hydrate feedback loop, will take over and produce an out-of-control and fatal increase in global temperature.

In 2012, the World Bank issued a report warning that without quick action to curb CO_2 emissions, global warming is likely to reach 4 °C during the 21st century. This is dangerously close to the temperature which initiated the Permian-Triassic extinction event: 6 °C above normal. During the Permian-Triassic extinction event, which occurred 252 million years ago, 96% of all marine species were wiped out, as well as 70% of all terrestrial vertebrates.¹

2.1 A warning from the World Bank

In 2012, the World Bank issued a report warning that without quick action to curb CO_2 emissions, global warming is likely to reach 4 °C during the 21st century. This is dangerously close to the temperature which initiated the Permian-Triassic extinction event: 6 °C above normal. During the Permian-Triassic extinction event, which occurred 252 million years ago, 96% of all marine species were wiped out, as well as 70% of all terrestrial vertebrates.²

The 4°C scenarios are devastating: the inundation of coastal cities; increasing risks for food production potentially leading to higher malnutrition rates; many dry regions becoming dryer, wet regions wetter; unprecedented heat waves in many regions, especially in the tropics; substantially exacerbated water scarcity in many regions; increased frequency of high-intensity tropical cyclones; and irreversible loss of biodiversity, including coral reef systems.

And most importantly, a 4°C world is so different from the current one that it comes with high uncertainty and new risks that threaten our ability to anticipate and plan for future adaptation needs. The lack of action on climate change not only risks putting prosperity out of reach of millions of people in the developing world, it threatens to roll back decades of sustainable development. It is clear that we already know a great deal about the threat before us. The science is unequivocal that humans are the cause of global warming, and major changes are already being observed: global mean warming is 0.8°C above pre industrial levels; oceans have warmed by 0.09°C since the 1950s and are acidifying; sea levels rose by about 20 cm since pre-industrial times and are now rising at 3.2 cm per decade; an exceptional number of extreme heat waves occurred in the last decade; major food crop growing areas are increasingly affected by drought.

Despite the global community's best intentions to keep global warming below a 2°C increase above pre-industrial climate, higher levels of warming are increasingly likely. Scientists agree that countries' current United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change emission pledges and commitments would most likely result in 3.5 to 4°C warming. And the longer those pledges remain unmet, the more likely a 4°C world becomes.

Data and evidence drive the work of the World Bank Group. Science reports, including those produced by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, informed our decision to ramp up work on these issues, leading to, a World Development Report on climate change designed to improve our understanding of the implications of a warming planet; a Strategic Framework on Development and Climate Change, and a report on Inclusive Green Growth. The World Bank is a leading advocate for ambitious action on climate change, not only because it is a moral imperative, but because it makes good economic sense.

But what if we fail to ramp up efforts on mitigation? What are the implications of a 4°C world? We commissioned this report from the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research and Climate Analytics to help us understand the state of the science and the potential impact on development in such a world.

It would be so dramatically different from today's world that it is hard to describe accurately; much relies on complex projections and interpretations. We are well aware of the uncertainty that surrounds these scenarios and we know that different scholars and studies sometimes disagree on the degree of risk. But the fact that such scenarios cannot be discarded is sufficient to justify strengthening current climate change policies. Finding ways to avoid that scenario is vital for the health and welfare of communities around the world. While every region of the world will be affected, the poor and most vulnerable would be hit hardest. A 4°C world can, and must, be avoided.



Figure 2.1: Monthly September ice extent for 1979 to 2012 shows a decline of 13.0% per decade. One can also see that the straight line does not really fit the data, which more nearly resemble a downward curve will that reach zero in the period 2016-2019. Source: National Snow and Ice Data Center. Wikimedia Commons

The World Bank Group will continue to be a strong advocate for international and regional agreements and increasing climate financing. We will redouble our efforts to support fast growing national initiatives to mitigate carbon emissions and build adaptive capacity as well as support inclusive green growth and climate smart development. Our work on inclusive green growth has shown that, through more efficiency and smarter use of energy and natural resources, many opportunities exist to drastically reduce the climate impact of development, without slowing down poverty alleviation and economic growth.

This report is a stark reminder that climate change affects everything. The solutions don't lie only in climate finance or climate projects. The solutions lie in effective risk management and ensuring all our work, all our thinking, is designed with the threat of a 4°C degree world in mind. The World Bank Group will step up to the challenge.



Figure 2.2: Loss of species caused by the Permian-Triassic extinction event. Unless quick steps are taken to lower our greenhouse gas emissions, we may cause a similar extinction event, which will threaten the survival of our own species. Source: Australian Frontiers of Science, www.sciencearchive.org.au

2.2 Permian-Triassic extinction event

The geological record shows five major extinction events.

- Ordovician-Silurian Extinction. around 439 million years ago.
- Late Devonian Extinction. 375-360 million years ago.
- Permian-Triassic extinction. 352 million years ago.
- Triassic-Jurassic extinction, 201 million years ago.
- Cretaceous-Paleogene extinction, 66 million years ago.

The most devastating of these was the Permian-Triassic extinction, which occurred 252 million years ago.³ In the Permian-Triassic extinction, 96% of all marine specias and 76% of all terrestrial vertebrates disappeared forever. The cause of this extremely severe event is disputed, but according to one of the most plausible theories it was triggered by a massive volcanic eruption in Siberia, which released enormous amounts of CO_2 into the earth's atmosphere.

The region where massive volcanic eruptions are known to have occurred 252 million years ago called the "Siberian Traps". (The "Traps" part of the name comes from the fact that many of the volcanic rock formations in the region resemble staircases. The Swedish word for staircase is "trappe".) The eruptions continued for about a million years.

Today the area covered is about 2 million square kilometers, roughly equal to western Europe in land area. Estimates of the original coverage are as high as 7 million square kilometers. The original volume of lava is estimated to range from 1 to 4 million cubic kilometers.

The CO_2 released by the Siberian Traps eruption is believed to have caused a global temperature increase of 6°C, and this was enough to trigger the methane-hydrate feedback loop, which will be discussed below. The earth's temperature is thought to have continued to rise for 85,000 years, finally reaching 15° above normal.

2.3 The Holocene (Anthropocene) extinction

We are now living in the midst of a sixth, human-caused, mass extinction. How severe it becomes is up to us.

Recently a group of scientists stated that the scope of human impact on planet Earth is so great that the *Anthropocene* warrants a formal place in the Geological Time Scale.

The Last Hours of Humanity: Warming the World To Extinction (book), by Thom Hartmann https://www.amazon.com/Last-Hours-Humanity-Warming-Extinction/dp/1629213640

³ https://www.thomhartmann.com/bigpicture/last-hours-climate-change

http://www.mediaite.com/online/leonardo-dicaprio-boosts-thom-hartmann-apocalyptic-global-warming-film-last-hours/

In a statement issued by University of Leicester Press Office on 2 October 2017, professor Jan Zalasiewicz from the University of Leicester's School of Geography, Geology, and the Environment said: "Our findings suggest that the Anthropocene should follow on from the Holocene Epoch that has seen 11.7 thousand years of relative environmental stability, since the retreat of the last Ice Age, as we enter a more unstable and rapidly evolving phase of our planet's history,"⁴

"We conclude that human impact has now grown to the point that it has changed the course of Earth history by at least many millennia, in terms of the anticipated long-term climate effects (e.g. postponement of the next glacial maximum: see Ganopolski et al., 2016; Clark et al., 2016), and in terms of the extensive and ongoing transformation of the biota, including a geologically unprecedented phase of human-mediated species invasions, and by species extinctions which are accelerating (Williams et al., 2015, 2016)."

The report stated that defining characteristics of the period include "marked acceleration of rates of erosion and sedimentation; large-scale chemical perturbations to the cycles of carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus and other elements; the inception of significant change in global climate and sea level; and biotic changes including unprecedented levels of species invasions across the Earth. Many of these changes are geologically long-lasting, and some are effectively irreversible."

Loss of biodiversity

Tropical rain forests are the most biologically diverse places in the world. This is because they have not been affected by the periods of glaciation that have periodically destroyed the forests of temperate and boreal regions. The destruction of species-rich tropical rain forests is one of the mechanisms driving the present high rate of species loss.

According to a recent article published in *The Guardian*⁵ "Conservation experts have already signalled that the world is in the grip of the "sixth great extinction" of species, driven by the destruction of natural habitats, hunting, the spread of alien predators and disease, and climate change.

"The IUCN⁶ created shock waves with its major assessment of the world's biodiversity in 2004, which calculated that the rate of extinction had reached 100-1,000 times that suggested by the fossil records before humans.

"No formal calculations have been published since, but conservationists agree the rate of loss has increased since then, and Stuart said it was possible that the dramatic predictions of experts like the renowned Harvard biologist E O Wilson, that the rate of loss could reach 10,000 times the background rate in two decades, could be correct."

A recent article by Profs. Gerardo Ceballos, Paul R. Ehrlich and Rodolfo Dirzo in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* was entitles "Biological Annihilation

 $^{{}^{4}} http://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/press/press-releases/2017/october/significant-scale-of-human-impact-on-planet-has-changed-course-of-earth2019s-history-scientists-suggest$

 $^{^{5}}$ https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/mar/07/extinction-species-evolve

⁶International Union for the Conservation of Nature

via the Ongoing Sixth Mass Extinction Signaled by Vertebrate Population Losses and Declines".

The Abstract of the paper reads as follows: "The population extinction pulse we describe here shows, from a quantitative viewpoint, that Earth's sixth mass extinction is more severe than perceived when looking exclusively at species extinctions. Therefore, humanity needs to address anthropogenic population extirpation and decimation immediately. That conclusion is based on analyses of the numbers and degrees of range contraction (indicative of population shrinkage and/or population extinctions according to the International Union for Conservation of Nature) using a sample of 27,600 vertebrate species, and on a more detailed analysis documenting the population extinctions between 1900 and 2015 in 177 mammal species. We find that the rate of population loss in terrestrial vertebrates is extremely high, even in 'species of low concern.' In our sample, comprising nearly half of known vertebrate species, 32% (8,851/27,600) are decreasing; that is, they have decreased in population size and range. In the 177 mammals for which we have detailed data, all have lost 30% or more of their geographic ranges and more than 40% of the species have experienced severe population declines (280% range shrinkage). Our data indicate that beyond global species extinctions Earth is experiencing a huge episode of population declines and extirpations, which will have negative cascading consequences on ecosystem functioning and services vital to sustaining civilization. We describe this as a 'biological annihilation' to highlight the current magnitude of Earth's ongoing sixth major extinction event."

2.4 Global warming and atmospheric water vapor

A feedback loop is a self-re-enforcing trend. One of the main positive feedback loops in global warming is the tendency of warming to increase the atmospheric saturation pressure for water vapor, and hence amount of water vapor in the atmosphere, which in turn leads to further warming, since water vapor is a greenhouse gas.

Wikipedia's article on greenhouse gases states that, "Water vapor accounts for the largest percentage of the greenhouse effect, between 36% and 66% for clear sky conditions and between 66% and 85% when including clouds."

2.5 The albedo effect

Albedo is defined to be the fraction of solar energy (shortwave radiation) reflected from the Earth back into space. It is a measure of the reflectivity of the earth's surface. Ice, especially with snow on top of it, has a high albedo: most sunlight hitting the surface bounces back towards space.

Loss of sea ice

Especially in the Arctic and Antarctic regions, there exists a dangerous feedback loop involving the albedo of ice and snow. As is shown in Figure 4.1, Arctic sea ice is rapidly

disappearing. It is predicted that during the summers, the ice covering arctic seas may disappear entirely during the summers. As a consequence, incoming sunlight will encounter dark light-absorbing water surfaces rather than light-reflecting ice and snow.

This effect is self-re-enforcing. In other words, it is a feedback loop. The rising temperatures caused by the absorption of more solar radiation cause the melting of more ice, and hence even more absorption of radiation rather than reflection, still higher temperatures, more melting, and so on.

The feedback loop is further strengthened by the fact that water vapor acts like a greenhouse gas. As polar oceans become exposed, more water vapor enters the atmosphere, where it contributes to the greenhouse effect and rising temperatures.

Darkened snow on Greenland's icecap

Greenland's icecap is melting, and as it melts, the surface becomes darker and less reflective because particles of soot previously trapped in the snow and ice become exposed. This darkened surface absorbs an increased amount of solar radiation, and the result is accelerated melting.

2.6 The methane hydrate feedback loop

If we look at the distant future, by far the most dangerous feedback loop involves methane hydrates or methane clathrates. When organic matter is carried into the oceans by rivers, it decays to form methane. The methane then combines with water to form hydrate crystals, which are stable at the temperatures and pressures which currently exist on ocean floors. However, if the temperature rises, the crystals become unstable, and methane gas bubbles up to the surface. Methane is a greenhouse gas which is 70 times as potent as CO_2 .

The worrying thing about the methane hydrate deposits on ocean floors is the enormous amount of carbon involved: roughly 10,000 gigatons. To put this huge amount into perspective, we can remember that the total amount of carbon in world CO2 emissions since 1751 has only been 337 gigatons.

A runaway, exponentially increasing, feedback loop involving methane hydrates could lead to one of the great geological extinction events that have periodically wiped out most of the animals and plants then living. This must be avoided at all costs.



Figure 2.3: The worrying thing about the methane hydrate feedback loop is the enormous amount of carbon in the form of hydrate crystals, 10,000 gigatons most of it on the continental shelves of oceans. This greater than the amount of carbon in all other forms that might potentially enter the earth's atmosphere.



Figure 2.4: When ocean temperatures rise, methane hydrate crystals become unstable, and methane gas bubbles up to ocean surfaces.



Figure 2.5: This diagram shows two important feedback loops, one involving the albedo effect, and the other involving methane hydrates.


Figure 2.6: A "hockey stick" graph showing atmospheric concentrations of three important greenhouse gasses during the last 2,000 years. The most dramatically increasing of these is methane.

2.7 A feedback loop from warming of soils

On October 6, 2017, the journal *Science* published an article entitled *Long-term pattern* and magnitude of soil carbon feedback to the climate system in a warming world⁷. The lead author, Jerry Melillo, is an ecologist working at the Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole Massachusetts. In an interview with *Newsweek*, he said: "This self-reinforcing feedback is potentially a global phenomenon with soils, and once it starts it may be very difficult to turn off. It's that part of the problem that I think is sobering... We think that one of the things that may be happening is both a reorganization of the microbial community structure and its functional capacity,"

The study reported on three decades of observations of heated sections of a forest owned by Harvard University. The heated sections were 5° C warmer than control sections.

2.8 Drying of forests and forest fires

According to a recent article in *Nature*⁸, "Across the American west, the area burned each year has increased significantly over the past several decades, a trend that scientists attribute both to warming and drying and to a century of wildfire suppression and other human activities. Allen suggests that the intertwined forces of fire and climate change

⁷J.M. Melillo et al., Long-term pattern and magnitude of soil carbon feedback to the climate system in a warming world, Science, Vol. 358, pp. 101-105, (2017).

⁸http://www.nature.com/news/forest-fires-burn-out-1.11424

will take ecosystems into new territory, not only in the American west but also elsewhere around the world. In the Jemez, for example, it could transform much of the ponderosa pine (Pinus ponderosa) forest into shrub land. 'We're losing forests as we've known them for a very long time,' says Allen. 'We're on a different trajectory, and we're not yet sure where we're going.'

"All around the American west, scientists are seeing signs that fire and climate change are combining to create a 'new normal'. Ten years after Colorado's largest recorded fire burned 56,000 hectares southwest of Denver, the forest still has not rebounded in a 20,000hectare patch in the middle, which was devastated by an intense crown fire. Only a few thousand hectares, which the US Forest Service replanted, look anything like the ponderosa-pine stands that previously dominated the landscape."

2.9 Tipping points and feedback loops

A tipping point is usually defined as the threshold for an abrupt and irreversible change⁹. To illustrate this idea, we can think of a book lying on a table. If we gradually push the book towards the edge of the table, we will finally reach a point after which more than half of the weight of the book will not be not supported by the table. When this "tipping point" is passed the situation will suddenly become unstable, and the book will fall to the floor. Analogously, as the earth's climate gradually changes, we may reach tipping points. If we pass these points, sudden instabilities and abrupt climatic changes will occur.

Greenland ice cores supply a record of temperatures in the past, and through geological evidence we have evidence of sea levels in past epochs. These historical records show that abrupt climatic changes have occurred in the past.

Timothy Michael Lenton, FRS, Professor of Climate Change and Earth System Science at he University of Exeter, lists the following examples of climatic tipping points:

- Boreal forest dieback
- Amazon rainforest dieback
- Loss of Arctic and Antarctic sea ice (Polar ice packs) and melting of Greenland and Antarctic ice sheets
- Disruption to Indian and West African monsoon
- Formation of Atlantic deep water near the Arctic ocean, which is a component process of the thermohaline circulation.
- Loss of permafrost, leading to potential Arctic methane release and clathrate gun effect

⁹Other definitions of tipping points are possible. A few authors define these as points beyond which change is inevitable, emphasizing that while inevitable, the change may be slow.

2.9. TIPPING POINTS AND FEEDBACK LOOPS

It can be seen from this list that climate tipping points are associated with feedback loops. For example, the boreal forest dieback and the Amazon rainforest dieback tipping points are associated with the feedback loop involving the drying of forests and forest fires, while the tipping point involving loss of Arctic and Antarctic sea ice is associated with the Albedo effect feedback loop. The tipping point involving loss of permafrost is associated with the methane hydrate feedback loop.

Once a positive feedback loop starts to operate in earnest, change may be abrupt.

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Chapter 3

WARNINGS FROM THE POLES

3.1 A British-US expedition studies Thwaites Glacier melting

Scientists from the multi-million-dollar expedition bored 2,000 feet through the ice to measure the water temperature at the point where the glacier leaves dry land and starts to float on the ocean. They found water temperatures more than 2 degrees C above the freezing point. "That is really bad", said David Holland, a New York University glaciologist, "That's not a sustainable situation for that glacier."

The scientists already knew that the Thwaites Glacier was loosing massive amounts of ice - more than 600 billion tons over the past several decades - but until now the mechanism had not been confirmed directly. "The biggest thing to say at the moment is, indeed, there is very warm water there, and clearly, it could not have been there forever, or the glacier could not be there," Holland said.

Melting of the Thwaites Glacier could potential unleash more than ten feet of sea level rise, threatening coastal cities and low-lying countries around the world.

3.2 Thwaites Glacier could shatter like a windscreen

Recently diagonal cracks have been observed in Antarctica's Thwaites Glacier, and scientists fear that the glacier could shatter into many pieces, like the windscreen of an automobile.

Here are some quotations from a January 1, 2022 article by Ella Gilbert, of the University of Reading:

"The massive Thwaites glacier in West Antarctica contains enough ice to raise global sea levels by 65cm if it were to completely collapse. And, worryingly, recent research suggests that its long-term stability is doubtful as the glacier hemorrhages more and more ice.

Adding 65cm to global sea levels would be coastline-changing amounts. For context, there's been around 20cm of sea-level rise since 1900, an amount that is already forcing coastal communities out of their homes and exacerbating environmental problems such as flooding, saltwater contamination and habitat loss.

"But the worry is that Thwaites, sometimes called the 'doomsday glacier' because of its keystone role in the region, might not be the only glacier to go. Were it to empty into the ocean, it could trigger a regional chain reaction and drag other nearby glaciers in with it, which would mean several meters of sea-level rise. That's because the glaciers in West Antarctica are thought to be vulnerable to a mechanism called Marine Ice Cliff Instability or MICI, where retreating ice exposes increasingly tall, unstable ice cliffs that collapse into the ocean.

"A sea level rise of several meters would inundate many of the world's major cities - including Shanghai, New York, Miami, Tokyo, and Mumbai. It would also cover huge swathes of land in coastal regions and largely swallow up low-lying island nations like Kiribati, Tuvalu, and the Maldives."

3.3 100.4 degrees Fahrenheit north of the Arctic Circle

The Arctic is heating more than twice as fast as the remainder of the world. The World Meteorological Organization has confirmed a new high temperature Arctic record: 100.4 degrees Fahrenheit, recorded in the Siberian town of Verkhoyansk, 70 kilometers north of the Arctic Circle. The reading, taken on June 20, 2020, has now been officially confirmed by the World Meteorological Organization. A spokesman commented that "the temperature is more befitting for the Mediterranean than the Arctic".

According to data taken from the Russian Forestry Agency, Siberia's wildfires were the worst since records began, destroying an area of more than 46 million Acres (18.6 million hectares) of Russian forest in 2021 alone. The smoke from the enormous infernos even travelled as far as the North Pole. Black soot from the wildfires settles on Arctic snow, making it reflect less and absorb more heat. Another feedback loop is caused by the CO2 released by Arctic wildfires, which contributes to further warming and more fires.



Figure 3.1: An Arctic wildfire. Layers of peat are burning, and the carbon stored in the peat is being released into the atmosphere.

3.4 166 billion tons lost in 2021

According to a report from Polar Portal,

"2021 is the 25th year in a row in which Greenland's ice sheet lost more mass during the course of the melting season than it gained during the winter..."

The Polar Portal is a Danish service that monitors the Greenland ice sheet. According to their report, the ice sheet lost about 166 billion tonnes of ice during the 12-month period that ended in August, 2021.

3.5 The threat of catastrophic destabilization

A new report has been issued by the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, which is located at the Free University of Berlin. According to the lead author, Niklas Boers,

"Our results suggest there will be substantially enhanced melting in the future - which is quite worrying... [The] mechanism is long known, and it is one of the prime suspects for the detected destabilization of the centralwestern parts of the Greenland ice sheet. But we cannot exclude that other feedbacks, for example related to the albedo of the ice sheet, play an important role too,...We urgently need to better understand the interplay of the different positive and negative feedback mechanisms that determine the current stability and the future evolution of the ice sheet"



Figure 3.2: Unstable cliffs of ice on the coast of Greenland.

3.6 Wikipedia's article on ice cores

The Wikipedia article, *Ice core*, gives the following description of how isotope analysis can be used to deduce the temperature at which the ancient snow fell before turning to ice:

"The isotopic composition of the oxygen in a core can be used to model the temperature history of the ice sheet. Oxygen has three stable isotopes, ¹⁶O, ¹⁷O and ¹⁸O. The ratio between ¹⁸O and ¹⁶O indicates the temperature when the snow fell...

"Hydrogen ratios can also be used to calculate a temperature history. Deuterium (²H, or D) is heavier than hydrogen (¹H) and makes water more likely to condense and less likely to evaporate."

"



Figure 3.3: Graph of CO2 (green), reconstructed temperature (blue) and dust (red) from the Vostok ice core for the past 420,000 years. Notice the strong correlation between CO2 concentration and temperature. The dust content is helpful in determining the age of the core samples. The figure is taken from the Wikipedia article.

3.7 The albedo effect

There is a dangerous feedback loop involving ice on the Arctic Ocean through the *albedo effect*: Ice-free water is dark on color, and it absorbs the sun's warmth strongly. By contrast, snow-covered ice fields reflect much of the sun's warmth. Thus, the lower the ice cover, the more the sun's rays are absorbed, warming the region and causing further sea ice melting - a dangerous feedback loop.

3.8 5-meter-high waves in the Beaufort sea

According to Wikipedia,

"Scientists recently measured sixteen-foot (five-meter) wave heights during a storm in the Beaufort Sea in mid-August until late October 2012. This is a new phenomenon for the region, since a permanent sea ice cover normally prevents wave formation. Wave action breaks up sea ice, and thus could become a feedback mechanism, driving sea ice decline."

3.9 The death spiral of Arctic sea ice

As is shown in the figure below, the Arctic Ocean will soon be entirely free of sea ice in September. This change will have many impacts on the ecology of the region.



Figure 3.4: Monthly averages 1979-2021. Data source via the Polar Science Center (University of Washington). The September monthly average is spiraling in towards zero, implying that September will soon be a month when the Arctic ocean is completely free of ice.

TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE

Chapter 4

CLIMATE CHANGE AND AGRICULTURE

4.1 Lester Brown's lecture in Copenhagen

After a lecture at the University of Copenhagen in the 1980's, Lester R. Brown of the Earth Policy Institute was asked which resource would be the first to become critically scarce. Everyone in the audience expected him to say "oil", but instead he said "fresh water". He went on to explain that falling water tables in China would soon make China unable to feed its population. This would not cause famine in China itself because of the strength of the Chinese economy, which would allow the Chinese to purchase grain on the world market. However, shortages of fresh water in China would indeed cause famine, for example in Africa, because Chinese demand for grain would raise prices on the world market beyond the ability of poor countries to pay.



Figure 4.1: Lester R. Brown

4.2 Predictions of drought in the Stern Review

According to a report presented to the Oxford Institute of Economic Policy by Sir Nicholas Stern on 31 January, 2006, areas likely to lose up to 30% of their rainfall by the 2050's because of climate change include much of the United States, Brazil, the Mediterranean region, Eastern Russia and Belarus, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Southern Australia. Meanwhile rainfall is predicted to increase up to 30% in Central Africa, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Siberia, and much of China.

Stern and his team point out that "We can... expect to see changes in the Indian monsoon, which could have a huge impact on the lives of hundreds of millions of people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Most climate models suggest that the monsoon will change, although there is still uncertainty about exactly how. Nevertheless, small changes in the monsoon could have a huge impact. Today, a fluctuation of just 10% in either direction from average monsoon rainfall is known to cause either severe flooding or drought. A weak summer monsoon, for example, can lead to poor harvests and food shortages among the rural population - two-thirds of India's almost 1.1 billion people. Heavier-than-usual monsoon downpours can also have devastating consequences..."

In some regions, melting of glaciers can be serious from the standpoint of dry-season water supplies. For example, melts from glaciers in the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas now supply much of Asia, including China and India, with a dry-season water supply. Complete melting of these glacial systems would cause an exaggerated runoff for a few decades, after which there would be a drying out of some of the most densely populated regions of the world.

4.3 Ocean current changes and failure of monsoons

It is expected that climate change will affect ocean currents, and hence also affect monsoon rainfall. We are already experiencing a diversion of the Gulf Stream due to southward currents of cold water from melting ice in the Arctic. This has caused what is known as the *North Atlantic Anomaly*. While most regions of the world are experiencing rising temperatures, the North Atlantic and several northern European countries are exceptions to this rule, and have cooled. Complete failure of the Gulf Stream would lead to much colder temperatures in Europe.

Changes in ocean currents have already lead to the failure of the West African Monsoon, and this has already produced severe food insecurity in West Africa.

In the future, climate-changed ocean currents may lead to failures of monsoons in South-east Asia, and thus damage the food supply of almost two billion people.

4.4 Falling water tables around the world

Under many desert areas of the world are deeply buried water tables formed during glacial periods when the climate of these regions was wetter. These regions include the Middle

East and large parts of Africa. Water can be withdrawn from such ancient reservoirs by deep wells and pumping, but only for a limited amount of time.

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

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

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

4.5 Glacial melting and summer water supplies

The summer water supplies of both China and India are threatened by the melting of glaciers. The Gangotri glacier, which is the principle glacier feeding India's great Ganges River, is reported to be melting at an accelerating rate, and it could disappear within a few decades. If this happens, the Ganges could become seasonal, flowing only during the monsoon season. Chinese agriculture is also threatened by disappearing Himalayan glaciers, in this case those on the Tibet-Quinghai Plateau. The respected Chinese glaciologist Yao Tandong estimates that the glaciers feeding the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers are disappearing at the rate of 7% per year.¹

4.6 Advances in desalinization technology

Scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have developed a new desalinization process, called shock electrodialysis. In this process, water flows through a porous material -in this case, made of tiny glass particles, called a frit - with membranes or electrodes sandwiching the porous material on each side. When an electric current flows through the system, the salty water divides into regions where the salt concentration is either depleted or enriched. When that current is increased to a certain point, it generates a shockwave

 $^{^{1}} http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/04/global-glaciers-melting-three-times-rate-20 th-century$

between these two zones, sharply dividing the streams and allowing the fresh and salty regions to be separated by a simple physical barrier at the center of the flow.

"It generates a very strong gradient," says Martin Bazant, a researcher involved with the project².

Even though the system can use membranes on each side of the porous material, Bazant explains, the water flows across those membranes, not through them. That means they are not as vulnerable to fouling - a buildup of filtered material - or to degradation due to water pressure, as happens with conventional membrane-based desalination, including conventional electrodialysis. "The salt doesn't have to push through something," Bazant says. "The charged salt particles, or ions, just move to one side".

4.7 The Green Revolution

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

In 1963, Borlaug visited India, bringing with him 100 kg. of seeds from each of his most promising wheat strains. After testing these strains in Asia, he imported 450 tons of the Lerma Rojo and Sonora 64 varieties - 250 tons for Pakistan and 200 for India. By 1968, the success of these varieties was so great that school buildings had to be commandeered to store the output. Borlaug's work began to be called a "Green Revolution". In India, the research on high-yield crops was continued and expanded by Prof. M.S. Swaminathan and his coworkers. The work of Green Revolution scientists, such Norman Borlaug and M.S. Swaminathan, has been credited with saving the lives of as many as a billion people.

Despite these successes, Borlaug believes that the problem of population growth is still a serious one. "Africa and the former Soviet republics", Borlaug states, "and the Cerrado³, are the last frontiers. After they are in use, the world will have no additional sizable blocks of arable land left to put into production, unless you are willing to level whole forests, which you should not do. So, future food-production increases will have to come from higher yields. And though I have no doubt that yields will keep going up, whether they can go up enough to feed the population monster is another matter. Unless progress with agricultural yields remains very strong, the next century will experience human misery that, on a sheer numerical scale, will exceed the worst of everything that has come before."

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

² He was quoted in an article published in *MIT News*, November 12, 2015

³ The Cerrado is a large savanna region of Brazil.



Figure 4.2: Norman Borlaug's work on developing high-yield disease-resistant plant varieties won him a Nobel Peace Prize in 1970.

Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend on the use of fossil fuels. One must therefore ask whether high agricultural yields can be maintained in the future, when fossil fuels are expected to become prohibitively scarce and expensive.

4.8 Energy inputs of agriculture

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

- 1. Manufacture of inorganic fertilizer, 31%
- 2. Operation of field machinery, 19%
- 3. Transportation, 16%
- 4. Irrigation, 13%

- 5. Raising livestock (not including livestock feed), 8%
- 6. Crop drying, 5%
- 7. Pesticide production, 5%
- 8. Miscellaneous, 8%

The ratio of the fossil fuel energy inputs to the food calorie outputs depends on how many energy-using elements of food production are included in the accounting. David Pimentel 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, Pimentel 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.

4.9 Sustainable future populations

In an important and detailed study entitled *Will Limited Land*, *Water*, and *Energy Control Human Population Numbers in the Future?*, David Pimentel et al. ⁴ discuss the problem of agriculture and global population in the post fossil fuel era. Here are some quotations from the article:

"Nearly 60% of the world's human population is malnourished and the numbers are growing. Shortages of basic foods related to decreases in per capita cropland, water, and fossil energy resources contribute to spreading malnutrition and other diseases. The suggestion is that in the future only a smaller number of people will have access to adequate nourishment. In about 100 years, when it is reported that the planet will run out of fossil energy, we suggest that a world population of about two billion might be sustainable if it relies on renewable energy technologies and also reduces per capita use of the earth's natural resources.

"Developed and developing nations need to provide a good quality life for their people while coping with rapid population growth, but 'Population is the issue no one wants to touch' (Meadows 2000). The current world population is about 6.8 billion. Based on the present growth rate of 1.2% per year, the population is projected to double in approximately 58 years (Chiras 2006; PRB 2008). Because population growth cannot continue indefinitely, society can either voluntarily control its numbers or let natural forces such as disease, malnutrition, and other disasters limit human numbers (Bartlett 1997-98; Pimentel et al. 1999). Increasing human numbers especially in urban areas, and increasing

⁴D. Pimentel et al., Human Ecology DOI 10.1007/s10745-010-9346-y, (2010)

4.9. SUSTAINABLE FUTURE POPULATIONS

pollution of food, water, air, and soil by pathogenic disease organisms and chemicals, are causing a rapid increase in the prevalence of disease and human mortality (Murray and Lopez 1996; Pimentel et al. 2007). Currently, more than 3.7 billion humans are malnourished worldwide - the largest number ever (WHO 2005a, b).

"The planet's numerous environmental problems highlight the urgent need to evaluate available land, water, and energy resources and how they relate to the requirements of a rapidly growing human population (Pimentel and Pimentel 2008). In this article we assess the carrying capacity of the Earth's natural resources, and suggest that humans should voluntarily limit their population growth, rather than letting natural forces control their numbers (Ferguson 1998; Pimentel et al. 1999). In addition, we suggest appropriate policies and technologies that would improve standards of living and quality of life worldwide...

"In 1960, when the world population numbered about 3 billion, approximately 0.5 ha of cropland was available per capita worldwide. This half a hectare is needed to provide a diverse, healthy, nutritious diet of plant and animal products..."

Pimentel et al. state that worldwide, the average cropland per capita has now fallen to 0.22 hectares. This number will continue to fall because global population is increasing at the rate of almost one billion people per decade, while the global area available for cropland is not increasing. On the contrary, it is decreasing because of desertification, erosion, salination and urban sprawl. Pimentel et al.state that cropland is being degraded and lost at a rate of more than 20 million hectares per year-

The current cropland per capita in the United States is 0.56 hectares, and thus still quite large, but in China, the figure is dangerously low: only 0.1 hectares. China will soon be unable to feed its population and will have to buy grain on the world market. As Lester Brown pointed out in his Copenhagen lecture, China will be able to import grain because of its strong economy, but this will raise food prices and will cause widespread famine in other parts of the world.

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

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

In 1848 (when there were just over one billion people in the world), John Stuart Mill described the optimal global population in the following words:

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

"... Nor is there much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the

spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation, which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural pasture plowed up, all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man's use exterminated as his rivals for food, every hedgerow or superfluous tree rooted out, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed in the name of improved agriculture. If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness which it owes to things that the unlimited increase of wealth and population would extirpate from it, for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger, but not better or happier population, I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it."⁵

Dennis Meadows, one of the authors of *Limits to Growth*, stated recently that the optimum human population in the distant future may be about 2 billion people.

But what about the near future? Will the global population of humans crash catastrophically after having exceeded the carrying capacity of the environment? There is certainly a danger that this will happen - a danger that the 21st century will bring very large scale famines to vulnerable parts of the world, because modern energy-intensive agriculture will be dealt a severe blow by prohibitively high petroleum prices. At present, there are only a few major food-exporting countries, notably the United States, Canada, Australia and Argentina. There is a danger that within a few decades, the United States will no longer be able to export food because of falling production and because of the demands of a growing population. We should be aware of these serious future problems if we are to have a chance of avoiding them.

4.10 The demographic transition

The developed industrial nations of the modern world have gone through a process known as the "demographic transition" - a shift from an equilibrium where population growth is held in check by the grim Malthusian forces of disease, starvation and war, to one where it is held in check by birth control and late marriage.

The transition begins with a fall in the death rate, caused by various factors, among which the most important is the application of scientific knowledge to the prevention of disease. Malthus gives the following list of some of the causes of high death rates: "...unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague and famine." The demographic transition begins when some of the causes of high death rates are removed.

Cultural patterns require some time to adjust to the lowered death rate, and so the birth rate continues to be high. Families continue to have six or seven children, just as they did when most of the children died before having children of their own. Therefore, at the start of the demographic transition, the population increases sharply. After a certain

⁵John Stuart Mill, Principles of Political Economy, With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy, (1848).

amount of time, however, cultural patterns usually adjust to the lowered death rate, and a new equilibrium is established, where both the birth rate and the death rate are low.

In Europe, this period of adjustment required about two hundred years. In 1750, the death rate began to fall sharply: By 1800, it had been cut in half, from 35 deaths per thousand people in 1750 to 18 in 1800; and it continued to fall. Meanwhile, the birth rate did not fall, but even increased to 40 births per thousand per year in 1800. Thus the number of children born every year was more than twice the number needed to compensate for the deaths!

By 1800, the population was increasing by more than two percent every year. In 1750, the population of Europe was 150 million; by 1800, it was roughly 220 million; by 1950 it had exceeded 540 million, and in 1970 it was 646 million.

Meanwhile the achievements of medical science and the reduction of the effects of famine and warfare had been affecting the rest of the world: In 1750, the non-European population of the world was only 585 million. By 1850 it had reached 877 million. During the century between 1850 and 1950, the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America more than doubled, reaching 1.8 billion in 1950. In the twenty years between 1950 and 1970, the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America increased still more sharply, and in 1970, this segment of the world's population reached 2.6 billion, bringing the world total to 3.6 billion. The fastest increase was in Latin America, where population almost doubled during the twenty years between 1950 and 1970.

The latest figures show that population has stabilized or in some cases is even decreasing in Europe, Russia, Canada, Japan, Cuba and New Zealand. In Argentina, the United States, China, Myanmar, Thailand and Australia, the rates of population increase are moderate - 0.6%-1.0%; but even this moderate rate of increase will have a heavy ecological impact, particularly in the United States, with its high rates of consumption.

The population of the remainder of the world is increasing at breakneck speed - 2%-4% per year - and it cannot continue to expand at this rate for very much longer without producing widespread famines, since modern intensive agriculture cannot be sustained beyond the end of the fossil fuel era. The threat of catastrophic future famines makes it vital that all countries that have not completed the demographic transition should do so as rapidly as possible.



The Stages of the Demographic Transition.

Figure 4.3: The demographic transition.

4.11 Urbanization

The global rate of population growth has slowed from 2.0 percent per year in 1972 to 1.7 percent per year in 1987; and one can hope that it will continue to fall. However, it is still very high in most developing countries. For example, in Kenya, the population growth rate is 4.0 percent per year, which means that the population of Kenya will double in seventeen years.

During the 60 years between 1920 and 1980 the urban population of the developing countries increased by a factor of 10, from 100 million to almost a billion. In 1950, the population of Sao Paulo in Brazil was 2.7 million. By 1980, it had grown to 12.6 million; and it is expected to reach 24.0 million by the year 2000. Mexico City too has grown explosively to an unmanageable size. In 1950, the population of Mexico City was 3.05 million; in 1982 it was 16.0 million; and the population in 2000 was 17.8 million.

A similar explosive growth of cities can be seen in Africa and in Asia. In 1968, Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, and Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, were both growing at the rate of 14 percent per year, doubling in size every 5 years. In 1950, Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, had a population of 0.14 million. In a 1999 census, it was estimated to be between 3 and 4 million, having increased by a factor of 25.

In 1972, the population of Calcutta was 7.5 million. By the turn of the century in 2000, it had almost doubled in size. This rapid growth produced an increase in the poverty and pollution from which Calcutta already suffered in the 1970's. The Hooghly estuary near Calcutta is choked with untreated industrial waste and sewage, and a large percentage of Calcutta's citizens suffer from respiratory diseases related to air pollution.

Governments in the third world, struggling to provide clean water, sanitation, roads, schools, medical help and jobs for all their citizens, are defeated by rapidly growing urban



Figure 4.4: Because of the threat of widespread famine, it is vital that all countries should complete the demographic transition as quickly as possible.



Figure 4.5: Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out that all the changes needed for population stabilization are desirable in themselves. These include education for women, higher status for women, state provision of old-age help for the poor, universal health care, and making safe drinking water available near to dwellings. populations. Often the makeshift shantytowns inhabited by new arrivals have no piped water; or when water systems exist, the pressures may be so low that sewage seeps into the system.

Many homeless children, left to fend for themselves, sleep and forage in the streets of third world cities. These conditions have tended to become worse with time rather than better. Whatever gains governments can make are immediately canceled by growing populations.

4.12 Achieving economic equality

Today's world is characterized by intolerable economic inequalities, both between nations and within nations. A group of countries including (among others) Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, has only 13% of the world's population, but receives 45% of the global PPP⁶ income. By contrast, a second group, including 2.1 Billion people (45% of the world's population) receives only 9% of the global PPP income. Another indicator of inequality is the fact that the 50 million richest people in the world receive as much as the 2,700 million poorest.

18 million of our fellow humans die each year from poverty-related causes. Each year, 11 million children die before reaching their fifth birthday. 1.1 billion people live on less than \$1 per day; 2.7 billion live on less than \$2.

At the United Nations Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in September, 1994, a theme which emerged very clearly was that one of the most important keys to controlling the global population explosion is giving women better education and equal rights. These goals are desirable for their own sake, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented point of view which women can give us; but in addition, education and improved status for women have shown themselves to be closely connected with lowered birth rates. When women lack education and independent careers outside the home, they can be forced into the role of baby-producing machines by men who do not share in the drudgery of cooking, washing and cleaning; but when women have educational, legal, economic, social and political equality with men, experience has shown that they choose to limit their families to a moderate size.

As glaciers melt in the Himalayas, depriving India and China of summer water supplies; as sea levels rise, drowning the fertile rice fields of Viet Nam and Bangladesh; as drought threatens the productivity of grain-producing regions of North America; and as the end of the fossil fuel era impacts modern high-yield agriculture, there is a threat of wide-spread famine. There is a danger that the 1.5 billion people who are undernourished today will not survive an even more food-scarce future.

People threatened with famine will become refugees, desperately seeking entry into countries where food shortages are less acute. Wars, such as those currently waged in the Middle East, will add to the problem.

⁶Purchasing Power Parity



Figure 4.6: Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates.

What can we do to avoid this crisis, or at least to reduce its severity? We must urgently address the problem of climate change; and we must shift money from military expenditure to the support of birth control programs and agricultural research. We must also replace the institution of war by a system of effective global governance and enforcible international laws.

4.13 Achieving a steady-state economic system

Endless economic growth on a finite planet is a logical impossibility. Just as population growth is limited by ecological constraints, so too is the growth of resource-using and pollution-producing industrial production. Culture, of course, can and should continue to grow,

A number of economists have studied this problem, and in particular, outstanding contributions have been made by Frederick Soddy, Nickolas Georgiescu-Roegan and Herman Daly. These authors have taken into account the role which entropy plays in economics.

4.14 Harmful effects of industrialized farming

Pharming

A major global public health crisis may soon be produced by the wholesale use of antibiotics in the food of healthy farm animals. The resistance factors produced by shovelling



Figure 4.7: Methane emissions are steadily increasing. A new report has shown ruminants are largely responsible for increases in rates of emission.

antibiotics into animal food produces resistance factors (plasmids) which can easily be transferred to human pathogens. A related problem is the excessive use of pesticides and artificial fossil-fuel-derived fertilizers in agriculture. Pharming is not a joke. It is a serious threat.⁷

Meat and methane

Methane is an extremely powerful greenhouse gas. and it is emitted in large quantities by ruminants, such as cattle produced for beef. A new report⁸ finds that cattle are not the biggest contributor to the annual methane budget in the atmosphere, but they may be the biggest contributor to increases in methane emissions over recent years.

⁷http://ecowatch.com/2014/03/06/misuse-antibiotics-fatal-superbug-crisis/

http://ecowatch.com/2013/12/06/8-scary-facts-about-antibiotic-resistance/

http://ecowatch.com/2015/03/27/obama-fight-superbug-crisis/

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http://sustainableagriculture.net/about-us/

https://pwccc.wordpress.com/programa/

⁸J. Wolf et al., *Revised methane emissions factors and spatially distributed annual carbon fluxes for global livestock*, Carbon Balance and Management 2017, 12:16

One must also remember that by eating less meat, and in particular less beef, we can shorten the food chain and thus help famine-threatened populations.

Pesticides, artificial fertilizers and topsoil

A closely analogous danger results from the overuse of pesticides and petroleum-derived fertilizers in agriculture. A very serious problem with Green Revolution plant varieties is that they require heavy inputs of pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. Because of this, the use of high-yield varieties contributes to social inequality, since only rich farmers can afford the necessary inputs. Monocultures, such as the Green Revolution varieties may also prove to be vulnerable to future plant diseases, such as the epidemic that caused the Irish Potato Famine in 1845. Even more importantly, pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation all depend on the use of fossil fuels. One must ask, therefore, whether high-yield agriculture can be maintained in the post-fossil-fuel era.

Topsoil is degraded by excessive use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. Natural topsoil is rich in organic material, which contains sequestered carbon that would otherwise be present in our atmosphere in the form of greenhouse gases. In addition, natural topsoil contains an extraordinarily rich diversity of bacteria and worms that act to convert agricultural wastes from one year's harvest into nutrients for the growth of next year's crop. Pesticides kill these vital organisms, and make the use of artificial fertilizers necessary.

Finally, many small individual farmers, whose methods are sustainable, are being eliminated by secret land-grabs or put out of business because they cannot compete with unsustainable high-yield agriculture. Traditional agriculture contains a wealth of knowledge and biodiversity, which it would be wise for the world to preserve.

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Chapter 5

POPULATION STABILIZATION TO AVOID FAMINE

5.1 Population stabilization today

The phrase "developing countries" is more than a euphemism; it expresses the hope that with the help of a transfer of technology from the industrialized nations, all parts of the world can achieve prosperity. One of the factors that prevents the achievement of worldwide prosperity is population growth.

In the words of Dr. Halfdan Mahler, former Director General of the World Health Organization, "Country after country has seen painfully achieved increases in total output, food production, health and educational facilities and employment opportunities reduced or nullified by excessive population growth."

The growth of population is linked to excessive urbanization, infrastructure failures and unemployment. In rural districts in the developing countries, family farms are often divided among a growing number of heirs until they can no longer be subdivided. Those family members who are no longer needed on the land have no alternative except migration to overcrowded cities, where the infrastructure is unable to cope so many new arrivals. Often the new migrants are forced to live in excrement-filled makeshift slums, where dysentery, hepatitis and typhoid are endemic, and where the conditions for human life sink to the lowest imaginable level. In Brazil, such shanty towns are called "favelas".

If modern farming methods are introduced in rural areas while population growth continues, the exodus to cities is aggravated, since modern techniques are less labor-intensive and favor large farms. In cities, the development of adequate infrastructure requires time, and it becomes a hopeless task if populations are growing rapidly. Thus, population stabilization is a necessary first step for development.

It can be observed that birth rates fall as countries develop. However, development is sometimes blocked by the same high birth rates that economic progress might have prevented. In this situation (known as the "demographic trap"), economic gains disappear immediately because of the demands of an exploding population. For countries caught in the demographic trap, government birth control programs are especially important, because one cannot rely on improved social conditions to slow birth rates. Since health and lowered birth rates should be linked, it is appropriate that familyplanning should be an important part of programs for public health and economic development.

A recent study conducted by Robert F. Lapham of Demographic Health Surveys and W. Parker Maudlin of the Rockefeller Foundation has shown that the use of birth control is correlated both with socio-economic setting and with the existence of strong family-planning programs. The implication of this study is that even in the absence of increased living standards, family-planning programs can be successful, provided they have strong government support.

China, the world's most populous nation, has adopted the somewhat draconian policy of allowing only one child for families in living in towns and cities (35.9% of the population). Chinese leaders obtained popular support for their one-child policy by means of an educational program which emphasized future projections of diminishing water resources and diminishing cropland per person if population increased unchecked. Like other developing countries, China has a very young population, which will continue to grow even when fertility has fallen below the replacement level because so many of its members are contributing to the birth rate rather than to the death rate. China's present population is 1.4 billion. Its projected population for the year 2025 is 1.6 billion. China's one-child policy is supported by 75% of the country's people, but the methods of enforcement are sometimes criticized, and it has led to a M/F sex ratio of 1.17/1.00. The natural baseline for the sex ratio ranges between 1.03/1.00 and 1.07/1.00.

Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because in many countries these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates. Religious leaders who oppose programs for the education of women and for family planning on "ethical" grounds should think carefully about the scope and consequences of the catastrophic global famine which will undoubtedly occur within the next 50 years if population is allowed to increase unchecked. Do these leaders really wish to be responsible for the suffering and death from starvation of hundreds of millions of people?

At the United Nations Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in September, 1994, a theme which emerged very clearly was that one of the most important keys to controlling the global population explosion is giving women better education and equal rights. These goals are desirable for the sake of increased human happiness, and for the sake of the uniquely life-oriented point of view which women can give us; but in addition, education and improved status for women have shown themselves to be closely connected with lowered birth rates. When women lack education and independent careers outside the home, they can be forced into the role of baby-producing machines by men who do not share in the drudgery of cooking, washing and cleaning; but when women have educational, legal, economic, social and political equality with men, experience has shown that they choose to limit their families to a moderate size.

Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out that the changes needed

to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor and general economic development.

5.2 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, roughly a billion people are being added to the world's population every fiften years.

As the physicist Murry 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

$$P = \frac{190,000,000,000}{2025 - t}$$

Here P is the population 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 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), where C is a constant, 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



Figure 5.1: Population growth and fossil fuel use, seen on a time-scale of several thousand years. The dots are population estimates in millions from the US Census Bureau. Fossil fuel use appears as a spike-like curve, rising from almost nothing to a high value, and then falling again to almost nothing in the space of a few centuries. When the two curves are plotted together, the explosive rise of global population is seen to be simultaneous with, and perhaps partially driven by, the rise of fossil fuel use. This raises the question of whether the world's population is headed for a crash when the fossil fuel era has ended. (Author's own graph)

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 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.

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 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. 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. Climate change will reduce agricultural output. The Hubbert peaks for oil and natural gas will occur within one or two decades, and the fossil fuel era will be over 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. 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 (see Chapter 4). 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.

What would Malthus tell us if he were alive today? Certainly he would say that we have



Figure 5.2: The number of hectares of cropland available per person as a function of time.

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.

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.

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.

5.3 Biology and economics

Classical economists like Smith and Ricardo 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 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 that it deserves.

The terminology of economics can be applied to natural resources: For example, a forest can be thought of as natural capital, and the sustainable yield from the forest as interest. Exceeding the biological carrying capacity then corresponds, in economic terms, to spending one's capital.

If it is to be prevented from producing unacceptable contrasts of affluence and misery within a society, the free market advocated by Adam Smith needs the additional restraints of ethical principles, as well as a certain amount of governmental regulation. Furthermore, in the absence of these restraints, it will destroy the natural environment of our planet.

There is much evidence to indicate that the total size of the human economy is rapidly approaching the absolute limits imposed by the carrying capacity of the global environment. For example, a recent study by Vitousek et. al. showed that 40 percent of the net primary product of landbased photosynthesis is appropriated, directly or indirectly, for human use. (The net primary product of photosynthesis is defined as the total quantity of solar energy converted into chemical energy by plants, minus the energy used by the plants themselves). Thus we are only a single doubling time away from 80 percent appropriation, which would imply a disastrous environmental degradation.

Another indication of our rapid approach to the absolute limits of environmental carrying capacity can be found in the present rate of loss of biodiversity. Biologists estimate that between 10,000 and 50,000 species are being driven into extinction each year as the earth's rainforests are destroyed.

The burning of fossil fuels and the burning of tropical rain forests have released so much

carbon dioxide that the atmospheric concentration of this greenhouse gas has increased from a preindustrial value of 260 ppm to its present value: 380 ppm. Most scientists agree that unless steps are taken to halt the burning of rain forests and to reduce the use of fossil fuels, the earth's temperature will steadily rise during the coming centuries. This gradual long-term climate change will threaten future agricultural output by changing patterns of rainfall. Furthermore, the total melting of the Arctic and Antarctic icecaps, combined with the thermal expansion of the oceans, threatens to produce a sea level rise of up to 12 meters. Although these are slow, long-term effects, we owe it to future generations to take steps now to halt global warming.

The switch from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources is vital not only because of the need to reduce global warming, but also because the earth's supply of fossil fuels is limited. A peak in the production and consumption of conventional petroleum is predicted within one or two decades. Such a peak in the use of any non-renewable natural resource is called a "Hubbert peak" after the oil expert Dr. M. King Hubbert. It occurs when reserves of the resource are approximately half exhausted. After that point, the resource does not disappear entirely, but its price increases steadily because supply fails to meet demand, and because of rising extraction costs. It is predicted that the Hubbert peak for both oil and natural gas will also occur within a few decades. The peak for oil may occur within the present decade. Thus, halfway through the 21st Century, oil and natural gas will become very expensive - perhaps so expensive that they will not be burned but will instead be reserved as starting points for chemical synthesis.

The reserves of coal are much larger, and at the present rate of use they would last for slightly more than two centuries. However, it seems likely that as petroleum is exhausted, coal will be converted into liquid fuels, as was done in Germany during World War II, and in South Africa during the oil embargo. Thus, in predicting a date for the end of the fossil fuel era, we ought to lump oil, natural gas and coal together. If we do so, we find the total supply has an energy content of 1260 terawatt-years. (1 terawatt is equal to 1,000,000,000,000 Watts). One finds in this way that if they are used at the present rate of 13 terawatts, fossil fuels will last about 100 years.

Resolute government intervention is needed to promote energy conservation measures and to bring about the switch from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources, such as biomass, photovoltaics, solar thermal power, wind and wave power, and hydropower. Both subsidies for renewable energy technologies, to help them get started, and taxes on fossil fuels will be needed. Changes in tax structure could also encourage smaller families, encourage resource conservation, or diminish pollution. In general, taxation should be used, not merely to raise money, but, more importantly, to guide the evolution of society towards humane and sustainable goals.

5.4 Loss of biodiversity

Agricultural monocultures

In modern agriculture it has become common to plant large regions with a single crop variety. For example, it is common to plant large regions with a single high-yield wheat variety. Monocultures of this kind offer farmers advantages of efficiency in the timing of planting and harvesting. With regard to pest and disease control, there may be short-term advantages, but these have to be weighed against the threat of long-term disasters. In the great Irish Potato Famine of 1845-1849, the potato monoculture which had sustained Ireland's growing population was suddenly devastated by Phytophthora infestans, commonly called "potato blight". The result was a catastrophic famine that resulted in the death or emigration of much of Ireland's population.

In general, monocultures are vulnerable to plant disease. Thus the replacement of traditional varieties with the high-yield crops developed by the "Green Revolution" carries serious risks. Adjustment to climate change also requires genetic diversity. In general, a genetically diverse population is far better to adjust to environmental changes than a genetically homogeneous population. This being so, it is vital to preserve civilization's heritage of genetically diverse crops.

Deforestation and loss of biodiversity

The earth's tropical rain forests are rapidly being destroyed for the sake of new agricultural land. Tropical rain forests are thought to be the habitat of more than half of the world's species of plants, animals and insects; and their destruction is accompanied by an alarming rate of extinction of species. The Harvard biologist, E.O. Wilson, estimates that the rate of extinction resulting from deforestation in the tropics may now exceed 4,000 species per year - 10,000 times the natural background rate (*Scientific American*, September, 1989).

The enormous biological diversity of tropical rain forests has resulted from their stability. Unlike northern forests, which have been affected by glacial epochs, tropical forests have existed undisturbed for millions of years. As a result, complex and fragile ecological systems have had a chance to develop. Professor Wilson expresses this in the following words:

"Fragile superstructures of species build up when the environment remains stable enough to support their evolution during long periods of time. Biologists now know that biotas, like houses of cards, can be brought tumbling down by relatively small perturbations in the physical environment. They are not robust at all."

The number of species which we have until now domesticated or used in medicine is very small compared with the number of potentially useful species still waiting in the world's tropical rain forests. When we destroy them, we damage our future. But we ought to regard the annual loss of thousands of species as a tragedy, not only because biological diversity is potential wealth for human society, but also because every form of life deserves our respect and protection.



Figure 5.3: Deforestation in the United States between 1620 and the present.



Figure 5.4: Jungle burned for agriculture in southern Mexico.

5.5 Economics without growth

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 such as Aurelio Pecci and Herman Daly) 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 resource-using and pollution-generating 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. (The reader is invited to calculate the factor of increase in five centuries. The answer is $50^5 = 312,500,000$.) No one can maintain that this type of growth is sustainable except by refusing to look more than a short distance into the future. Sooner or later (perhaps surprisingly soon) an entirely new form of economics will be needed - not the empty-world economics of Adam Smith, but what might be called "full-world economics", or "steady-state economics".

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. 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.

The present use of resources by the industrialized countries is extremely wasteful. A



Figure 5.5: In 1968 Aurelio Pecci, 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 economic 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. Perhaps part of this collective blindness was and is due to the polarization of opinion produced by the Cold War. In any case, the myth of unlimited growth has remained the central dogma of western economics.

5.5. ECONOMICS WITHOUT GROWTH

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 rapid 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 (except perhaps growth of culture and knowledge); and we are now nearing the environmentally-imposed limits.

Transition to a sustainable economy

Like a speeding bus headed for a brick wall, the earth's rapidly-growing population of humans and its rapidly-growing resource-using and pollution-generating 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.

The Worldwatch Institute, Washington D.C., lists the following steps as necessary for the transition to sustainability¹:

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

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

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

The present economic recession offers us an opportunity to take steps towards the creation of a sustainable steady-state economic system. Government measures to avoid unemployment could at the same time shift the work force to jobs that promote sustainability, i.e., jobs in the areas listed by the Worldwatch Institute.

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.

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

¹L.R. Brown and P. Shaw, 1982.

5.5. ECONOMICS WITHOUT GROWTH



Figure 5.6: Lester R. Brown, founder of the Worldwatch Institute, and for many years its President. He is now the leader of the Earth Policy Institute. His recent book, "Plan B", gives important information about the ecological crisis now facing the world. It may be downloaded free of charge from the website of the Earth Policy Institute.

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. Obviously, 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.

In the 1970's the equation $I = P \times A \times T$ was introduced in the course of a debate between Barry Commoner, Paul R. Ehrlich and John P. Holdren. Here I represents environmental impact, P is population, while A represents goods per capita, and T is an adjustable factor that depends on the technology used to produce the goods. The assertion of the previous paragraph can be expressed by solving for A and setting I equal to a constant: $A = I/(P \times T)$. In the distant future, the environmental impact I will not be allowed to increase, and therefore for a given value of T, A will be inversely proportional to P.

If the environmental impact I is broken up into several components, a few of them have historically fallen with increasing values of $A \times P$ because of diminishing T (thus exhibiting the *environmental Kuznets curve*). However, most components of I, such as energy, land and resource use, have historically increased with increasing $A \times P$.

5.6 China and India

Table 2.1 shows the population of China at the start of various dynasties. In 125 AD, at the start of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the population was 48,690,789. The precision of this figure is surprising, and it is perhaps the result of the strength of the central government of China even at that early date. As seen in Table 2.1 the population seems to have fallen again, probably to famine and war. Fear of these terrible Malthusian forces explains the Chinese preference for a strong central government. At the start of the Qing dynasty in the 17th century, the population of China began to increase rapidly, probably because of improved flood control and irrigation methods. By 1901. the population of China had reached 426,447,325.

Figure 2.19 shows the growth of Chinese population between 1960 and the present. China's population continues to increase, dispute the government's one-child policy, and today the country has approximately 1.4 billion people. China's rate of population growth is currently only 0.59%.

The post-1949 Chinese government leaders at first viewed population growth as an asset. However, worries about falling water tables and the future availability of fresh



Figure 5.7: The one-child policy: A Chinese mother and her only child at a market in Jiayuguan.

water for agriculture, as well as the realization that rapid population growth would block economic development soon produced a policy switch; and the Chinese government began to strongly support both birth control and late marriage.

Since 1979, the Chinese government has advocated a one-child policy for both rural and urban areas. However, this policy admits many exceptions and has been most effective in cities, where the government is able to exert it power by giving apartments only to families with a single child. In 2016, the one-child policy began to be phased out.



Figure 5.8: Historical estimates of China's population, in millions, from AD 2 until the present. After Ming and earlier period of Qing dynasty founded population moved around 100 million to 150 million until 1700s. In the period between 1749 and 1851, the population doubled in a century. During 1960-2015, the population doubled to nearly 1.4 billion.



Figure 5.9: This graph shows the population growth of China, in billions, since 1900. Despite China's one-child policy, the country's population continues to grow because of exceptions to the policy and because so many young people are now reaching reproductive age.

Dynasty	Date (AD)	Households	Population
Eastern Han	125	9,647,838	48,690,789
Western Jin	280	2,458,480	16,163,863
Tang	639	3,120,151	13,252,894
Song	1003	6,864,160	14,278,040
Ming	1398	10,699,399	58,323,933
Qing	1661	not recorded	58,323,933
Qing	1722	not recorded	103,053,992
Qing	1812	not recorded	333,700,560
Qing	1901	not recorded	426,447,325

Table 5.1: China's Dynastic Census Data



Figure 5.10: The historical and projected population of India as a function of time, from 200 AD to 2050, based on data from the Wikipedia article on *Demographics of India*. If the projections hold, there will be 1.4 billion people in India by 2050, making it the most populous country in the world. However, there is a danger that death rates may rise sharply because of famine and because of deaths due to rising temperatures.



Figure 5.11: This figure shows China's economic growth rate in recent years. The doubling time for a quantity growing at the rate of 6.8% per year is only 11 years. This high rate of economic growth, compounded by China's still-growing population, cannot continue without producing an ecological catastrophe, the beginnings of which can already be seen in China.

Table 5.2: World Population in 2050 (in billions). Global population reached 8 billion in 2022. Projections for 2050 may be unrealistically high because of rising death rates.

Region	2000	2050	growth
Asia	3.73	5.26	41%
Africa	0.82	2.53	209%
Europe	0.73	0.72	-2%
Latin America	0.53	0.78	48%
North America	0.31	0.43	39%
Oceania	0.03	0.06	84%
World	6.14	9.77	60%

5.7 Population projections in Africa

Wikipedia's article on *Projections of Population Growth* states that "By 2070, the bulk of the world's population growth will take place in Africa: of the additional 2.4 billion people projected between 2015 and 2050, 1.3 billion will be added in Africa, 0.9 billion in Asia and only 0.2 billion in the rest of the world. Africa's share of global population is projected to grow from 16% in 2015 to 25% in 2050 and 39% by 2100, while the share of Asia will fall from 60% in 2015 to 54% in 2050 and 44% in 2100. The strong growth of the African population will happen regardless of the rate of decrease of fertility, because of the exceptional proportion of young people already living today. For example, the UN projects that the population of Nigeria will surpass that of the United States by 2050."

"During 2005-2050, twelve countries are expected to account for half of the world's projected population increase: India, China, United States, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Brazil, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Philippines, Mexico and Egypt, listed according to the size of their contribution to population growth."

The predictions shown in Table 2.2, especially the prediction that the population of Africa will be 2.53 billion people, raise some worrying questions. It seems likely that because of climate change, failure of the West African monsoon, desertification, and sale of African agricultural land to rich countries such China and Saudi Arabia, the food available to the people of Africa will diminish rather than increasing. Can the population of Africa really increase by 209% by 2050? Or will this be prevented by the terrible Malthusian forces of famine, disease and war? In some parts of Africa famine is already present.



Figure 5.12: A map from the Wikipedia article showing global fertility rates in 2015. The highest fertility rates (purple, 7-8 children per woman-life) occur in Africa.



Figure 5.13: A map showing the human development index (HDI) in various parts of the world. The index is based on educational levels, life expectancy, and GDP per capita. It can be seen that regions of high fertility generally have low HDI values.

5.8 What is the future of megacities?

A transformation in cities is going on. Over 80% of the people on the planet today are living in cities. Over 100 new cities will be created within 25 years in China alone. Over 20 new Megacities will redefine the consumer marketplace and society. Most of these cities of over 8 million people each will be in the developing world. With the huge migration to cities of the global population, what challenges will these cities face? What are the opportunities and risks? How should global organizations prepare for the future of cities?

Transition Towns

The Transition Town Movement of today is a response to the end of the fossil fuel era and the threat of economic collapse. It can be thought of as a modern branch of the Cooperative Movement. In 2006, the Transition Town of Totnes in Devon, England was the first to use this name, which implied a transition from globalism, consumerism and growth to a sustainable, local and self-sufficient economy. The ideal was to produce locally all the necessary food for the town, and as much of other necessities as possible. In this way, the energy expenditures involved in transportation could be avoided.

Today there are more than a thousand Transition Towns and they are located in 43 countries. Many of them have local currencies which are legal tender within the town. If the pioneers of this movement are right in saying that this is the only sustainable model for the future, we may wonder whether mega-cities will be able to survive in the long-term future.²

²https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Degrowth http://commondreams.org/views/2015/07/31/we-are-all-greece http://www.localfutures.org/ http://www.powells.com/biblio/7-9780871566430-2

Rank	Name	Country	Population
1	Tokyo	Japan	38,140,000
2	Shanghai	China	34,000,000
3	Jakarta	Indonesia	31,500,000
4	Delhi	India	27,200,000
5	Seoul	Korea	25,600,000
6	Guangzhou	China	25,000,000
7	Beijing	China	24,900,000
8	Manila	Philippines	24,100,000
9	Mumbai	India	23,900,000
10	New York City	United States	23,876,155
11	Shenzhen	China	23,300,000
12	Sao Paolo	Brazil	21,242,939

Table 5.3: The World's Largest Cities in 2016



Figure 5.14: Totnes, Devon, England: a transition town.

5.9 The threat of a large-scale global famine

Unless efforts are made to stabilize and ultimately reduce global population, there is a serious threat that climate change, population growth, and the end of the fossil fuel era could combine to produce a large-scale famine by the middle of the 21st century.

As glaciers melt in the Himalayas and the Andes, depriving India, China and South America of summer water supplies; as sea levels rise, drowning fertile rice-growing regions of Southeast Asia; as droughts reduce the food production of North America and Southern Europe; as groundwater levels fall in China, India, the Middle East and the United States; and as high-yield modern agriculture becomes less possible because fossil fuel inputs are lacking, the 800 million people who are currently undernourished may not survive at all.

Energy inputs of agriculture

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.

Predictions of drought in the Stern Review

According to a report presented to the Oxford Institute of Economic Policy by Sir Nicholas Stern on 31 January, 2006, areas likely to lose up to 30% of their rainfall by the 2050's because of climate change include much of the United States, Brazil, the Mediterranean region, Eastern Russia and Belarus, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Southern Australia. Meanwhile rainfall is predicted to increase up to 30% in Central Africa, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Siberia, and much of China.

Stern and his team point out that "We can... expect to see changes in the Indian monsoon, which could have a huge impact on the lives of hundreds of millions of people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Most climate models suggest that the monsoon will change, although there is still uncertainty about exactly how. Nevertheless, small changes in the monsoon could have a huge impact. Today, a fluctuation of just 10% in either direction from average monsoon rainfall is known to cause either severe flooding or drought. A weak summer monsoon, for example, can lead to poor harvests and food shortages among the rural population - two-thirds of India's almost 1.1 billion people. Heavier-than-usual monsoon downpours can also have devastating consequences..."

In some regions, melting of glaciers can be serious from the standpoint of dry-season water supplies. For example, melts from glaciers in the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas now supply much of Asia, including China and India, with a dry-season water supply. Complete melting of these glacial systems would cause an exaggerated runoff for a few decades, after which there would be a drying out of some of the most densely populated regions of the world.

Ocean current changes and failure of monsoons

It is expected that climate change will affect ocean currents, and hence also affect monsoon rainfall. We are already experiencing a diversion of the Gulf Stream due to southward currents of cold water from melting ice in the Arctic. This has caused what is known as the *North Atlantic Anomaly*. While most regions of the world are experiencing rising temperatures, the North Atlantic and several northern European countries are exceptions to this rule, and have cooled. Complete failure of the Gulf Stream would lead to much colder temperatures in Europe.

Changes in ocean currents have already lead to the failure of the West African Monsoon, and this has already produced severe food insecurity in West Africa.

In the future, climate-changed ocean currents may lead to failures of monsoons in South-east Asia, and thus damage the food supply of almost two billion people.

Falling water tables around the world

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

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

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

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

5.10 Reforming our food and agricultural systems

The medical journal The Lancet recently published a report which aimed at changing the diets of people throughout the world. The commission which produced the report brought together 37 experts in agriculture, environmental sustainability, human health, and political science from 16 countries. Over three years, they developed the "planetary health diet," which aims to address the global food system's devastating environmental impact as well as mass malnutrition.

"The food we eat and how we produce it determines the health of people and the planet, and we are currently getting this seriously wrong," declared Tim Lang, a co-author of the EAT-Lancet Commission and professor at City, University of London. "We need a significant overhaul, changing the global food system on a scale not seen before in ways appropriate to each country's circumstances."

"To be healthy," he explained, "diets must have an appropriate calorie intake and consist of a variety of plant-based foods, low amounts of animal-based foods, unsaturated rather than saturated fats, and few refined grains, highly processed foods, and added sugars."

"Humanity now poses a threat to the stability of the planet," co-lead commissioner Johan Rockström of the Stockholm Resilience Center told the Guardian. "[This requires] nothing less than a new global agricultural revolution."

Here are some of the commission's recommendations:

- 1. Seek international and national commitment to shift toward healthy diets that feature more plant-based foods - including fruits, vegetables, nuts, seeds, and whole grains and less animal products.
- 2. Reorient agricultural priorities from producing high quantities of food to producing healthy food that nurtures human health and supports environmental sustainability.



Figure 5.15: We should eat more vegetables, fruits, whole grains and nuts, while consuming much less meat and dairy products. Beef is especially damaging to the global environment.

- 3. Sustainably intensify food production to increase high-quality output with a series of reforms that include becoming a net carbon sink from 2040 forward to align with the goals of the Paris climate agreement.
- 4. Strong and coordinated governance of land and oceans, including by implementing a "Half Earth" strategy for biodiversity conservation.
- 5. At least halve food losses and waste, in line with the U.N. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), on both the production side and the consumption side.

Here are some excerpts from a 16 January 2019 article in The Guardian by Damian Cammeron:

Globally, the diet requires red meat and sugar consumption to be cut by half, while vegetables, fruit, pulses and nuts must double. But in specific places the changes are stark. North Americans need to eat 84% less red meat but six times more beans and lentils. For Europeans, eating 77% less red meat and 15 times more nuts and seeds meets the guidelines.

The diet is a "win-win", according to the scientists, as it would save at least 11 million people a year from deaths caused by unhealthy food, while preventing the collapse of the natural world that humanity depends upon. With 10 billion people expected to live on Earth by 2050, a continuation of today's unsustainable diets would inevitably mean even greater health problems and severe global warming.



Unhealthy diets are the leading cause of ill health worldwide, with 800 million people currently hungry, 2 billion malnourished and further 2 billion people overweight or obese. The world's science academies recently concluded that the food system is broken. Industrial agriculture is also devastating the environment, as forests are razed and billions of cattle emit climate-warming methane.

Future agriculture

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 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.



Figure 5.16: Forests are the lungs of our planet. They convert CO_2 into organic material and thus remove it from the atmosphere. It is therefore vitally important to protect existing forests and to plant new ones.



Figure 5.17: Recent research on No-Till Agriculture points to many benefits that could result from this practice, especially higher CO_2 content in the topsoil.

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TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE

Chapter 6

FROM TRIBALISM TO NATIONALISM

6.1 Abolition of war: Insights from the biological sciences

In the long run, because of the terrible weapons that have already been produced through the misuse of science, and because of the even more terrible weapons that are likely to be invented in the future, the only way in which we can ensure the survival of civilization is to abolish the institution of war. But is this possible? Or are the emotions that make war possible so much a part of human nature that we cannot stop humans from fighting any more than we can stop cats and dogs from fighting? Can biological science throw any light on the problem of why our supposedly rational species seems intent on choosing war, pain and death instead of peace, happiness and life? To answer this question, we need to turn to the science of ethology - the study of inherited emotional tendencies and behavior patterns in animals and humans.

In *The Origin of Species*, Charles Darwin devoted a chapter to the evolution of instincts, and he later published a separate book on *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. Because of these pioneering studies, Darwin is considered to be the founder of ethology.

Behind Darwin's work in this field is the observation that instinctive behavior patterns are just as reliably inherited as morphological characteristics. Darwin was also impressed by the fact that within a given species, behavior patterns have some degree of uniformity, and the fact that the different species within a family are related by similarities of instinctive behavior, just as they are related by similarities of bodily form. For example, certain elements of cat-like behavior can be found among all members of the cat family; and certain elements of dog-like or wolf-like behavior can be found among all members of the dog family. On the other hand, there are small variations in instinct among the members of a given species. For example, not all domestic dogs behave in the same way.

"Let us look at the familiar case of breeds of dogs", Darwin wrote in The Origin of



Figure 6.1: Because of Charles Darwin's book "The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals", he is considered to be the founder of the field of Ethology, the study of inherited behavior patterns.

Species, "It cannot be doubted that young pointers will sometimes point and even back other dogs the very first time they are taken out; retrieving is certainly in some degree inherited by retrievers; and a tendency to run round, instead of at, a flock of sheep by shepherd dogs. I cannot see that these actions, performed without experience by the young, and in nearly the same manner by each individual, and without the end being known - for the young pointer can no more know that he points to aid his master than the white butterfly knows why she lays her eggs on the leaf of the cabbage - I cannot see that these actions differ essentially from true instincts..."

"How strongly these domestic instincts habits and dispositions are inherited, and how curiously they become mingled, is well shown when different breeds of dogs are crossed. Thus it is known that a cross with a bulldog has affected for many generations the courage and obstinacy of greyhounds; and a cross with a greyhound has given to a whole family of shepherd dogs a tendency to hunt hares..."

Darwin believed that in nature, desirable variations of instinct are propagated by natural selection, just as in the domestication of animals, favorable variations of instinct are selected and propagated by kennel men and stock breeders. In this way, according to Darwin, complex and highly developed instincts, such as the comb-making instinct of honey-bees, have evolved by natural selection from simpler instincts, such as the instinct by which bumble bees use their old cocoons to hold honey and sometimes add a short wax tube.

In the introduction of his book, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, Darwin says "I thought it very important to ascertain whether the same expressions and gestures prevail, as has often been asserted without much evidence, with all the races of mankind, especially with those who have associated but little with Europeans. Whenever the same movements of the features or body express the same emotions in several distinct races of man, we may infer with much probability, that such expressions are true ones, that is, are innate or instinctive."

To gather evidence on this point, Darwin sent a printed questionnaire on the expression of human emotions and sent it to missionaries and colonial administrators in many parts of the world. There were 16 questions to be answered:

- 1. Is astonishment expressed by the eyes and mouth being opened wide, and by the eyebrows being raised?
- 2. Does shame excite a blush when the colour of the skin allows it to be visible? and especially how low down on the body does the blush extend?
- 3. When a man is indignant or defiant does he frown, hold his body and head erect, square his shoulders and clench his fists?
- 4. When considering deeply on any subject, or trying to understand any puzzle, does he frown, or wrinkle the skin beneath the lower eyelids?

and so on.



Figure 6.2: A dog expressing affection towards its master.

Darwin received 36 replies to his questionnaire, many coming from people who were in contact with extremely distinct and isolated groups of humans. The results convinced him that our emotions and the means by which they are expressed are to a very large extent innate, rather than culturally determined, since the answers to his questionnaire were so uniform and so independent of both culture and race. In preparation for his book, he also closely observed the emotions and their expression in very young babies and children, hoping to see inherited characteristics in subjects too young to have been greatly influenced by culture. Darwin's observations convinced him that in humans, just as in other mammals, the emotions and their expression are to a very large extent inherited universal characteristics of the species.

The study of inherited behavior patterns in animals (and humans) was continued in the 20th century by such researchers as Karl von Frisch (1886-1982), Nikolaas Tinbergen (1907-1988), and Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989), three scientists who shared a Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology in 1973.

Karl von Frisch, the first of the three ethologists who shared the 1973 prize, is famous for his studies of the waggle-dance of honeybees. Bees guide each other to sources of food by a genetically programmed signaling method - the famous waggle dance, deciphered in 1945 by von Frisch. When a worker bee has found a promising food source, she returns to the hive and performs a complex dance, the pattern of which indicates both the direction and distance of the food. The dancer moves repeatedly in a pattern resembling the Greek letter Θ . If the food-discoverer is able to perform her dance on a horizontal flat surface in view of the sun, the line in the center of the pattern points in the direction of the food. However, if the dance is performed in the interior of the hive on a vertical surface, gravity takes the place of the sun, and the angle between the central line and the vertical represents the angle between the food source and the sun. The central part of the dance is, in a way, a re-enactment of the excited forager's flight to the food. As she traverses the central portion of the pattern, she buzzes her wings and waggles her abdomen rapidly, the number of waggles indicating the approximate distance to the food ¹. After this central portion of the dance, she turns alternately to the left or to the right, following one or the other of the semicircles, and repeats the performance. Studies of the accuracy with which her hive-mates follow these instructions show that the waggle dance is able to convey approximately 7 bits of information - 3 bits concerning distance and 4 bits concerning direction. After making his initial discovery of the meaning of the dance, von Frisch studied the waggle dance in many species of bees. He was able to distinguish species-specific dialects, and to establish a plausible explanation for the evolution of the dance.

Among the achievements for which Tinbergen is famous are his classic studies of instinct in herring gulls. He noticed that the newly-hatched chick of a herring gull pecks at the beak of its parent, and this signal causes the parent gull to regurgitate food into the gaping beak of the chick. Tinbergen wondered what signal causes the chick to initiate this response by pecking at the beak of the parent gull. Therefore he constructed a series of models of the parent in which certain features of the adult gull were realistically represented while other features were crudely represented or left out entirely. He found by trial and error that the essential signal to which the chick responds is the red spot on the tip of its parent's beak. Models which lacked the red spot produced almost no response from the young chick, although in other respects they were realistic models; and the red spot on an otherwise crude model would make the chick peck with great regularity.

In other experiments, Tinbergen explored the response of newly-hatched chicks of the common domestic hen to models representing a hawk. Since the chicks were able to recognize a hawk immediately after hatching, he knew that the response must be genetically programmed. Just as he had done in his experiments with herring gulls, Tinbergen experimented with various models, trying to determine the crucial characteristic that was recognized by the chicks, causing them to run for cover. He discovered that a crude model in the shape of the letter T invariable caused the response if pulled across the sky with the wings first and tail last. (Pulled backwards, the T shape caused no response.)

In the case of a newly-hatched herring gull chick pecking at the red spot on the beak of its parent, the program in the chick's brain must be entirely genetically determined, without any environmental component at all. Learning cannot play a part in this behavioral pattern, since the pattern is present in the young chick from the very moment when it breaks out of the egg. On the other hand (Tinbergen pointed out) many behavioral patterns in animals and in man have both an hereditary component and an environmental component. Learning is often very important, but learning seems to be built on a foundation of genetic predisposition.

To illustrate this point, Tinbergen called attention to the case of sheep-dogs, whose remote ancestors were wolves. These dogs, Tinbergen tells us, can easily be trained to

¹The number of waggles is largest when the source of food is near, and for extremely nearby food, the bees use another dance, the "round dance".



Figure 6.3: The red spot on the beak of the parent gull proved to be the crucial signal needed to activate the instinctive response of the chick.



Figure 6.4: Nikolaas Tinbergen (1907-1988) on the left, with Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989). Together with Karl von Frisch (1886-1982) they shared the 1973 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine for their pioneering work in Ethology.



Figure 6.5: Konrad Lorenz with geese who consider him to be their mother.

drive a flock of sheep towards the shepherd. However, it is difficult to train them to drive the sheep away from their master. Tinbergen explained this by saying that the sheep-dogs regard the shepherd as their "pack leader"; and since driving the prey towards the pack leader is part of the hunting instinct of wolves, it is easy to teach the dogs this maneuver. However, driving the prey away from the pack leader would not make sense for wolves hunting in a pack; it is not part of the instinctive makeup of wolves, nor is it a natural pattern of behavior for their remote descendants, the sheep-dogs.

As a further example of the fact that learning is usually built on a foundation of genetic predisposition, Tinbergen mentions the ease with which human babies learn languages. The language learned is determined by the baby's environment; but the astonishing ease with which a human baby learns to speak and understand implies a large degree of genetic predisposition.

The third of the 1973 prizewinners, Konrad Lorenz, is more controversial, but at the same time very interesting in the context of studies of the causes of war and discussions of how war may be avoided. As a young boy, he was very fond of animals, and his tolerant parents allowed him to build up a large menagerie in their house in Altenberg, Austria. Even as a child, he became an expert on waterfowl behavior, and he discovered the phenomenon of imprinting. He was given a one day old duckling, and found, to his intense joy, that it transferred its following response to his person. As Lorenz discovered, young waterfowl have a short period immediately after being hatched, when they identify

as their "mother" whomever they see first. In later life, Lorenz continued his studies of imprinting, and there exists a touching photograph of him, with his white beard, standing waist-deep in a pond, surrounded by an adoring group of goslings who believe him to be their mother. Lorenz also studied bonding behavior in waterfowl.

It is, however, for his controversial book *On Aggression* that Konrad Lorenz is best known. In this book, Lorenz makes a distinction between intergroup aggression and intragroup aggression. Among animals, he points out, rank-determining fights are seldom fatal. Thus, for example, the fights that determine leadership within a wolf pack end when the loser makes a gesture of submission. By contrast, fights between groups of animals are often fights to the death, examples being wars between ant colonies, or of bees against intruders, or the defense of a rat pack against strange rats.

Many animals, humans included, seem willing to kill or be killed in defense of the communities to which they belong. Lorenz calls this behavioral tendency a "communal defense response". He points out that the "holy shiver" - the tingling of the spine that humans experience when performing a heroic act in defense of their communities - is related to the prehuman reflex for raising the hair on the back of an animal as it confronts an enemy - a reflex that makes the animal seem larger than it really is.

Konrad Lorenz and his followers have been criticized for introducing a cathartic model of instincts. According to Lorenz, if an instinct is not used, a pressure for its use builds up over a period of time. In the case of human aggression, according to Lorenz, the nervous energy has to be dissipated in some way, either harmlessly through some substitute for aggression, or else through actual fighting. Thus, for example, Lorenz believed that violent team sports help to reduce the actual level of violence in a society. This conclusion has been challenged by by the distinguished ethologist Prof. R.A. Hinde and by many others in his field who believe that there is no experimental evidence for the cathartic model of aggression.²

Professor Hinde points out that unused instincts tend to atrophy; and he concludes that violent team sports or violence shown on television tend to raise rather than lower the level of harmful violence in a society. Although the cathartic model of aggression is now widely considered to be incorrect (and on this point I certainly agree with Professor Hinde) it seems probable that the communal defense response discussed by Lorenz will prove to be a correct and useful concept. The communal defense mechanism can be thought of as the aspect of human emotions which makes it natural for soldiers to kill or be killed in defense of their countries. In the era before nuclear weapons made war prohibitively dangerous,

²In a 1985 letter to the author, Professor Hinde wrote; "Dear Dr. Avery, I found your pamphlet 'The World as it is and the World as it could be' a very inspiring document, and I hope that it will be widely circulated. But just one comment - amongst the suggestions for further reading you include Konrad Lorenz's 'On Aggression'. The message that comes from this book is that human aggressiveness is inevitably part of our human nature, and we must seek harmless outlets for it. This rests on a cathartic model of human behavior that is outdated. A more appropriate message is that we must find ways of rearing our children so that their propensity to show aggression is reduced, and provide individuals with environments in which any aggressive propensities are not called forth. I'm sure you would agree with this. I hope that you will forgive this slight reservation about what seems to me to be a totally admirable and important statement. With best wishes, Yours sincerely, Robert A. Hinde.

such behavior was considered to be the greatest of virtues.

Generations of schoolboys have learned the Latin motto: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" - it is both sweet and noble to die for one's country. Even in today's world, death in battle in defense of country and religion is still praised by nationalists. However, because of the development of weapons of mass destruction, both nationalism and narrow patriotism have become dangerous anachronisms.

In thinking of violence and war, we must be extremely careful not to confuse the behavioral patterns that lead to wife-beating or bar-room brawls with those that lead to episodes like the trench warfare of the First World War, or to the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first type of aggression is similar to the rank-determining fights of animals, while the second is more akin to the team-spirit exhibited by a football side. Heroic behavior in defense of one's community has been praised throughout the ages, but the tendency to such behavior has now become a threat to the survival of civilization, since tribalism makes war possible, and war with thermonuclear weapons threatens civilization with catastrophe.

In an essay entitled *The Urge to Self-Destruction*³, Arthur Koestler says:

"Even a cursory glance at history should convince one that individual crimes, committed for selfish motives, play a quite insignificant role in the human tragedy compared with the numbers massacred in unselfish love of one's tribe, nation, dynasty, church or ideology... Wars are not fought for personal gain, but out of loyalty and devotion to king, country or cause..."

"We have seen on the screen the radiant love of the Führer on the faces of the Hitler Youth... They are transfixed with love, like monks in ecstasy on religious paintings. The sound of the nation's anthem, the sight of its proud flag, makes you feel part of a wonderfully loving community. The fanatic is prepared to lay down his life for the object of his worship, as the lover is prepared to die for his idol. He is, alas, also prepared to kill anybody who represents a supposed threat to the idol." The emotion described here by Koestler is the same as the communal defense mechanism ("militant enthusiasm") described in biological terms by Lorenz.

In his book *On Aggression*, Konrad Lorenz gives the following description of the emotions of a hero preparing to risk his life for the sake of the group:

"In reality, militant enthusiasm is a specialized form of communal aggression, clearly distinct from and yet functionally related to the more primitive forms of individual aggression. Every man of normally strong emotions knows, from his own experience, the subjective phenomena that go hand in hand with the response of militant enthusiasm. A shiver runs down the back and, as more exact observation shows, along the outside of both arms. One soars elated, above all the ties of everyday life, one is ready to abandon all for the call of what, in the moment of this specific emotion, seems to be a sacred duty. All obstacles in its path become unimportant; the instinctive inhibitions against hurting or killing one's fellows lose, unfortunately, much of their power. Rational considerations, crit-

³in *The Place of Value in a World of Facts*, A. Tiselius and S. Nielsson editors, Wiley, New York, (1970)

icisms, and all reasonable arguments against the behavior dictated by militant enthusiasm are silenced by an amazing reversal of all values, making them appear not only untenable, but base and dishonorable.

Men may enjoy the feeling of absolute righteousness even while they commit atrocities. Conceptual thought and moral responsibility are at their lowest ebb. As the Ukrainian proverb says: 'When the banner is unfurled, all reason is in the trumpet'."

"The subjective experiences just described are correlated with the following objectively demonstrable phenomena. The tone of the striated musculature is raised, the carriage is stiffened, the arms are raised from the sides and slightly rotated inward, so that the elbows point outward. The head is proudly raised, the chin stuck out, and the facial muscles mime the 'hero face' familiar from the films. On the back and along the outer surface of the arms, the hair stands on end. This is the objectively observed aspect of the shiver!"

"Anybody who has ever seen the corresponding behavior of the male chimpanzee defending his band or family with self-sacrificing courage will doubt the purely spiritual character of human enthusiasm. The chimp, too, sticks out his chin, stiffens his body, and raises his elbows; his hair stands on end, producing a terrifying magnification of his body contours as seen from the front. The inward rotation of the arms obviously has the purpose of turning the longest-haired side outward to enhance the effect. The whole combination of body attitude and hair-raising constitutes a bluff. This is also seen when a cat humps its back, and is calculated to make the animal appear bigger and more dangerous than it really is. Our shiver, which in German poetry is called a 'heiliger Schauer', a 'holy' shiver, turns out to be the vestige of a prehuman vegetative response for making a fur bristle which we no longer have. To the humble seeker for biological truth, there cannot be the slightest doubt that human militant enthusiasm evolved out of a communal defense response of our prehuman ancestor."

Lorenz goes on to say, "An impartial visitor from another planet, looking at man as he is today - in his hand the atom bomb, the product of his intelligence - in his heart the aggression drive, inherited from his anthropoid ancestors, which the same intelligence cannot control - such a visitor would not give mankind much chance of survival."

There are some semantic difficulties connected with discussions of the parts of human nature that make war possible. In one of the passages quoted above, Konrad Lorenz speaks of "militant enthusiasm", which he says is both a form of communal aggression and also a communal defense response. In their inspiring recent book *War No More*, Professor Robert Hinde and Sir Joseph Rotblat use the word "duty" in discussing the same human emotional tendencies. I will instead use the word "tribalism".

I prefer the word "tribalism" because from an evolutionary point of view the human emotions involved in war grew out of the territorial competition between small tribes during the formative period when our ancestors were hunter-gatherers on the grasslands of Africa. Members of tribe-like groups are bound together by strong bonds of altruism and loyalty. Echos of these bonds can be seen in present-day family groups, in team sports, in the fellowship of religious congregations, and in the bonds that link soldiers to their army comrades and to their nation.

Warfare involves not only a high degree of aggression, but also an extremely high degree

of altruism. Soldiers kill, but they also sacrifice their own lives. Thus patriotism and duty are as essential to war as the willingness to kill. As Arthur Koestler points out, "Wars are not fought for personal gain, but out of loyalty and devotion to king, country or cause..."

Tribalism involves passionate attachment to one's own group, self-sacrifice for the sake of the group, willingness both to die and to kill if necessary to defend the group from its enemies, and belief that in case of a conflict, one's own group is always in the right.

6.2 Population genetics

If we examine altruism and aggression in humans, we notice that members of our species exhibit great altruism towards their own children. Kindness towards close relatives is also characteristic of human behavior, and the closer the biological relationship is between two humans, the greater is the altruism they tend to show towards each other. This profile of altruism is easy to explain on the basis of Darwinian natural selection since two closely related individuals share many genes and, if they cooperate, the genes will be more effectively propagated.

To explain from an evolutionary point of view the communal defense mechanism discussed by Lorenz - the willingness of humans to kill and be killed in defense of their communities - we have only to imagine that our ancestors lived in small tribes and that marriage was likely to take place within a tribe rather than across tribal boundaries. Under these circumstances, each tribe would tend to consist of genetically similar individuals. The tribe itself, rather than the individual, would be the unit on which the evolutionary forces of natural selection would act. The idea of group selection in evolution was proposed in the 1930's by J.B.S. Haldane and R.A. Fischer, and more recently it has been discussed by W.D. Hamilton and E.O. Wilson.

According to the group selection model, a tribe whose members showed altruism towards each other would be more likely to survive than a tribe whose members cooperated less effectively. Since several tribes might be in competition for the same territory, intertribal aggression might, under some circumstances, increase the chances for survival of one's own tribe. Thus, on the basis of the group selection model, one would expect humans to be kind and cooperative towards members of their own group, but at the same time to sometimes exhibit aggression towards members of other groups, especially in conflicts over territory. One would also expect intergroup conflicts to be most severe in cases where the boundaries between groups are sharpest - where marriage is forbidden across the boundaries.



Figure 6.6: Sir Ronald Aylmer Fischer (1890-1962). Together with J.B.S Haldane he pioneered the theory of population genetics. Recent contributions to this theory have been made by W.D. Hamilton and E.O. Wilson.

6.3 Formation of group identity

Although humans originally lived in small, genetically homogeneous tribes, the social and political groups of the modern world are much larger, and are often multiracial and multiethnic.

There are a number of large countries that are remarkable for their diversity, for example Brazil, Argentina and the United States. Nevertheless it has been possible to establish social cohesion and group identity within each of these enormous nations. India and China too, are mosaics of diverse peoples, but nevertheless, they function as coherent societies. Thus we see that group identity is a social construction, in which artificial "tribal markings" define the boundaries of the group. These tribal markings will be discussed in more detail below.

One gains hope for the future by observing how it has been possible to produce both internal peace and social cohesion over very large areas of the globe - areas that contain extremely diverse populations. The difference between making large, ethnically diverse countries function as coherent sociopolitical units and making the entire world function as a unit is not very great.

Since group identity is a social construction, it is not an impossible goal to think of enlarging the already-large groups of the modern world to include all of humanity.

6.4 Religion and ethnic identity

For the hominids that formed a bridge between present-day humans and the common ancestor of ourselves and the anthropoid apes, culture included not only rudimentary language, but also skills such as methods of tool-making and weapon making.

An acceleration of human cultural development seems to have begun approximately 70,000 years ago. The first art objects date from that period, as do migrations that ultimately took modern man across the Bering Strait to the western hemisphere. A land bridge extending from Siberia to Alaska is thought to have been formed approximately 70,000 years ago, disappearing again roughly 10,000 years before the present. Cultural and genetic studies indicate that migrations from Asia to North America took place during this period. Shamanism,⁴ which is found both in Asia and the new world, as well as among the Sami (Lapps) of northern Scandinavia, is an example of the cultural links between the hunting societies of these regions.

Before the acceleration of human cultural development just mentioned, genetic change and cultural change went hand in hand, but during the last 70,000 years, the constantly accelerating rate of information-accumulation and cultural evolution has increasingly outdistanced the rate of genetic change in humans. Genetically we are almost identical with

⁴A shaman is a special member of a hunting society who, while in a trance, is thought to be able pass between the upper world, the present world, and the lower world, to cure illnesses, and to insure the success of a hunt.

our hunter-gatherer ancestors of 70,000 years ago, but cultural evolution has changed our way of life beyond recognition.

Humans are capable of cultural evolution because it is so easy to overwrite and modify our instinctive behavior patterns with learned behavior. Within the animal kingdom, humans are undoubtedly the champions in this respect. No other species is so good at learning as we are. During the early stages of cultural evolution, the tendency of humans to be religious may have facilitated the overwriting of instinctive behavior with the culture of the tribe. Since religions, like languages, are closely associated with particular cultures, they serve as marks of ethnic identity.

6.5 Tribal markings; ethnicity; pseudospeciation

In biology, a species is defined to be a group of mutually fertile organisms. Thus all humans form a single species, since mixed marriages between all known races will produce children, and subsequent generations in mixed marriages are also fertile. However, although there is never a biological barrier to marriages across ethnic and racial boundaries, there are often very severe cultural barriers.

Irenäus Eibl-Ebesfeldt, a student of Konrad Lorenz, introduced the word *pseudospeciation* to denote cases where cultural barriers between two groups of humans are so strongly marked that marriages across the boundary are difficult and infrequent. In such cases, he pointed out, the two groups function as though they were separate species, although from a biological standpoint this is nonsense. When two such groups are competing for the same land, the same water, the same resources, and the same jobs, the conflicts between them can become very bitter indeed. Each group regards the other as being "not truly human".

In his book *The Biology of War and Peace*, Eibl-Eibesfeldt discusses the "tribal markings" used by groups of humans to underline their own identity and to clearly mark the boundary between themselves and other groups. One of the illustrations in the book shows the marks left by ritual scarification on the faces of the members of certain African tribes. These scars would be hard to counterfeit, and they help to establish and strengthen tribal identity. Seeing a photograph of the marks left by ritual scarification on the faces of African tribesmen, it is impossible not to be reminded of the dueling scars that Prussian army officers once used to distinguish their caste from outsiders.

Surveying the human scene, one can find endless examples of signs that mark the bearer as a member of a particular group - signs that can be thought of as "tribal markings": tattoos; piercing; bones through the nose or ears; elongated necks or ears; filed teeth; Chinese binding of feet; circumcision, both male and female; unique hair styles; decorations of the tongue, nose, or naval; peculiarities of dress, fashions, veils, chadors, and headdresses; caste markings in India; use or nonuse of perfumes; codes of honor and value systems; traditions of hospitality and manners; peculiarities of diet (certain foods forbidden, others preferred); giving traditional names to children; knowledge of dances and songs; knowledge of recipes; knowledge of common stories, literature, myths, poetry or common history;



Figure 6.7: Scars help to establish tribal identity

festivals, ceremonies, and rituals; burial customs, treatment of the dead and ancestor worship; methods of building and decorating homes; games and sports peculiar to a culture; relationship to animals, knowledge of horses and ability to ride; nonrational systems of belief. Even a baseball hat worn backwards or the professed ability to enjoy atonal music can mark a person as a member of a special "tribe". Undoubtedly there many people in New York who would never think of marrying someone who could not appreciate the the paintings of Jasper Johns, and many in London who would consider anyone had not read all the books of Virginia Wolfe to be entirely outside the bounds of civilization.

By far the most important mark of ethnic identity is language, and within a particular language, dialect and accent. If the only purpose of language were communication, it would be logical for the people of a small country like Denmark to stop speaking Danish and go over to a more universally-understood international language such as English. However, language has another function in addition to communication: It is also a mark of identity. It establishes the boundary of the group.

Within a particular language, dialects and accents mark the boundaries of subgroups. For example, in England, great social significance is attached to accents and diction, a tendency that George Bernard Shaw satirized in his play, *Pygmalion*, which later gained greater fame as the musical comedy, *My Fair Lady*. This being the case, we can ask why all citizens of England do not follow the example of Eliza Doolittle in Shaw's play, and improve their social positions by acquiring Oxford accents. However, to do so would be to run the risk of being laughed at by one's peers and regarded as a traitor to one's own local community and friends. School children everywhere can be very cruel to any child who does not fit into the local pattern. At Eton, an Oxford accent is compulsory; but in a Yorkshire school, a child with an Oxford accent would suffer for it.



Figure 6.8: An example of the dueling scars that Prussian army officers once used to distinguish their caste from outsiders.

Next after language, the most important "tribal marking" is religion. As mentioned above, it seems probable that in the early history of our hunter-gatherer ancestors, religion evolved as a mechanism for perpetuating tribal traditions and culture. Like language, and like the innate facial expressions studied by Darwin, religion is a universal characteristic of all human societies. All known races and cultures practice some sort of religion. Thus a tendency to be religious seems to be built into human nature, or at any rate, the needs that religion satisfies seem to be a part of our inherited makeup. Otherwise, religion would not be so universal as it is.

Religion is often strongly associated with ethnicity and nationalism, that is to say, it is associated with the demarcation of a particular group of people by its culture or race. For example, the Jewish religion is associated with Zionism and with Jewish nationalism. Similarly Islam is strongly associated with Arab nationalism. Christianity too has played an important role in in many aggressive wars, for example in the Crusades, in the European conquest of the New World, in European colonial conquests in Africa and Asia, and in the wars between Catholics and Protestants within Europe. We shall see in a later chapter how the originators of the German nationalist movement (the precursors of the Nazis), used quasi-religious psychological methods.

Human history seems to be saturated with blood. It would be impossible to enumerate the conflicts with which the story of humankind is stained. Many of the atrocities of history have involved what Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt called "pseudospeciation", that is to say, they were committed in conflicts involving groups between which sharply marked cultural barriers have made intermarriage difficult and infrequent. Examples include the present conflict between Israelis and Palestinians; "racial cleansing" in Kosovo; the devastating wars between Catholics and Protestants in Europe; the Lebanese civil war; genocide committed against Jews and Gypsies during World War II; recent genocide in Rwanda; current intertribal massacres in the Ituri Provence of Congo; use of poison gas against Kurdish civilians by Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq; the massacre of Armenians by Turks; massacres of Hindus by Muslims and of Muslims by Hindus in post-independence India; massacres of Native Americans by white conquerors and settlers in all parts of the New World; and massacres committed during the Crusades. The list seems almost endless.

Religion often contributes to conflicts by sharpening the boundaries between ethnic groups and by making marriage across those boundaries difficult and infrequent. However, this negative role is balanced by a positive one, whenever religion is the source of ethical principles, especially the principle of universal human brotherhood.

The religious leaders of today's world have the opportunity to contribute importantly to the solution of the problem of war. They have the opportunity to powerfully support the concept of universal human brotherhood, to build bridges between religious groups, to make intermarriage across ethnic boundaries easier, and to soften the distinctions between communities. If they fail to do this, they will have failed humankind at a time of crisis.

6.6 The mystery of self-sacrifice in war

Warfare involves not only a high degree of aggression, but also an extremely high degree of altruism. Soldiers kill, but they also sacrifice their own lives. Thus patriotism and duty are as essential to war as the willingness to kill.

Tribalism involves passionate attachment to one's own group, self-sacrifice for the sake of the group, willingness both to die and to kill if necessary to defend the group from its enemies, and belief that in case of a conflict, one's own group is always in the right. Unfortunately these emotions make war possible; and today a Third World War might lead to the destruction of civilization.

At first sight, the willingness of humans to die defending their social groups seems hard to explain from the standpoint of Darwinian natural selection. After the heroic death of such a human, he or she will be unable to produce more children, or to care for those already born. Therefore one might at first suppose that natural selection would work strongly to eliminate the trait of self-sacrifice from human nature. However, the theory of population genetics and group selection can explain both the willingness of humans to sacrifice themselves for their own group, and also the terrible aggression that they sometimes exhibit towards competing groups. It can explain both intra-group altruism and inter-group aggression.

6.7 Fischer, Haldane, Hamilton and Wilson

The idea of group selection in evolution was proposed in the 1930's by J.B.S. Haldane and R.A. Fischer, and more recently it has been discussed by W.D. Hamilton and E.O. Wilson.

If we examine altruism and aggression in humans, we notice that members of our species exhibit great altruism towards their own children. Kindness towards close relatives is also characteristic of human behavior, and the closer the biological relationship is between two humans, the greater is the altruism they tend to show towards each other. This profile of altruism is easy to explain on the basis of Darwinian natural selection since two closely related individuals share many genes and, if they cooperate, the genes will be more effectively propagated.

To explain from an evolutionary point of view the communal defense mechanism - the willingness of humans to kill and be killed in defense of their communities - we have only to imagine that our ancestors lived in small tribes and that marriage was likely to take place within a tribe rather than across tribal boundaries. Under these circumstances, each tribe would tend to consist of genetically similar individuals. The tribe itself, rather than the individual, would be the unit on which the evolutionary forces of natural selection would act.

According to the group selection model, a tribe whose members showed altruism towards each other would be more likely to survive than a tribe whose members cooperated less effectively. Since several tribes might be in competition for the same territory, successful aggression against a neighboring group could increase the chances for survival of one's own tribe. Thus, on the basis of the group selection model, one would expect humans to be kind and cooperative towards members of their own group, but at the same time to sometimes exhibit aggression towards members of other groups, especially in conflicts over territory. One would also expect intergroup conflicts to be most severe in cases where the boundaries between groups are sharpest - where marriage is forbidden across the boundaries.

6.8 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.

6.9 Trading in primitive societies

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

The invention of writing was prompted by the necessities of trade. In prehistoric Mesopotamia, clay tokens marked with simple symbols were used for accounting as early as 8,000 BC. Often these tokens were kept in clay jars, and symbols on the outside of the jars indicated the contents. About 3,500 BC, the use of such tokens and markings led to the development of pictographic writing in Mesopotamia, and this was soon followed by the cuneiform script, still using soft clay as a medium. The clay tablets were later dried and baked to ensure permanency. The invention of writing led to a great acceleration of human cultural evolution. Since ideas could now be exchanged and preserved with great ease through writing, new advances in technique could be shared by an ever larger cooperating community of humans. Our species became more and more successful as its genius

for cooperation developed.

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

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

6.10 Interdependence in modern human society

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

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

The achievements of modern society are achievements of cooperation. We can fly, but no one builds an airplane alone. We can cure diseases, but only through the cooperative efforts of researchers, doctors and medicinal firms. We can photograph and understand distant galaxies, but the ability to do so is built on the efforts of many cooperating individuals. The comfort and well-being that we experience depends on far-away friendly hands and minds, since trade is global, and the exchange of ideas is also global.

6.11 Two sides of human nature

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

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

6.12 Tribalism and agreed-upon lies

Members of tribelike groups throughout history have marked their identity by adhering to irrational systems of belief. Like the ritual scarification which is sometimes used by primitive tribes as a mark of identity, irrational systems of belief are also a mark of tribal identity. We parade these beliefs to demonstrate that we belong to a special group and that we are proud of it. The more irrational the belief is, the better it serves this purpose. When you and I tell each other that we believe the same nonsense, a bond is forged between us. The worse the nonsense is, the stronger the bond.

Sometimes motives of advantage are mixed in. As the Nobel Laureate biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi observed, evolution designed the human mind, not for finding truth, but for finding advantage. Within the Orwellian framework of many modern nations, it is extremely disadvantageous to hold the wrong opinions. The wiretappers know what you are thinking.

Also, people often believe what will make them happy. How else can we explain the denial of climate change in the face of massive evidence to the contrary?

But truth has the great virtue that it allows us to accurately predict the future. If we ignore truth because it is unfashionable, or painful, or heretical, the future will catch us unprepared.

6.13 From tribalism to nationalism

70,000 years ago, our hunter-gatherer ancestors lived in tribes. Loyalty to the tribe was natural for our ancestors, as was collective work on tribal projects. Today, at the start of the 21st century, we live in nation-states to which we feel emotions of loyalty very similar to the tribal emotions of our ancestors.

The enlargement of the fundamental political and social unit has been made necessary and possible by improved transportation and communication, and by changes in the techniques of warfare. In Europe, for example, the introduction of canons in warfare made it possible to destroy castles, and thus the power of central monarchs was increased at the expense of feudal barons. At the same time, improved roads made merchants wish to trade freely over larger areas. Printing allowed larger groups of people to read the same books and newspapers, and thus to experience the same emotions. Therefore the size of the geographical unit over which it was possible to establish social and political cohesion became enlarged.

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

In this chapter, we will discuss nationalism in Europe, and especially the conflicts between absolutely sovereign nation-states that led to the two World Wars. However, it is important to remember that parallel to this story, run others, equally tragic - conflicts in the Middle East, the Vietnam War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, conflicts between India and Pakistan, the Korean War, the two Gulf Wars, and so on. In all of these tragedies, the root the trouble is that international interdependence exists in practice because of modern technology, but our political institutions, emotions and outlook are at the stunted level of the absolutely sovereign nation-state. Although we focus here on German nationalism as an example, and although historically it had terrible consequences, it is not a danger today. Germany is now one of the world's most peaceful and responsible countries, and the threats to world peace now come from nationalism outside Europe.

6.14 Nationalism in Europe

There is no doubt that the founders of nationalism in Europe were idealists; but the movement that they created has already killed more than sixty million people in two world wars, and today it contributes to the threat of a catastrophic third world war.

Nationalism in Europe is an outgrowth of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the Romantic Movement. According to the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the ideas of the French Revolution, no government is legitimate unless it derives its power from the will of the people. Speaking to the Convention of 1792, Danton proclaimed that "by sending us here as deputies, the French Nation has brought into being a grand committee for the general insurrection of peoples."

Since all political power was now believed to be vested in the "nation", the question of national identity suddenly became acutely important. France itself was a conglomeration of peoples - Normans, Bretons, Provencaux, Burgundians, Flemings, Germans, Basques, and Catalans - but these peoples had been united under a strong central government since the middle ages, and by the time of the French Revolution it was easy for them to think of themselves as a "nation". However, what we now call Germany did not exist. There was only a collection of small feudal principalities, in some of which the most common language was German.

The early political unity of France enabled French culture to dominate Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries. Frederick the Great of Prussia and his court spoke and wrote in French. Frederick himself regarded German as a language of ignorant peasants, and on the rare occasions when he tried to speak or write in German, the result was almost incomprehensible. The same was true in the courts of Brandenburg, Saxony, Pomerania, etc. Each of them was a small-scale Versailles. Below the French-speaking aristocracy was a German-speaking middle class and a German or Slavic-speaking peasantry.

The creators of the nationalist movement in Germany were young middle-class Germanspeaking students and theologians who felt frustrated and stifled by the narrow *kleinstädtisch* provincial atmosphere of the small principalities in which they lived. They also felt frustrated because their talents were completely ignored by the French-speaking aristocracy. This was the situation when the armies of Napoleon marched across Europe, easily defeating and humiliating both Prussia and Austria. The young German-speaking students asked themselves what it was that the French had that they did not have.

The answer was not hard to find. What the French had was a sense of national identity. In fact, the French Revolution had unleashed long-dormant tribal instincts in the common people of France. It was the fanatical support of the Marseillaise-singing masses that made the French armies invincible. The founders of the German nationalist movement concluded that if they were ever to have a chance of defeating France, they would have to inspire the same fanaticism in their own peoples. They would have to touch the same almost-forgotten cord of human nature that the French Revolution had touched.

The common soldiers who fought in the wars of Europe in the first part of the 18th century were not emotionally involved. They were recruited from the lowest ranks of society, and they joined the army of a king or prince for the sake of money. All this was changed by the French Revolution. In June, 1792, the French Legislative Assembly decreed that a Fatherland Alter be erected in each commune with the inscription, "The citizen is born, lives and dies for *la patrie*." The idea of a "Fatherland Alter" clearly demonstrates the quasi-religious nature of French nationalism.

The soldiers in Napoleon's army were not fighting for the sake of money, but for an ideal that they felt to be larger and more important than themselves - Republicanism and the glory of France. The masses, who for so long had been outside of the politics of a larger world, and who had been emotionally involved only in the affairs of their own village, were now fully aroused to large-scale political action. The surge of nationalist feeling in France was tribalism on an enormous scale - tribalism amplified and orchestrated by new means of mass communication.



Figure 6.9: A portrait of Napoleon (as he liked to see himself).



Figure 6.10: A romantic figure representing Germany

This was the phenomenon with which the German nationalists felt they had to contend. One of the founders of the German nationalist movement was Johan Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), a follower of the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Besides rejecting objective criteria for morality, Fichte denied the value of the individual. According to him, the individual is nothing and the state is everything. Denying the value of the individual, Fichte compared the state to an organism of which the individual is a part:

"In a product of nature", Fichte wrote, "no part is what it is but through its relation to the whole, and it would absolutely not be what it is apart from this relation; more, if it had no organic relation at all, it would be absolutely nothing, since without reciprocity in action between organic forces maintaining one another in equilibrium, no form would subsist... Similarly, man obtains a determinate position in the scheme of things and a fixity in nature only through his civil association... Between the isolated man and the citizen there is the same relation as between raw and organized matter... In an organized body, each part continuously maintains the whole, and in maintaining it, maintains itself also. Similarly the citizen with regard to the State."

Another post-Kantian, Adam Müller (1779-1829) wrote that "the state is the intimate association of all physical and spiritual needs of the whole nation into one great, energetic, infinitely active and living whole... the totality of human affairs... If we exclude for ever from this association even the most unimportant part of a human being, if we separate private life from public life even at one point, then we no longer perceive the State as a phenomenon of life and as an idea."

The doctrine that Adam Müller sets forth in this passage is what we now call Totali-

tarianism, i.e. the belief that the state ought to encompass "the totality of human affairs". This doctrine is the opposite of the Liberal belief that the individual is all-important and that the role of the state ought to be as small as possible.

Fichte maintains that "a State which constantly seeks to increase its internal strength is forced to desire the gradual abolition of all favoritisms, and the establishment of equal rights for all citizens, in order that it, the State itself, may enter upon its own true right to apply the whole surplus power of all its citizens without exception to the furtherance of its own purposes... Internal peace, and the condition of affairs in which everyone may by diligence earn his daily bread... is only a means, a condition and framework for what love of Fatherland really wants to bring about, namely that the Eternal and the Divine may blossom in the world and never cease to become more pure, perfect and excellent."

Fichte proposed a new system of education which would abolish the individual will and teach individuals to become subservient to the will of the state. "The new education must consist essentially in this", Fichte wrote, "that it completely destroys the will in the soil that it undertakes to cultivate... If you want to influence a man at all, you must do more than merely talk to him; you must fashion him, and fashion him, and fashion him in such a way that he simply cannot will otherwise than you wish him to will."

Fichte and Herder (1744-1803) developed the idea that language is the key to national identity. They believed that the German language is superior to French because it is an "original" language, not derived from Latin. In a poem that is obviously a protest against the French culture of Frederick's court in Prussia, Herder wrote:

"Look at other nationalities! Do they wander about So that nowhere in the world they are strangers Except to themselves? They regard foreign countries with proud disdain. And you, German, alone, returning from abroad, Wouldst greet your mother in French? Oh spew it out before your door! Spew out the ugly slime of the Seine! Speak German, O you German!

Another poem, "The German Fatherland", by Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860), expresses a similar sentiment:

"What is the Fatherland of the German? Name me the great country! Where the German tongue sounds And sings *Lieder* in God's praise, That's what it ought to be Call that thine, valiant German! That is the Fatherland of the German, Where anger roots out foreign nonsense, Where every Frenchman is called enemy, Where every German is called friend, That's what it ought to be! It ought to be the whole of Germany!"

It must be remembered that when these poems were written, the German nation did not exist except in the minds of the nationalists. Groups of people speaking various dialects of German were scattered throughout central and eastern Europe. In many places, the German-speaking population was a minority. To bring together these scattered Germanspeaking groups would require, in many cases, the conquest and subjugation of Slavic majorities; but the quasi-religious fervor of the nationalists was such that aggression took on the appearance of a "holy war". Fichte believed that war between states introduces "a living and progressive principle into history". By war he did not mean a decorous limited war of the type fought in the 18th century, but "...a true and proper war - a war of subjugation!"

The German nationalist movement was not only quasi-religious in its tone; it also borrowed psychological techniques from religion. It aroused the emotions of the masses to large-scale political activity by the use of semi-religious political liturgy, involving myth, symbolism, and festivals. In his book "German Society" (1814), Arndt advocated the celebration of "holy festivals". For example, he thought that the celebration of the pagan festival of the summer solstice could be combined with a celebration of the victory over Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig.

Arndt believed that special attention should be given to commemoration of the "noble dead" of Germany's wars for, as he said, "…here history enters life, and life becomes part of history". Arndt advocated a combination of Christian and pagan symbolism. The festivals should begin with prayers and a church service; but in addition, the Oak leaves and the sacred flame of ancient pagan tradition were to play a part.

In 1815, many of Arndt's suggestions were followed in the celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. This festival clearly exhibited a mixing of secular and Christian elements to form a national cult. Men and women decorated with oak leaves made pilgrimages to the tops of mountains, where they were addressed by priests speaking in front of alters on which burned "the sacred flame of Germany's salvation". This borrowing of psychological techniques from religion was deliberate, and it was retained by the Nazi Party when the latter adopted the methods of the early German nationalists. The Nazi mass rallies retained the order and form of Protestant liturgy, including hymns, confessions of



Figure 6.11: Celebration of the "German May" at Hambrach Castle

faith, and responses between the leader and the congregation.⁵

In 1832, the first mass meeting in German history took place, when 32,000 men and women gathered to celebrate the "German May". Singing songs, wearing black, red, and gold emblems, and carrying flags, they marched to Hambrach Castle, where they were addressed by their leaders.

By the 1860's the festivals celebrating the cult of nationalism had acquired a definite form. Processions through a town, involving elaborate national symbolism, were followed by unison singing by men's choirs, patriotic plays, displays by gymnasts and sharp-shooters, and sporting events. The male choirs, gymnasts and sharp-shooters were required to wear uniforms; and the others attending the festivals wore oak leaves in their caps. The cohesion of the crowd was achieved not only by uniformity of dress, but also by the space in which the crowd was contained. Arndt advocated the use of a "sacred space" for mass meetings. The idea of the "sacred space" was taken from Stonehenge, which was seen by the nationalists as a typical ancient Germanic meeting place. The Nazi art historian Hubert Schrade wrote: "The space which urges us to join the community of the *Volk* is of greater importance than the figure which is meant to represent the Fatherland."

Dramas were also used to promote a feeling of cohesion and national identity. An example of this type of propagandist drama is Kleist's play, "Hermann's Battle", (1808). The play deals with a Germanic chieftain who, in order to rally the tribes against the Romans, sends his own men, disguised as Roman soldiers, to commit atrocities in the neighboring German villages. At one point in the play, Hermann is told of a Roman soldier

 $^{^{5}}$ The Nazi sacred symbols and the concept of the swastika or "gamma cross", the eagle, the red/black/white color scheme, the ancient Nordic runes (one of which became the symbol of the SS), were all adopted from esoteric traditions going back centuries, shared by Brahmins, Scottish Masons, Rosicrutians, the Knights Templars and other esoteric societies.

who risked his own life to save a German child in a burning house. Hearing this report, Hermann exclaims, "May he be cursed if he has done this! He has for a moment made my heart disloyal; he has made me for a moment betray the august cause of Germany!... I was counting, by all the gods of revenge, on fire, loot, violence, murder, and all the horrors of unbridled war! What need have I of Latins who use me well?"

At another point in the play, Hermann's wife, Thusnelda, tempts a Roman Legate into a romantic meeting in a garden. Instead of finding Thusnelda, the Legate finds himself locked in the garden with a starved and savage she-bear. Standing outside the gate, Thusnelda urges the Legate to make love to the she-bear, and, as the bear tears him to pieces, she faints with pleasure.

Richard Wagner's dramas were also part of the nationalist movement. They were designed to create "an unending dream of sacred *völkisch* revelation". No applause was permitted, since this would disturb the reverential atmosphere of the cult. A new type of choral theater was developed which "...no longer represented the fate of the individual to the audience, but that which concerns the community, the *Volk*... Thus, in contrast to the bourgeois theater, private persons are no longer represented, but only types."

We have primarily been discussing the growth of German nationalism, but very similar movements developed in other countries throughout Europe and throughout the world. Characteristic for all these movements was the growth of state power, and the development of a reverential, quasi-religious, attitude towards the state. Patriotism became "a sacred duty." According to Georg Wilhelm Fredrich Hegel, "The existence of the State is the movement of God in the world. It is the ultimate power on earth; it is its own end and object. It is an ultimate end that has absolute rights against the individual."

Nationalism in England (as in Germany) was to a large extent a defensive response against French nationalism. At the end of the 18th century, the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment were widespread in England. There was much sympathy in England with the aims of the French Revolution, and a similar revolution almost took place in England. However, when Napoleon landed an army in Ireland and threatened to invade England, there was a strong reaction towards national self-defense. The war against France gave impetus to nationalism in England, and military heros like Wellington and Nelson became objects of quasi-religious worship. British nationalism later found an outlet in colonialism.

Italy, like Germany, had been a collection of small principalities, but as a reaction to the other nationalist movements sweeping across Europe, a movement for a united Italy developed. The conflicts between the various nationalist movements of Europe produced the frightful world wars of the 20th century. Indeed, the shot that signaled the outbreak of World War I was fired by a Serbian nationalist.

War did not seem especially evil to the 18th and 19th century nationalists because technology had not yet given humanity the terrible weapons of the 20th century. In the 19th century, the fatal combination of space-age science and stone-age politics still lay in the future. However, even in 1834, the German writer Heinrich Heine was perceptive enough to see the threat:

"There will be", Heine wrote, "Kantians forthcoming who, in the world to come, will



Figure 6.12: Wagner's dramas were part of the quasi-religious cult of German nationalism.



Figure 6.13: A painting from Francisco de Goya's series on the *Disasters of War*.



Figure 6.14: Y no hay remedio (And it cannot be helped). Prisoners executed by firing squads, reminiscent of The Third of May 1808, from Goya's series on the *Disasters of War*.



Figure 6.15: Goya's Enterrar y callar (Bury them and keep quiet). Atrocities, starvation and human degradation.



Figure 6.16: One of a series of prints which the German artist Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945) made as a protest against the atrocities of World War I.



Figure 6.17: Another anti-war print by Käthe Kollwitz.


Figure 6.18: Never Again War by Käthe Kollwitz.



Figure 6.19: Never Again War (poster) by Käthe Kollwitz.



Figure 6.20: About Mothers and Children by Käthe Kollwitz.

know nothing of reverence for aught, and who will ravage without mercy, and riot with sword and axe through the soil of all European life to dig out the last root of the past. There will be well-weaponed Fichtians upon the ground, who in the fanaticism of the Will are not restrained by fear or self-advantage, for they live in the Spirit."

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Chapter 7

THE THREATS AND COSTS OF WAR

7.1 The training of soldiers

Within individual countries, murder is rightly considered to be the worst of crimes. But the institution of war tries to convince us that if a soldier murders someone from another country, whom the politicians have designated as an "enemy", it is no longer a crime, no longer a violation of the common bonds of humanity. It is "heroic".

In their hearts, soldiers know that this is nonsense. Murder is always murder. The men, women and children who are supposed to be the "enemy", are just ordinary people, with whom the soldier really has no quarrel. Therefore when the training of soldiers wears off a little, so that they realize what they have done, they have to see themselves as murderers, and many commit suicide.

A recent article in the journal "Epidemiology" pointed out a startling statistic: for every American soldier killed in combat this year, 25 will commit suicide. The article also quotes the Department of Veterans Affairs, which says that 18 veterans commit suicide every day.

Obviously, the training of soldiers must overwrite fundamental ethical principles. This training must make a soldier abandon his or her individual conscience and sense of responsibility. It must turn the soldier from a compassionate human being into an automaton, a killing machine. How is this accomplished? Through erosion of of the soldier's self-respect. Through the endless repetition of senseless rituals where obedience is paramount and from which rational thought and conscience are banished.

In his book on fanaticism, The True Believer (1951), the American author Eric Hoffer gives the following description of the factors promoting self-sacrifice:

"To ripen a person for self-sacrifice, he must be stripped of his individual identity. He must cease to be George, Hans, Ivan or Tado - a human atom with an existence bounded by birth and death. The most drastic way to achieve this end is by the complete assimilation of the individual into a collective body. The fully assimilated individual does not see himself

and others as human beings. When asked who he is, his automatic response is that he is a German, a Russian, a Japanese, a Christian, a Muslim, a member of a certain tribe or family. He has no purpose, worth or destiny apart from his collective body, and as long as that body lives, he cannot really die. ..."

"The effacement of individual separateness must be thorough. In every act, however trivial, the individual must, by some ritual, associate himself with the congregation, the tribe, the party, etcetera. His joys and sorrows, his pride and confidence must spring from the fortunes and capacities of the group, rather than from his individual prospects or abilities. Above all, he must never feel alone. Though stranded on a desert island, he must feel that he is under the eyes of the group. To be cast out from the group must be equivalent to being cut off from life."

"This is undoubtedly a primitive state of being, and its most perfect examples are found among primitive tribes. Mass movements strive to approximate this primitive perfection, and we are not imagining things when the anti-individualist bias of contemporary mass movements strikes us as being a throwback to the primitive."

The conditioning of a soldier in a modern army follows the pattern described in Eric Hoffer's book. The soldier's training aims at abolishing his sense of individual separateness, individual responsibility, and moral judgment. It is filled with rituals, such as saluting, by which the soldier identifies with his tribe-like army group. His uniform also helps to strip him of his individual identity and to assimilate him into the group. The result of this psychological conditioning is that the soldier's mind reverts to a primitive state. He surrenders his moral responsibility, and when the politicians tell him to kill, he kills.

7.2 Killing civilians

Between 2 September and 5 September, 1807, the civilian population of Copenhagen was subjected to a bombardment by British military forces, without any declaration of war. The purpose of the bombardment was to induce terror in the population, and to thereby force the surrender of the Danish fleet, which the British feared might otherwise fall into the hands of Napoleon. It was one of the first occasions on which civilians were deliberately targeted in this manner.

Copenhagen was almost undefended, since the Danish army was positioned at the southern boundary of the country, ready to repel a possible attack by Napoleon's army. British troops and artillery were thus easily able to surround the city, while the British fleet occupied the harbor. On the first night of the bombardment, 5000 rounds were fired into the city, on the second night 2000, and on the third night 7000. New incendiary rockets developed by William Congreve were also used. More than 2000 civilians were killed by the bombardment, and about 30 percent of Copenhagen's buildings were destroyed. The bicentenary of this barbaric event might be an appropriate time to think about state-sponsored terror, in which innocent civilians are deliberately targeted.

7.2. KILLING CIVILIANS



Figure 7.1: Contemporary Danish painting of the bombardment at night.



Figure 7.2: An illustration by Eckersberg of the Church of Our Lady being bombarded.

7.2. KILLING CIVILIANS



Figure 7.3: *The Most Terrible Night*. View of Kongens Nytorv in Copenhagen During the English Bombardment of Copenhagen at Night between 4 and 5 September 1807.

The erosion of ethical principles during World War II

When Hitler invaded Poland in September, 1939, US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appealed to Great Britain, France, and Germany to spare innocent civilians from terror bombing. "The ruthless bombing from the air of civilians in unfortified centers of population during the course of the hostilities", Roosevelt said (referring to the use of air bombardment during World War I) "...has sickened the hearts of every civilized man and woman, and has profoundly shocked the conscience of humanity." He urged "every Government which may be engaged in hostilities publicly to affirm its determination that its armed forces shall in no event, and under no circumstances, undertake the bombardment from the air of civilian populations or of unfortified cities."

Two weeks later, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain responded to Roosevelt's appeal with the words: "Whatever the lengths to which others may go, His Majesty's Government will never resort to the deliberate attack on women and children and other civilians for purposes of mere terrorism."

Much was destroyed during World War II, and among the casualties of the war were the ethical principles that Roosevelt and Chamberlain announced at its outset. At the time of Roosevelt and Chamberlain's declarations, terror bombing of civilians had already begun in the Far East. On 22 and 23 September, 1937, Japanese bombers attacked civilian populations in Nanjing and Canton. The attacks provoked widespread protests. The British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Cranborne, wrote: "Words cannot express the feelings of profound horror with which the news of these raids has been received by the whole civilized world. They are often directed against places far from the actual area of hostilities. The military objective, where it exists, seems to take a completely second place. The main object seems to be to inspire terror by the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians..."

On the 25th of September, 1939, Hitler's air force began a series of intense attacks on Warsaw. Civilian areas of the city, hospitals marked with the Red Cross symbol, and fleeing refugees all were targeted in a effort to force the surrender of the city through terror. On the 14th of May, 1940, Rotterdam was also devastated. Between the 7th of September 1940 and the 10th of May 1941, the German Luftwaffe carried out massive air attacks on targets in Britain. By May, 1941, 43,000 British civilians were killed and more than a million houses destroyed.

Although they were not the first to start it, by the end of the war the United States and Great Britain were bombing of civilians on a far greater scale than Japan and Germany had ever done. For example, on July 24-28, 1943, British and American bombers attacked Hamburg with an enormous incendiary raid whose official intention "the total destruction" of the city.

The result was a firestorm that did, if fact, lead to the total destruction of the city. One airman recalled, that "As far as I could see was one mass of fire. 'A sea of flame' has been the description, and that's an understatement. It was so bright that I could read the target maps and adjust the bomb-sight." Another pilot was "...amazed at the awe-inspiring sight of the target area. It seemed as though the whole of Hamburg was on fire from one



Figure 7.4: Picasso's famous painting *Guernica* was a protest following the Nazi bombing of civilians in a Basque town,

end to the other and a huge column of smoke was towering well above us - and we were on 20,000 feet! It all seemed almost incredible and, when I realized that I was looking at a city with a population of two millions, or about that, it became almost frightening to think of what must be going on down there in Hamburg."

Below, in the burning city, temperatures reached 1400 degrees Fahrenheit, a temperature at which lead and aluminum have long since liquefied. Powerful winds sucked new air into the firestorm. There were reports of babies being torn by the high winds from their mothers' arms and sucked into the flames. Of the 45,000 people killed, it has been estimated that 50 percent were women and children and many of the men killed were elderly, above military age. For weeks after the raids, survivors were plagued by "...droves of vicious rats, grown strong by feeding on the corpses that were left unburied within the rubble as well as the potatoes and other food supplies lost beneath the broken buildings."

The German cities Kassel, Pforzheim, Mainz, Dresden and Berlin were similarly destroyed, and in Japan, US bombing created firestorms in many cities, for example Tokyo, Kobe and Yokohama. In Tokyo alone, incendiary bombing caused more than 100,000 civilian casualties.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

On August 6, 1945, at 8.15 in the morning, a nuclear fission bomb was exploded in the air over the civilian population of Hiroshima in an already virtually defeated Japan. The force of the explosion was equivalent to fifteen thousand tons of TNT. Out of a city of two hundred and fifty thousand, one hundred thousand were killed immediately, and another





hundred thousand were hurt. Many of the injured died later from radiation sickness. A few days later, Nagasaki was similarly destroyed.

The tragic destruction of the two Japanese cities was horrible enough in itself, but it also marked the start of a nuclear arms race that continues to cast a very dark shadow over the future of civilization. Not long afterwards, the Soviet Union exploded its own atomic bomb, creating feelings of panic in the United States. President Truman authorized an all-out effort to build superbombs based on thermonuclear reactions, the reactions that heat the sun and stars.

In March, 1954, the US tested a thermonuclear bomb at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific Ocean. It was 1000 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb. The Japanese fishing boat, Lucky Dragon, was 135 kilometers from the Bikini explosion, but radioactive fallout

from the explosion killed one crew member and made all the others seriously ill. The distance to the Marshall Islands was equally large, but even today, islanders continue to suffer from the effects of fallout from the test, for example frequent birth defects.

Driven by the paranoia of the Cold War, the number of nuclear weapons on both sides reached truly insane heights. At the worst point, there were 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world, with a total explosive power roughly a million times the power of the Hiroshima bomb. This was equivalent to 4 tons of TNT for every person on the planet - enough to destroy human civilization many times over - enough to threaten the existence of all life on earth.

At the end of the Cold War, most people heaved a sigh of relief and pushed the problem of nuclear weapons away from their minds. It was a threat to life too horrible to think about. People felt that they could do nothing in any case, and they hoped that the problem had finally disappeared.

Today, however, many thoughtful people realize that the problem of nuclear weapons has by no means disappeared, and in some ways it is even more serious now than it was during the Cold War. There are still over 15,000 nuclear weapons in the world, many of them hydrogen bombs, many on hair-trigger alert, ready to be fired with only a few minutes warning. The world has frequently come extremely close to accidental nuclear war. If nuclear weapons are allowed to exist for a long period of time, the probability for such a catastrophic accident to happen will grow into a certainty.

Current dangers also come from proliferation. Recently, more and more nations have come to possess nuclear weapons, and thus the danger that they will be used increases. For example, if Pakistan's less-than-stable government should fall, its nuclear weapons might find their way into the hands of terrorists, and against terrorism deterrence has no effect.

Thus we live at a special time in history - a time of crisis for civilization. We did not ask to be born at a moment of crisis, but such is our fate. Every person now alive has a special responsibility: We owe it, both to our ancestors and to future generations, to build a stable and cooperative future world. It must be a war-free world, from which nuclear weapons have been completely abolished. No person can achieve these changes alone, but together we can build the world that we desire. This will not happen through inaction, but it can happen through the dedicated work of large numbers of citizens.

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

7.3 The direct and indirect costs of war

The costs of war, both direct and indirect, are so enormous that they are almost beyond comprehension. We face a direct threat because a thermonuclear war may destroy human civilization and much of the biosphere, and an indirect threat because the institution of war interferes seriously with the use of tax money for constructive and peaceful purposes. Today, despite the end of the Cold War, the world spends roughly 2 trillion (i.e. 2 million million) US dollars each year on armaments. This colossal flood of money could have been used instead for education, famine relief, development of infrastructure, or on urgently needed public health measures.

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

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

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

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

7.4 Medical and psychological consequences; loss of life

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

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

Civilian casualties often occur through malnutrition and through diseases that would

be preventable in normal circumstances. Because of the social disruption caused by war, normal supplies of food, safe water and medicine are interrupted, so that populations become vulnerable to famine and epidemics.¹

7.5 Effects of war on children

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

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

Even when they are not killed or wounded by conflicts, children often experience painful psychological traumas: the violent death of parents or close relatives, separation from their families, seeing family members tortured, displacement from home, disruption of ordinary life, exposure to shelling and other forms of combat, starvation and anxiety about the future.²

7.6 Refugees

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

In 2001, 78% of all refugees came from ten areas: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa, Eritrea, Iraq, the Palestinian territories, Somalia and Sudan. A quarter of all refugees are Palestinians, who make up the world's oldest and largest refugee population. 45% of the world's refugees have found sanctuaries in Asia, 30% in Africa, 19% in Europe and 5% in North America.

Refugees who have crossed an international border are in principle protected by Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which affirms their right "to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution". In 1950 the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was created to implement Article 14, and in 1951 the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted by the UN. By 2002 this legally binding

 $^{^{1}} http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-identify-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons-article/volume-2-part-3/lessons$

http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/27201-the-leading-terrorist-state

²http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2080482/

treaty had been signed by 140 nations. However the industrialized countries have recently adopted a very hostile and restrictive attitude towards refugees, subjecting them to arbitrary arrests, denial of social and economic rights, and even forcible return to countries in which they face persecution.

The status of internally displaced persons is even worse than that of refugees who have crossed international borders. In many cases the international community simply ignores their suffering, reluctant to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. In fact, the United Nations Charter is self-contradictory in this respect, since on the one hand it calls for non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, but on the other hand, people everywhere are guaranteed freedom from persecution by the Charter's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.³

7.7 Damage to infrastructure

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

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

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

In general, because war has such a catastrophic effect on infrastructure, it can be thought of as the opposite of development. War is the greatest generator of poverty.⁴

7.8 Ecological damage

Warfare during the 20th century has not only caused the loss of 175 million lives (primarily civilians) - it has also caused the greatest ecological catastrophes in human history. The damage takes place even in times of peace. Studies by Joni Seager, a geographer at the

³https://www.hrw.org/topic/refugees

⁴https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2002/11/iraq-n04.html

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

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

University of Vermont, conclude that "a military presence anywhere in the world is the single most reliable predictor of ecological damage".

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

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

Radioactive fallout from nuclear tests pollutes the global environment and causes many thousands of cases of cancer, as well as birth abnormalities. Most nuclear tests have been carried out on lands belonging to indigenous peoples. Agent Orange also produced cancer, birth abnormalities and other serious forms of illness both in the Vietnamese population and among the foreign soldiers fighting in Vietnam⁵

7.9 Links between poverty and war

There are several relationships between intolerable economic inequality and war. Today 2.7 billion people live on less than 2 dollars a day - 1.1 billion on less than 1 dollar per day. 18 million of our fellow humans die each year from poverty-related causes. In 2006, 1.1 billion people lacked safe drinking water, and waterbourne diseases killed an estimated 1.8 million people. The developing countries are also the scene of a resurgence of other infectious diseases, such as malaria, drug-resistant tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.

Meanwhile, in 2011, world military budgets reached 2,00,000,000,000 dollars (i.e. 2 million million dollars). This amount of money is almost too large to be imagined. The fact that it is being spent means that many people are making a living from the institution of war. Wealthy and powerful lobbies from the military-industrial complex are able to influence mass media and governments. Thus the institution of war persists, although we know very well that it is a threat to civilization and that it responsible for much of the suffering that humans experience.

Today's military spending of almost two trillion US dollars per year would be more than enough to finance safe drinking water for the entire world, and to bring primary health care and family planning advice to all. If used constructively, the money now wasted (or worse

⁵http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2401378/Agent-Orange-Vietnamese-children-suffering-effects-herbicide-sprayed-US-Army-40-years-ago.html

than wasted) on the institution of war could also help the world to make the transition from fossil fuel use to renewable energy systems.

Military might is used by powerful industrialized nations to maintain economic hegemony over less developed countries. This is true today, even though the colonial era is supposed to be over (as has been amply documented by Professor Michael Klare in his books on "Resource Wars").

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

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

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

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

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

There is also another, less obvious, link between intolerable economic inequality war: Abolition of the institution of war will require the replacement of "might makes right" by the rule international law. It will require development of effective global governance. But reform and strengthening of the United Nations is blocked by wealthy countries because they are afraid of loosing their privileged positions. If global economic inequality were less enormous, the problem of unifying the world would be simplified.

Let us work to break the links between poverty and war! To do that, we must work for laws that will restrict the international sale of small arms; we must work for a fair relationship between developing countries and multinational corporations; and above all, we must question the need for colossal military budgets. By following this path we can free the world from the intolerable suffering caused by poverty and from the equally intolerable suffering caused by war.

7.10 The threat of nuclear war

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

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

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

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

We can perhaps be helped to imagine what a nuclear catastrophe means in human terms by reading the words of a young university professor, who was 2,500 meters from the hypocenter at the time of the bombing of Hiroshima: "Everything I saw made a deep impression: a park nearby covered with dead bodies... very badly injured people evacuated in my direction... Perhaps most impressive were girls, very young girls, not only with their clothes torn off, but their skin peeled off as well. ... My immediate thought was that this was like the hell I had always read about. ... I had never seen anything which resembled it before, but I thought that should there be a hell, this was it."

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

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

In 1985, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War received the Nobel Peace Prize. IPPNW had been founded in 1980 by six physicians, three from the Soviet Union and three from the United States. Today, the organization has wide membership among the world's physicians. Professor Bernard Lowen of the Harvard School of Public Health, one of the founders of IPPNW, said in a recent speech:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"...A smaller war, which set off fewer fires and put less dust into the atmosphere, could easily depress temperatures enough to essentially cancel grain production in the northern hemisphere. That in itself would be the greatest catastrophe ever delivered upon Homo Sapiens, just that one thing, not worrying about prompt effects. Thus even below the threshold, one cannot think of survival of a nuclear war as just being able to stand up after the bomb has gone off."⁶

http://www.commondreams.org/views/2015/08/06/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-remembering-power of the state of the s

⁶http://www.voanews.com/content/pope-francis-calls-for-nuclear-weapons-ban/2909357.html http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrence

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7.10. THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR

Speaking to the Conference on Disarmament at the U.N. complex in Geneva, Guterres said many states still wrongly thought that nuclear weapons made the world safer.

"There is great and justified anxiety around the world about the threat of nuclear war," he said.

"Countries persist in clinging to the fallacious idea that nuclear arms make the world safer ... At the global level, we must work towards forging a new momentum on eliminating nuclear weapons."

World War II: a continuation of World War I

In the Second World War, the number of soldiers killed was roughly the same as in World War I, but the numbers of civilian deaths was much larger. In the USSR alone, about 20 million people are thought to have been killed, directly or indirectly, by World War II, and of these only 7.5 million were battle deaths. Many of the USSR's civilian deaths were caused by starvation, disease or exposure. Civilian populations also suffered greatly in the devastating bombings of cities such as London, Coventry, Rotterdam, Warsaw, Dresden, Cologne, Berlin, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In World War II, the total number of deaths, civilian and military, is estimated to have been between 62 and 78 million.

Do Benjamin Netanyahu and Ehud Barak, who are contemplating starting what might develop into World War III, have any imaginative concept of what it would be like? Netanyahu has told the Israeli people that only 500 of their citizens would be killed, and that the conflict would be over in a month. One is reminded of the Austrian leaders in 1914, who started a what they thought would be a small action to punish the Serbian nationalists for their Pan-Slavic ambitions. When the result was a world-destroying war, they said "That is not what we intended." Of course it is not what they intended, but nobody can control the escalation of conflicts. The astonishing unrealism of the Netanyahu-Barak

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

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

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

statements also reminds one of Kaiser Wilhelm's monumentally unrealistic words to his departing troops: "You will be home before the leaves are off the trees."

The planned attack on Iran would not only violate international law, but would also violate common sense and the wishes of the people of Israel. The probable result would be a massive Iranian missile attack on Tel Aviv, and Iran would probably also close the Straits of Hormuz. If the United States responded by bombing Iranian targets, Iran would probably use missiles to sink one or more of the US ships in the Persian Gulf. One can easily imagine other steps in the escalation of the conflict: a revolution in Pakistan; the entry of nuclear-armed Pakistan into the war on the side of Iran; a preemptive nuclear strike by Israel against Pakistan's nuclear weapons; and Chinese-Russian support of Iran. In the tense atmosphere of such a war, the danger of a major nuclear exchange, due to accident or miscalculation, would be very great.

Today, because the technology of killing has continued to develop, the danger of a catastrophic war with hydrogen bombs hangs like a dark cloud over the future of human civilization. The total explosive power of today's weapons is equivalent to roughly half a million Hiroshima bombs. To multiply the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by a factor of half a million changes the danger qualitatively. What is threatened today is the complete breakdown of human society.

There are more than 15,000 nuclear weapons in the world today, about 4,000 of them on hair-trigger alert. The phrase "hair trigger alert" means that the person in charge has only 15 minutes to decide whether the warning from the radar system was true of false, and to decide whether or not to launch a counterattack. The danger of accidental nuclear war continues to be high. Technical failures and human failures have many times brought the world close to a catastrophic nuclear war. Those who know the system of "deterrence" best describe it as "an accident waiting to happen".

No one can win a nuclear war, just as no one can win a natural catastrophe like an earthquake or a tsunami. The effects of a nuclear war would be global, and all the nations of the world would suffer - also neutral nations.

Recent studies by atmospheric scientists have shown that the smoke from burning cities produced by even a limited nuclear war would have a devastating effect on global agriculture. The studies show that the smoke would rise to the stratosphere, where it would spread globally and remain for a decade, blocking sunlight, blocking the hydrological cycle and destroying the ozone layer. Because of the devastating effect on global agriculture, darkness from even a small nuclear war could result in an estimated billion deaths from famine. This number corresponds to the fact that today, a billion people are chronically undernourished. If global agriculture were sufficiently damaged by a nuclear war, these vulnerable people might not survive. A large-scale nuclear war would be an even greater global catastrophe, completely destroying all agriculture for a period of ten years.

The tragedies of Chernobyl and Fukushima remind us that a nuclear war would make large areas of the world permanently uninhabitable because of long-lasting radioactive contamination.

The First World War was a colossal mistake. Today, the world stands on the threshold of an equally enormous disaster. Must we again be lead into a world-destroying war by a


few blind individuals who do not have the slightest idea of what such a war would be like?

7.11 Atoms for peace?

"Atoms for Peace", the title of U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1953 speech to the U.N. General Assembly, may be regarded by future generations as being tragically self-contradictory. Nuclear power generation has led not only to dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons, but also to disasters which have made large areas of the world permanently uninhabitable because of long-lived radioactive contamination.

According to Wikipedia, "...Under Atoms for Peace related programs, the US exported 25 tons of highly enriched uranium to 30 countries, mostly to fuel research reactors....The Soviet Union also exported 11 tons of HEU under a similar program." This enormous quantity of loose weapons-usable highly enriched uranium, is now regarded as very worrying because of proliferation and terrorism risks.

A recent article in "The Examiner" (http://www.examiner.com/article/nuclear-securityu-s-fails-to-protect-its-nuclear-materials-overseas) pointed out that "...NRC and DOE could not account for the current location and disposition of U.S. HEW overseas in response to a 1992 congressional mandate. U.S. agencies, in a 1993 report produced in response to the mandate, were able to verify the location of only 1.160 kilograms out of 17,500 kilograms of U.S. HEW estimated to have been exported."

The dangers of nuclear power generation are exemplified by the Chernobyl disaster: On the 26th of April, 1986, during the small hours of the morning, the staff of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in Ukraine turned off several safety systems in order to perform a test. The result was a core meltdown in Reactor 4, causing a chemical explosion that blew off the reactor's 1,000-ton steel and concrete lid. 190 tons of highly radioactive uranium and graphite were hurled into the atmosphere.

The resulting radioactive fallout was 200 times greater than that caused by the nuclear bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The radioactive cloud spread over Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Finland, Sweden and Eastern Europe, exposing the populations of these regions to levels of radiation 100 times the normal background. Ultimately, the radioactive cloud reached as far as Greenland and parts of Asia.

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

The more recent disaster of 11 March, 2011, may prove to be very much worse than Chernobyl. According to an article by Harvey Wasserman

(http://www.commondreams.org/view/2014/02/03-3),

the ongoing fallout from the Fukushima catastrophe is already far in excess of that from Chernobyl. Ecosystems of the entire Pacific ocean are being contaminated by the 300 tons of radioactive water from Fukushima.that continue to pour into the Pacific every day.

Meanwhile, the increasingly militaristic government of Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has passed a State Secrets Act that makes it an offense punishable by 5 year's imprisonment for journalists to report on the situation. Under this cloak of secrecy, attempts are being made to remove highly radioactive used fuel rods balanced precariously in a partially destroyed container hanging in the air above the stricken Unit Four. If an accident should occur, the released radioactivity could dwarf previous disasters.

Public opinion turned against nuclear power generation as a result of the Chernobyl and Fukushima catastrophes. Nevertheless, many governments insist on pushing forward their plans for opening new nuclear power plants, despite popular opposition. Nuclear power could never compete in price with solar energy or wind energy if it were not heavily subsidized by governments. Furthermore, if a careful accounting is made of the CO2 released in the construction of nuclear power plants, the mining, refining and transportation of uranium ore, and the final decommissioning of the plants, the amount of CO2 released is seen to be similar to that of coal-fired plants.

There are three basic reasons why nuclear power generation is is one of the worst ideas ever conceived: First is the danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons, which will be



discussed in detail below. Secondly, there is the danger of catastrophic accidents, such as the ones that occurred at Chernobyl and Fukushima. Finally, the problem of how to safely dispose of or store used fuel rods has not been solved.

In thinking about the dangers posed by radioactive waste, we should remember that many of the dangerous radioisotopes involved have half-lives of hundreds of thousands of years. Thus, it is not sufficient to seal them in containers that will last for a century, or even a millennium. We must find containers that will last for a hundred thousand years or more, longer than any human structure has ever lasted.

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

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

A paper published in 1939 by Niels Bohr and John A. Wheeler indicated that it was the rare isotope of uranium, U-235, that undergoes fission. A bomb could be constructed,



J. SMITH & N. A. BERESFORD CHERNOBYL: CATASTROPHE AND CONSEQUENCES (PRAXIS, CHICHESTER, 2005)







Figure 7.5: People evacuated from the region near to Fukushima wonder when they will be able to return to their homes. The honest answer is "never".

they pointed out, if enough highly enriched U-235 could be isolated from the more common isotope, U-238 Calculations later performed in England by Otto Frisch and Rudolf Peierls showed that the "critical mass" of highly enriched uranium needed is quite small: only a few kilograms.

The Bohr-Wheeler theory also predicted that an isotope of plutonium, Pu-239, should be just as fissionable as U-235. Both U-235 and Pu-239 have odd nucleon numbers. When U-235 absorbs a neutron, it becomes U-236, while when Pu-239 absorbs a neutron it becomes Pu-240. In other words, absorption of a neutron converts both these species to nuclei with even nucleon numbers.

According to the Bohr-Wheeler theory, nuclei with even nucleon numbers are especially tightly-bound. Thus absorption of a neutron converts U-235 to a highly-excited state of U-236, while Pu-239 is similarly converted to a highly excited state of Pu-240. The excitation energy distorts the nuclei to such an extent that fission becomes possible. Instead of trying to separate the rare isotope, U-235, from the common isotope, U-238, physicists could just operate a nuclear reactor until a sufficient amount of Pu-239 accumulated, and then separate it out by ordinary chemical means.

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

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

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

Nuclear power generation is not a solution to the problem of obtaining energy without producing dangerous climate change: Known reserves of uranium are only sufficient for the generation of about 25 terawatt-years of electrical energy (Craig, J.R., Vaugn, D.J. and Skinner, B.J., "Resources of the Earth: Origin, Use and Environmental Impact, Third Edition", page 210). This can be compared with the world's current rate of energy use of over 14 terrawatts. Thus, if all of our energy were obtained from nuclear power, existing reserves of uranium would only be sufficient for about 2 years.

It is sometimes argued that a larger amount of electricity could be obtained from the



Figure 7.6: Radioactive contamination from the Fukushima disaster is spreading through the food chain of marine life throughout the Pacific region.

same amount of uranium through the use of fast breeder reactors, but this would involve totally unacceptable proliferation risks. In fast breeder reactors, the fuel rods consist of highly enriched uranium. Around the core, is an envelope of natural uranium. The flux of fast neutrons from the core is sufficient to convert a part of the U-238 in the envelope into Pu-239, a fissionable isotope of plutonium.

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

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

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



Figure 7.7: The Israeli nuclear technician and whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu called public attention to Israel's nuclear weapons while on a trip to England. He was lured to Italy by a Mossad "honey trap", where he was drugged, kid-napped and transported to Israel by Mossad.



Figure 7.8: Vanunu was imprisoned for 18 years, during 11 of which he was held in solitary confinement and subjected to psychological torture, such as not being allowed to sleep for long periods.

7.11. ATOMS FOR PEACE?

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

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

Pakistan's efforts to obtain nuclear weapons were spurred by India's 1974 "peaceful nuclear explosion". As early as 1970, the laboratory of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, (a metallurgist who was to become Pakistan's leading nuclear bomb maker) had been able to obtain from a Dutch firm the high-speed ultracentrifuges needed for uranium enrichment. With unlimited financial support and freedom from auditing requirements, Dr. Khan purchased restricted items needed for nuclear weapon construction from companies in Europe and the United States. In the process, Dr. Khan became an extremely wealthy man. With additional help from China, Pakistan was ready to test five nuclear weapons in 1998.

The Indian and Pakistani nuclear bomb tests, conducted in rapid succession, presented the world with the danger that these devastating weapons would be used in the conflict over Kashmir. Indeed, Pakistan announced that if a war broke out using conventional weapons, Pakistan's nuclear weapons would be used "at an early stage".

In Pakistan, Dr. A.Q. Khan became a great national hero. He was presented as the person who had saved Pakistan from attack by India by creating Pakistan's own nuclear weapons. In a Washington Post article (1 February, 2004) Pervez Hoodbhoy wrote: "Nuclear nationalism was the order of the day as governments vigorously promoted the bomb as the symbol of Pakistan's high scientific achievement and self-respect..." Similar manifestations of nuclear nationalism could also be seen in India after India's 1998 bomb tests.

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

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

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

bomb (of the Nagasaki type) from this material.

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

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

The slogan "Atoms for Peace" has proved to be such a misnomer that it would be laughable if it were not so tragic. Nuclear power generation has been a terrible mistake. We must stop before we turn our beautiful earth into a radioactive wasteland.

7.12 Cancer threat from radioactive leaks at Hanford

On August 9, 1945, a nuclear bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Nagasaki. Within a radius of one mile, destruction was total. People were vaporized so that the only shadows on concrete pavements were left to show where they had been. Many people outside the radius of total destruction were trapped in their collapsed houses, and were burned alive by the fire that followed. By the end of 1945, an estimated 80,000 men, women, young children, babies and old people had died as a result of the bombing. As the years passed more people continued to die from radiation sickness.

Plutonium for the bomb that destroyed Nagasaki had been made at an enormous nuclear reactor station located at Hanford in the state of Washington. During the Cold War, the reactors at Hanford produced enough weapons-usable plutonium for 60,000 nuclear weapons. The continued existence of plutonium and highly-enriched uranium-235 in the stockpiles of nuclear weapons states hangs like a dark cloud over the future of humanity. A full scale thermonuclear war would be the ultimate ecological catastrophe, threatening to make the world permanently uninhabitable.

Besides playing a large role in the tragedy of Nagasaki, the reactor complex at Hanford has damaged the health of many thousands of Americans. The prospects for the future are even worse. Many millions of gallons of radioactive waste are held in Hanford's aging storage tanks, the majority of which have exceeded their planned lifetimes. The following quotations are taken from a Wikipedia article on Hanford, especially the section devoted to ecological concerns: "A huge volume of water from the Columbia River was required to dissipate the heat produced by Hanford's nuclear reactors. From 1944 to 1971, pump systems drew cooling water from the river and, after treating this water for use by the reactors, returned it to the river. Before being released back into the river, the used water was held in large tanks known as retention basins for up to six hours. Longer-lived isotopes were not affected by this retention, and several tetrabecquerels entered the river every day. These releases were kept secret by the federal government. Radiation was later measured downstream as far west as the Washington and Oregon coasts."

"The plutonium separation process also resulted in the release of radioactive isotopes into the air, which were carried by the wind throughout southeastern Washington and into parts of Idaho, Montana, Oregon and British Colombia. Downwinders were exposed to radionuclide's, particularly Iodine 131... These radionuclide's filtered into the food chain via contaminated fields where dairy cows grazed; hazardous fallout was ingested by communities who consumed the radioactive food and drank the milk. Most of these airborne releases were a part of Hanford's routine operations, while a few of the larger releases occurred in isolated incidents."

"In response to an article in the Spokane Spokesman Review in September 1985, the Department of Energy announced its intent to declassify environmental records and in February, 1986 released to the public 19,000 pages of previously unavailable historical documents about Hanford's operations. The Washington State Department of Health collaborated with the citizen-led Hanford Health Information Network (HHIN) to publicize data about the health effects of Hanford's operations. HHIN reports concluded that residents who lived downwind from Hanford or who used the Columbia River downstream were exposed to elevated doses of radiation that placed them at increased risk for various cancers and other diseases."

"The most significant challenge at Hanford is stabilizing the 53 million U.S. Gallons (204,000 m3) of high-level radioactive waste stored in 177 underground tanks. About a third of these tanks have leaked waste into the soil and groundwater. As of 2008, most of the liquid waste has been transferred to more secure double-shelled tanks; however, 2.8 million U.S. Gallons (10,600 m3) of liquid waste, together with 27 million U.S. gallons (100,000 m3) of salt cake and sludge, remains in the single-shelled tanks. That waste was originally scheduled to be removed by 2018. The revised deadline is 2040. Nearby aquifers contain an estimated 270 billion U.S. Gallons (1 billion m3) of contaminated groundwater as a result of the leaks. As of 2008, 1 million U.S. Gallons (4,000 m3) of highly radioactive waste is traveling through the groundwater toward the Columbia River."

The documents made public in 1986 revealed that radiation was intentionally and secretly released by the plant and that people living near to it acted as unknowing guinea pigs in experiments testing radiation dangers. Thousands of people who live in the vicinity of the Hanford Site have suffered an array of health problems including thyroid cancers, autoimmune diseases and reproductive disorders that they feel are the direct result of these releases and experiments.

In thinking about the dangers posed by leakage of radioactive waste, we should remember that many of the dangerous radioisotopes involved have half-lives of hundreds of thousands of years. Thus, it is not sufficient to seal them into containers that will last for a century or even a millennium. We must find containers that will last for a hundred thousand years or more, longer than any human structure has ever lasted. This logic has lead Finland to deposit its radioactive waste in a complex of underground tunnels carved out of solid rock. But looking ahead for a hundred thousand years involves other problems: If humans survive for that long, what language will they speak? Certainly not the languages of today. How can we warn them that the complex of tunnels containing radioactive waste is a death trap? The reader is urged to see a film exploring these problems, "Into Eternity", by the young Danish film-maker Michael Madsen. Here is the link: http://dotsub.com/view/8e40ebda-5966-4212-9b96-6abbce3c6577.

We have already gone a long way towards turning our beautiful planet earth into a nuclear wasteland. In the future, let us be more careful, as guardians of a precious heritage, the natural world and the lives of all future generations.

7.13 An accident waiting to happen

In Stanley Kubrick's film, "Dr. Strangelove", a paranoid ultra-nationalist brigadier general, Jack D. Ripper, orders a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union because he believes that the Soviets are using water fluoridation as a means to rob Americans of their "precious bodily fluids". Efforts are made to recall the US bombers, but this proves to be impossible, and the attack triggers the Soviet "Doomsday Machine". The world is destroyed.

Kubrick's film is a black comedy, and we all laugh at it, especially because of the brilliant performance of Peter Sellers in multiple roles. Unfortunately, however, the film comes uncomfortably close to reality. An all-destroying nuclear war could very easily be started by an insane or incompetent person whose hand happens to be on the red button.

This possibility (or probability) has recently come to public attention through newspaper articles revealing that 11 of the officers responsible for launching US nuclear missiles have been fired because of drug addiction. Furthermore, a larger number of missile launch officers were found to be cheating on competence examinations. Three dozen officers were involved in the cheating ring, and some reports state that an equal number of others may have known about it., and remained silent. Finally, it was shown that safety rules were being deliberately ignored. The men involved, were said to be "burned out".

According to an article in The Guardian (Wednesday, 15 January, 2014), "Revelations of misconduct and incompetence in the nuclear missile program go back at least to 2007, when six nuclear-tipped cruise missiles were accidentally loaded onto a B-52 bomber in Minot, North Dakota, and flown to a base in Louisiana."

"Last March, military inspectors gave officers at the ICBM base in Minot the equivalent of a 'D' grade for launch mastery. \hat{A} A month later, 17 officers were stripped of their authority to launch the missiles."

"In October, a senior air force officer in charge of 450 ICBM's, major general Michael Carey, was fired after accusations of drunken misconduct during a summer trip to Moscow.

7.13. AN ACCIDENT WAITING TO HAPPEN



Figure 7.9: Peter Sellers (left) listens while Brigadier General Jack D. Ripper tells him about the Soviet conspiracy to steal his "precious bodily fluids".

An internal investigation A found A that Carey drank heavily, cavorted with two foreign women and visited a nightclub called La Cantina, where Maj. Gen. Carey had alcohol and kept trying to get the band to let him play with them."

The possibility that a catastrophic nuclear war could be triggered by a madman gains force from the recent statements of Benjamin Netanyahu, who has said repeatedly that, with or without US help, Israel intends to attack Iran. Such an attack, besides being a war crime, would be literally insane.

If Netanyahu believes that a war with Iran would be short or limited, he is ignoring several very obvious dangers. Such a war would most probably escalate into a widespread general war in the Middle East. It could cause a revolution in Pakistan, and the new revolutionary government of Pakistan would be likely to enter the war on the side of Iran, bringing with it Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Russia and China, both staunch allies of Iran, might be drawn into the conflict. There is a danger that the conflict could escalate into a Third World War, where nuclear weapons might easily be used, either by accident or intentionally.

China could do grave economic damage to the United States through its large dollar holdings. Much of the world's supply of petroleum passes through the Straits of Hormuz, and a war in the region could greatly raise the price of oil, triggering a depression that might rival or surpass the Great Depression of the 1920's and 1930's. \hat{A}

The probability of a catastrophic nuclear war occurring by accident is made greater by the fact that several thousand nuclear weapons are kept on "hair-trigger alert" with a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by an error in evaluating a signal on a radar screen.



Figure 7.10: Peter Sellers as Dr. Strangelove. He has to restrain his black-gloved crippled hand, which keeps trying to give a Nazi salute.



Figure 7.11: General Buck Turgidson (George C. Scott) struggles with the Russian Ambassador. Peter Sellers (right) playing the US President, rebukes them for fighting in the War Room.



Figure 7.12: Major T. "King" Kong rides a nuclear bomb on its way down, where it will trigger the Soviet Doomsday Machine and ultimately destroy the world.



Figure 7.13: Benjamin Netanyahu has stated repeatedly that, with or without US support, Israel will attack Iran, an action that could escalate uncontrollably into World War III.



7.14 Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence

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

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

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

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

The enormous and indiscriminate destruction produced by nuclear weapons formed the background for an historic 1996 decision by the International Court of Justice in the Hague. In response to questions put to it by WHO and the UN General Assembly, the Court ruled that "the threat and use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and particularly the principles and rules of humanitarian law." The only *possible* exception to this general rule might be "an extreme circumstance of self-defense, in which the very survival of a state would be at stake". But the Court refused to say that even in this extreme circumstance the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be legal. It left the exceptional case undecided. In addition, the World Court added unanimously that "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith *and bring to a conclusion* negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict international control."

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

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

President Bedjaoui, summarizing the majority opinion, called nuclear weapons "the ultimate evil", and said "By its nature, the nuclear weapon, this blind weapon, destabilizes humanitarian law, the law of discrimination in the use of weapons... The ultimate aim of

every action in the field of nuclear arms will always be nuclear disarmament, an aim which is no longer utopian and which all have a duty to pursue more actively than ever."

Thus the concept of nuclear deterrence is not only unacceptable from the standpoint of ethics; it is also contrary to international law. The World Courts 1996 advisory Opinion unquestionably also represents the opinion of the majority of the worlds peoples. Although no formal plebiscite has been taken, the votes in numerous resolutions of the UN General Assembly speak very clearly on this question. For example the New Agenda Resolution (53/77Y) was adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1998 by a massively affirmative vote, in which only 18 out of the 170 member states voted against the resolution.⁷ The New Agenda Resolution proposes numerous practical steps towards complete nuclear disarmament, and it calls on the Nuclear-Weapon States "to demonstrate an unequivocal commitment to the speedy and total elimination of their nuclear weapons and without delay to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to the elimination of these weapons, thereby fulfilling their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)". Thus, in addition to being ethically unacceptable and contrary to international law, nuclear weapons also contrary to the principles of democracy.

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

A number of prominent political and military figures (many of whom have ample knowledge of the system of deterrence, having been part of it) have expressed concern about the danger of accidental nuclear war. Colin S. Grey⁸ expressed this concern as follows: "The problem, indeed the enduring problem, is that we are resting our future upon a nuclear deterrence system concerning which we cannot tolerate even a single malfunction." General Curtis E. LeMay⁹ has written, "In my opinion a general war will grow through a series of political miscalculations and accidents rather than through any deliberate attack by either side." Bruce G. Blair¹⁰ has remarked that "It is obvious that the rushed nature of the process, from warning to decision to action, risks causing a catastrophic mistake."... "This system is an accident waiting to happen."

⁷Of the 18 countries that voted against the New Agenda resolution, 10 were Eastern European countries hoping for acceptance into NATO, whose votes seem to have been traded for increased probability of acceptance.

⁸Chairman, National Institute for Public Policy

⁹Founder and former Commander in Chief of the United States Strategic Air Command

¹⁰Brookings Institute

Today, the system that is supposed to give us security is called Mutually Assured Destruction, appropriately abbreviated as MAD. It is based on the idea of deterrence, which maintains that because of the threat of massive retaliation, no sane leader would start a nuclear war.

Before discussing other defects in the concept of deterrence, it must be said very clearly that the idea of "massive nuclear retaliation" is a form of genocide and is completely unacceptable from an ethical point of view. It violates not only the principles of common human decency and common sense, but also the ethical principles of every major religion.

Having said this, we can now turn to some of the other faults in the concept of nuclear deterrence. One important defect is that nuclear war may occur through accident or miscalculation, through technical defects or human failings, or by terrorism. This possibility is made greater by the fact that despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of missiles carrying nuclear warheads are still kept on "hair-trigger alert" with a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by error in evaluating the signal on a radar screen.

Incidents in which global disaster is avoided by a hair's breadth are constantly occurring. Will we use the discoveries of modern science constructively, and thus choose the path leading towards life? Or will we use science to produce more and more lethal weapons, which sooner or later, through a technical or human failure, will result in a catastrophic nuclear war? Will we thoughtlessly destroy our beautiful planet through unlimited growth of population and industry? The choice among these alternatives is ours to make. We live at a critical moment of history, a moment of crisis for civilization.

No one alive today asked to be born at a time of crisis, but history has given each of us an enormous responsibility. Of course we have our ordinary jobs, which we need to do in order to stay alive; but besides that, each of us has a second job, the duty to devote both time and effort to solving the serious problems that face civilization during the 21st century. We cannot rely on our politicians to do this for us. Many politicians are under the influence of powerful lobbies. Others are waiting for a clear expression of popular will. It is the people of the world themselves who must choose their own future and work hard to build it.

No single person can achieve the changes that we need, but together we can do it. The problem of building a stable, just, and war-free world is difficult, but it is not impossible. The large regions of our present-day world within which war has been eliminated can serve as models. There are a number of large countries with heterogeneous populations within which it has been possible to achieve internal peace and social cohesion, and if this is possible within such extremely large regions, it must also be possible globally.

We must replace the old world of international anarchy, chronic war, and institutionalized injustice by a new world of law. The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Criminal Court are steps in the right direction. These institutions need to be greatly strengthened and reformed. We also need a new global ethic, where loyalty to one's family and nation will be supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole. Tipping points in public opinion can occur suddenly. We can think, for example, of the Civil Rights Movement, or the rapid fall of the Berlin Wall, or the sudden change that turned public opinion against smoking, or the sudden movement for freedom and democracy in the Arab world. A similar sudden change can occur soon regarding war and nuclear weapons.

We know that war is madness. We know that it is responsible for much of the suffering that humans experience. We know that war pollutes our planet and that the almost unimaginable sums wasted on war prevent the happiness and prosperity of mankind. We know that nuclear weapons are insane, and that the precariously balanced deterrence system can break down at any time through human error or computer errors or through terrorist actions, and that it definitely will break down within our lifetimes unless we abolish it. We know that nuclear war threatens to destroy civilization and much of the biosphere.

The logic is there. We must translate into popular action which will put an end to the undemocratic, money-driven, power-lust-driven war machine. The peoples of the world must say very clearly that nuclear weapons are an absolute evil; that their possession does not increase anyone's security; that their continued existence is a threat to the life of every person on the planet; and that these genocidal and potentially omnicidal weapons have no place in a civilized society.

Modern science has abolished time and distance as factors separating nations. On our shrunken globe today, there is room for one group only: the family of humankind. We must embrace all other humans as our brothers and sisters. More than that, we must feel that all of nature is part of the same sacred family; meadow flowers, blowing winds, rocks, trees, birds, animals, and other humans, all these are our brothers and sisters, deserving our care and protection. Only in this way can we survive together. Only in this way can we build a happy future.

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

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

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



Figure 7.14: Recent studies by atmospheric scientists have shown that the smoke from burning cities produced by even a limited nuclear war would have a devastating effect on global agriculture. The studies show that the smoke would rise to the stratosphere, where it would spread globally and remain for a decade, blocking sunlight and destroying the ozone layer. Because of the devastating effect on global agriculture, darkness from even a small nuclear war (e.g. between India and Pakistan) would result in an estimated billion deaths from famine. (O. Toon, A. Robock and R. Turco, "The Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War", Physics Today, vol. 61, No. 12, 2008, p. 37-42)

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

The Italian nuclear physicist Francesco Calogero, who has studied the matter closely, believes that terrorists could easily construct a simple gun-type nuclear bomb if they were in possession of a critical mass of highly enriched uranium. In such a simple atomic bomb, two grapefruit-sized subcritical portions of HEU are placed at opposite ends of the barrel of an artillery piece and are driven together by means of a conventional explosive. Prof. Calogero estimates that the fatalities produced by the explosion of such a device in the center of a large city could exceed 100,000.

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

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

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

7.15 Nuclear weapons are criminal! Every war is a crime!

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

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

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

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Chapter 8

EDUCATION FOR PEACE, NOT NATIONALISM

8.1 Traditional school systems aim at indoctrination in nationalism

School systems have traditionally aimed at producing nationalism in their students. Within the Roman Empire, students were taught the motto "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" (It is sweet and noble to die for one's country). In the era when the sun never set on the British Empire, schoolboys in England were taught the same motto, and the Roman Empire was held up as an ideal. One said the "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton".

If the reader will excuse a personal note, I can remember attending elementary schools in the United States where every morning we pledged allegiance to the US flag. With hands on our hearts, we students repeated "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands - one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." I believe that with small changes in wording, this ceremony is repeated every day today in all American schools.

I can also remember, later on, my great surprise in learning that many of the wars conducted by the United States have been aggressive and unjust. There had been no hint of that in the history lessons of US schools. I believe that the situation is the same in every country. History lessons are an indoctrination in nationalism. In history, as it is taught, one's own country is always heroic and in the right.

Today, in an era of instantaneous communication, global economic and cultural interdependence, and all-destroying modern weapons, the absolutely sovereign nation-state has become a dangerous anachronism. Blind nationalism too, has become a dangerous anachronism. Therefore we need to reform our school systems, but the process of making the needed changes is slowed the habits of teachers and administrators, and by shelves full of nationalistic history books.

8.2 The urgent need for peace education

Since modern war has become prohibitively dangerous, there is an urgent need for peace education. Why do we pay colossal sums for war, which we know is the source of so much human suffering, and which threatens to destroy human civilization? Why not instead support peace and peace education?

In this section, we will see that many groups and individuals are already working for this goal. With even a little more support, they would be much more effective.

8.3 The growth of global consciousness

Besides a humane, democratic and just framework of international law and governance, we urgently need a new global ethic, - an ethic where loyalty to family, community and nation will be supplemented by a strong sense of the brotherhood of all humans, regardless of race, religion or nationality. Schiller expressed this feeling in his "Ode to Joy", a part of which is the text of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Hearing Beethoven's music and Schiller's words, most of us experience an emotion of resonance and unity with the message: All humans are brothers and sisters - not just some - all! It is almost a national anthem of humanity. The feelings that the music and words provoke are similar to patriotism, but broader. It is this sense of a universal human family that we need to cultivate in education, in the mass media, and in religion. We already appreciate music, art and literature from the entire world, and scientific achievements are shared by all, regardless of their country of origin. We need to develop this principle of universal humanism so that it will become the cornerstone of a new ethic.

8.4 Reformed teaching of history

Educational reforms are urgently needed, particularly in the teaching of history. As it is taught today, history is a chronicle of power struggles and war, told from a biased national standpoint. Our own race or religion is superior; our own country is always heroic and in the right.

We urgently need to replace this indoctrination in chauvinism by a reformed view of history, where the slow development of human culture is described, giving adequate credit to all who have contributed. Our modern civilization is built on the achievements of many ancient cultures. China, Japan, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, the Islamic world, Christian Europe, and the Jewish intellectual traditions all have contributed. Potatoes, corn, squash, vanilla, chocolate, chili peppers, pineapples, quinine, etc. are gifts from the American Indians. Human culture, gradually built up over thousands of years by the patient work of millions of hands and minds, should be presented as a precious heritage far too precious to be risked in a thermonuclear war.

The teaching of history should also focus on the times and places where good government and internal peace have been achieved, and the methods by which this has been accomplished. Students should be encouraged to think about what is needed if we are to apply the same methods to the world as a whole. In particular, the histories of successful federations should be studied, for example the Hanseatic League, the Universal Postal Union, the federal governments of Australia, Brazil, Germany, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and so on. The recent history of the European Union provides another extremely important example. Not only the successes, but also the problems of federations should be studied in the light of the principle of subsidiarity¹. The essential features of federations should be clarified², as well as the reasons why weaker forms of union have proved to be unsuccessful.

8.5 Reformed education of economists and businessmen

The education of economists and businessmen needs to face the problems of global poverty - the painful contrast between the affluence and wastefulness of the industrial North and the malnutrition, disease and illiteracy endemic in the South. Students of economics and business must look for the roots of poverty not only in population growth and war, but also in the history of colonialism and neocolonialism, and in defects in global financial institutions and trade agreements. They must be encouraged to formulate proposals for the correction of North-South economic inequality.

The economic impact of war and preparation for war should be included in the training of economists. Both direct and indirect costs should be studied. An example of an indirect cost of war is the effect of unimaginably enormous military budgets in reducing the amount of money available for solving the serious problems facing the world today.

8.6 Law for a united world

Law students should be made aware of the importance of international law. They should be familiar with its history, starting with Grotius and the Law of the Sea. They should know the histories of the International Court of Justice and the Nuremberg Principles. They should study the United Nations Charter (especially the articles making war illegal) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Rome Treaty and the foundation of the International Criminal Court. They should be made aware of a deficiency in the present United Nations - the lack of a legislature with the power to make laws that are binding on individuals.

¹The principle of subsidiarity states that within a federation, decisions should be taken at the lowest level at which there are no important externalities. Thus, for example, decisions affecting air quality within Europe should be taken in Bruxelles because winds blow freely across national boundaries, but decisions affecting only the local environment should be taken locally.

²One of the most important of these features is that federations have the power to make and enforce laws that are binding on individuals, rather than trying to coerce their member states.

Students of law should be familiar with all of the details of the World Court's historic Advisory Opinion on Nuclear Weapons, a decision that make the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons illegal. They should also study the Hague and Geneva Conventions, and the various international treaties related to nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. The relationship between the laws of the European Union and those of its member states should be given high importance. The decision by the British Parliament that the laws of the EU take precedence over British law should be a part of the curriculum.

8.7 Teaching global ethics

Professors of theology should emphasize three absolutely central components of religious ethics: the duty to love and forgive one's enemies, the prohibition against killing, and the concept of universal human brotherhood. They should make their students conscious of a responsibility to give sermons that are relevant to the major political problems of the modern world, and especially to relate the three ethical principles just mentioned to the problem of war. Students of theology should be made conscious of their responsibility to soften the boundaries between ethnic groups, to contribute to interreligious understanding, and to make marriage across racial and religious boundaries more easy and frequent.

8.8 The social responsibility of scientists

In teaching science too, reforms are needed. Graduates in science and engineering should be conscious of their responsibilities. They must resolve never to use their education in the service of war, nor for the production of weapons, nor in any way that might be harmful to society or to the environment.

Science and engineering students ought to have some knowledge of the history and social impact of science. They could be given a course on the history of scientific ideas; but in connection with modern historical developments such as the industrial revolution, the global population explosion, the development of nuclear weapons, genetic engineering, and information technology, some discussion of social impact of science could be introduced. One might hope to build up in science and engineering students an understanding of the way in which their own work is related to the general welfare of humankind, and a sense of individual social and ethical responsibility. These elements are needed in science education if rapid technological progress is to be beneficial to society rather than harmful.

The changes just mentioned in the specialized lawyers, theologians, scientists and engineers should have a counterpart in elementary education. The basic facts about peace and war should be communicated to children in simple language, and related to the everyday experiences of children. Teachers' training colleges ought to discuss with their studentteachers the methods that can be used to make peace education a part of the curriculum at various levels, and how it can be related to familiar concepts. They should also discuss the degree to which the painful realities of war can be explained to children of various ages
without creating an undesirable amount of anxiety.

Peace education can be made a part of the curriculum of elementary schools through (for example) theme days or theme weeks in which the whole school participates. This method has been used successfully in many European schools. During the theme days the children have been encouraged to produce essays, poems and drawings illustrating the difference between peace and war, and between negative peace and positive peace³. Another activity has been to list words inspired by the concept "peace", rapidly and by free association, and to do the same for the concept "war". Drama has also been used successfully in elementary school peace education, and films have proved to be another useful teaching aid.

The problems of reducing global inequalities, of protecting human rights, and of achieving a war-free world can be introduced into grade school courses in history, geography, religion and civics. The curriculum of these courses is frequently revised, and advocates of peace education can take curriculum revisions as opportunities to introduce much-needed reforms that will make the students more international in their outlook. The argument (a true one) should be that changes in the direction of peace education will make students better prepared for a future in which peace will be a central issue and in which they will interact with people of other nations to a much greater extent than was the case in previous generations. The same can be said for curriculum revisions at the university level.

8.9 Large nations compared with global government

The problem of achieving internal peace over a large geographical area is not insoluble. It has already been solved. There exist today many nations or regions within each of which there is internal peace, and some of these are so large that they are almost worlds in themselves. One thinks of China, India, Brazil, Australia, the Russian Federation, the United States, and the European Union. Many of these enormous societies contain a variety of ethnic groups, a variety of religions and a variety of languages, as well as striking contrasts between wealth and poverty. If these great land areas have been forged into peaceful and cooperative societies, cannot the same methods of government be applied globally?

But what are the methods that nations use to achieve internal peace? Firstly, every true government needs to have the power to make and enforce laws that are binding on individual citizens. Secondly the power of taxation is a necessity. These two requirements of every true government have already been mentioned; but there is a third point that still remains to be discussed:

Within their own territories, almost all nations have more military power than any of their subunits. For example, the US Army is more powerful than the State Militia of Illinois. This unbalance of power contributes to the stability of the Federal Government of

³Negative peace is merely the absence of war. In positive peace, neighboring nations are actively engaged in common projects of mutual benefit, in cultural exchanges, in trade, in exchanges of students and so on.

the United States. When the FBI wanted to arrest Al Capone, it did not have to bomb Chicago. Agents just went into the city and arrested the gangster. Even if Capone had been enormously popular in Illinois, the government of the state would have realized in advance that it had no chance of resisting the US Federal Government, and it still would have allowed the "Feds" to make their arrest. Similar considerations hold for almost all nations within which there is internal peace. It is true that there are some nations within which subnational groups have more power than the national government, but these are frequently characterized by civil wars.

Of the large land areas within which internal peace has been achieved, the European Union differs from the others because its member states still maintain powerful armies. The EU forms a realistic model for what can be achieved globally in the near future by reforming and strengthening the United Nations. In the distant future, however, we can imagine a time when a world federal authority will have much more power than any of its member states, and when national armies will have only the size needed to maintain local order.

Today there is a pressing need to enlarge the size of the political unit from the nationstate to the entire world. The need to do so results from the terrible dangers of modern weapons and from global economic interdependence. The progress of science has created this need, but science has also given us the means to enlarge the political unit: Our almost miraculous modern communications media, if properly used, have the power to weld all of humankind into a single supportive and cooperative society.

8.10 Culture, education and human solidarity

Cultural and educational activities have a small ecological footprint, and therefore are more sustainable than pollution-producing, fossil-fuel-using jobs in industry. Furthermore, since culture and knowledge are shared among all nations, work in culture and education leads societies naturally towards internationalism and peace.

Economies based on a high level of consumption of material goods are unsustainable and will have to be abandoned by a future world that renounces the use of fossil fuels in order to avoid catastrophic climate change, a world where non-renewable resources such as metals will become increasingly rare and expensive. How then can full employment be maintained?

The creation of renewable energy infrastructure will provide work for a large number of people; but in addition, sustainable economies of the future will need to shift many workers from jobs in industry to jobs in the service sector. Within the service sector, jobs in culture and education are particularly valuable because they will help to avoid the disastrous wars that are currently producing enormous human suffering and millions of refugees, wars that threaten to escalate into an all-destroying global thermonuclear war.⁴

⁴http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/need.pdf http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/issue-5/article/urgent-need-renewable-energy



Figure 8.1: Cultural exchanges lead to human solidarity (Public domain)

Human nature has two sides: It has a dark side, to which nationalism and militarism appeal; but our species also has a genius for cooperation, which we can see in the growth of culture. Our modern civilization has been built up by means of a worldwide exchange of ideas and inventions. It is built on the achievements of many ancient cultures. China, Japan, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, the Islamic world, Christian Europe, and the Jewish intellectual traditions all have contributed. Potatoes, corn, squash, vanilla, chocolate, chilli peppers, and quinine are gifts from the American Indians.⁵

We need to reform our educational systems, particularly the teaching of history. As it is taught today, history is a chronicle of power struggles and war, told from a biased national standpoint. We are taught that our own country is always heroic and in the right. We urgently need to replace this indoctrination in chauvinism by a reformed view of history, where the slow development of human culture is described, giving credit to all who have contributed. When we teach history, it should not be about power struggles. It should be about how human culture was gradually built up over thousands of years by the patient work of millions of hands and minds. Our common global culture, the music, science, literature and art that all of us share, should be presented as a precious heritage - far too precious to be risked in a thermonuclear war.

We have to extend our loyalty to the whole of the human race, and to work for a world not only free from nuclear weapons, but free from war. A war-free world is not utopian but very practical, and not only practical but necessary. It is something that we can achieve and must achieve. Today their are large regions, such as the European Union, where war would be inconceivable. What is needed is to extend these.

Nor is a truly sustainable economic system utopian or impossible. To achieve it, we

⁵http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/article/evolution-cooperation

should begin by shifting jobs to the creation of renewable energy infrastructure, and to the fields of culture and education. By so doing we will support human solidarity and avoid the twin disasters of catastrophic war and climate change.

8.11 The Danish National Group of Pugwash Conferences

In March, 1954, the US tested a hydrogen bomb at the Bikini Atoll in the Pacific Ocean. It was 1000 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb. The Japanese fishing boat, Lucky Dragon, was 130 kilometers from the Bikini explosion, but radioactive fallout from the test killed one crew member and made all the others seriously ill.

Concerned about the effects of a large-scale war fought with such bombs, or even larger ones, Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell published a manifesto containing the words: "Here then is the problem that we present to you, stark and dreadful and inescapable: Shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war?... There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death."

The Russell-Einstein Manifesto called for a meeting of scientists from both sides of the Cold War to try to minimize the danger of a thermonuclear conflict. The first meeting took place in 1957 at the summer home of the Canadian philanthropist Cyrus Eaton at the small village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

From this small beginning, a series of conferences developed, in which scientists, especially physicists, attempted to work for peace, and tried to address urgent problems related to science. These conferences were called Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, taking their name from the small village in Nova Scotia where the first meeting was held. From the start, the main aim of the meetings was to reduce the danger that civilization would be destroyed in a thermonuclear war.

Many countries have local Pugwash groups, and the Danish National Pugwash Group is one of these. Our activities include conferences at the Danish Parliament, aimed at influencing decision-makers, but other activities are aimed influencing public opinion. Peace education activities include the award of student peace prizes on United Nations Day.



Figure 8.2: The Russell-Einstein Manifesto: "Shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war?" (Pugwash Conferences)

8.12 United Nations Day Student Peace Prizes

In collaboration with the Danish Peace Academy, and with the help of the Hermod Lannung Foundation the Danish National Group of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs has offered prizes each year to students at 10 Danish gymnasiums for projects related to global problems and their solutions and to the United Nations.

These projects are essays, dramatic sketches, videos, websites, posters, etc., and they were judged on UN Day, before large audiences of students. The background for this project is as follows: In 2007, in collaboration with several other NGO's, we arranged a visit to Copenhagen by Dr. Tadatoshi Akiba, the Mayor of Hiroshima. In connection with his visit, we arranged a Peace Education Conference at the University of Copenhagen.

In connection with Dr. Akiba's visit, we also arranged a day of peace education at Copenhagen's Open Gymnasium. About 15 people from various branches of Denmark's peace movement arrived at the gymnasium at 7.00 a.m., and between 8.00 and 10.00 they talked to 15 groups of about 25-50 students about topics related to peace. At 10.30, all 500 students assembled in a large hall, where Dr. Akiba gave an address on abolition of nuclear weapons. A chorus from the gymnasium sang, and finally there was a panel discussion.

The students were extremely enthusiastic about the whole program. The success of our 2007 effort made us want to do something similar in 2008, and perhaps to broaden the scope. Therefore we wrote to the Minister of Education, and proposed that October 24, United Nations Day, should be a theme day in all Danish schools and gymnasiums, a day devoted to the discussion of global problems and their solutions. We received the very kind reply. The Minister said that he thought our idea was a good one, but that he did not have the power to dictate the curricula to schools. We needed to contact the individual schools, gymnasiums and municipalities.

In the autumn of 2008 we arranged a United Nations Day program on October 24 at

TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE



Figure 8.3: A painting representing the work of the United Nations. It won first prize at a UN Day Student Peace Prize competition. (Danish National Pugwash Group)

Sankt Annæ Gymnasium with the cooperation of Nørre Gymnasium. We offered prizes to drama students at the two gymnasiums for the best peace-related dramatic sketch, a condition being that the sketches should be performed and judged before a large audience. Our judges were the famous actress Mia Luhne, Johan Olsen, the lead singer of a popular rock group, and the dramatist Steen Haakon Hansen. The students' sketches and the judges speeches about the meaning of peace were very strong and moving. Everyone was very enthusiastic about the day. The judges have said that they would be willing to work with us again on peace-related cultural events.

Our successes in 2007 and 2008 have made us wish to continue and possibly expand the idea of making United Nations Day a theme day in Danish schools and gymnasiums, a day for discussion of global problems and their solutions, with special emphasis on the role of the United Nations. The Hermod Lannung Foundation supported our project for extending this idea to 10 Danish gymnasiums from 2010 until the present.

8.13 The Grundtvigian Peoples' Colleges

A unique feature of the Danish educational system is the adult education that is available at about a hundred Folkehøjskole (Peoples' Colleges). This tradition of adult education dates back to the Danish poet-bishop N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). Besides writing more than half of the hymns presently used in Danish churches, Grundtvig also introduced farmers' cooperatives into Denmark and founded a system of adult education.

At the time when Grundtvig lived, the Industrial Revolution had already transformed England into a country that exported manufactured goods but was unable to feed itself because of its large population. In this situation, Denmark began a prosperous trade, exporting high quality agricultural produce to England (for example dairy products, bacon, and so on). Grundtvig realized that it would be to the advantage of small-scale Danish farmers to process and export these products themselves, thus avoiding losing a part of their profits to large land-owners or other middlemen who might do the processing and exporting for them. He organized the small farmers into cooperatives, and in order to give the farmers enough knowledge and confidence to run the cooperatives, Grundtvig created a system of adult education: the Peoples' Colleges. The cooperatives and the adult education system contributed strongly to making Denmark a prosperous and democratic country.

Of the hundred or so Grundtvigian Peoples' Colleges exiting today, about forty offer peace education as a subject. An example of such a peace education course was the twoweek summer school "Towards a Non-violent Society", held at the International College in Elsinore during the summer of 1985. Since it was supported not only by the students' fees but also by a government subsidy, the summer school was able to pay the travel and living expenses for lecturers who came from many parts of the world.

Among the stars of the summer school were former US Governor Harold Stassen, the only living person who had signed the UN Charter; the famous Cambridge University ethologist, Professor Robert Hinde; Professor Suman Khana from India, an expert on non-violence and Gandhi; Sister George, a Catholic nun from Jerusalem, who spoke 12 languages during the course of her daily work and who was an expert on the conflicts of the Middle East; and Meta Ditzel, a member of the Danish Parliament who advocated legislation to make excessively violent videos less easily available to children. Other lectures were given by representatives of Amnesty International and the Center for Rehabilitation of Torture Victims.

In discussing Danish peace education initiatives, we must not fail to mention Holger Terp's enormous and popular Danish Peace Academy website⁶. Despite serious health problems, which include almost complete loss of vision and multiple heart bypass operations, Holger Terp singlehandedly established a unique website devoted to peace education. The Danish Peace Academy website contains more than 99,000 files in Danish, English and German. The website is visited by many thousands of students from around the world.

8.14 The World Conference of Religions for Peace

Other powerful voices for peace have been raised by the World Conference of Religions for Peace, which met for the first time in October 1970 in Kyoto, Japan.⁷ At this meeting, more than 1000 religious leaders gathered to discuss the grave dangers posed by modern

⁶www.fredsakademiet.dk

⁷Subsequent World Assemblies of the WCRP have been held in Louvain, Belgium, (1974); Princeton New Jersey, (1979); Nairobi, Kenya, (1984); Melbourne, Australia, (1989); Riva del Garde, Italy, (1994); and Amman, Jordan, (1999).

war. Among them were representatives of the Baha'i, Mahayana and Trevada Buddhists, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Confucians, representatives of several streams of Hinduism, a number of communities of indigenous faith, Shiite and Sunni Muslims, Jains, Reform Jews, Shintos, Sikhs, Zoroastrians, and representatives of a number of new religions.

The WCRP sponsors many projects related to conflict resolution, the world's children, development, disarmament and security, human rights, and peace education. For example, in the field of peace education, WCRP sponsors a project in Israel called "Common Values/Different Sources" which brings together Jews, Muslims and Christians to study sacred texts together in search of shared values, eventually resulting in a book for classroom use. In England and Germany, another WCRP project analyzes school textbooks' treatment of religious traditions that are foreign to the books' intended audiences.

Dr. Edy Korthals Altes, a former Ambassador of the Netherlands to Poland and Spain and an Honorary President of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, has expressed his vision of our current global situation in the following words: "We need a new concept of security. The old concept dates back to the Romans who said 'If you want peace, prepare for war.' The new concept I would propose is exactly the opposite, 'If you want peace, prepare for peace.' While this may sound simplistic, it is difficult to put into practice since the application of justice and solidarity in international political and economic relations requires sacrifices from 'those who have.' I would give three reasons why the old concept of 'security' is no longer valid: a) The extreme vulnerability of modern society; b) The tremendous destructive power of modern arms and terrorism; c) The interdependence between nations. These three elements are closely interconnected. It is therefore imperative to apply justice and solidarity in our international relations. If not, disaster looms!"

Dr. Altes feels that economic reforms are needed if global peace is to be achieved. "Not only economic justice is involved", he writes, "but also political justice. A clear example of which is the current situation in the Middle East. There must also be justice in the economic world situation in which 1/5 of the world population enjoys a high standard of living while 1/5 lives in terrible poverty, millions dying every year from hunger. This 'North South gap' is increasing!"

Discussing "myths that underlie our present economic system", he points to

- 1. "The notion that each person has unlimited material needs. We are told to 'consume more' which is totally contrary to any religion. What is more, it is a self-defeating program that is contrary to humanity in general. The New Testament is clear 'you shall not live on bread alone.' Our deeper needs are not for material goods but for inner growth."
- 2. "Unlimited growth. The economy, my firm, my salary should all grow. In a finite planet, this is total nonsense. This maxim of growth has brought about great ecological damage."
- 3. Idolatry of the Free Market. I am in favor of a free market, but one that is set in the context of social and human conditions. We need to apply means to avoid the 'law

of the jungle' in the market place."

No enumeration of religious voices raised in the cause of peace would be complete without mention of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), all of whom refuse to give any support whatever to the institution of war. Although they are fundamentally opposed to war as being completely contrary to Christian ethics, the Quakers are active in caring for the victims of war, and in 1947 the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, the writings of the Dalai Lama, the messages of Pope John Paul II and other popes, the anti-war convictions of the Quakers, and the many projects of the World Conference of Religions for Peace all illustrate the potentialities of the world's religions as powerful forces for mobilizing public opinion in the cause of peace. One hopes that the voice of religion in this cause will become still more powerful in the future. Each week, all over the world, congregations assemble and are addressed by their leaders on ethical issues. But all too often there is no mention of the astonishing and shameful contradiction between the institution of war (especially the doctrine of "massive retaliation"), and the principle of universal human brotherhood, loving and forgiving one's enemies, and returning good for evil. At a moment of history when the continued survival of civilization is in doubt because of the incompatibility of war with the existence of thermonuclear weapons, our religious leaders ought to use their enormous influence to help to solve the problem of war, which is after all an ethical problem. In this way, religion can become part of the cure of a mortal social illness rather than part of the disease - part of the answer rather than of part of the problem.

8.15 The Hiroshima Peace Committee and the last remaining hibakushas

In Japanese the survivors of injuries from the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are called "hibakushas". Over the years, the Soka Gakkai Hiroshima Peace Committee has published many books containing their testimonies. The most recent of these books, "A Silence Broken", contains the testimonies of 14 men, now all in their late 70's or in their 80's, who are among the last few remaining hibakushas. All 14 of these men have kept silent until now because of the prejudices against hibakushas in Japan, where they and their children are thought to be unsuitable as marriage partners because of the effects of radiation. But now, for various reasons, they have chosen to break their silence. Many have chosen to speak now because of the Fukushima disaster.

The testimonies of the hibakushas give a vivid picture of the hell-like horrors of the nuclear attack on the civilian population of Hiroshima, both in the short term and in the long term. For example, Shigeru Nonoyama, who was 15 at the time of the attack, says: "People crawling out from crumbled houses started to flee. We decided to escape to a safe place on the hill. We saw people with melted ears stuck to their cheeks, chins glued to

their shoulders, heads facing in awkward positions, arms stuck to bodies, five fingers joined together and grab nothing. Those were the people fleeing. Not merely a hundred or two, The whole town was in chaos."

"I saw the noodle shop's wife leg was caught under a fallen pole, and a fire was approaching. She was screaming, 'Help me!Help me!' There were no soldiers, no firefighters. I later heard that her husband had cut off his wife's leg with a hatchet to save her."

"Each and every scene was hell itself. I couldn't tell the difference between the men and the women. Everybody had scorched hair, burned hair, and terrible burns. I thought I saw a doll floating in a fire cistern, but it was a baby. A wife trapped under her fallen house was crying, 'Dear, please help me, help me!' Her husband had no choice but to leave her in tears."

8.16 The Catholic Church

An outstanding example of religious leadership in addressing global problems was given by H.H. Pope John Paul II. In his Christmas address on 25 December, 2002, the Pope said that efforts for peace were urgently needed "in the Middle East, to extinguish the ominous smouldering of a conflict which, with the joint efforts of all, can be avoided."

Pope John Paul II was not an exception among the Roman Catholic Popes of the 20th century. All of them have spoken strongly against the institution of war. Especially notable are H.H. Pope Paul IV who made a one-day visit to the United Nations where his speech included the words "no more war, war never again", and H.H. Pope John XXIII, author of the eloquent encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*. One can think also of the Ecumenical Council Vatican II, which denounced the arms race as an "utterly treacherous trap for humanity", questioned the method of deterrence as a safe way to preserve a steady peace, and condemned war as a "crime against God and man himself".

In his Apostolic Exhortation, "Evangelii Gaudium", Pope Francis said: "In our time humanity is experiencing a turning-point in its history, as we can see from the advances being made in so many fields. We can only praise the steps being taken to improve people's welfare in areas such as health care, education and communications. At the same time we have to remember that the majority of our contemporaries are barely living from day to day, with dire consequences. A number of diseases are spreading. The hearts of many people are gripped by fear and desperation, even in the so-called rich countries. The joy of living frequently fades, lack of respect for others and violence are on the rise, and inequality is increasingly evident. It is a struggle to live and, often, to live with precious little dignity."

"This epochal change has been set in motion by the enormous qualitative, quantitative, rapid and cumulative advances occurring in the sciences and in technology, and by their instant application in different areas of nature and of life. We are in an age of knowledge and information, which has led to new and often anonymous kinds of power."

"Just as the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life, today we also have to say 'thou shalt not' to an economy of exclusion and inequality. Such an economy kills. How can it be that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points? This is a case of exclusion. Can we continue to stand by when food is thrown away while people are starving? This is a case of inequality. Today everything comes under the laws of competition and the survival of the fittest, where the powerful feed upon the powerless. As a consequence, masses of people find themselves excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means of escape."

"In this context, some people continue to defend trickle-down theories which assume that economic growth, encouraged by a free market, will inevitably succeed in bringing about greater justice and inclusiveness in the world. This opinion, which has never been confirmed by the facts, expresses a crude and naive trust in the goodness of those wielding economic power and in the sacralized workings of the prevailing economic system. Meanwhile, the excluded are still waiting."

8.17 The Dalai Lama

In his excellent and highly readable book, Ancient Wisdom, Modern World: Ethics for the New Millennium, the Dalai Lama writes: "..At present and for the conceivable future, the UN is the only global institution capable of influencing and formulating policy on behalf of the international community. Of course, many people criticize it on the grounds that it is ineffective, and it is true that time and again we have seen its resolutions ignored, abandoned and forgotten. Nevertheless, in spite of its shortcomings, I for one continue to have the highest regard not only for the principles on which it was founded but also for the great deal that it has achieved since its inception in 1945. We need only ask ourselves whether or not it has helped to save lives by defusing potentially dangerous situations to see that it is more than the toothless bureaucracy some people say it is. We should also consider the great work of its subsidiary organizations, such as UNICEF, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, UNESCO and the World Health Organization..."

"I see the UN, developed to its full potential, as being the proper vehicle for carrying out the wishes of humanity as a whole. As yet it is not able to do this very effectively, but we are only just beginning to see the emergence of a global consciousness (which is made possible by the communications revolution). And in spite of tremendous difficulties, we have seen it in action in numerous parts of the world, even though at the moment there may be only one or two nations spearheading these initiatives. The fact that they are seeking the legitimacy conferred by a United Nations mandate suggests a felt need for justification through collective approbation. This, in turn, I believe to be indicative of a growing sense of a single, mutually dependent, human community."

8.18 Unfulfilled responsibilities of the mainstream media

Throughout history, art was commissioned by rulers to communicate, and exaggerate, their power, glory, absolute rightness etc, to the populace. The pyramids gave visual support to the power of the Pharaoh; portraits of rulers are a traditional form of propaganda supporting monarchies; and palaces were built as symbols of power. Modern powerholders are also aware of the importance of propaganda. Thus the media are a battleground where reformers struggle for attention, but are defeated with great regularity by the wealth and power of the establishment. This is a tragedy because today there is an urgent need to make public opinion aware of the serious problems facing civilization, and the steps that are needed to solve these problems. The mass media could potentially be a great force for public education, but in general their role is not only unhelpful - it is often negative. War and conflict are blatantly advertised by television and newspapers. Meanwhile the peace movement has almost no access to the mainstream media.

Today we are faced with the task of creating a new global ethic in which loyalty to family, religion and nation will be supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole. In case of conflicts, loyalty to humanity as a whole must take precedence. In addition, our present culture of violence must be replaced by a culture of peace. To achieve these essential goals, we urgently need the cooperation of the mass media.

The predicament of humanity today has been called "a race between education and catastrophe": Human emotions have not changed much during the last 40,000 years, and human nature still contains an element of tribalism to which nationalistic politicians successfully appeal. The completely sovereign nation-state is still the basis of our global political system. The danger in this situation is due to the fact that modern science has given us incredibly destructive weapons. Because of these weapons, the tribal tendencies in human nature and the politically fragmented structure of our world have both become dangerous anachronisms.

After the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Albert Einstein said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking, and thus we drift towards unparalleled catastrophes." We have to learn to think in a new way. Will we learn this in time to prevent disaster? When we consider the almost miraculous power of our modern electronic media, we can be optimistic. Cannot our marvelous global communication network be used to change anachronistic ways of thought and anachronistic social and political institutions in time, so that the system will not self-destruct as science and technology revolutionize our world? If they were properly used, our instantaneous global communications could give us hope.

The success of our species is built on cultural evolution, the central element of which is cooperation. Thus human nature has two sides, tribal emotions are present, but they are balanced by the human genius for cooperation. The case of Scandinavia - once war-torn, now cooperative - shows that education is able to bring out either the kind and cooperative side of human nature, or the xenophobic and violent side. Which of these shall it be? It is up to our educational systems to decide, and the mass media are an extremely important part of education. Hence the great responsibility that is now in the hands of the media.

How do the media fulfill this life-or-death responsibility? Do they give us insight? No, they give us pop music. Do they give us an understanding of the sweep of evolution and history? No, they give us sport. Do they give us an understanding of need for strengthening the United Nations, and the ways that it could be strengthened? No, they give us sit-coms and soap operas. Do they give us unbiased news? No, they give us news that has been edited to conform with the interests of the military-industrial complex and other powerful lobbys. Do they present us with the need for a just system of international law that acts on individuals? On the whole, the subject is neglected. Do they tell of the essentially genocidal nature of nuclear weapons, and the need for their complete abolition? No, they give us programs about gardening and making food.

A consumer who subscribes to the "package" of broadcasts sold by a cable company can often search through all 35 or 45 channels without finding a single program that offers insight into the various problems that are facing the world today. What the viewer finds instead is a mixture of pro-establishment propaganda and entertainment. Meanwhile the neglected global problems are becoming progressively more severe.

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

8.19 The alternative media

Luckily, there are alternatives to the mainstream media, available primarily on the Internet, but also to a certain extent on radio and television and in films. One can think of such alternative media figures as Thom Hartmann, Leonardo DiCaprio, Amy Goodman and Oliver Stone, or Internet sites such as Common Dreams, EcoWatch, Truthout, Countercurrents, the Danish Peace Academy website and TMS Weekly Digest. Interestingly, Bob Dylan, a longtime counterculture hero, has recently been awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.

8.20 Johan Galtung

One of the founders of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution as academic disciplines, is Professor Johan Galtung (1930 -). He is the author of more than a thousand articles and over a hundred books in these fields. He was also the main founder of the Peace Research Institute Oslo in 1959, and he served as its first director until 1970. Prof. Galtung established the *Journal of Peace Research* in 1964. A few years later. in 1969, he was appointed to the world's first chair in peace and conflict studies at the University of Oslo. Dr. Jan Øberg, a student of Prof. Galtung, went on to found the influential Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research in Lund, Sweden.

8.21 Universities Offering Peace Studies Degrees

Among the American universities and colleges offering degrees in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution⁸, one can mention the University of Notre Dame, the University of California, Berkeley, Georgetown University, Swarthmore College, Tufts University, Wellesley College. the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Colgate University, Brandeis University, the University of Texas at Austin, George Washington University, DePauw University, Smith College, Syracuse University, Southern Methodist University, Saint Johns University, American University, Marquette University, College of Saint Benedict. University of San Diego, Creighton University, Willamette University, University of Denver, Duquesne University, John Caroll University, Earlham College, George Mason University, Juniata College, University of Utah and Manhattan College. A degree program in Peace Studies is also offered by Clark University⁹.

In Costa Rica, the University for Peace (UPEACE)¹⁰ offers a wide variety of courses. The departments of UPEACE include Environment and Development, International Law and Human Rights, and Peace and Conflict Studies. UPEACE also offers online education¹¹.

The many educational institutions founded by Soka Gakkai International offer courses in peace studies. Among these are Soka University Japan, the Toda Institute for Global Peace, and Soka University of America.

Masters courses in peace studies and conflict resolution¹² are also offered at Universitat Oberta de Catallunya, University of Malta, Durham University, Trinity College Dublin, Alice Salimon University of Applied Sciences Berlin, University of Nicosia, Australian National University, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Swansea University, Aarhus University, Utrecht University, University of Kent, CIFE, University of Technology Sidney, University of Bridgeport, Duquesne University, SOAS University of London, Chapman University, SIT Graduate Institute, Kings College London, Goethe University Frankfurt, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, University of Bradford Faculty of Social and International Studies, and University of East Anglia Faculty of Social Sciences.

⁸http://colleges.startclass.com/d/o/Peace-Studies-and-Conflict-Resolution

⁹https://www2.clarku.edu/departments/peacestudies/gradprograms.cfm

 $^{^{10} \}rm https://www.upeace.org/academic/academic-departments/peace-and-conflict-studies/peace-education$

¹¹http://www.elearning.upeace.org/

¹²http://www.masterstudies.com/Masters-Degree/Political-Science/Peace-and-Conflict-Studies/

8.22 Jakob von Uexküll and The World Future Council

Jakob von Uexküll belongs to a brilliant family. His grandfather was a famous Baltic-German physiologist who founded the discipline of Biosemiotics. Besides being a former Member of the European Parliament and a leader of the German Green Party, von Uexküll himself founded both the Right Livelihood Award (sometimes called the Alternative Nobel Prize) and also the World Future Council.¹³

A few outstanding voices

The greatest threats facing the world today are catastrophic climate change and thermonuclear war, but a large-scale global famine also has to be considered.

We give our children loving care, but it makes no sense do so and at the same time to neglect to do all that is within our power to ensure that they and their descendants will inherit an earth in which they can survive. We also have a responsibility to all the other living organisms with which we share the gift of life.

Inaction is not an option. We have to act with courage and dedication, even if the odds are against success, because the stakes are so high.

The mass media could mobilize us to action, but they have failed in their duty.

Our educational system could also wake us up and make us act, but it too has failed us. The battle to save the earth from human greed and folly has to be fought in the alternative media.

It is impossible to list all of the many thousands of brave, dedicated and eloquent people who write for the alternative media, or the equally brave and dedicated editors who publish these articles. But here are pictures of a few famous names that come to mind:

 $^{^{13}}$ http://www.rightlivelihood.org/

http://www.worldfuturecouncil.org/

http://www.worldfuturecouncil.org/gpact/



Figure 8.4: The Norwegian mathematician and sociologist Johan Galtung (born 1930), pioneer of the discipline Conflict Resolution. He also founded the Peace Research Institute, Oslo and the Journal of Peace Research. He has published over 1000 articles and more than 100 books.



Figure 8.5: Jan Øberg (born 1951), co-founder and Director of the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, and editor of The Transnational. Born in Denmark, Dr. Øberg was formerly the leader of the Lund Peace Research Institute.



Figure 8.6: Mrs. Fumiko Galtung, Transcend Media Service Weekly Digest editor Antonio C.S. Rosa, and Johan Galtung in Norway, 2007.



Figure 8.7: Binu Mathew is the heroic and dedicated editor of the Internet journal "Countercurrents". He lives in the Kerala Provence of India, which has recently been hit by enormous floods, despite which he continues to publish his vitally important journal every day.



Figure 8.8: John Pilger (born in Australia in 1939). His outstanding documentary films on global problems have won a BAFTA award. He is a critic of American, British and Australian foreign policy, which he considers to be driven by an imperialist agenda.



Figure 8.9: The American film maker Oliver Stone (born 1946) has won three Academy Awards for his work, and he has been nominated for very many other Oscars. His Vietnam War trilogy "Platoon", "Born on the Fourth of July", and "Heaven and Earth" have won critical acclaim, as have his films "Salvador", "Wall Street", "Money Never Sleeps", "JFK", "Nixon", "W", and "Snowdon".



Figure 8.10: Born in 1957. Amy Goodman co-founded Democracy Now: The War and Peace Report in 1996. She credits the great success of the program, broadcast on radio, television and the Internet, with the deficiencies of the mainstream media which leave a huge niche for alternative reporting. Amy Goodman has received dozens of awards for her work, including the Right Livelihood Award, sometimes called "The Alternative Nobel Prize", and the Gandhi Peace Award for making "a significant contribution to the promotion of an enduring international peace".



Figure 8.11: Thom Hartmann (born in 1951) is the host of the daily radio and television show "The Big Picture". As a writer, he has published more than twenty books. His book "Last Hours of Ancient Sunlight" inspired Leonardo DiCaprio's documentary "Before the Flood". Together with the DiCaprio family, Hartmann helped to produce an important short video "Last Hours", which is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2bRrg96UtMc . The video discusses the mass extinctions that can be observed in the geological record, and warns that anthropogenic climate change might cause an extinction comparable to the largest one, the Permian-Triassic event, by initiating a methane hydrate feedback loop.



Figure 8.12: Born in 1928, Institute Professor Emeritus Noam Chomsky of MIT and the University of Arizona is considered to be one of the greatest public intellectuals in the world. As a linguist and cognitive scientist, he revolutionized our ideas of the inherited universal grammar of humans. He is also a philosopher and historian, and has written more than 100 important books, many of which criticize the the mass media and US government policies. Professor Chomsky has stated that because of its climate change denial, the US Republican Party is the most dangerous organization in history, since its actions may lead to catastrophic climate change and perhaps the extinction of the human species.



Figure 8.13: Pulitzer Prize winning author Chris Hedges (born in 1956) worked for 15 years as a foreign correspondent for the New York Times, before resigning in 2005. He is the author of many important anti-war and anti-fascist books, including "War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning" (2002), "Empire of Illusion: The End of Literacy and the Triumph of Spectacle" (2009), "Death of the Liberal Class" (2010), "Days of Destruction, Days of Revolt" (2012), "Wages of Rebellion: The Moral Imperative of Revolt" (2015) and "America. The Farewell Tour" (2018). In a 2013 interview, Hedges said that "the left has been destroyed, especially the radical left, quite consciously in the whole name of anti-communism", and "we have allowed ourselves to embrace an ideology which, at its core, states that all governance is about maximizing corporate profit at the expense of the citizenry. For what do we have structures of government, for what do we have institutions of state, if not to hold up all the citizenry, and especially the most vulnerable?".



Figure 8.14: Award-winning author Naomi Klein was born in 1970 into a Canadian family of prominent peace activists. As a teenager, she felt embarrassed by her family's politics, and she reacted by becoming a mall-junkie, addicted to consumerism. Later, however, she became (in her own words) "less of a brat", and she wholeheartedly adopted her family's reformist traditions. Her first book, "No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies" was published in 1999, shortly after the Seattle WTO protests, and it quickly became a highlyinfluential best-seller. Her famous book "The Shock Doctrine" (2007) argues that neoliberal politicians take advantage of disasters, when the public demands quick action, to ram through whatever changes they wish, and these are accepted uncritically by the change-demanding public, although they may have nothing to do with correcting the disaster. In another deservedly-famous book, "This Changes Everything" (2014), Naomi Klein addresses the twin threats of catastrophic climate change and thermonuclear war. She argues that environmental activists and peace activists ought to join hands and work together for system change. Partly as a result of her book, the slogan "System change not climate change!" was adopted by protest marchers both in New York and Paris.



Figure 8.15: The extremely distinguished scholar and author Professor Richard Falk was born in 1930, and is still very active today. He is the author of more than 20 books on international law and editor or co-editor of 20 others.

The Eqbal Ahmed Centre For Public Education

This centre for public education (EACPE) can be reached on the link http://eacpe.org/ . It was established by the distinguished theoretical physicist Pervez Hoodbhoy and others, and it takes its name from the courageous writer, university professor and activist Eqbal Ahmed.

An article by S.M. Tatar in the Friday Times¹⁴ states that "The late Eqbal Ahmad was an internationally known and respected Pakistani political scientist, intellectual, scholar and teacher who returned to Islamabad in the 1990's with a dream. He wanted to build Khaldunia University. Khaldunia could have been a game-changer in Pakistan's higher education system. Eqbal Ahmad taught at various US universities and was a key political voice in international affairs. He enjoyed the friendship and respect of the likes of Edward Said and Noam Chomsky - who admired his work, his independent thinking and his identification with the causes of oppressed peoples.

"Ahmad was an intellectual with roots in Pakistan, influencing thinking on major world events like the Vietnam war, Algeria's war of independence and the Palestinian tragedy. He was fully committed to his vision. He was not a desk scholar. He was part of the Algerian liberation movement in the 1960's and an active opponent of the Vietnam war. Along with others, he was charged with being part of a plot to kidnap Henry Kissinger, in an effort to end the Vietnam war. And he advised the the PLO leadership in Palestine!"

The Eqbal Ahmed Centre for Public Education states that "Knowledge translated into action is the most potent and powerful game-changer known to man. The wedding

¹⁴https://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/a-dream-rudely-shattered/

of computers and telecommunications enables the transportation of ideas, the sharing of knowledge and the promotion of learning on a scale and with a speed that is near miraculous.

"The Eqbal Ahmad Centre for Public Education honours the life and work of Dr. Eqbal Ahmad, a Pakistani academic, social scientist, writer, public intellectual and activist. The Centre's web site of the same name is a rich mother lode of enlightening content for those who thirst for knowledge. They also keep adding to the content frequently, so the site is always worth a visit.

"We believe the site is a great resource for students as well. Some their content is directed at science students, particularly students of the physical sciences and mathematics. This particular section is rich in video content, and is certain to be helpful in acquiring a solid grounding in the subjects. Apart from such video lectures, there is also a great wealth of video material for those who wish to enhance their knowledge of scientific subjects in general."



Figure 8.16: Professer Eqbal Ahmed (1933-1999).



Figure 8.17: Professer Pervez Hoodbhoy (born in 1950) is Zohra and Z.Z. Ahmad Distinguished Professor of Physics and Mathematics at Forman Christian College, Lahore. In 2013, he was made a member of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament. Among the awards he has won are the IEEE Baker Award for Electronics (1968); the Abdus Salam Prize for Mathematics (1984); the UNESCO Kalinga Prize for the popularization of science (2003); the Joseph A. Burton Award (2010) from the American Physical Society and the Jean Meyer Award from Tufts University. In 2011, he was included in the list of 100 most influential global thinkers by Foreign Policy magazine. As the head of Mashal Books in Lahore, Prof. Hoodbhoy leads a major translation effort to produce books in Urdu that promote modern thought, human rights, and emancipation of women.

The Danish Peace Academy

The Danish Peace Academy is an organization that was founded by Holger Terp. Holger completed his education as a librarian in 1992. In 1996, he participated in a course on "Internet and Presentation Technique" at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen. However, in 1999 he suffered a stroke, which made him blind in one eye and almost blind in the other. The stroke also affected Holger's speech, so that it was difficult to understand him when he talked. Instead of giving up, as many people would have done, Holger resolved to devote the remainder his life to the cause of world peace. Despite his severe handicap, he has achieved almost incredible results.

Holger's greatest achievement has been to found the Danish Peace Academy and to single-handedly create its enormous website. The website contains more than 90,000 files related to peace, in Danish, English and German, and it is currently visited by approximately 4,000 different people each day. Many of the visitors are from schools and universities in various parts of the world, who use the information on the website as a part of their studies.

In creating his website, Holger has used both his training as a librarian and the knowledge that he gained from the 1996 course at Copenhagen's Academy of Fine Arts. As a result, many parts of the website have great visual beauty because of the liberal use of images. For example, one can enjoy Holger's "Greenham Common Songbook", which is an account of the successful efforts of the woman's peace movement in England to prevent common land at Greenham from being used as a base for nuclear weapons. The songbook is a piece of history, illustrated not only by the songs, which the visitor to the website can hear performed by such artists as Peggy Seeger, but also by countless beautiful posters and photos from the era. Other special features of the website are numerous books, articles, poetry and song collections, a peace-related encyclopedia, and a timeline showing the history of the peace movement, from the middle ages up to the present.

Holger himself is the author or editor of numerous books, and he has translated Gandhi's autobiography into Danish. The example of Gandhi's life has always been a guide for Holger, and perhaps Holger's life can be a guide for our own efforts, as we strive to work for peace. If he could achieve so much with such a severe handicap, then the rest of us ought to be able to do something too.

Here are some quotations from the forward to Holger's autobiography. It is written in Danish, but I have made an approximate translation:

Militarism and the Military Industrial Complex have proved to be too big a mouthful for the peace movement, despite the fact that militarism has always been the main contributor to pollution and climate change. Ever since the First World War, military activities have been the largest users of fossil fuels.

Let's consider a nice little war somewhere. Besides the human and other biological costs, cities are ruined, as well as the country's administration and infrastructure. The gross national product collapses down to a tiny fraction of what it had been before the war. Military hardware is destroyed in war, and the environment is polluted with poisonous



Figure 8.18: Holger Terp receives an award for his life-long efforts for world peace.

byproducts of its degradation, such as heavy metals. This has always been the case with war. Furthermore, wars do not turn out as the politicians and war departments plan. Wars are unpredictable. Militarists make at least as many mistakes as the rest of us.

Therefore it cannot surprise even the most ignorant politician that war is primarily about resources and economy. The empty places in arsenals need to be refilled after a war. Governments buy from private weapons manufacturers, and a new war starts somewhere in a distant country whose policies have not given us unlimited access to cheap resources; and the mills of disaster begin to roll again, since weapon production is both resource-swallowing and environment-destroying. The more powerful weapons are, the more environmentally destructive they are, both when they are ,manufactured and when they are used....

It seems strange to me that religious fundamentalists can read in the Old Testament the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill". In other words, killing is both a sin and a crime; also when the killing is organized by governments. But soldiers do exactly the opposite of what religion requires. They go to war and kill. They do so because politicians are manipulated by the merchants of death. the arms manufacturers. One has to admire the war party's propaganda-machine. It is amazingly effective, with the result that the weapon industry's profits have grown enormously ever since the Iraq War of 2003. Soldiers and civilians are traumatized by war. Not so the politicians who start the wars, and certainly not the weapons manufacturers.

Chapter 9 THE WAR MACHINE

9.1 Eisenhower's farewell address

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

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

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

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

Today the world spends more than 2 trillion dollars (\$ 2,00,000,000,000) every year on armaments. This vast river of money, almost too large to be imagined, is the "devil's dynamo" driving the institution of war. Politicians notoriously can be bought with a tiny fraction of this enormous amount; hence the decay of democracy. It is also plain that if the almost unbelievable sums now wasted on armaments were used constructively, most of the pressing problems now facing humanity could be solved.

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



Figure 9.1: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Militaryindustrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."



9.2 The threats and costs of war

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

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

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

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

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

The direct and indirect costs of war

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

Today, despite the end of the Cold War, the world spends roughly 2 trillion (i.e. 2 million million) US dollars each year on armaments. This colossal flood of money could have been used instead for education, famine relief, development of infrastructure, or on urgently needed public health measures.

The World Health Organization lacks funds to carry through an antimalarial program on as large a scale as would be desirable, but the entire program could be financed for less than our military establishments spend in a single day. Five hours of world arms spending is equivalent to the total cost of the 20-year WHO campaign that resulted in the eradication of smallpox. For every 100,000 people in the world, there are 556 soldiers, but only 85 doctors. Every soldier costs an average of \$20,000 per year, while the average spent on

TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE



Figure 9.2: Children born with birth defects due to the US use of Agent Orange during the Vietnam War. Source: stopwarcoalition.org

education is only \$380 per school-aged child. With a diversion of funds consumed by three weeks of military spending, the world could create a sanitary water supply for all its people, thus eliminating the cause of almost half of all human illness.

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

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

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

Medical and psychological consequences; loss of life

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

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

Civilian casualties often occur through malnutrition and through diseases that would be preventable in normal circumstances. Because of the social disruption caused by war,



Figure 9.3: A little girl cries as medics attend to her injuries at al-Shifa hospital in Gaza in 2014, during the conflict. Photo: UNICEF/Eyad El Baba

normal supplies of food, safe water and medicine are interrupted, so that populations become vulnerable to famine and epidemics.¹

Effects of war on children

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

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

Even when they are not killed or wounded by conflicts, children often experience painful psychological traumas: the violent death of parents or close relatives, separation from their families, seeing family members tortured, displacement from home, disruption of ordinary life, exposure to shelling and other forms of combat, starvation and anxiety about the future.²

 $[\]label{eq:linear} ^{1} http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/volume-2/issue-2-part-3/lessons-world-war-ihttp://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/27201-the-leading-terrorist-state$

²http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2080482/



Figure 9.4: Asylum-seekers in a holding centre on Greece's Samos Island.

Refugees

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

In 2001, 78% of all refugees came from ten areas: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa, Eritrea, Iraq, the Palestinian territories, Somalia and Sudan. A quarter of all refugees are Palestinians, who make up the world's oldest and largest refugee population. 45% of the world's refugees have found sanctuaries in Asia, 30% in Africa, 19% in Europe and 5% in North America.

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

The status of internally displaced persons is even worse than that of refugees who have crossed international borders. In many cases the international community simply ignores their suffering, reluctant to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. In fact, the United Nations Charter is self-contradictory in this respect, since on the one hand it calls for non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, but on the other hand, people everywhere are guaranteed freedom from persecution by the Charter's Universal
Declaration of Human Rights.³

Damage to infrastructure

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

We mentioned above that the world spends 2 trillion dollars each year on preparations for war. A similarly colossal amount is needed to repair the damage to infrastructure caused by war. Sometimes this damage is unintended, but sometimes it is intentional.

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

In general, because war has such a catastrophic effect on infrastructure, it can be thought of as the opposite of development. War is the greatest generator of poverty.⁴

Ecological damage

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

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

During the Gulf War of 1990, the oil spills amounted to 150 million barrels, 650 times the amount released into the environment by the notorious Exxon Valdez disaster. During

³https://www.hrw.org/topic/refugees

⁴https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2002/11/iraq-n04.html

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

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



Figure 9.5: Image source: Greenpeace

the Gulf War an enormous number of shells made of depleted uranium were fired. When the dust produced by exploded shells is inhaled it often produces cancer, and it will remain in the environment of Iraq for decades.

Radioactive fallout from nuclear tests pollutes the global environment and causes many thousands of cases of cancer, as well as birth abnormalities. Most nuclear tests have been carried out on lands belonging to indigenous peoples. Agent Orange also produced cancer, birth abnormalities and other serious forms of illness both in the Vietnamese population and among the foreign soldiers fighting in Vietnam⁵

9.3 The threat of nuclear war

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

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

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

 $^{^{5}} http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2401378/Agent-Orange-Vietnamese-children-suffering-effects-herbicide-sprayed-US-Army-40-years-ago.html$



Figure 9.6: The 15 megaton explosion detonated by the United States at Bikini Atoll in 1954 produced lasting biological damage to humans and animals living on the distant Marshall Islands. Today, half a century later, the islanders still experience radiation sickness in the form of leukemia and birth defects. Source: www.theguardian.com

by the fusion reaction, this ordinary uranium can undergo fission. In this way, a fission-fusion-fission bomb of almost limitless power can be produced.

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

We can perhaps be helped to imagine what a nuclear catastrophe means in human terms by reading the words of a young university professor, who was 2,500 meters from the hypocenter at the time of the bombing of Hiroshima: "Everything I saw made a deep impression: a park nearby covered with dead bodies... very badly injured people evacuated in my direction... Perhaps most impressive were girls, very young girls, not only with their clothes torn off, but their skin peeled off as well. ... My immediate thought was that this was like the hell I had always read about. ... I had never seen anything which resembled it before, but I thought that should there be a hell, this was it."

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

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

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



Figure 9.7: A nuclear war would be an ecological disaster, making large portions of the world permanently uninhabitable because of long-lasting radioactivity. Chernobyl radiation map 1996 30km zone by CIA Factbook. Licensed under CC BY-SA 2.5 via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 9.8: Sculpture depicting Saint George slaying the dragon. The dragon is created from fragments of Soviet SS-20 and United States Pershing nuclear missiles. UN Photo/Milton Grant

9.3. THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"...A smaller war, which set off fewer fires and put less dust into the atmosphere, could easily depress temperatures enough to essentially cancel grain production in the northern hemisphere. That in itself would be the greatest catastrophe ever delivered upon Homo Sapiens, just that one thing, not worrying about prompt effects. Thus even below the threshold, one cannot think of survival of a nuclear war as just being able to stand up after the bomb has gone off."⁶

https://www.wagingpeace.org/author/john-avery/

 $^{^{6}} http://www.voanews.com/content/pope-francis-calls-for-nuclear-weapons-ban/2909357.html http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrance$

http://www.countercurrents.org/avery300713.htm

http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/08/06/70-years-after-bombing-hiroshima-calls-abolish-

9.4 Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence

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

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

When a suspected criminal is tried for a wrongdoing, great efforts are devoted to clar-

nuclear-weapons

http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42488.htm

http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article42492.htm

http://www.commondreams.org/views/2015/08/06/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-remembering-power and the second seco

http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/07/22/israel-iran-and-the-nuclear-non-proliferation-treaty/linear-induction-treaty-induction-treaty-induction-treaty-induction-treaty-ind

http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/06/25/militarisms-hostages/

http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/05/24/the-path-to-zero-dialogues-on-nuclear-dangers-by-richard-falk-and-david-krieger/

http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/03/30/europe-must-not-be-forced-into-a-nuclear-war-with-russia/

http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/32073-the-us-should-eliminate-its-nuclear-arsenal-not-modernize-it

http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-4/flaws-concept-nuclear-deterrance

http://www.cadmusjournal.org/article/issue-6/arms-trade-treaty-opens-new-possibilities-upper large-treaty-opens-new-possibilities-upper large-treaty-opens-new-possibilities-new-possibilities-new-possibilities-new-possibilities-new-possibilities-new-possibilities-new-possibilities-

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

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

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

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

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

http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/08/06/us-unleashing-of-atomic-weapons-against-civilian-

populations-was-a-criminal-act-of-the-first-order/

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

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

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

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

ifying the question of guilt or innocence. Punishment only follows if guilt can be proved beyond any reasonable doubt. Contrast this with the totally indiscriminate mass slaughter that results from a nuclear attack!

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

The enormous and indiscriminate destruction produced by nuclear weapons formed the background for an historic 1996 decision by the International Court of Justice in the Hague. In response to questions put to it by WHO and the UN General Assembly, the Court ruled that "the threat and use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and particularly the principles and rules of humanitarian law." The only *possible* exception to this general rule might be "an extreme circumstance of self-defense, in which the very survival of a state would be at stake". But the Court refused to say that even in this extreme circumstance the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be legal. It left the exceptional case undecided. In addition, the World Court added unanimously that "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith *and bring to a conclusion* negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict international control."

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

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

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

Thus the concept of nuclear deterrence is not only unacceptable from the standpoint of ethics; it is also contrary to international law. The World Courts 1996 advisory Opinion unquestionably also represents the opinion of the majority of the worlds peoples. Although no formal plebiscite has been taken, the votes in numerous resolutions of the UN General Assembly speak very clearly on this question. For example the New Agenda Resolution (53/77Y) was adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1998 by a massively affirmative vote, in which only 18 out of the 170 member states voted against the resolution.⁷ The New Agenda Resolution proposes numerous practical steps towards complete nuclear disarmament, and it calls on the Nuclear-Weapon States "to demonstrate an unequivocal commitment to the speedy and total elimination of their nuclear weapons and without delay to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to the elimination of these weapons, thereby fulfilling their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)". Thus, in addition to being ethically unacceptable and contrary to international law, nuclear weapons also contrary to the principles of democracy.

More recently, on 7 July, 2017, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was passed by a massive majority in the Gernaral Assembly of the United Nations, It was opposed only by the nuclear weapons states and a few of their allies. The Nuclear Ban Treaty makes it very clear that nuclear weapons are illegal under international law. Although the nuclear weapons states still cling to their world-destroying weapons, it is to be hoped that the force of global public opinion will eventually force them to comply with the law.

Having said these important things, we can now turn to some of the other defects in the concept of nuclear deterrence. One important defect is that nuclear war may occur through accident or miscalculation - through technical defects or human failings. This possibility is made greater by the fact that despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of missiles carrying nuclear warheads are still kept on a "hair-trigger" state of alert with

⁷Of the 18 countries that voted against the New Agenda resolution, 10 were Eastern European countries hoping for acceptance into NATO, whose votes seem to have been traded for increased probability of acceptance.

a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by error in evaluating the signal on a radar screen. For example, the BBC reported recently that a group of scientists and military leaders are worried that a small asteroid entering the earths atmosphere and exploding could trigger a nuclear war if mistaken for a missile strike.

A number of prominent political and military figures (many of whom have ample knowledge of the system of deterrence, having been part of it) have expressed concern about the danger of accidental nuclear war. Colin S. Grey⁸ expressed this concern as follows: "The problem, indeed the enduring problem, is that we are resting our future upon a nuclear deterrence system concerning which we cannot tolerate even a single malfunction." General Curtis E. LeMay⁹ has written, "In my opinion a general war will grow through a series of political miscalculations and accidents rather than through any deliberate attack by either side." Bruce G. Blair¹⁰ has remarked that "It is obvious that the rushed nature of the process, from warning to decision to action, risks causing a catastrophic mistake."... "This system is an accident waiting to happen."

Today, the system that is supposed to give us security is called Mutually Assured Destruction, appropriately abbreviated as MAD. It is based on the idea of deterrence, which maintains that because of the threat of massive retaliation, no sane leader would start a nuclear war.

One important defect in the concept of deterrence is the fact that nuclear war may occur through accident or miscalculation, through technical defects or human failings, or by terrorism. This possibility is made greater by the fact that despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of missiles carrying nuclear warheads are still kept on "hair-trigger alert" with a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by error in evaluating the signal on a radar screen.

Incidents in which global disaster is avoided by a hair's breadth are constantly occurring. For example, on the night of 26 September, 1983, Lt. Col. Stanislav Petrov, a young software engineer, was on duty at a surveillance center near Moscow. Suddenly the screen in front of him turned bright red.

An alarm went off. It's enormous piercing sound filled the room. A second alarm followed, and then a third, fourth and fifth. "The computer showed that the Americans had launched a strike against us", Petrov remembered later. His orders were to pass the information up the chain of command to Secretary General Yuri Andropov. Within minutes, a nuclear counterattack would be launched. However, because of certain inconsistent features of the alarm, Petrov disobeyed orders and reported it as a computer error, which indeed it was.

Most of us probably owe our lives to his coolheaded decision and knowledge of software systems. The narrowness of this escape is compounded by the fact that Petrov was on duty only because of the illness of another officer with less knowledge of software, who would

⁸Chairman, National Institute for Public Policy

⁹Founder and former Commander in Chief of the United States Strategic Air Command

¹⁰Brookings Institute

have accepted the alarm as real.

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

Nuclear weapons are criminal! Every war is a crime!

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

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

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

9.5 Dangers of nuclear power generation

The Chernobyl disaster

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

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

Public opinion turned against nuclear power generation as a result of the Chernobyl disaster. Had the disaster taken place in Western Europe or North America, its effect on

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

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

Reactors and nuclear weapons

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

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

The Bohr-Wheeler theory also predicted that an isotope of plutonium, Pu-239, should be just as fissionable as U-235¹¹. Instead of trying to separate the rare isotope, U-235, from the common isotope, U-238, physicists could just operate a nuclear reactor until a sufficient amount of Pu-239 accumulated, and then separate it out by ordinary chemical means.

¹¹Both U-235 and Pu-239 have odd nucleon numbers. When U-235 absorbs a neutron, it becomes U-236, while when Pu-239 absorbs a neutron it becomes Pu-240. In other words, absorption of a neutron converts both these species to nuclei with even nucleon numbers. According to the Bohr-Wheeler theory, nuclei with even nucleon numbers are especially tightly-bound. Thus absorption of a neutron converts U-235 to a highly-excited state of U-236, while Pu-239 is similarly converted to a highly excited state of Pu-240. The excitation energy distorts the nuclei to such an extent that fission becomes possible.

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

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

The enrichment of uranium¹² is also linked to reactor use. Many reactors of modern design make use of low enriched uranium (LEU) as a fuel. Nations operating such a reactor may claim that they need a program for uranium enrichment in order to produce LEU for fuel rods. However, by operating their ultracentrifuges a little longer, they can easily produce highly enriched uranium (HEU), i.e., uranium containing a high percentage of the rare isotope U-235, and therefore usable in weapons.

Known reserves of uranium are only sufficient for the generation of 8×10^{20} joules of electrical energy ¹³, i.e., about 25 TWy. It is sometimes argued that a larger amount of electricity could be obtained from the same amount of uranium through the use of fast breeder reactors, but this would involve totally unacceptable proliferation risks. In fast breeder reactors, the fuel rods consist of highly enriched uranium. Around the core, is an envelope of natural uranium. The flux of fast neutrons from the core is sufficient to convert a part of the U-238 in the envelope into Pu-239, a fissionable isotope of plutonium.

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

It is interesting to review the way in which Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, India and North Korea¹⁴ obtained their nuclear weapons, since in all these cases the weapons were constructed under the guise of "atoms for peace", a phrase that future generations may someday regard as being tragically self-contradictory.

Israel began producing nuclear weapons in the late 1960's (with the help of a "peaceful" nuclear reactor provided by France, and with the tacit approval of the United States) and the country is now believed to possess 100-150 of them, including neutron bombs. Israel's

¹²i.e. production of uranium with a higher percentage of U-235 than is found in natural uranium

¹³Craig, J.R., Vaugn, D.J. and Skinner, B.J., *Resources of the Earth: Origin, Use and Environmental Impact, Third Edition*, page 210.

¹⁴Israel, India and Pakistan have refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and North Korea, after signing the NPT, withdrew from it in 2003.

policy is one of visibly possessing nuclear weapons while denying their existence.

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

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

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

In Pakistan, Dr. A.Q. Khan became a great national hero. He was presented as the person who had saved Pakistan from attack by India by creating Pakistan's own nuclear weapons. In a Washington Post article¹⁵ Pervez Hoodbhoy wrote: "Nuclear nationalism was the order of the day as governments vigorously promoted the bomb as the symbol of Pakistan's high scientific achievement and self-respect..." Similar manifestations of nuclear nationalism could also be seen in India after India's 1998 bomb tests.

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

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

If nuclear reactors become the standard means for electricity generation as the result of a future energy crisis, the number of nations possessing nuclear weapons might ultimately be as high as 40. If this should happen, then over a long period of time the chance that one

¹⁵1 February, 2004

or another of these nations would undergo a revolution during which the weapons would fall into the hands of a subnational group would gradually grow into a certainty.

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

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

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

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

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

Nuclear reactors used for "peaceful" purposes unfortunately also generate fissionable

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

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

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

9.6 Military-industrial complexes today

"We're going to take out seven countries in five years"

In an interview with Amy Goodman¹⁶, retired 4-star General Wesley Clark said: "About ten days after 9/11, I went through the Pentagon and I saw Secretary Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz. I went downstairs just to say hello to some of the people on the Joint Staff who used to work for me, any one of the generals called me in. He said, "Sir, you've got to come in and talk to me a second." I said, "Well, you're too busy." He said, "No, no." He says, "We've made the decision we're going to war with Iraq." This was on or about the 20th of September. I said, "We're going to war with Iraq? Why?" He said, "I don't know." He said, "I guess they don't know what else to do." So I said, "Well, did they find some information connecting Saddam to al-Qaeda?" He said, "No, no." He says, "There's nothing new that way. They just made the decision to go to war with Iraq." He said, "I guess it's like we don't know what to do about terrorists, but we've got a good military

¹⁶https://genius.com/General-wesley-clark-seven-countries-in-five-years-annotated

9.6. MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES TODAY



Figure 9.9: General Wesley Clark

and we can take down governments." And he said, "I guess if the only tool you have is a hammer, every problem has to look like a nail.

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

The global trade in light arms

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

The United Nations website on Peace and Security through Disarmament states that

"Small arms and light weapons destabilize regions; spark, fuel and prolong conflicts; obstruct relief programmes; undermine peace initiatives; exacerbate human rights abuses; hamper development; and foster a 'culture of violence'."

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

Examples of endemic conflict

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

The Wolfowitz Doctrine

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

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

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

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



Figure 9.10: 40,000 children die each day from starvation or from poverty-related diseases. Meanwhile, the world spends more than \$1,700,000,000,000 each year on armaments.



Figure 9.11: Countries by estimated nuclear warhead stockpiles according to the Federation of American scientists.

Militarism in North Korea

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

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

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

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

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

Table 9.1: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, 2016

Rank	Company	Country	Annual Arms Sales \$ Mn.
1	Lockheed Martin	United States	40,830
2	Boeing	United States	29,510
3	Raytheon	United States	22,910
4	BAE Systems	United Kingdom	22.700
5	Northrop Grumman	United States	21,400
6	General Dynamics	United States	19,230
7	Airbus	European Union	12,520
8	L-3 Communications	United States	8,890
9	Leonardo-Finmeccanica	Italy	8,500
10	Thales Group	France	8,170
11	United Technologies Corporation	United States	6,870
12	Huntington Ingalls Industries	United States	6,720

Table 9.2: SIPRI List of arms manufacturers, 2016



Figure 9.12: North Korea's dictator, Kim Jong-un. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence rests on the assumption that political leaders will always act rationally, an assumption that seems very uncertain in the case of the U.S.-North Korean conflict.

The SIPRI Yearbook, 2017

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.7 A culture of violence

Links with the entertainment industry

Here are a few films that glorify war:

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

Making a game of killing

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

For example, a game entitled "Full Spectrum Warrior" was recently reviewed in a Danish newspaper. According to the reviewer, "...An almost perfect combination of graphics, sound, band design, and gameplay makes it seem exactly like the film Black Hawk Down - with the player as the main character. This is not just a coincidence, because the game is based on an army training program... Full Spectrum Warrior is an extremely intense experience, and despite the advanced possibilities, the controls are simple enough so that young children can play it... The player is completely drawn into the screen, and remains there until the end of the mission." The reviewer gave the game six stars (the maximum). Another genre of computer games has to do with building empires, ignoring the fact that imperialism is morally indefensible. For example, "Forge of Empires" is a browserbased strategy game. It is described as follows: "The game offers a single-player campaign for players to explore and conquer several provinces, gaining resources and new technology as they progress." Conquering countries for the sake of gaining their resources is an all-toofamiliar feature of the modern world. In the game "Forge of Empires", our young people are indoctrinated with the ethos of resource wars.

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

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

9.8 Militarism is the US national religion

Here are some quotations from an article by William Astore entitled *Military Might Is Our* National Religion¹⁷. He lists the following facts to support his thesis:

- We believe in wars. We may no longer believe in formal declarations of war (not since December 1941 has Congress made one in our name), but that sure hasn't stopped us from waging them. From Korea to Vietnam, Afghanistan to Iraq, the Cold War to the War on Terror, and so many military interventions in between, including Grenada, Panama, and Somalia, Americans are always fighting somewhere as if we saw great utility in thumbing our noses at the Prince of Peace. (That's Jesus Christ, if I remember my Catholic catechism correctly.)
- We believe in weaponry, the more expensive the better. The underperforming F-35 stealth fighter may cost \$1.45 trillion over its lifetime. An updated nuclear triad (land-based missiles, nuclear submarines, and strategic bombers) may cost that already mentioned \$2 trillion. New (and malfunctioning) aircraft carriers cost us more than \$10 billion each. And all such weaponry requests get funded, with few questions asked, despite a history of their redundancy, ridiculously high price, regular cost overruns,

¹⁷Truthout, August 13, 2019

and mediocre performance. Meanwhile, Americans squabble bitterly over a few hundred million dollars for the arts and humanities.

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

9.8. MILITARISM IS THE US NATIONAL RELIGION

thumbs of our unelected college of cardinals. Their overblown term for it is "full-spectrum dominance," which, in translation, means they grant themselves god-like powers over our lives and that of our planet (though the largely undefeated enemies in their various wars don't seem to have acknowledged this reality).

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



Figure 9.13: The peoples of the world must revolt against the endless wars of their governments. All-destroying modern weapons have made the institution of war prohibitively dangerous.

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Chapter 10 THE POPULARITY OF RACISM

10.1 Racism, colonialism and exceptionalism

It seems to be possible for nations, and the majority of their citizens, to commit the worst imaginable atrocities, including torture, murder and genocide, while feeling that what they are doing is both noble and good. Some understanding of how this is possible can be gained by watching the 3-part BBC documentary, "The History of Racism".¹

The series was broadcast by BBC Four in March 2007, and videos of the broadcasts are available on the Internet. Watching this eye-opening documentary can give us much insight into the link between racism and colonialism. We can also begin to see how both racism and colonialism are linked to US exceptionalism and neocolonialism.

10.2 Heart of Darkness

Looking at the BBC documentary we can see how often in human history economic greed and colonial exploitation have been justified by racist theories. The documentary describes almost unbelievable cruelties committed against the peoples of the Americas and Africa by Europeans. For example, in the Congo, a vast region which King Leopold II of Belgium claimed as his private property, the women of villages were held as hostages while the men were forced to gather rubber in the forests. Since neither the men nor the women could produce food under these circumstances, starvation was the result.

Leopold's private army of 90,000 men were issued ammunition, and to make sure that they used it in the proper way, the army was ordered to cut off the hands of their victims and send them back as proof that the bullets had not been wasted. Human hands became a kind of currency, and hands were cut off from men, women and children when rubber quotas were not fulfilled. Sometimes more than a thousand human hands were gathered in

¹https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efI6T8lovqY https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IdBDRbjx9jo

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oCJHJWaNL-g



Figure 10.1: Half of the population of Belgian Congo died during the rule of Leopold II.

a single day. During the rule of Leopold, roughly 10,000,000 Congolese were killed, which was approximately half the population of the region.

According to the racist theories that supported these atrocities, it was the duty of philanthropic Europeans like Leopold to bring civilization and the Christian religion to Africa. Similar theories were used to justify the genocides committed by Europeans against the native inhabitants of the Americas.

Racist theories were also used to justify enormous cruelties committed by the British colonial government in India. For example, during the great famine of 1876-1878, in which ten million people died, the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, oversaw the export to England of a record 6.4 million hundredweight of wheat.

Meanwhile, in Europe, almost everyone was proud of the role which they were playing in the world. All that they read in newspapers and in books or heard from the pulpits of their churches supported the idea that they were serving the non-Europeans by bringing them the benefits of civilization and Christianity. On the whole, the mood of Europe during this orgy of external cruelty and exploitation, was self-congratulatory.

Can we not see a parallel with the self-congratulatory mood of the American people and their allies, who export violence, murder, torture and neocolonialism to the whole world, and who justify it by thinking of themselves as "exceptional"?



Figure 10.2: Joseph Conrad's famous book was written against the background of Leopold's atrocities.



Figure 10.3: Heart of Darkness: In Leopold's Congo, human hands became a currency.

TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE



Figure 10.4: Heart of Darkness: Part of a palace built by Leopold II to glorify his "humanitarian" activities in the Congo.

10.3 The racism of Cecil Rhodes

Cecil Rhodes, who was born in Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire, came to South Africa in the late 1800s and made his fortune in the country's diamond mines before moving into politics. He served as prime minister of the Cape Colony and later founded the southern African territory of Rhodesia, which would later become independent Zimbabwe. He was the architect of South Africa's notorious apartheid system, and a rabid advocate of British imperialism. Social Darwinism and the eugenics movement may have contributed to the racism and imperialism of Cecil Rhodes.

In a December 2015 article in *The Telegraph*, Dalia Gebrial wrote: "Cecil Rhodes was a man responsible for untold, unending devastation and violence. An architect of South African apartheid, he explicitly believed in the existence of an Anglo-Saxon master race an ideology that drove him to not only steal approximately one [square] million miles of South African land, but to facilitate the deaths of hundreds of thousands of black South Africans.

"His establishment of a paramilitary private army, the British South Africa Company's Police (BSACP) resulted in the systematic murder of approximately 60,000 people; his amendment of the Masters and Servants Act (1890) reintroduced conditions of torture for black labourers; his infamous racist 'land grabs' set up a system in which the unlawful and illegitimate acquisition of land through armed force was routine.

"In 1887 he told the House of Assembly in Cape Town: 'The native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa.' His 1892 Franchise and Ballot Act effectively eliminated African voting rights. He repeatedly reminded his colleagues of the 'extreme caution' they must exercise when it comes to 'granting the franchise to coloured people.

Rhodes wanted to create an international movement to extend British influence. He once said: "Why should we not form a secret society with but one object, the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole world under British rule, for the recovery of the United States, for making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire?"

Rhodes did, in fact, establish this secret society, and it remains very influential today. According to G. Edward Griffin², "Financed by Nathan Rothschild and the Bank of England, he [Rhodes] established a monopoly over the diamond output of South Africa and most of the gold as well. He formed a secret society which included many of the top leaders of British government. Their elitist goal was nothing less than world domination and the establishment of a modern feudalist society controlled by themselves through the world's central banks. In America, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) was an outgrowth of that group."

10.4 Nazi atrocities

During the World War II Holocaust, six million Jews were systematically murdered. This amounted to two thirds of the Jewish population of Europe. A broader definition of the Holocaust includes the murder of the Roma and the "incurably sick". as well as ethnic Poles, other Slavic groups, Soviet citizens and prisoners of war, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, black people, and political opponents.

At least three million Soviet prisoners of war died in German custody, but this figure is small compared with the total number of lives lost in the Soviet Union during World War II. Depending on which historian you believe, the USSR lost at least 11,000,000 soldiers (killed and missing) as well as somewhere between 7,000,000 and 20,000,000 million of its civilians. The total number of people killed in World War II is approximately 60,000,000. If deaths from war-related disease and famine are included, this figure becomes an estimated 80,000,000.

²in his book, The Creature from Jeckyll Island



Figure 10.5: Nazi genocides: A pile of corpses in the Buchenwald extermination camp.



Figure 10.6: The idea of the superiority of one race over another was at the root of Nazi atrocities.



Figure 10.7: Nazi racism was built on the idea that Aryans are superior to all other races. But who is to decide? Will not each ethnic group or nation always decide that they themselves are the "chosen people", loved by God and superior to all others?



Figure 10.8: Baba Yar.



Figure 10.9: Polish farmers killed by German forces, German-occupied Poland, 1943.



Figure 10.10: Polish teachers from Bydgoszcz guarded by members of Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz before execution,



Figure 10.11: Mass murder of Soviet civilians near Minsk, 1943.



Figure 10.12: The anti-Jewish pogrom in Kaunas, in which thousands of Jews were killed in the last few days of June 1941.



Figure 10.13: German police shooting women and children from the Mizocz Ghetto, 14 October 1942.



Figure 10.14: Crowds of Germans applauding Adolf Hitler at a rally in Nuremberg.



Figure 10.15: Another photo from Nuremberg. Racism is popular!

10.5 Donald trump was elected on a platform of racism

Here is a list taken from an article by German Lopaz, entitled Donald Trump's long history of racism, from the 1970s to 2019 3 .

- Trump launched his campaign in 2015 by calling Mexican immigrants "rapists" who are "bringing crime" and "bringing drugs" to the US. His campaign was largely built on building a wall to keep these immigrants out of the US.
- As a candidate in 2015, Trump called for a ban on all Muslims coming into the US. His administration eventually implemented a significantly watered-down version of the policy.
- When asked at a 2016 Republican debate whether all 1.6 billion Muslims hate the US, Trump said, "I mean a lot of them. I mean a lot of them."
- He argued in 2016 that Judge Gonzalo Curiel who was overseeing the Trump University lawsuit should recuse himself from the case because of his Mexican heritage and membership in a Latino lawyers association. House Speaker Paul Ryan, who endorsed Trump, later called such comments "the textbook definition of a racist comment."
- Trump has been repeatedly slow to condemn white supremacists who endorse him, and he regularly retweeted messages from white supremacists and neo-Nazis during his presidential campaign.

 $^{^{3}} https://www.vox.com/2016/7/25/12270880/donald-trump-racist-racism-history$

- He tweeted and later deleted an image that showed Hillary Clinton in front of a pile of money and by a Jewish Star of David that said, "Most Corrupt Candidate Ever!" The tweet had some very obvious anti-Semitic imagery, but Trump insisted that the star was a sheriff's badge, and said his campaign shouldn't have deleted it.
- Trump has repeatedly referred to Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) as "Pocahontas," using her controversial and later walked-back claims to Native American heritage as a punchline.
- At the 2016 Republican convention, Trump officially seized the mantle of the "law and order" candidate an obvious dog whistle playing to white fears of black crime, even though crime in the US is historically low. His speeches, comments, and executive actions after he took office have continued this line of messaging.
- In a pitch to black voters in 2016, Trump said, "You're living in poverty, your schools are no good, you have no jobs, 58 percent of your youth is unemployed. What the hell do you have to lose?"
- Trump stereotyped a black reporter at a press conference in February 2017. When April Ryan asked him if he plans to meet and work with the Congressional Black Caucus, he repeatedly asked her to set up the meeting even as she insisted that she's "just a reporter."
- In the week after white supremacist protests in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017, Trump repeatedly said that "many sides" and "both sides" were to blame for the violence and chaos that ensued suggesting that the white supremacist protesters were morally equivalent to counterprotesters that stood against racism. He also said that there were "some very fine people" among the white supremacists. All of this seemed like a dog whistle to white supremacists and many of them took it as one, with white nationalist Richard Spencer praising Trump for "defending the truth."
- Throughout 2017, Trump repeatedly attacked NFL players who, by kneeling or otherwise silently protesting during the national anthem, demonstrated against systemic racism in America.
- Trump reportedly said in 2017 that people who came to the US from Haiti "all have AIDS," and he lamented that people who came to the US from Nigeria would never "go back to their huts" once they saw America. The White House denied that Trump ever made these comments.
- Speaking about immigration in a bipartisan meeting in January 2018, Trump reportedly asked, in reference to Haiti and African countries, "Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?" He then reportedly suggested that the US should take more people from countries like Norway. The implication: Immigrants from predominantly white countries are good, while immigrants from predominantly black countries are bad.

300

The disastrous 2016 US election

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Creating a level playing field can lead to a more efficient allocation of financial resources, helping to strengthen to advance the development of energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies. Removing fossil fuel and energy subsidies globally would reflect more accurately the true cost of energy generation." ⁴

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

The size of this budget is almost beyond comprehension: 610 billion dollars per year. This does not include nuclear weapons research, maintenance, cleanup and production, which are paid for by the Department of Energy. Nor does it include payments in pensions

⁴http://www.ren21.net/status-of-renewables/global-status-report/

to military retirees and widows, nor interest on debt for past wars, nor the State Department's financing foreign arms sales and military-related development assistance, nor special emergency grants for current wars. Nor are the expenses of the Department of Homeland Security included in the Pentagon's budget, nor those of the CIA, nor the huge budget of NSA and other dark branches of the US government. One can only guess at the total figure if everything should be included, but it is probably well over a trillion dollars per year.

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

Against expectations, Donald Trump who, in the words of Michael Moore, is a "wretched, ignorant, dangerous part-time clown and full-time sociopath", was elected in 2016. What happened? Disillusioned by the way in which the immensely popular Senator Bernie Sanders was sabotaged by the media and by the Democratic National Committee, and despising Hillary Clinton for her involvement in US wars and Wall Street banks, many progressive voters stayed away from the polls. In their absence, Trump won narrowly. He lost the popular vote, but won the electoral vote. Today, the White House is a morass of dissension, erratic decisions and lies.



Figure 10.16: Is this the person to whom we ought to entrust the future of our planet? When elected, Donald Trump not only pulled the United States out of the Paris Agreement; he also sabotaged the Environmental Protection Agency to such an extent that the carefully collected facts on climate change that the agency had accumulated had to be secretly saved by scientists to prevent their destruction by the Trump administration. Furthermore, Donald Trump's administration not only subsidizes giant coal corporations. It also has sabotages renewable energy initiatives in the United States.



Figure 10.17: When Senator Bernie Sanders began his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, few people believed that he could succeed. But as his campaign gained momentum, enormous crowds were attracted to his reformist speeches, and small individual donors supported his expenses. Although the crowds at Sanders' speeches were at least four times the size of those attending the rallies of other candidates, they were not reported in the mass media. Sanders' campaign was also sabotaged by the corporate-controlled Democratic National Committee. His huge popularity remains undimmed today, despite his loss in the 2016 primary. He advocates a social system for the United States similar to these which have made the Scandinavian countries leaders in both human development and human happiness indices.



Figure 10.18: Dr. Jill Stein was the Green Party's presidential candidate in 2016. She was the only candidate who was willing to talk about the "elephant in the room" - the obscenely enormous military budget that consumed almost a trillion dollars that could otherwise have been used for social goals, health, education and infrastructure.



Figure 10.19: Disillusioned progressive voters who stayed at home were responsible for Trump's victory.

10.6 Children in cages

Inhumane treatment at the border

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

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

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

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

We also spoke with children who had been held for some period of time in quarantine cells. A 14- year-old girl told us, "I was in the first cell for seven days, sleeping with no mattress. It is hard to sleep when you don't have a mattress. I then came down with the flu. I then went into the flu cell for seven days. When you are in the flu cell, y ou also sleep on the floor, but you have a mattress. There were 21 other kids in that space with the flu. I had a fever in there and I was shaking. Some of the other kids were vomiting. They all had fevers. No one was taking care of the kids with the flu.... We were not allowed



to leave the flu cell, ever. It was very boring. I did nothing to entertain myself, nor was anything offered. It was sad, very sad. I felt locked up and closed in."

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

A 7-year-old girl I attempted to interview entered the room silently but burst into tears when we asked whom she traveled with to the US. "My aunt," she said, with a keening cry. She was so upset we decided not to attempt to interview her, a situation that happened several times during our visit. A bracelet on her wrist had the words "US parent" and a phone number written in permanent marker. We called the number on the spot and found out that no one had informed her desperate parents where she was being held. Some of the most emotional moments of our visit came witnessing children speak for the first time with their parents on an attorney's phone.

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











The definition of genocide

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

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

a Killing members of the group;

b Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

c Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

d Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

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

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

10.7 Demonizing the Squad

On Sunday, July 14, Trump Tweeted

"So interesting to see 'Progressive' Democrat Congresswomen, who originally came from countries whose governments are a complete and total catastrophe, the worst, most corrupt and inept anywhere in the world (if they even have a functioning government at all), now loudly and viciously telling the people of the United States, the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth, how our government is to be run,"



Figure 10.20: The "Squad", four first-term congresswomen: Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY), Ayanna Pressley (D-MA), Rashida Tlaib (D-MI), Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (lower left) has made extremely important contributions to the struggle to avoid catastrophic climate change. Highly intelligent, vocal, eloquent and witty, she is a thorn in the Republican's side.

"Why don't they go back and help fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they came. Then come back and show us how it is done. These places need your help badly, you can't leave fast enough. I'm sure that Nancy Pelosi would be very happy to quickly work out free travel arrangements!"

His targets were the four first-term congresswomen known as the Squad: Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY), Ayanna Pressley (D-MA), Rashida Tlaib (D-MI), and Ilhan Omar (D-MN). Of the four, only Omar was born outside the United States. Trump later accused the four women of hating America and not loving Israel enough. This is one more example of Trump's racist rhetoric.

The United States is a multiethnic country, whose internal cohesion can easily be destroyed by racism. During most of its history, the US has had substantial Spanish-speaking and Italian-speaking minorities, as well as great religious diversity. During the 1960's the civil rights movement fought against racial prejudice and gradually achieved most of its goals. Thus, over a very long period of time, the United States learned to avoid racial and religious insults in its media, and this hard-earned wisdom has allowed the very markedly multi-ethnic US society to function with a minimum of racial and religious conflicts. Trump's racism risks destroying these hard-earned lessons.

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Chapter 11 NEO-NAZISM

11.1 Revival of Nazi ideology after World War II

According to Wikipedia, "Neo-Nazism consists of post-World War II militant social or political movements seeking to revive and implement the ideology of Nazism. Neo-Nazis seek to employ their ideology to promote hatred and attack minorities, or in some cases to create a fascist political state. It is a global phenomenon, with organized representation in many countries and international networks. It borrows elements from Nazi doctrine, including ultranationalism, racism, xenophobia, ableism, homophobia, anti-Romanyism, antisemitism, anti-communism and initiating the Fourth Reich. Holocaust denial is a common feature, as is the incorporation of Nazi symbols and admiration of Adolf Hitler.

"In some European and Latin American countries, laws prohibit the expression of pro-Nazi, racist, anti-Semitic, or homophobic views. Many Nazi-related symbols are banned in many European countries - in particular Germany and Austria - in an effort to curtail neo-Nazism.

"Following the defeat of Nazi Germany, the political ideology of the ruling party, Nazism, was in complete disarray. However, conspiracy theories emerged about Hitler himself, that he had secretly survived the war and fled to South America or elsewhere.

"The Allied Control Council officially dissolved the NSDAP on 10 October 1945, marking the end of "Old" National Socialism. A process of denazification began, and the Nuremberg trials took place, where many major leaders and ideologues were condemned to death by October 1946, others committed suicide. Otto Ernst Remer, leader of the postwar Socialist Reich Party.

"In both the East and West, surviving ex-party members and military veterans assimilated to the new reality and had no interest in constructing a "neo-Nazism." However, during the 1949 elections a number of National Socialist advocates such as Fritz Rössler had infiltrated the national conservative Deutsche Rechtspartei, which had 5 members elected. Rössler and others left to found the more radical Socialist Reich Party under Otto Ernst Remer. At the onset of the Cold War, the SRP favoured the Soviet Union."



Figure 11.1: Otto Ernst Remer, leader of the postwar Socialist Reich Party.



Figure 11.2: Otto Strasser, leader of the German Social Union, returned from exile to Germany in the mid-1950s.



Figure 11.3: George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party and progenitor of subsequent uniformed neo-Nazi groups.



Figure 11.4: The Italian group Ordine Nuovo, banned in 1974, drew influence from the Waffen-SS and Guénonian Traditionalism via Julius Evola.



Figure 11.5: The radicalisation of Flemish activist group the Vlaamse Militanten Orde in the 1970s, energized international neo-Nazism.



Figure 11.6: Serrano identified Aryan-Hyperborean blood as the "light of the Black Sun", a symbol found at SS-cult site Wewelsburg Castle.



Figure 11.7: Members of the National Bolshevik Party. "Nazbols" tailor ultranationalist themes to a native Russian environment while still employing National Socialist aesthetics.



Figure 11.8: The nearest Italy came to returning to fascism was the 1970 Golpe Borghese of commando veteran Junio Valerio Borghese.



Figure 11.9: French neo-fascist groups adopted the Celtic cross as an ambiguous "Christian and pagan" symbol since the 1940s.



Figure 11.10: Young boy wearing a shirt with a Black Legion sign at a Thompson concert in Croatia.



Figure 11.11: "Hungaria Skins" with a flag evoking the Arrow Cross in 1997.



Figure 11.12: Protesters with neo-Nazi symbols - SS-Volunteer Division "Galicia" and Patriot of Ukraine flags.



Figure 11.13: Ukrainian volunteer battalion members with neo-Nazi Wolfsangel symbol, 24 July 2014.



Figure 11.14: Neo-Nazi skinheads in Spain.



Figure 11.15: Neo-Nazi demonstration in Leipzig, Germany in October 2009.



Figure 11.16: Flag of the Golden Dawn (Greece).



Figure 11.17: ONR march in Poznań in November 2015.


Figure 11.18: Neo-Nazism in Russia: The photograph was taken at an anti-gay demonstration in Moscow in October 2010.

11.2 Apartheid

Nelson Mandela leads South Afriad from Apartheid to equality

Mandela's great-grandfather was the ruler of the Thembu peoples in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. When Mandela's father died, his mother brought the young boy to the palace of the Thembu people's Regent, Chief Jogintaba Dalindyebo, who became the boy's guardian. He treated Mandela as a son and gave him an outstanding education.

Mandela's realization of the power of truth came during the Rivonia Trial (1963-1964), where he was accused of plotting to overthrow the government of South Africa by violence, and his life was at stake. Remembering this event, Mandela wrote: "In a way I had never quite comprehended before, I realized the role I could play in court and the possibilities before me as a defendant. I was the symbol of justice in the court of the oppressor, the representative of the great ideals of freedom, fairness and democracy in a society that dishonored those virtues. I realized then and there that I could carry on the fight even in the fortress of the enemy"

During his defense statement, Mandela said: "I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and see realized. But my Lord, if it needs to be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Although the prosecutor demanded the death penalty, Mandela was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. His defense statement became widely known throughout the world, and he became the era's most famous prisoner of conscience. The South African apartheid regime was universally condemned by the international community, and while still in prison, Mandela was given numerous honors, including an honorary doctorate in Lesotho, the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding and Freedom of the City of Glasgow. "Free Mandela" concerts were held in England and the UN Security Council demanded his release.

Finally, as it became increasingly clear that the South African apartheid regime was untenable, Mandela was released in February 1990. He spoke to an enormous and wild cheering crowd of supporters, who had waited four hours to hear him. Four years later, he was elected President of South Africa. He was awarded 250 major honors, including the Nobel Peace Prize, which he shared with de Klerk.

Mandela is also remembered as a great champion of reconciliation. Wikipedia describes his period as President of South Africa in the following words:

"Presiding over the transition from apartheid minority rule to a multicultural democracy, Mandela saw national reconciliation as the primary task of his presidency. Having seen other post-colonial African economies damaged by the departure of white elites, Mandela worked to reassure South Africa's white population that they were protected and represented in 'The Rainbow Nation'."



Figure 11.19: Cape Coloured children in Bonteheuwel.



Figure 11.20: Annual per capita personal income by race group in South Africa relative to white levels.



Figure 11.21: Sign designating a public space as "for use by white persons".



Figure 11.22: Painting of the Sharpeville Massacre of March 1960.



Figure 11.23: De Klerk and Mandela in Davos, 1992.



Figure 11.24: The new multicoloured flag of South Africa adopted in 1994 to mark the end of Apartheid.

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Chapter 12 THE FAR RIGHT

12.1 Alt-right

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

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

Wikipedia states that "The alt-right, an abbreviation of alternative right, is a loosely connected far-right, white supremacist, white nationalist, white separatist, anti-immigration and sometimes antisemitic movement based in the United States. A largely online phenomenon, the alt-right originated in the U.S. during the 2010s although it has since established a presence in various other countries. The term is ill-defined, having been used in different ways by various self-described 'alt-rightists', media commentators, and academics.

"In 2010, the American white nationalist Richard B. Spencer launched The Alternative Right webzine to disseminate his ideas. Spencer's 'alternative right' was influenced by earlier forms of American white nationalism, as well as paleoconservatism, the Dark Enlightenment, and the Nouvelle Droite. Critics charged it with being a rebranding of white supremacism. His term was shortened to "alt-right" and popularised by far-right participants of /pol/, the politics board of web forum 4chan. It came to be associated with other white nationalist websites and groups, including Andrew Anglin's Daily Stormer, Brad Griffin's Occidental Dissent, and Matthew Heimbach's Traditionalist Worker Party...

"The alt-right is a white nationalist, biologically racist movement. Part of its membership supports anti-immigrationist policies to ensure a continued white majority in the



Figure 12.1: Prominent alt-rightists were instrumental in organizing the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017. Here, rally participants carry Confederate battle flags, Gadsden flags and a Nazi flag.

United States. Others call for the breakup of the country to form a white separatist ethno-state in North America. Some alt-rightists seek to make white nationalism socially respectable in the U.S., while others - known as the '1488' scene - adopt openly white supremacist and neo-Nazi stances. Some alt-rightists are anti-semitic, promoting a conspiracy theory that there is a Jewish plot to bring about white genocide; other alt-rightists view most Jews as members of the white race. The alt-right is anti-feminist, advocates for a more patriarchal society, and intersects with the men's rights movement and other sectors of the online manosphere...

"Membership was overwhelmingly white and male, with academic and anti-fascist observers linking its growth to deteriorating living standards and prospects, anxieties about the place of white masculinity, and anger at increasingly visible left-wing forms of identity politics like the Black Lives Matter movement. Constituent groups using the "alt-right" label have been characterized as hate groups, [2][3] while alt-right material has been a contributing factor in the radicalization of young white men responsible for a range of far-right murders and terrorist attacks in the U.S. since 2014."



Figure 12.2: Heather Heyer was murdered in 2017 by a white nationalist rally participant in Charlottesville. Since then, mass shootings in Poway, Gilroy, and El Paso and elsewhere have been each linked to white nationalist beliefs.

TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE



Figure 12.3: Breitbart News amplified and popularised alt-right ideas under the editorship of "alt-lite" figure Steve Bannon.



Figure 12.4: The alt-right largely rallied behind the presidential candidacy of Donald Trump, although he later distanced himself from the movement.



Figure 12.5: A participant at the Unite the Right rally giving a Nazi salute in front of counter-protesters.



Figure 12.6: The alt-rightist was then punched in an altercation with counterprotesters.



Figure 12.7: Protestors at the 2017 Unite the Right rally, which was promoted by the alt-right. One man carries the logo of Vanguard America, and another has a t-shirt praising German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler.



Figure 12.8: An attendee at the Unite the Right rally carrying a firearm and wearing a Confederate Battle Flag T-shirt.



Figure 12.9: "Trump is Alt-Right with Us." Anti-Trump protesters highlight what they regard as his links to the alt-right and to historical fascism by dressing as Hitler and Mussolini.

12.2 The Klu Klux Klan

Following the defeat of the Confederate states in the US Civil War, the original Klu Klux Klan was established in the south to overthrow northern rule, and to terrorize freed slaves who were thought to be a threat to white womanhood. Large numbers of black people and their sympathizers were lynched and murdered by the original KKK. The organization was outlawed in 1871.

The Klu Klux Klan was revived in 1915, inspired by D.W. Griffith's influential but controversial film *The Birth of a Nation*, which depicted the original Klan in a positive light. In this second incarnation which lasted until until the mid-1920's, the KKK sought to maintain Protestant white supremacy, and opposed both Roman Catholicism and the influence of Jews.

The third incarnation of the Klu Klux Klan came in the 1950's. Local groups have opposed civil rights activists, and murdered many of them. The KKK is classified as a hate group by the Anti-Defamation League.

Wikipedia states that "The second and third incarnations of the Ku Klux Klan made frequent references to America's 'Anglo-Saxon' blood, hearkening back to 19th-century nativism. Although members of the KKK swear to uphold Christian morality, virtually every Christian denomination has officially denounced the KKK".



Figure 12.10: KKK rally in Chicago, c. 1920.



Figure 12.11: Three Ku Klan members at a 1922 parade. Trump's father was a well-known Klansman in New York and New Jersey in his hey days.



Figure 12.12: Cross burning was introduced by William J. Simmons, the founder of the second Klan in 1915.



Figure 12.13: Klu Klux Klan members at a cross burning in 2005.



Figure 12.14: Sheet music to "We Are All Loyal Klansmen", 1923.



Figure 12.15: Klu Klux Klan members march down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. in 1928.



Figure 12.16: Historically, the Klu Klux Klan has been responsible for innumerable lynchings.

12.3 Proud Boys

Wikipedia states that "The Proud Boys is a far-right neo-fascist organization which admits only men as members and promotes political violence. It is based in the United States and has a presence in Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The group was started in 2016 by Vice Media co-founder and former commentator Gavin McInnes, taking its name from the song 'Proud of Your Boy' from the Disney film Aladdin. Proud Boys emerged as part of the alt-right, but in early 2017, McInnes began distancing himself from the alt-right, saying the alt-right's focus is race while his focus is what he defines as 'Western values'. This re-branding effort intensified after the Unite the Right Rally ¹.

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

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

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

¹Wikipedia describes this event as follows: "The Unite the Right rally was a white supremacist rally that occurred in Charlottesville, Virginia, from August 11 to 12, 2017. Protesters were members of the far-right and included self-identified members of the alt-right, neo-Confederates, neo-fascists,[13] white nationalists, neo-Nazis, Klansmen, and various right-wing militias. The marchers chanted racist and antisemitic slogans, carried semi-automatic rifles, Nazi and neo-Nazi symbols (such as the swastika, Odal rune, Black Sun, and Iron Cross), the Valknut, Confederate battle flags, Deus Vult crosses, flags and other symbols of various past and present anti-Muslim and antisemitic groups."



Figure 12.17: Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes.



Figure 12.18: A member of Proud Boys.

12.4 Evangelicals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 12.19: Apparently insanity rules the United States today. The Evangelical Right believes that Trump was sent by God to be King, despite the fact that, according to Glenn Kessler, author of the Washington Post's Fact Checker column, Trump told an average of 15 lies per day in 2018, bringing the total number of documented lies since he took office in January 2017 to 7,645. But neither Trump's lies, nor his racism and mysogeny, nor his cruel authorization of imprisonment of very young children and even babies, are his worst crimes. His most serious offense is a crime against human civilization and the biosphere: his support for coal, his climate change denial, his sabotaging of renewable energy, and his withdrawal from the Paris agreement. These actions. and support for them by Republicans, caused Noam Chomsky to call the Republican Party "the most dangerous organization in history".

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

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



Figure 12.20: An artist's impression of Trump's National Security Advisor John Bolton.



Figure 12.21: Stars and stripes.



White-Supremacist-In-Chief

Figure 12.22: Anit-Mexican language used by Trump is very similar to the language used by the El Paso mass murderer. A recent article *Ex-FBI Official*, *FBI reluctant to probe white supremacists because Trump considers them his base*, quotes Dave Gomez as saying "There's some reluctance among agents to bring forth an investigation that targets what the president perceives as his base."



Figure 12.23: Family members mourning the victims of the El Paso murders.



Figure 12.24: A woman lights a candle at a makeshift memorial outside Walmart, near the scene of a mass shooting which left 22 people dead, on August 4, 2019, in El Paso, Texas.

12.5 The El Paso mass murders

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

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

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

12.6 Right-wing parties in Europe and elsewhere.

Brexit

Across the developed world, the reaction to threatened migration of refugees from climate change has been less than generous, to say the least. The recent decision of Britain to leave the European Union was motivated largely by the fear of British workers that EU laws would force their country to accept large numbers of refugees.

Swings to the right in Europe

In Germany, Angela Merkel's generous policies towards refugees have cost her votes, while an openly racist party, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party, has gained in strength. Frauke Petry, 40, the party's leader, has said border guards might need to turn guns on anyone crossing a frontier illegally. The party's policy platform says "Islam does not belong in Germany" and calls for a ban on the construction of mosques.

In September, 2017, eight people from the neo-Nazi Freital Group were put on trial in Dresden for bomb attacks on homes for asylum applicants. Hundreds of similar assaults occur in Germany every year, but they had never before been tried as terrorism in a federal court.

In the German election, which took place on Sunday, October 1, 2017, Angela Merkel won a fourth term as Chancellor, but her party won only 33% of the votes, a percentage much reduced from the 41% won in the election of 2013. Angela Merkel was paying a high price for her refugee-friendly policies.

Meanwhile the far right anti-immigration AfD party made a historic breakthrough, winning 13.5% of the vote, thus becoming the first overtly nationalist party to sit in the

Bundestag in 60 years. The Greens have already complained that "Nazis have returned to parliament". In fact, members of the AfD party have begun to say that Germans should stop being ashamed of their country's Nazi past.

In France, the National Front is a nationalist party that uses populist rhetoric to promote its anti-immigration and anti-European Union positions. The party favors protectionist economic policies and would clamp down on government benefits for immigrants.

Similarly, in the Netherlands, the anti-European Union, anti-Islam Party for Freedom has called for closing all Islamic schools and recording the ethnicity of all Dutch citizens. In early November, the party was leading in polls ahead of next year's parliamentary elections.

Other far-right anti-immigrant parties in Europe include Golden Dawn (Greece), Jobbic (Hungary), Sweden Democrats (Sweden), Freedom Party (Austria), and People's Party - Our Slovakia (Slovakia). All of these parties have gained in strength because of the widespread fear of immigration.

Populism in the United States

The election of Donald Trump, who ran for President in 2016 on an openly racist and anti-immigrant platform, can also be seen as the result of fear of immigration, especially on the part of industrial workers.

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 refuges.

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.

12.7 Trump copies Hitler's rhetoric

Book review: When at Times the Mob Is Swayed

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

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

"Why does an ignorant, narcissistic buffoon like Trump trigger such anxiety? Why do so many Americans feel it existentially (not just politically) important to resist our forty-fifth president?" he writes. "Partly it's just aesthetics. Trump is such a coarse and appalling man that it's hard to stomach his presence in Abraham Lincoln's house. But that's not enough to explain the intensity of my dread. LBJ was coarse. Gerald Ford and George W. Bush were dumb as rocks. Richard Nixon was an anti-Semite. Bill Clinton's mistreatment of women dishonored his office. Ronald Reagan was a dangerous idealogue. I opposed each of them when they appeared to exceed their constitutional powers. But I never felt a sense of existential dread. I never sensed that the very existence of a tolerant democracy was in play."

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

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

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



Figure 12.25: Burt Neuborne's brilliant book on the current crisis of American democracy is a warning that we must take very seriously.





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

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

"Give Trump credit," he continues. "He did his homework well and became the twenty-first-century master of divisive rhetoric. We're used to thinking of Hitler's Third Reich as the incomparably evil tyranny that it undoubtedly was. But Hitler didn't take power by force. He used a set of rhetorical tropes codified in Trump's bedside reading that persuaded enough Germans to welcome Hitler as a populist leader. The Nazis did not overthrow the Weimar Republic. It fell into their hands as the fruit of Hitler's satanic ability to mesmerize enough Germans to trade their birthright for a pottage of scapegoating, short-term economic gain, xenophobia, and racism. It could happen here."

Twenty points of similarity

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

1. Neither was elected by a majority. Trump lost the popular vote by 2.9 million votes, receiving votes by 25.3 percent of all eligible American voters. "That's just a little less than the percentage of the German electorate that turned to the Nazi Party in 1932-33," Neuborne writes. "Unlike the low turnouts in the United States, turnout in Weimar Germany averaged just over 80 percent of eligible voters." He continues, "Once installed as a minority chancellor in January 1933, Hitler set about demonizing his political opponents, and no one - not the vaunted, intellectually brilliant German judiciary; not the respected, well-trained German police; not the revered, aristocratic German military; not the widely admired, efficient German government bureaucracy; not the wealthy, immensely powerful leaders of German industry; and not the powerful center-right political leaders of the Reichstag - mounted a serious effort to stop him."

2. Both found direct communication channels to their base. By 1936's Olympics, Nazi narratives dominated German cultural and political life. "How on earth did Hitler pull it off? What satanic magic did Trump find in Hitler's speeches?" Neuborne asks. He addresses Hitler's extreme rhetoric soon enough, but notes that Hitler found a direct communication pathway - the Nazi Party gave out radios with only one channel, tuned to Hitler's voice, bypassing Germany's news media. Trump has an online equivalent.

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

- 3. Both blame others and divide on racial lines. As Neuborne notes, "Hitler used his single-frequency radios to wax hysterical to his adoring base about his pathological racial and religious fantasies glorifying Aryans and demonizing Jews, blaming Jews (among other racial and religious scapegoats) for German society's ills." That is comparable to "Trump's tweets and public statements, whether dealing with black-led demonstrations against police violence, white-led racist mob violence, threats posed by undocumented aliens, immigration policy generally, protests by black and white professional athletes, college admission policies, hate speech, even response to hurricane damage in Puerto Rico," he says. Again and again, Trump uses "racially tinged messages calculated to divide whites from people of color."
- 4. Both relentlessly demonize opponents. "Hitler's radio harangues demonized his domestic political opponents, calling them parasites, criminals, cockroaches, and various categories of leftist scum," Neuborne notes. "Trump's tweets and speeches similarly demonize his political opponents. Trump talks about the country being 'infested' with dangerous aliens of color. He fantasizes about jailing Hillary Clinton, calls Mexicans rapists, refers to 'shithole countries,' degrades anyone who disagrees with him, and dreams of uprooting thousands of allegedly disloyal bureaucrats in the State Department, the Environmental Protection Agency, the FBI, and the CIA, who he calls 'the deep state' and who, he claims, are sabotaging American greatness."

- 5. They unceasingly attack objective truth. "Both Trump and Hitler maintained a relentless assault on the very idea of objective truth," he continues. "Each began the assault by seeking to delegitimize the mainstream press. Hitler quickly coined the epithet Lügenpresse (literally 'lying press') to denigrate the mainstream press. Trump uses a paraphrase of Hitler's lying press epithet - 'fake news' - cribbed, no doubt, from one of Hitler's speeches. For Trump, the mainstream press is a 'lying press' that publishes 'fake news." Hitler attacked his opponents as spreading false information to undermine his positions, Neuborne says, just as Trump has attacked "elites" for disseminating false news, "especially his possible links to the Kremlin."
- 6. They relentlessly attack mainstream media. Trump's assaults on the media echo Hitler's, Neuborne says, noting that he "repeatedly attacks the 'failing New York Times,' leads crowds in chanting 'CNN sucks,' [and] is personally hostile to most reporters." He cites the White House's refusal to fly the flag at half-mast after the murder of five journalists in Annapolis in June 2018, Trump's efforts to punish CNN by blocking a merger of its corporate parent, and trying to revoke federal Postal Service contracts held by Amazon, which was founded by Jeff Bezos, who also owns the Washington Post.
- 7. Their attacks on truth include science. Neuborne notes, "Both Trump and Hitler intensified their assault on objective truth by deriding scientific experts, especially academics who question Hitler's views on race or Trump's views on climate change, immigration, or economics. For both Trump and Hitler, the goal is (and was) to eviscerate the very idea of objective truth, turning everything into grist for a populist jury subject to manipulation by a master puppeteer. In both Trump's and Hitler's worlds, public opinion ultimately defines what is true and what is false."
- 8. Their lies blur reality and supporters spread them. "Trump's pathological penchant for repeatedly lying about his behavior can only succeed in a world where his supporters feel free to embrace Trump's 'alternative facts' and treat his hyperbolic exaggerations as the gospel truth," Neuborne says. "Once Hitler had delegitimized the mainstream media by a series of systematic attacks on its integrity, he constructed a fawning alternative mass media designed to reinforce his direct radio messages and enhance his personal power. Trump is following the same path, simultaneously launching bitter attacks on the mainstream press while embracing the so-called alt-right media, co-opting both Sinclair Broadcasting and the Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox Broadcasting Company as, essentially, a Trump Broadcasting Network."

- 9. Both orchestrated mass rallies to show status. "Once Hitler had cemented his personal communications link with his base via free radios and a fawning media and had badly eroded the idea of objective truth, he reinforced his emotional bond with his base by holding a series of carefully orchestrated mass meetings dedicated to cementing his status as a charismatic leader, or Führer," Neuborne writes. "The powerful personal bonds nurtured by Trump's tweets and Fox's fawning are also systematically reinforced by periodic, carefully orchestrated mass rallies (even going so far as to co-opt a Boy Scout Jamboree in 2017), reinforcing Trump's insatiable narcissism and his status as a charismatic leader."
- 10. They embrace extreme nationalism. "Hitler's strident appeals to the base invoked an extreme version of German nationalism, extolling a brilliant German past and promising to restore Germany to its rightful place as a preeminent nation," Neuborne says. "Trump echoes Hitler's jingoistic appeal to ultranationalist fervor, extolling American exceptionalism right down to the slogan 'Make America Great Again,' a paraphrase of Hitler's promise to restore German greatness."
- 11. Both made closing borders a centerpiece. "Hitler all but closed Germany's borders, freezing non-Aryan migration into the country and rendering it impossible for Germans to escape without official permission. Like Hitler, Trump has also made closed borders a centerpiece of his administration," Neuborne continues. "Hitler barred Jews. Trump bars Muslims and seekers of sanctuary from Central America. When the lower courts blocked Trump's Muslim travel ban, he unilaterally issued executive orders replacing it with a thinly disguised substitute that ultimately narrowly won Supreme Court approval under a theory of extreme deference to the president."
- 12. They embraced mass detention and deportations. "Hitler promised to make Germany free from Jews and Slavs. Trump promises to slow, stop, and even reverse the flow of non-white immigrants, substituting Muslims, Africans, Mexicans, and Central Americans of color for Jews and Slavs as scapegoats for the nation's ills. Trump's efforts to cast dragnets to arrest undocumented aliens where they work, live, and worship, followed by mass deportation... echo Hitler's promise to defend Germany's racial identity," he writes, also noting that Trump has "stooped to tearing children from their parents [as Nazis in World War II would do] to punish desperate efforts by migrants to find a better life."
- 13. Both used borders to protect selected industries. "Like Hitler, Trump seeks to use national borders to protect his favored national interests, threatening to ignite protectionist trade wars with Europe, China, and

Japan similar to the trade wars that, in earlier incarnations, helped to ignite World War I and World War II," Neuborne writes. "Like Hitler, Trump aggressively uses our nation's political and economic power to favor selected American corporate interests at the expense of foreign competitors and the environment, even at the price of international conflict, massive inefficiency, and irreversible pollution [climate change]."

- 14. They cemented their rule by enriching elites. "Hitler's version of fascism shifted immense power - both political and financial - to the leaders of German industry. In fact, Hitler governed Germany largely through corporate executives," he continues. "Trump has also presided over a massive empowerment - and enrichment - of corporate America. Under Trump, large corporations exercise immense political power while receiving huge economic windfalls and freedom from regulations designed to protect consumers and the labor force. Hitler despised the German labor movement, eventually destroying it and imprisoning its leaders. Trump also detests strong unions, seeking to undermine any effort to interfere with the 'prerogatives of management."
- 15. Both rejected international norms. "Hitler's foreign policy rejected international cooperation in favor of military and economic coercion, culminating in the annexation of the Sudetenland, the phony Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pact, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the horrors of global war," Neuborne notes. "Like Hitler, Trump is deeply hostile to multinational cooperation, withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Paris Agreement on climate change, and the nuclear agreement with Iran, threatening to withdraw from the North American Free Trade Agreement, abandoning our Kurdish allies in Syria..."
- 16. They attack domestic democratic processes. "Hitler attacked the legitimacy of democracy itself, purging the voting rolls, challenging the integrity of the electoral process, and questioning the ability of democratic government to solve Germany's problems," Neuborne notes. "Trump has also attacked the democratic process, declining to agree to be bound by the outcome of the 2016 elections when he thought he might lose, supporting the massive purge of the voting rolls allegedly designed to avoid (nonexistent) fraud, championing measures that make it harder to vote, tolerating - if not fomenting - massive Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election, encouraging mob violence at rallies, darkly hinting at violence if Democrats hold power, and constantly casting doubt on the legitimacy of elections unless he wins."
- 17. Both attack the judiciary and rule of law. "Hitler politicized and eventually destroyed the vaunted German justice system. Trump also seeks to

turn the American justice system into his personal playground," Neuborne writes. "Like Hitler, Trump threatens the judicially enforced rule of law, bitterly attacking American judges who rule against him, slyly praising Andrew Jackson for defying the Supreme Court, and abusing the pardon power by pardoning an Arizona sheriff found guilty of criminal contempt of court for disobeying federal court orders to cease violating the Constitution."

- 18. Both glorify the military and demand loyalty oaths. "Like Hitler, Trump glorifies the military, staffing his administration with layers of retired generals (who eventually were fired or resigned), relaxing control over the use of lethal force by the military and the police, and demanding a massive increase in military spending," Neuborne writes. Just as Hitler "imposed an oath of personal loyalty on all German judges" and demanded courts defer to him, "Trump's already gotten enough deference from five Republican [Supreme Court] justices to uphold a largely Muslim travel ban that is the epitome of racial and religious bigotry." Trump has also demanded loyalty oaths. "He fired James Comey, a Republican appointed in 2013 as FBI director by President Obama, for refusing to swear an oath of personal loyalty to the president; excoriated and then sacked Jeff Sessions, his handpicked attorney general, for failing to suppress the criminal investigation into... Trump's possible collusion with Russia in influencing the 2016 elections; repeatedly threatened to dismiss Robert Mueller, the special counsel carrying out the investigation; and called again and again for the jailing of Hillary Clinton, his 2016 opponent, leading crowds in chants of 'lock her up." A new chant, "send her back," has since emerged at Trump rallies directed at non-white Democratic congresswomen.
- 19. They proclaim unchecked power. "Like Hitler, Trump has intensified a disturbing trend that predated his administration of governing unilaterally, largely through executive orders or proclamations," Neuborne says, citing the Muslim travel ban, trade tariffs, unraveling of health and environmental safety nets, ban on transgender military service, and efforts to end President Obama's protection for Dreamers. "Like Hitler, Trump claims the power to overrule Congress and govern all by himself. In 1933, Hitler used the pretext of the Reichstag fire to declare a national emergency and seize the power to govern unilaterally. The German judiciary did nothing to stop him. German democracy never recovered. When Congress refused to give Trump funds for his border wall even after he threw a tantrum and shut down the government, Trump, like Hitler, declared a phony national emergency and claimed the power to ignore Congress," Neuborne continues. "Don't count on the Supreme Court to stop him. Five justices gave the game away on the President's unilateral travel ban.
They just might do the same thing on the border wall." It did in late July, ruling that Trump could divert congressionally appropriated funds from the Pentagon budget - undermining constitutional separation of powers.

20. Both relegate women to subordinate roles. "Finally," writes Neuborne, "Hitler propounded a misogynistic, stereotypical view of women, valuing them exclusively as wives and mothers while excluding them from full participation in German political and economic life. Trump may be the most openly misogynist figure ever to hold high public office in the United States, crassly treating women as sexual objects, using nondisclosure agreements and violating campaign finance laws to shield his sexual misbehavior from public knowledge, attacking women who come forward to accuse men of abusive behavior, undermining reproductive freedom, and opposing efforts by women to achieve economic equality."

Suggestions for further reading

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TRYING TO PREDICT THE FUTURE

Chapter 13

SOME CAUTIOUS PREDICTIONS

13.1 The climate emergency

Present and future climate-related disasters

Pakistan, the world's fifth most populous country, was already suffering from IMF-imposed austerity rules when it was hit by climate-related floods, which peaked between June and August, 2022. Water from melting glaciers in the Himalayas combined with unusually heavy rains to flood large portions of the country, destroying crops, contaminating water sources, destroying homes, displacing many millions, and raising the danger of disease and starvation for tens of millions of people. The response of the international community has been wholly inadequate to deal with Pakistan's urgent humanitarian crisis.

Rising sea levels and floods in Bangladesh are affecting millions of people in low-lying regions of the country, destroying homes, displacing people, and reducing food production. According to the International Federation of the Red Cross, as many as 7.2 million people have been affected by the floods. Concern is mounting over the much worse floods that the future may bring.

The British Red Cross has stated very recently that nearly 146 million are affected by serious hunger in Africa alone. The agency added that hunger is responsible for 45% of child deaths in Africa.

Outside of Africa, this report mentions three countries of South Asia (Afghanistan, parts of Pakistan and Sri Lanka) as well as two countries of West Asia (Syria and Yemen). In addition this report lists some countries of South and Central America including Haiti, Honduras and Guatemala.

According to a study, the number of poor people living in extreme heat conditions in urban areas will jump by 700 percent by 2050, particularly in west Africa and southeast Asia.

"Projected future death rates from extreme heat are staggeringly high - comparable in magnitude by the end of the century to all cancers or all infectious diseases - and staggeringly unequal," the report said.

A new study by World Weather Attribution found that the summer droughts of 2022,

which affected parts of the U.S., Europe, and China, were made 20 times more likely by climate change.

Across the Northern Hemisphere, extreme heat and low rainfall led to several unprecedented events: China issued its first-ever a national drought alert; the United Kingdom recorded its highest-ever temperature; Europe experienced its hottest summer; and the water crisis in the US West intensified, prompting new water usage cuts.

Looking towards the future, we can predict that climate-related disasters will become still worse, especially in tropical regions. Rising sea levels may engulf low-lying islands, coastal reasons and coastal cities.

A migrant crisis

We can predict that people fleeing from climate-related catastrophes in tropical regions will seek refuge in northern nations. The northern countries, believing that they cannot accept so many migrants, will close their borders. Politically, this will increase the current swing to the right.

In the future, the effects of rising temperatures and reduced rainfall will disproportionately affect poor farmers of Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Latin America. If the more affluent parts of the world continue to produce greenhouse gasses in a businessas-usual scenario, and if they continue to ignore calls for help from starving people, these actions will amount to genocide.

In a recent article¹ 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.

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,"

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

 $^{^1{\}rm Geisler}$ C. et al., Impediments to inland resettlement under conditions of accelerated sea level rise , Land Use Policy, Vol 55, July 2017, Pages 322-330



Figure 13.1: This figure shows an alarming upward turn in the average global temperature

are rapidly controlled.². 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." ³

A recent article in *The Guardian*⁴ 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,

²Mora, C. et al., *Global risk of deadly heat*, Nature: Climate Change, 19 June 2017

³See 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/

⁴Thursday, 1 December, 2016

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.

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 refuges.

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.

What will happen if we fail?

Let me give you my own opinions on this question. I think that, if catastrophic climate change is not avoided, very many species of plants and animals will become extinct. In fact, this mass extinction has already started. We are already losing species at roughly 1,000 times the natural background rate. Will humans become extinct? Of course, we know from the geological record that every species eventually becomes extinct, but if we look only a few thousand years into the future, I do not think that humans face extinction.

What I believe will happen (if catastrophic climate change is not avoided) is the following: Most of the earth's surface will become uninhabitable, starting with tropical regions and regions that are destined to be underwater due to sea-level rise. This will lead to a massive refugee crisis, which, like the extinction of animals and plants, has already started.

Although most of the earth's surface will be uninhabitable, there will still be a few regions where human life is possible, for example, the Arctic and Antarctic regions, and high mountain ranges. However, these regions will be small in comparison to our present habitable world, and the global population of humans will be correspondingly reduced. I think that this process will be accompanied by much conflict. Perhaps this worst-case scenario can motivate us to act with far-sighted vision and resolution, while there is still a small window of opportunity.

13.2 Population and the threat of famine

According to a report presented to the Oxford Institute of Economic Policy by Sir Nicholas Stern on 31 January, 2006, areas likely to lose up to 30% of their rainfall by the 2050's because of climate change include much of the United States, Brazil, the Mediterranean region, Eastern Russia and Belarus, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Southern Australia. Meanwhile rainfall is predicted to increase up to 30% in Central Africa, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Siberia, and much of China.

Stern and his team point out that "We can... expect to see changes in the Indian monsoon, which could have a huge impact on the lives of hundreds of millions of people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Most climate models suggest that the monsoon will change, although there is still uncertainty about exactly how. Nevertheless, small changes in the monsoon could have a huge impact. Today, a fluctuation of just 10% in either direction from average monsoon rainfall is known to cause either severe flooding or drought. A weak summer monsoon, for example, can lead to poor harvests and food shortages among the rural population - two-thirds of India's almost 1.1 billion people. Heavier-than-usual monsoon downpours can also have devastating consequences..."

In some regions, melting of glaciers can be serious from the standpoint of dry-season water supplies. For example, melts from glaciers in the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas now supply much of Asia, including China and India, with a dry-season water supply. Complete melting of these glacial systems would cause an exaggerated runoff for a few decades, after which there would be a drying out of some of the most densely populated regions of the world.

Ocean current changes and failure of monsoons

It is expected that climate change will affect ocean currents, and hence also affect monsoon rainfall. We are already experiencing a diversion of the Gulf Stream due to southward currents of cold water from melting ice in the Arctic. This has caused what is known as the *North Atlantic Anomaly*. While most regions of the world are experiencing rising temperatures, the North Atlantic and several northern European countries are exceptions to this rule, and have cooled. Complete failure of the Gulf Stream would lead to much colder temperatures in Europe.

Changes in ocean currents have already lead to the failure of the West African Monsoon, and this has already produced severe food insecurity in West Africa.

In the future, climate-changed ocean currents may lead to failures of monsoons in South-east Asia, and thus damage the food supply of almost two billion people.

Falling water tables around the world

Under many desert areas of the world are deeply buried water tables formed during glacial periods when the climate of these regions was wetter. These regions include the Middle

East and large parts of Africa. Water can be withdrawn from such ancient reservoirs by deep wells and pumping, but only for a limited amount of time.

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

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

Thus we can see that in many regions, the earth's present population is living on its inheritance of water, rather than its income. This fact, coupled with rapidly increasing populations and climate change, may contribute to a global famine of immense proportions, involving billions of people, rather than millions.

Let us work together to avoid the enormous suffering that would be involved if climate change and population growth combine to produce a catastrophic global famine.

13.3 Can nuclear weapons and war be abolished?

Civilization's crisis

As we start the 21st century and the new millennium, our scientific and technological civilization seems to be entering a period of crisis. Today, for the first time in history, science has given to humans the possibility of a life of comfort, free from hunger and cold, and free from the constant threat of infectious disease. At the same time, science has given us the power to destroy civilization through thermonuclear war, as well as the power to make our planet uninhabitable through pollution and overpopulation. The question of which of these alternatives we choose is a matter of life or death to ourselves and our children.

Science and technology have shown themselves to be double-edged, capable of doing great good or of producing great harm, depending on the way in which we use the enormous power over nature, which science has given to us. For this reason, ethical thought is needed now more than ever before. The wisdom of the world's religions, the traditional wisdom of humankind, can help us as we try to insure that our overwhelming material progress will be beneficial rather than disastrous.

The crisis of civilization, which we face today, has been produced by the rapidity with which science and technology have developed. Our institutions and ideas adjust too slowly to the change. The great challenge which history has given to our generation is the task of building new international political structures, which will be in harmony with modern technology. At the same time, we must develop a new global ethic, which will replace our narrow loyalties by loyalty to humanity as a whole.

War has become prohibitively dangerous

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

While in earlier epochs it may have been possible to confine the effects of war mainly to combatants, in our own century the victims of war have increasingly been civilians, and especially children. For example, according to Quincy Wright's statistics, the First and Second World Wars together cost the lives of 26 million soldiers, but the toll in civilian lives was much larger: 64 million. Since the Second World War, despite the best efforts of the U. N., there have been over 150 armed conflicts; and, if civil wars are included, there are on any given day an average of 12 wars somewhere in the world. In the conflicts in Indo-China, the proportion of civilian victims was between 80 percent and 90 percent, while in the Lebanese civil war some sources state that the proportion of civilian casualties was as high as 97 percent.

Civilian casualties often occur through malnutrition and through diseases, which would be preventable in normal circumstances. Because of the social disruption caused by war, normal supplies of food, safe water and medicine are interrupted, so that populations become vulnerable to famine and epidemics. In the event of a catastrophic nuclear war, starvation and disease would add greatly to the loss of life caused by the direct effects of nuclear weapons.

The indirect effects of war are also enormous. Globally, preparations for war interfere seriously with the use of tax money for constructive and peaceful purposes. Today, despite the end of the Cold War, the world spends roughly two trillion (i.e. two million million) US dollars each year on armaments. This enormous flood of money, which is almost too large to imagine, could have been used instead for urgently needed public health measures.

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

A new and drug-resistant form of tuberculosis has recently become widespread, and is increasing rapidly in the former Soviet Union. In order to combat this new form of tuberculosis, and in order to prevent its spread to Western Europe, WHO needs 450 million US dollars, an amount equivalent to 4 hours of world arms spending. By using this money to combat tuberculosis in the former Soviet Union, WHO would be making a far greater contribution to global peace and stability than is made by spending the money on armaments.

Today's world is one in which roughly ten million children die each year from diseases related to poverty. Besides this enormous waste of young lives through malnutrition and preventable disease, there is a huge waste of opportunities through inadequate education. The rate of illiteracy in the 25 least developed countries is 80 percent, and the total number of illiterates in the world is estimated to be 800 million. Meanwhile every 60 seconds the world spends roughly 2 million U. S. dollars on armaments.

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

Because the world spends two thousand billion dollars each year on armaments, it follows that very many people make their living from war. This is the reason why it is correct to speak of war as a social institution, and also the reason why war persists, although everyone realizes that it is the cause of much of the suffering that inflicts humanity. We know that war is madness, but it persists. We know that it threatens the future survival of our species, but it persists, entrenched in the attitudes of historians, newspaper editors and television producers, entrenched in the methods by which politicians finance their campaigns, and entrenched in the financial power of arms manufacturers, entrenched also in the ponderous and costly hardware of war, the fleets of warships, bombers, tanks, nuclear missiles and so on.

Science cannot claim to be guiltless: In Eisenhower's farewell address, he warned of the increasing power of the industrial-military complex, a threat to democratic society. If he were making the same speech today, he might speak of the industrial-military-scientific complex. Since Hiroshima, we have known that new knowledge is not always good. There is a grave danger that nuclear weapons will soon proliferate to such an extent that they will be available to terrorists and even to the Mafia. Chemical and biological weapons also constitute a grave threat. The eradication of smallpox in 1979 was a triumph of medical science combined with international cooperation. How sad it is to think that military laboratories cultivate smallpox and that the disease may soon be reintroduced as a biological weapon!

The institution of war seems to be linked to a fault in human nature, to our tendency to exhibit altruism towards members of our own group but aggression towards other groups if we perceive them to be threatening our own community. This tendency, which might be called "tribalism", was perhaps built into human nature by evolution during the long prehistory of our species, when we lived as hunter-gatherers in small genetically homogeneous tribes, competing for territory on the grasslands of Africa. However, in an era of nerve gas and nuclear weapons, the anachronistic behavior pattern of tribal altruism and inter-tribal aggression now threatens our survival.

Fortunately, our behavior is only partly determined by inherited human nature. It is

also, and perhaps to a larger extent, determined by education and environment; and in spite of all the difficulties just mentioned, war has been eliminated locally in several large regions of the world. Taking these regions as models, we can attempt to use the same methods to abolish war globally. For example, war between the Scandinavian nations would be unthinkable today, although the region once was famous for its violence. Scandinavia is especially interesting as a model for what we would like to achieve globally, because it is a region in which it has been possible not only to eradicate war, but also poverty; and at the same time, death from infectious disease has become a rarity in this region.

If we consider the problem of simultaneously eliminating poverty, war and frequent death from infectious disease, we are lead inevitably to the problem of population stabilization. At the time when poverty, disease and war characterized Scandinavia, the average fertility in the region was at least 6 children per woman-life. Equilibrium was maintained at this high rate of fertility, because some of the children died from disease without leaving progeny, and because others died in war. Today, poverty and war are gone from the Nordic countries, and the rate of premature death from infectious disease is very low. The simultaneous elimination of poverty, disease and war would have been impossible in Scandinavia if the rate of fertility had not fallen to the replacement level. There would then have been no alternative except for the population to grow, which it could not have continued to do over many centuries without environmental degradation, bringing with it the recurrence of poverty, disease and war.

In Scandinavia today, democratic government, a high level of education, economic prosperity, public health, high social status for women, legal, economic and educational equality for women, a low birth rate, and friendly cooperation between the nations of the region are mutually linked in loops of cause and effect. By contrast, we can find other regions of the world where low status of women, high birth rates, rapidly increasing population, urban slums, low educational levels, high unemployment levels, poverty, ethnic conflicts and the resurgence of infectious disease are equally linked, but in a vicious circle. The three age-old causes of human suffering, poverty, infectious disease and war are bound together by complex causal relationships involving also the issues of population stabilization and women's rights. The example of Scandinavia shows us that it is possible to cure all these diseases of society; but to do so we must address all of the problems simultaneously.

Abolition of the institution of war will require the construction of structures of international government and law to replace our present anarchy at the global level. Today's technology has shrunken the distances, which once separated nations; and our present system of absolutely sovereign nation-states has become both obsolete and dangerous.

Professor Elie Kedourie of the University of London has given the following definition of nationalism: "...a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organization of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government."

A basic problem with this doctrine is that throughout most of the world, successive waves of migration, conquest and intermarriage have left such a complicated ethnic mosaic that attempts to base political divisions on ethnic homogeneity often meet with trouble. In Eastern Europe, for example, German-speaking and Slavic-speaking peoples are mixed together so closely that the Pan-German and Pan-Slavic movements inevitably clashed over the question of who should control the regions where the two populations lived side by side. This clash was one of the main causes of the First World War.

Similarly, when India achieved independence from England, a great problem arose in the regions where Hindus and Moslems lived side by side; and even Gandhi was unable to prevent terrible violence from taking place between the two communities. This problem is still present, and it has been made extremely dangerous by the acquisition of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan.

More recently, nationalist movements in Asia and Africa have derived their force and popularity from a reaction against the years of European political and economic domination. Thus, at first sight, they seem to deserve our sympathy and support. However, in building states, the new nationalists have often used hate for outsiders as mortar. For example, Israel is held together by hostility towards its Arab neighbors, while the Pan-Arab movement is held together by hostility towards Israel; and in this inflamed political climate of mutual fear and hatred, even clandestine nuclear weapons appear to either side to be justified.

Another problem rooted in nationalist mythology exists in the concept of sanctions, which treat nations as if they were individuals. We punish nations as a whole by sanctions, even when only the leaders are guilty, even though the burdens of the sanctions often fall most heavily on the weakest and least guilty of the citizens, and even though sanctions often have the effect of uniting the citizens of a country behind the guilty leaders.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the concept of the absolutely sovereign nationstate is an anachronism in a world of thermonuclear weapons, instantaneous communication, and economic interdependence. Probably our best hope for the future lies in developing the United Nations into a World Federation. The strengthened United Nations should have a legislature with the power to make laws which are binding on individuals, and the ability to arrest and try individual political leaders for violations of these laws. The World Federation should also have the military and legal powers necessary to guarantee the human rights of ethnic minorities within nations.

In setting up a federation, the member states can decide which powers they wish to delegate to it; and all powers not expressly delegated are retained by the individual states. We are faced with the problem of constructing a new world order which will preserve the advantages of local self-government while granting certain carefully-chosen powers to larger regional or global authorities. Which things should be decided locally, or regionally, and which globally?

In the future, overpopulation and famine are likely to become increasingly difficult and painful problems in several parts of the world. Since various cultures take widely different attitudes towards birth control and family size, the problem of population stabilization seems to be one which should be solved locally. At the same time, aid for local family planning programs, as well as famine relief, might appropriately come from global agencies, such as WHO and FAO. With respect to large-scale migration, it would be unfair for a country which has successfully stabilized its own population, and which has eliminated poverty within its own borders, to be forced to accept a flood of migrants from regions of high fertility. Therefore the extent of immigration should be among the issues to be decided locally.

Security, and controls on the manufacture and export of armaments will require an effective authority at the global level. It should also be the responsibility of the international community to intervene to prevent gross violations of human rights. Since the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has more and more frequently been called upon to send armed forces to troubled parts of the world. In many instances, these calls for U. N. intervention have been prompted by clear and atrocious violations of human rights, for example by "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and by genocide in Rwanda. In the examples just named, the response of the United Nations would have been much more effective, and many lives would have been saved, if the action which was finally taken had come sooner. Long and complex diplomatic negotiations were required to muster the necessary political and physical forces needed for intervention, by which time the original problems had become much more severe. For this reason, it has been suggested that the U. N. Secretary General, the Security Council and the General Assembly ought to have at their disposal a permanent, highly trained and highly mobile emergency force, composed of volunteers from all nations. Such an international police force would be able to act rapidly to prevent gross violations of human rights or other severe breaches of international law.

In evaluating the concept of an international police force directly responsible to the United Nations, it is helpful to examine the way in which police act to enforce laws and to prevent violence and crime at local and national levels. Within a community which is characterized by good government, police are not highly armed, nor are they very numerous. Law and order are not maintained primarily by the threat of force, but by the opinion of the vast majority of the citizens that the system of laws is both just and necessary. Traffic stops when the signal light is red and moves when it is green whether or not a policeman is present, because everyone understands why such a system is necessary. Nevertheless, although the vast majority of the citizens in a well-governed community support the system of laws and would never wish to break the law, we all know that the real world is not heaven. The total spectrum of human nature includes evil as well as a good. If there were no police at all, and if the criminal minority were completely unchecked, every citizen would be obliged to be armed. No one's life or property would be safe. Robbery, murder and rape would flourish.

Within a society with a democratic and just government, whose powers are derived from the consent of the governed, a small and lightly armed force of police is able to maintain the system of laws. One reason why this is possible has just been mentioned - the force of public opinion. A second reason is that the law acts on individuals. Since obstruction of justice and the murder of policemen both rank as serious crimes, an individual criminal is usually not able to organize massive resistance against police action. Edith Wynner, one of the pioneers of the World Federalist movement, lists the following characteristics of police power in a well-governed society:

- 1. "A policeman operates within a framework of organized government having legislative, executive and judicial authority operating on individuals. His actions are guided by a clearly stated criminal code that has the legislative sanction of the community. Should he abuse the authority vested in him, he is subject to discipline and court restraint."
- 2. "A policeman seeing a fight between two men does not attempt to determine which of them is in the right and then help him beat up the one he considers wrong. His function is to restrain violence by both, to bring them before a judge who has authority to determine the rights of the dispute, and to see that the court's decision is carried out."
- 3. "In carrying out his duties, the policeman must apprehend the suspected individual without jeopardizing either the property or the lives of the community where the suspect is to be arrested. And not only is the community safeguarded against destruction of property and loss of life but the rights of the suspect are also carefully protected by an elaborate network of judicial safeguards."

Looking towards the future, we can perhaps foresee a time when the United Nations will have been converted to a federation and given the power to make international laws which are binding on individuals. Under such circumstances, true international law enforcement will be possible, incorporating all of the needed safeguards for lives and property of the innocent. One can hope for a future world where the institution of war will be abolished, and where public opinion will support international law to such an extent that a new Hitler or a future Malosovic will not be able to organize large-scale resistance to arrest, a world where international law will be seen by all to be just, impartial and necessary, a well-governed global community within which each person will owe his or her ultimate loyalty to humanity as a whole.

Besides a humane, democratic and just framework of international law and governance, we urgently need a new global ethic, - an ethic where loyalty to family, community and nation will be supplemented by a strong sense of the brotherhood of all humans, regardless of race, religion or nationality. Schiller expressed this feeling in his "Ode to Joy", the text of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Hearing Beethoven's music and Schiller's words, most of us experience an emotion of resonance and unity with its message: All humans are brothers and sisters - not just some - all! It is almost a national anthem of humanity. The feelings which the music and words provoke are similar to patriotism, but broader. It is this sense of a universal human family, which we need to cultivate in education, in the mass media, and in religion.

Educational reforms are urgently needed, particularly in the teaching of history. As it is taught today, history is a chronicle of power struggles and war, told from a biased national standpoint. Our own race or religion is superior; our own country is always heroic and in the right.

We urgently need to replace this indoctrination in chauvinism by a reformed view of history, where the slow development of human culture is described, giving adequate credit to all those who have contributed. Our modern civilization is built on the achievements of ancient cultures. China, India, Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, Greece, the Islamic world, Christian Europe, and Jewish intellectual traditions all have contributed. Potatoes, corn and squash are gifts from the American Indians. Human culture, gradually built up over thousands of years by the patient work of millions of hands and minds, should be presented to students of history as a precious heritage - far too precious to be risked in a thermonuclear war.

In the teaching of science too, reforms are needed. Graduates in science and technology should be conscious of their responsibilities. They must resolve never to use their education in the service of war, or in any way which might be harmful to society or to the environment.

In modern societies, mass media play an extremely important role in determining behavior and attitudes. This role can be a negative one when the media show violence and enemy images, but if used constructively, the mass media can offer a powerful means for creating international understanding. If it is indeed true that tribalism is part of human nature, it is extremely important that the mass media be used to the utmost to overcome the barriers between nations and cultures. Through increased communication, the world's peoples can learn to accept each other as members of a single family.

Finally, let us turn to religion, with its enormous influence on human thought and behavior. Christianity, for example, offers a strongly stated ethic, which, if practiced, would make war impossible. In Mathew, the following passage occurs: "Ye have heard it said: Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thy enemy. But I say unto you: Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that spitefully use you and persecute you."

This seemingly impractical advice, that we should love our enemies, is in fact of the greatest practicality, since acts of unilateral kindness and generosity can stop escalatory cycles of revenge and counter-revenge such as those which characterize the present conflict in the Middle East and the recent troubles of Northern Ireland. However, Christian nations, while claiming to adhere to the ethic of love and forgiveness, have adopted a policy of "massive retaliation", involving systems of thermonuclear missiles whose purpose is to destroy as much as possible of the country at which the retaliation is aimed. It is planned that entire populations shall be killed in a "massive retaliation", innocent children along with the guilty politicians. The startling contradiction between what the Christian nations profess and what they do was obvious even before the advent of nuclear weapons, at the time when Leo Tolstoy, during his last years, was exchanging letters with a young Indian lawyer in South Africa. In one of his letters to Gandhi, Tolstoy wrote:

"...The whole life of the Christian peoples is a continuous contradiction between that which they profess and the principles on which they order their lives, a contradiction between love accepted as the law of life, and violence, which is recognized and praised, acknowledged even as a necessity..."

"This year, in the spring, at a Scripture examination at a girls' high school in Moscow, the teacher and the bishop present asked the girls questions on the Commandments, and especially on the sixth. After a correct answer, the bishop generally put another question, whether murder was always in all cases forbidden by God's law; and the unhappy young ladies were forced by previous instruction to answer 'Not always' - that murder was permitted in war and in the execution of criminals. Still, when one of these unfortunate young ladies (what I am telling is not an invention but a fact told to me by an eye witness) after her first answer, was asked the usual question, if killing was always sinful, she, agitated and blushing, decisively answered 'Always', and to the usual sophisms of the bishop, she answered with decided conviction that killing was always forbidden in the Old Testament and forbidden by Christ, not only killing but every wrong against a brother. Notwithstanding all his grandeur and arts of speech, the bishop became silent and the girl remained victorious."

As everyone knows, Gandhi successfully applied the principle of non-violence to the civil rights struggle in South Africa, and later to the political movement, which gave India its freedom and independence. The principle of non-violence was also successfully applied by Martin Luther King, and by Nelson Mandela. It is perhaps worthwhile to consider Gandhi's comment on the question of whether the end justifies the means: "The means may be likened to a seed", Gandhi wrote, "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." In other words, a dirty method produces a dirty result; killing produces more killing; hate leads to more hate. Everyone who reads the newspapers knows that this is true. 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. Buddhists call this principle of reciprocity "the law of karma".

The religious leaders of the world have the opportunity to contribute importantly to the solution of the problem of war. They have the opportunity to powerfully support the concept of universal human brotherhood, to build bridges between religious groups, to make intermarriage across ethnic boundaries easier, and to soften the distinctions between communities. If they fail to do this, they will have failed humankind at a time of crisis.

It is useful to consider the analogy between the institution of war and the institution of slavery. We might be tempted to say, "There has always been war, throughout human history; and war will always continue to exist." As an antidote for this kind of pessimism, we can think of slavery, which, like war, has existed throughout most of recorded history. The cultures of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome were all based on slavery, and, in more recent times, 13 million Africans were captured and forced into a life of slavery in the New World. Slavery was as much an accepted and established institution as war is today. Many people made large profits from slavery, just as arms manufacturers today make enormous profits. Nevertheless, in spite of the weight of vested interests, slavery has now been abolished throughout most of the world.

Today we look with horror at drawings of slave ships, where human beings were packed together like cord-wood; and we are amazed that such cruelty could have been possible.

13.4. THE DRIFT TOWARDS FASCISM

Can we not hope for a time when our descendants, reading descriptions of the wars of the twentieth century, will be equally amazed that such cruelty could have been possible? If we use them constructively, the vast resources now wasted on war can initiate a new era of happiness and prosperity for the family of man. It is within our power to let this happen. The example of the men and women who worked to rid the world of slavery can give us courage as we strive for a time when war will exist only as a dark memory fading into the past.

History has given all of us living today an enormous responsibility, and two daunting tasks: If civilization is to survive, we must not only stabilize the global population but also, even more importantly, we must eliminate the institution of war.

We face these difficult tasks with an inherited emotional nature that has not changed much during the last 40,000 years. Furthermore, we face the challenges of the 21st century with an international political system based on the anachronistic concept of the absolutely sovereign nation-state. However, the human brain has shown itself to be capable of solving even the most profound and complex problems. The mind that has seen into the heart of the atom must not fail when confronted with paradoxes of the human heart.

We must replace the old world of international anarchy, chronic war and institutionalized injustice, by a new world of law. The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Criminal Court are steps in the right direction, but these institutions need to be greatly strengthened and reformed.

The Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955, which led to the founding of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, contains the following words: "There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest."

13.4 The drift towards fascism

There are indications that the drift will continue

There are many indications that political swings to the right and a drift towards fascism will continue in the future. For example, in the United States, both the Republican Party and the Democratic party are controlled by corporate interests. The Republicans are far worse than the Democrats. Realizing that the majority of voters are Democrats, they try (and often succeed) to gain power by gerrymandering and by suppression of votes. Instead of a democracy, the US now has a corporate oligarchy. Mussolini defined fascism as "corporatism". It unites the corporate state and the mob.

The migrant crisis is a driving force

The drift towards the right, and towards fascism is also driven by the ever-increasing migrant crisis, both in Europe, in the United States. For example, Donald Trump, during



Figure 13.2: Mussolini defined fascism as "corporatism". It unites the corporate state and the mob.



Figure 13.3: Juan Perón, President of Argentina from 1946 to 1955 and 1973 to 1974, admired Italian Fascism and modelled his economic policies on those pursued by Fascist Italy.



Figure 13.4: The symbol of fascism used by Mussolini. The rods in the bundle were used by ancient Romans for punishment.

his disastrous presidency, portrayed migrants from Mexico as criminals, rapists and drug importers, and he advocated building a wall across the entire US-Mexican border to exclude them. Trump was responsible for terrible cruelty to the children of immigrants, who were put into cages, and treated in a worse way than any animal should be treated.

13.5 Tasks for the future

The problem of building a stable, just, and war-free world is difficult, but it is not impossible. The large regions of our present-day world within which war has been eliminated can serve as models. There are a number of large countries with heterogeneous populations within which it has been possible to achieve internal peace and social cohesion, and if this is possible within such extremely large regions, it must also be possible globally.

When we ask how very large and heterogeneous states achieve internal peace and security, we find that they do so by means of laws that act directly on individual citizens. Thus, the International Criminal Court is an extremely important first step towards the globalization of the methods of governance used by large states.

Today, the world is facing several threats, and to avoid them we need to act. The greatest threats are catastrophic climate change and thermonuclear war, but a large-scale global famine also has to be considered.

We give our children loving care, but it makes no sense do so and at the same time to neglect to do all that is within our power to ensure that they and their descendants will inherit an earth in which they can survive. We also have a responsibility to all the other living organisms with which we share the gift of life.

Inaction is not an option. We have to act with courage and dedication because the stakes are so high. The mass media could mobilize us to action, but they have failed in their duty. Our educational system could also wake us up and make us act, but it too has failed us. The battle to save the earth from human greed and folly has to be fought in the alternative media.

We need a new economic system, a new society, a new social contract, a new way of life. Here are the great tasks that history has given to our generation:

We need a steady-state economic system

A steady-state economic system is necessary because neither population growth nor economic growth can continue indefinitely on a finite earth. No one can maintain that exponential industrial growth is sustainable in the long run except by refusing to look more than a short distance into the future.

Of course, it is necessary to distinguish between industrial growth, and growth of culture and knowledge, which can and should continue to grow. Qualitative improvements in human society are possible and desirable, but resource-using and pollution-producing industrial growth is reaching its limits, both because of ecological constraints and because of the exhaustion of petroleum, natural gas and other non-renewable resources, such as metals. The threat of catastrophic climate change makes it imperative for us to stop using fossil fuels within very few decades.

We must restore democracy

It is obvious, almost by definition, that excessive governmental secrecy and true democracy are incompatible. If the people of a country have no idea what their government is doing, they cannot possibly have the influence on decisions that the word "democracy" implies.

Governmental secrecy is not something new. Secret diplomacy contributed to the outbreak of World War I, and the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement later contributed to the bitterness of conflicts in the Middle East. However, in recent years, governmental secrecy has grown enormously.

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

We must restore democracy in our own countries wherever it has been replaced by oligarchy. When we do so, we will free ourselves from many evils, including excessive economic inequality, violation of civil rights, and the suffering produced by perpetual wars.

We must decrease economic inequality

In a recent speech, Senator Bernie Sanders quoted Pope Francis extensively and added: "We have a situation today, Mr. President, incredible as it may sound, where the wealthiest 85 people in the world own more wealth than the bottom half of the world's population."⁵

The social epidemiologist Prof. Richard Wilkinson, has documented the ways in which societies with less economic inequality do better than more unequal societies in a number of areas, including increased rates of life expectancy, mathematical performance, literacy, trust, social mobility, together with decreased rates of infant mortality, homicides, imprisonment, teenage births, obesity and mental illness, including drug and alcohol addiction.⁶ We must also remember that according to the economist John A. Hobson, the basic problem that led to imperialism was an excessively unequal distribution of incomes in the industrialized countries. The result of this unequal distribution was that neither the rich nor the poor could buy back the total output of their society. The incomes of the poor were insufficient, and rich were too few in number.

We must break the power of corporate greed

Why is war continually threatened? Why is Russia threatened? Why is war with Iran threatened? Why fan the flames of conflict with China? Is it to "protect" civilians? Absolutely not! In a thermonuclear war, hundreds of millions of civilians would die horribly everywhere in the world, also in neutral countries. What is really being protected are the profits of arms manufacturers. As long as there are tensions; as long as there is a threat of war, military budgets are safe; and the profits of arms makers are safe. The people in several "democracies", for example the United States, do not rule at the moment. Greed rules.

As Institute Professor Noam Chomsky of MIT has pointed out, greed and lack of ethics are built into the structure of corporations. By law, the Chief Executive Officer of a corporation must be entirely motivated by the collective greed of the stockholders. He must maximize profits. If the CEO abandons this single-minded chase after corporate profits for ethical reasons, or for the sake of humanity or the biosphere or the future, he (or she) must, by law, be fired and replaced.

We must leave fossil fuels in the ground

The threat of catastrophic climate change requires prompt and dedicated action by the global community. Unless we very quickly make the transition from fossil fuels to 100% renewable energy, we will reach a tipping point after which uncontrollable feedback loops

https://www.oxfam.org/en/tags/inequality

⁵https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_LJpN893Vg

 $https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/cr-even-it-up-extreme-inequality-291014-en.pdf$

⁶https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZ7LzE3u7Bw https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_G._Wilkinson

could take over, leading to a human-caused 6th geological extinction event. This might even be comparable to the Permian-Triassic event, during which 96% of all marine species and 70% of terrestrial vertebrates became extinct.

We must stabilize and ultimately reduce the global population

Education of women and higher status for women are vitally important measures, not only for their own sake, but also because in many countries these social reforms have proved to be the key to lower birth rates. As Sir Partha Dasgupta of Cambridge University has pointed out, the changes needed to break the cycle of overpopulation and poverty are all desirable in themselves. Besides education and higher status for women, they include state-provided social security for old people, provision of water supplies near to dwellings, provision of health services to all, abolition of child labor and general economic development. The money required to make these desirable changes is a tiny fraction of the amount that is currently wasted on war.

In order to avoid a catastrophic future famine, it is vitally important that all of the countries of the world should quickly stabilize and ultimately reduce their populations.

We must eliminate the institution of war

Today we look with horror at drawings of slave ships, where human beings were packed together like cord-wood, and we are amazed that such cruelty could have been possible. Can we not hope for a time when our descendants, reading descriptions of the wars of our own time, will be equally amazed that such cruelty and stupidity could have been possible? If we use them constructively, the vast resources now wasted on war can initiate a new era of happiness and prosperity for the family of man. It is within our power to let this happen. The example of the men and women who worked to rid the world of slavery can give us courage as we strive for a time when war will exist only as a dark memory fading into the past.

We need a World Federation

Today's United Nations is a confederation. It tries to control the actions of its member states by imposing economic sanctions. However, these sanctions often affect the poor people of a country, rather than the guilty leaders. Thus, they are both unjust and ineffective.

By contrast, the government of a federation has the power to make laws that act on individuals. Historically, federations have proved to be very successful. Today, the governments of several large countries (for example Russia, the United States, Germany and Australia) are federations.

New ethics to match new technology

We need a new global ethic, where loyalty to one's family and nation is supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole. The Nobel laureate biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi once wrote:

"The story of man consists of two parts, divided by the appearance of modern science.... In the first period, man lived in the world in which his species was born and to which his senses were adapted. In the second, man stepped into a new, cosmic world to which he was a complete stranger.... The forces at man's disposal were no longer terrestrial forces, of human dimension, but were cosmic forces, the forces which shaped the universe. The few hundred Fahrenheit degrees of our flimsy terrestrial fires were exchanged for the ten million degrees of the atomic reactions which heat the sun."

"This is but a beginning, with endless possibilities in both directions; a building of a human life of undreamt of wealth and dignity, or a sudden end in utmost misery. Man lives in a new cosmic world for which he was not made. His survival depends on how well and how fast he can adapt himself to it, rebuilding all his ideas, all his social and political institutions."

"...Modern science has abolished time and distance as factors separating nations. On our shrunken globe today, there is room for one group only: the family of man."

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Index

100.4 degrees Fahrenheit in Arctic, 44 166 billion tons lost in 2021, 46 600 billion tons of ice lost, 43A billion added every fifteen years, 75 A billion deaths from famine, 180 A dangerous feedback loop, 50 A new economic system, 380 A new society, 380 Abe, Shinzo, 182 Abolition of child labor, 74, 382 Abolition of nuclear weapons, 170, 176, 255, 368 Abolition of war, 78, 176, 220, 249, 255, 368, 369, 377, 382 Abrupt climate change, 38 Absolute limits, 78, 79 Absolute sovereignty, 132 Accelerated melting, 34 Acceleration of cultural change, 123 Accents, 125 Accident waiting to happen, 180, 194, 200, 262Accidental nuclear war, 170, 176, 192, 195, 200, 249, 255, 261, 267 Accidents, 263 Achieving economic equality, 64 Acidification of oceans, 28 Act of Valor, 276 Advantage versus truth, 131 Advertising, 83 Africa, 56, 61, 269 Africa, population projections, 94 African voting rights, 292 Agent Orange, 174, 253 Aggression, 118, 119, 121, 128

Aging storage tanks, 192 Agreed-upon lies, 131 Agricultural monocultures, 81 Agricultural output, 79 Agricultural revolution, 130 Agricultural yields, 56 Agriculture, 58, 177, 203, 257 Agriculture, traditional, 67 Ahmed, Eqbal, 241, 242 Air pollution in China, 14 Airbus, 272 Akiba, Tadatoshi, 221 Al-Qaeda, 266, 269 Alaska, 123, 351, 366 Albedo effect, 27, 33, 39 Albert Szent Györgyi, 383 Alcohol-driven automobiles, 77 All nations would suffer, 180 All-destroying nuclear war, 194 Alt-right, 331 Alt-right fight club, 343 Alt-right supported Donald Trump, 332 Alternative for Germany party, 350 Alternative media, 231, 380 Alternative Right webzine, 331 Altes, Dr. Edy Korthals, 224 Altruism, 121, 128 Always heroic and in the right, 213 Amazon rainforest dieback, 38 American Friends Service Committee, 225 American Nazi Party, 313 American Sniper, 276 Americium, 267 Anachronism of nation-states, 132 Anachronistic institutions, 228

INDEX

Anarchy, 132 Ancestor worship, 125 Ancient Wisdom, Modern World, 227 Andrew Anglin's Daily Stormer, 331 Anglo-Saxon master race, 292 Animal groups, 129 Animal products, 100 Annan, Kofi, 192, 204, 267 Antarctic icecap, 79 Antarctic sea ice loss, 38 Antarctica's Thwaites Glacier, 43 Anthropocene, 276 Anthropocene Extinction, 32 Anthropogenic climate change, 268 Anthropoid apes, 123 Anti-Christian and anti-democratic, 345 Anti-communism, 313 Anti-gay demonstration in Russia, 313 Anti-Jewish pogrom in Kaunas, 293 Anti-semitism, 313 Antibiotics in animal food, 66 Antimalarial program, 171, 249 Anxiety about the future, 172, 251 Apartheid, 326 Apartheid system, 292 Aquifers overdrawn, 55, 100, 102, 368 Arab nationalism and Islam, 127 Arab Spring, 366 Arable land, 56 Arctic icecap, 79 Arctic Mediterranean temperatures, 44 Arctic methane release, 38 Arctic peat fires release CO2, 44 Arctic sea ice loss, 34, 38 Arctic wildfires, 44 Argentina, 60, 123 Aridity, 54, 102 Aristotle, 130 Armaments (\$2 trillion spent on), 170, 249 Arms control agreements, 276 Arms manufacturers' profits, 381 Army training program, 276 Arndt, Ernst Moritz, 136

Art objects, 123 Article VI, 200, 261 Artificial needs, 83 Aryan-Hyperborean blood, 313 Aryans, 293 Asia, 61, 263 Assassination attempts, 266 Asteroids, 200, 261 Astonishing unrealism, 180 Asylum, 172, 252 Atmospheric water vapor, 33 Atomic bomb, 120 Atoms for peace?, 181 Atrocities, 120, 139, 289 Australia, 60, 215 Austria, 133 B-52 bomber, 194 Baba Yar, 293 Babies torn from mothers, 167 Bacteria in topsoil, 67 BAE Systems, 272 Baha'i, 224 Bangladesh, 9, 54, 99, 367 Bangladesh and sea-level rise, 363 Barack Obama, 364 Barak, Ehud, 180 Barnaby, Frank, 192, 267 Battle of Leipzig, 137, 138 Battleground series, 228 Bazant, Martin, 56 Bedjaoui, Muhammad, 199, 260 Beef is environmentally harmful, 100 Behavior, 111 Behind Enemy Lines, 276 Belarus, 263 Bering Strait, 123 Berlin destroyed, 167 Bernard Lowen, 176, 255 Bhutto, Zulfiquar Ali, 266 Biden tainted by corporate money, 302 Biden, Joe, 302 Bikini Atol, 220

Bikini explosion, 170 Bilateral agreements, 175 Biodiversity, 79, 81 Biodiversity conservation, 101 Biodiversity loss, 28 Biological annihilation, 33 Biological diversity, 32, 81 Biological weapons, 216 Biology, 79 Biology of War and Peace, 124 Biomass, 77, 80 Biosphere, 27 Biotas, 81 Birth anomalies, 174, 254 Birth control, 60, 74, 77, 88, 351, 366 Birth control programs, 65, 73 Birth defects, 170 Birth rates, 60 Bits, 115 Black comedy, 194 Black Hawk Down, 276 Black legion sign, 313 Blair, Bruce G., 200, 262 Boeing, 272 Bohr, Niels, 187, 264 Bohr-Wheeler theory, 187, 264 Bolton, John, 346 Bombardment of Copenhagen, 162 Bombs, 346 Books, 132 Boreal forest dieback, 38 Borlaug, Norman, 56, 57 Bottom line, 381 Boulding, Kenneth E., 73 Brazil, 56, 62, 77, 123, 215 Bread and circuses, 229 Breakdown of human society, 180 Breitbart News popularized alt-right, 332 Breivik, Anders Behring, 277 Brexit, 276 Brexit and refugees, 350 British colonial India, 290 British imperialism, 292

Brown, Lester R., 53, 86 Buchenwald extermination camp. 293 Buddha, 130 Bumble bees, 113 Burial customs, 125 Burning of rainforests, 79 Business-as-usual scenario, 364 Bypassing the need for grids, 18 Cairo population conference, 64, 74 Calcutta, 62 Call of Duty, 277 Calogero, Francesco, 204 Cambodian genocide, 131 Cambridge University, 74 Can nuclear weapons and war be abolished?, 368Canada, 60, 215 Canadian Arctic, 351, 366 Cancer caused by radioactivity, 174, 254 Cancer risk from Hanford, 193 Canons, use in warfare, 132 Canton civilian bombing, 166 Cape Coulered children, 326 Capital, 79 Capone, Al, 218 Carbon bubble, 9 Carbon budget, 9 Carbon dioxide, 79 Carbon emissions, 54 Carbon Tracker Initiative, 9 Carrying capacity, 60, 75, 79, 85, 102 Caste markings, 125 Castles, 132 Catastrophes in tropical regions, 364 Catastrophic accident, 170 Catastrophic climate change, 9, 27, 231, 301, 379 - 381Catastrophic damage, 75 Catastrophic destabilization, 46 Catastrophic future famine, 77, 382 Catastrophic mistake, 200, 262

392

INDEX

Catastrophic nuclear war, 176, 177, 180, 195, 254, 257 Cathartic model of instincts, 118 Catholic Church, 338 Cattle emit methane, 102 Ceballos, Gerardo, 33 Celtic cross, 313 Central banks, 293 Central government, 133 Central monarchs, 132 Ceremonies, 125 Cerrado, 56 Chad, 270 Chadors, 125 Chain-reacting pile, 187, 264 Chamberlain, Neville, 166 Changes of diet, 351, 366 Charlottesville rally, August 2017, 332 Chauvinism, 214 Cheating ring, 194 Chemical energy, 79 Chemical properties, 264 Chemical signals, 129 Chemical warfare, 174, 253 Chemical weapons, 216 Chernobyl, 180, 182, 263 Child soldiers, 172, 251 Children as young as 2 or 3, 306 Children in cages, 306, 307, 379 Children killed by wars, 171, 198, 250, 260, 369 China, 54, 74, 88, 94, 99, 123, 270, 272, 367 China's current population, 88 China's drought alert, 364 China's dynastic census data, 89 China's economic growth, 89 China's large dollar holdings, 195 China's one-child policy, 88 China's population growth, 89 China's population, historical, 89 China's strong central government, 88 China, air pollution, 14 Chinese economy, 53

Chinese public opinion, 14 Chinese-Russian support, 180 Chomsky, Noam, 231, 241, 346 Christian and pagan symbolism, 137 Christian elements of national cult, 138 Christian ethics, 225 Christian nationalism, 345 Chronic war, 377 CIA, 302 Circumcision, 125 Civics, 217 Civil society, 204 Civil war, 269 Civil wars, 171, 218, 250, 270 Civilian casualties, 369 Civilian deaths in war, 369 Civilian victims of war, 198, 260 Civilians as hostages, 170, 249 Civilians as targets, 204 Civilians killed in war, 171, 250 Civilization, 131 Civilization and Christianity, 290 Civilization's crisis, 170 Clark, General Wesley, 269 Clay tablets, 130 Clean water, 62 Climate and environment, 276 Climate change, 27, 54, 79, 81, 94, 263, 268 Climate change and war, 365 Climate change denial, 131, 301, 346 Climate change emission pledges, 28 Climate emergency, 363 Climate financing, 29 Climate tipping points, 39 Climate-related disasters, 363 Clinton, Hillary, 302 Club of Rome, 84 Cluster bombs, 174, 253 Coal, 268 Coal reserves, 80 Cocoons, 113 Cohesion, 139

Cold War, 170, 175, 192, 200, 220, 249, 261, 269Collective body, 162 Collective greed, 381 Collective paranoia, 249 Colonial era, 175 Colonialism, 215, 289 Comb-making instinct, 113 Common bonds of humanity, 161 Common Dreams, 229 Common values, 224 Commoner, Barry, 88 Communal aggression, 120 Communal defense response, 118, 119, 128 Communication, 132 Communications media, 218 Competition, 124 Computer games, 276 Computer software, 83 Conditioning of soldiers, 162 Conference on Disarmament, 179 Conflict and refugees, 364 Conflict created by climate catastrophe, 366 Conflict Resolution, 231 Confucius, 130 Congo, 289 Conscience banished, 161 Conscience of humanity, 166 Conservation, 86 Construction and maintenance, 58 Consumed radioactive food, 193 Consumerism, 96 Consumption, 86, 218 Container ships, 192, 267 Control of armaments, 373 Convention of 1792, 132 Conventional petroleum, 80 Cooking, 58 Cooperation, 121, 129, 130, 219, 228 Cooperation in animals, 129 Cooperative future, 170 Cooperative Movement, 96 Cooperatives, 223

Core meltdown, 263 Corporate profits, 381 Corpses left unburied, 167 Corrupt local officials, 175 Cosmic forces, 383 Council on Foreign Relations, 293 Count Leo Tolstoy, 375 Countercurrents, 229 Courage, 120 Creating jobs, 21 Creativity, 83 Cretaceous-Paleogene Extinction, 31 Crime against human civilization, 346 Crisis, 127 Crisis of civilization, 369 Crisis predicted, 75 Critical mass, 187, 264, 267 Crop failures, 54 Cropland, 77 Cropland per capita, 74, 77 Cruelty by children, 125 Crusades, 127, 131 Cuban Missile Crisis, 132 Cult of nationalism, 138 Cultural barriers to marriage, 124 Cultural evolution, 124, 129 Cultural history, 214, 375 Cultural patterns, 60 Culturally-driven growth, 75 Culture, 114, 123 Culture and human solidarity, 218 Culture of peace, 228 Culture of violence, 175, 228, 269, 270 Curriculum revisions, 217 Dalai Lama, 225, 227 Damage to infrastructure, 173, 253 Dances and songs, 125 Dangerous proliferation, 181 Dangerous radioisotopes, 183 Dangers of nuclear power, 263 Danish fleet, 162 Danish National Pugwash Group, 220

INDEX

Danish Peace Academy, 223, 229, 245 Danish wind industry, 20 Danton, 132 Darfur, 131 Dark branches of government, 302, 380 Darkened snow, 34 Darwin, Charles, 111, 113, 127, 128 Dasgupta, Sir Partha, 74 De Klerk and Mandela, 326 Deadly climate conditions, 365 Deadly heat waves, 365 Death rate, 60 Death spiral of Arctic sea ice, 50 Deaths, 62-78 million, 179 Decay of democracy, 247 Declaration of Human Rights, 172, 252 Dedicated editors, 231 Deeply buried water tables, 367 Definition of genocide, 310 Deforestation, 81 Deforestation in the US, 81 Degradation of topsoil, 67 Degraded land, 77 Demand, 59 Democracy Now, 231 Democratic Republic of Congo, 94, 270 Demographic transition, 60–63, 66 Demographic trap, 73 Demonizing the Squad, 310 Denazification, 313 Depleted uranium shells, 174, 253 Depression of 1929, 85, 86 Desalination technology, 56 Desertification, 94 Designated as an enemy, 161 Destruction of civilization, 128 Destruction of forests, 9 Destruction of habitats, 32 Deteriorating living standards, 332 Deterrence, flaws in concept, 198, 259 Developing countries, 18, 174 Developing world, 28 Development, 73, 171, 250

Devil's Dynamo, 247 Devotion, 119, 121 Dialects, 125, 137 DiCaprio, Leonardo, 229 Diction, 125 Diet, 125 Dietary changes, 351, 366 Direct costs of war, 170, 249 Directly used fuels, 268 Dirzo, Rudolfo, 33 Disappearing mineral resources, 77 Disarmament, 199, 224, 260 Disease, 60, 75, 77, 94, 179, 215, 270 Disease and malnutrition, 77 Disease-resistant varieties, 56 Diseases related to poverty, 171, 250, 370 Disposal of radioactive waste, 183 Distanced from killing, 277 Distribution problems, 59 DNA sequences, 130 Donald Trump, 379 Doomsday Machine, 194, 195 Dr. Strangelove, 194 Draft animals, 77 Drama, 217 Drank radioactive milk, 193 Dresden destroyed, 167 Drift towards fascism, 377 Drift towards the right, 379 Drone operators, 277 Drought, 28, 98 Drought in China, 364 Droves of vicious rats, 167 Drug addiction, 194 Drug-resistant tuberculosis, 174, 370 Drugs, 195 Dry-season water supply, 54, 99, 367 Drying of forests and fires, 38 Dulce et decorum est, 213 Duty, 128 Dylan, Bob, 229 Dysentery, 73

Earth Policy Institute, 14 East Asia, 270 Eastern Europe, 263 EAT-Lancet Commission, 100 Eaton, Cyrus, 220 Ecological catastrophe, 77 Ecological constraints, 78, 380 Ecological damage, 173, 253 Ecological footprint, 102 Economic and cultural interdependence, 213 Economic collapse, 96 Economic development, 88 Economic equality, 64 Economic growth, 79, 83, 380 Economic hegemony, 175 Economic inequality, 175 Economic influence, 247 Economic interdependence, 132, 218 Economic justice, 224 Economic reforms, 224 Economic tipping point, 18 Economic waste, 205, 263 Economics without growth, 83 Economy of exclusion, 226 Ecosystem functioning, 33 EcoWatch, 229 Ecstasy, 119 Edith Wynner, 374 Education, 86, 131, 170, 218, 228, 249 Education for peace, 214, 224 Education for women, 65, 74 Education of women, 382 Educational reforms, 375 Edward Snowden, 380 Effects of war on children, 172, 251 Egypt, 94 Ehrlich, Paul R., 33, 88 Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Irenäus, 124, 127 Einstein, Albert, 220, 228 Eisenhower's Farewell Address, 247, 370 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 181 ElBaradei, Mohamed, 202, 267 Elderly homeless persons, 226

Electric vehicles, 19 Electrical generating plants, 173, 253 Electricity generation, 265, 268 Electronic media, 228 Elementary peace education, 216 Elephant in the room, 301, 302 Elie Kedourie, 372 Elimination of poverty, 373 Elitist goal, 293 Emotions, 111, 131, 132 Empty-world economics, 79, 85 End of the fossil fuel era, 80, 98 Endemic conflict, 270 Energy, 29 Energy conservation, 80 Energy crisis, 263 Energy demand, global, 11 Energy efficiency, 9, 86 Energy for transportation, 96 Energy inputs of agriculture, 57, 98 Energy use per capita, 12 Energy-intensive agriculture, 60 Engineering students, 216 Engineers, responsibility of, 216 Enlightenment, 132 Enormous human suffering, 175 Enrichment, 202 Environmental catastrophe, 229 Environmental changes, 81 Environmental component of learning, 115 Environmental degradation, 77, 79 Environmental holocaust, 174, 253 Environmental impact, 83 Environmental Kuznets curve, 88 Environmental Protection Agency, 302 Environmental sustainability, 100 Epidemics, 171, 250 Equilibrium economics, 85 Equilibrium with the environment, 85 Equity, 265 Era beyond fossil fuels, 102 Eradication of smallpox, 171, 249 Eritiria, 270

396
Erosion of self-respect, 161 Erratic decisions and lies, 302 Escalatory cycles of violence, 198, 259 Ethical principles, 127, 198, 216, 259 Ethical responsibility, 216 Ethiopia, 94, 270 Ethnic groups, 216, 217 Ethnic identity, 124 Ethnic minorities, 372 Ethnicity, 124 Ethnicity and religion, 127 Ethology, 111, 114 Eugenics movement, 292 Europe, 9, 61 Europe's right-wing parties, 350 European colonial conquests, 127 European Union, 215, 216, 218 Evabgelii Gaudium, 226 Evangelicals, 345 Everyday experience, 131 Evolution, 131, 229 Exceptionalism, 289, 290 Excess human mortality, 365 Exchange of ideas, 130 Execution of Polish teachers, 293 Exhaustion of petroleum, 380 Exploitation, 289, 290 Exponential growth, 14, 83, 85 Exponential industrial growth, 380 Exporters of small arms, 175 Exposure, 179 Expression of emotion by babies, 114 Expression of emotions, 111, 113 Extinction of marine species, 31 Extinction of species, 81, 366 Extinction of terrestrial vertebrates, 31 Extinctions, 54, 79 Extortion, 267 Extracting local resources, 175 Extraction costs, 80 Extreme heat conditions, 363 Extreme weather conditions, 54 Extremely long half-lives, 183

Facial expressions, 113 Failure of monsoons, 54, 99, 367 Falk, Richard, 231 Falling water tables, 88, 99, 102, 367 Fallout, 199, 260 Family of Man, 383 Family planning, 73, 77, 351, 366 Famine, 60, 61, 63, 66, 74, 75, 77, 88, 94, 98, 171, 203, 224, 231, 250, 373 Famine in Africa, 53 Famine relief, 170, 249 Famous names of truthtellers, 231 Fanaticism, 119, 133, 148 Far-right neo-fascist organization, 343 Farm buildings, 58 Fascism defined as corporatism, 377 Fascism unites corporations and the mob, 377 Fast breeder reactors, 188, 265 Fast neutrons, 265 Fatal accident, 202 Fatherland, 136, 138 Favelas, 73 FBI, 218 Federations, 215 Feedback loop, definition, 33 Feedback loops, 9, 27, 371, 381 Feedstocks for fertilizer, 58 Feedstocks for pesticides, 58 Feelings of panic, 169 Fermi, Enrico, 187, 264 Fertility of mixed marriages, 124 Fertility rates, 94 Fertilizers, 56, 57, 98 Fertilizers, petroleum-derived, 67 Festivals, 137, 138 Feudal barons, 132 Feudal principalities, 133 Fichte, Johan Gottlieb, 135 Fichtians, 148 Field machinery, 58 Fighting in the War Room, 195 Filed teeth, 125

Films that glorify war, 276 Financial institutions, 215 Finite earth, 380 Finite food supply, 83 Finite supply of fossil fuels, 10 Finland, 263 Fire, 139 Fire storms, 177, 257 Firearm and Confederate T-shirt, 332 Firebombing of Dresden, 198, 260 Firebombing of Hamburg, 166 Fires ignited by lightning, 9 Firestorms, 167 Fischer, R.A., 121, 128 Fission of uranium, 264 Fission reaction, 176, 254 Fissionable isotopes, 264 Fissionable materials, 267 Flags, 119, 138 Fleeing refugees targeted, 166 Flocks of birds, 129 Floods, 28 Floods in Pakistan, 363 Florida, Richard, 83 Food and agriculture reform, 100 Food calorie outputs, 58 Food crisis, 100 Food insecurity in West Africa, 54, 99, 367 Food losses and waste, 101 Food production, 56, 75 Food security, 364 Food supply, 78 Food system is broken, 102 Food-exporting countries, 60 For use by white persons, 326 Foreign women, 195 Forest destruction, 9 Forest fires, 38 Forests, 79 Forge of Empires, 277 Former Soviet Republic, 56 Former Soviet Union, 270 Fosen project, 20

Fossil fuel corporations, 18 Fossil fuel energy inputs, 58 Fossil fuel era, 61 Fossil fuels, 9, 56, 57, 75, 77, 79, 86, 102, 380, 381 Fossil fuels, rate of use, 10 Fourth Reich, 313 Framework Convention, 28 France, 133, 272 France bans internal combustion engine, 19 Frederick the Great, 133, 136 Free association, 217 Free market, 83 Free University of Berlin, 46 Freedom Party (Austria), 351 French culture, 133, 136 French fascist groups, 313 French Revolution, 132, 133 Fresh water scarcity, 53 Friendly hands, 130 Frisch, Karl von, 114 Frisch, Otto, 187 Fruit, 101 Fuel cells, 18 Fuelwood, 77 Fukushima, 180, 182 Full employment, 218 Full Spectrum Warrior, 276 Full-world economics, 79, 85 Fully electric cars, 19 Fusion energy, 268 Future generations, 170, 231 Future of megacities, 96 Gabriel, Dalia, 292 Galtung, Fumiko, 231 Galtung, Johan, 229, 231 Gandhi's autobiography, 245 Gandhi, Mahatma, 225, 375 General Dynamics, 272 General economic development, 74 Genes, 121

Genetic change, 124

Genetic diversity, 81 Genetic engineering, 216 Genetic evolution, 129 Genetic pool, 176, 254 Genetic predisposition, 115 Genetically programmed responses, 115 Genetically similar individuals, 128 Geneva Conventions, 216 Genius for cooperation, 131, 219 Genocide, 127, 131, 198, 259, 289, 293, 364 Genocide against Jews, 127 Genocide of Amerinds, 290 Geography, 217 German Fatherland, 136 German language, 136 German Luftwaffe, 166 German May, 138 German nationalism, 127, 135, 138 German nationalist movement, 133, 137 German-speaking students, 133 Germans applauding Adolf Hitler, 293 Germans shooting women and children, 293 Germany, 133, 215 Germany bans internal combustion engine, 19Germany's wars, 137 Giampietro, Mario, 58 Gigawatts (GW), 10 Glacial epochs, 81 Glacial melting, 55 Glaciation, 32 Glaciers, melting of, 54, 99, 367 Global consciousness, 214, 227 Global environment, 85 Global ethic, 214, 228, 374 Global exchanges, 130 Global famine, 231 Global fertility rates, 94 Global governance, 175 Global hegemony, 270 Global inequalities, 217 Global power, 270 Global temperature, 27

Global warming, 28, 54, 79, 263, 268, 364 Global warming and security, 365 Globalization, 132 Glory, 135 Golden Dawn party (Greece), 313, 351 Goodman, Amy, 229, 231, 269 Goods, 83 Goods per capita, 86 Government intervention, 80 Governmental responsibility, 85 Governmental secrecy, 380 Governmental terrorism, 162 Graphite moderator, 264 Grave implications, 247 Great Depression, 195 Great famine of 1876-1878, 290 Great-power competition, 270 Greed, 289 Green Berets, 276 Green Party, 302 Green Revolution, 56, 57, 67 Greenham Common Songbook, 245 Greenhouse effect, 34 Greenhouse gas emissions, 351, 365, 366 Greenhouse gases, 79, 365 Greenland, 263, 351, 366 Greenland ice cores, 38 Grey, Colin S., 200, 262 Griffin, G. Edward, 293 Griffith, D,W,, 338 Gross National Product, 83 Grotius, 215 Group identity, 123 Group selection, 121, 128 Growth, 83 Growth of culture, 380 Growth of knowledge, 380 Growth-oriented economics, 85 Grundtvig, N.F.S., 222 Grundtvigian Peoples' Colleges, 222 Guernica, 166 Guilt, 198, 259 Gulf War of 1990, 173, 174, 253

Gulf Wars, 132 Gun-type bomb, 267 Guterres, Antonio, 179 Gymnasts, 138 Hague Conventions, 216 Hair standing on end, 120 Hair-trigger alert, 170, 180, 200, 261 Haldane, J.B.S., 121, 128 Half of Congo's people killed, 289 Hambrach Castle, 138 Hamilton, W.D., 121, 128 Hanford experiments on humans, 193 Hanseatic League, 215 Hartmann, Thom, 229, 231 Hate for outsiders, 372 Health, 28 Heat waves, 28, 54Heather Heyer murdered, 332 Hedges, Chris, 231 Hegel, G.W.F., 139 Heiliger Schauer, 120 Heine, Heinrich, 139 Hepatitis, 73 Herbicides, 174, 253 Hereditary component of learning, 115 Hermann's Battle, 139 Hermod Lannung Foundation, 221, 222 Hero face, 120 Heroic behavior, 119 Heroism, 118 Herring gulls, 115 HEU, 265 Hibakushas, 225 High birth rates, 371 High level of consumption, 218 High waves in the Beaufort sea, 50 High-yield agriculture, 98 High-yield grain varieties, 56, 57 High-yield strains, 56 High-yield varieties, 67 Higher loyalty, 130 Higher status for women, 65, 74, 382

Highly enriched uranium, 181, 202, 265 Himalayas, 54, 99, 367 Himmler, Heinrich, 293 Hinde, Robert A., 118 Hindu Kush, 54, 99, 367 Hinduism, 224 Hindus and Moslems lived side by side, 372 Hiroshima, 119, 131, 167, 176, 179, 182, 187, 228, 254, 255, 263, 264 Hiroshima Peace Committee, 225 History, 125, 217, 229 History of Racism, 289 History of science, 216 History teaching, 214, 215 History teaching must be reformed, 219 Hitler invades Poland, 166 Hitler Youth, 119 Hitler's bombing of Warsaw, 166 Hitler, Adolf, 313, 332, 352 Hitler-Trump parallels, 352 HIV/AIDS, 174 Hoffer, Eric, 161 Holdren, John P., 88 Holger Terp's autobiography, 245 Holocaust, 131, 293 Holocaust denial, 313 Holocene Extinction, 32 Holy festivals, 137 Holy shiver, 118 Holy war, 137 Homeless children, 62, 64 Hominids, 123 Honey-bees, 113 Hong Kong, 74 Hoodbhoy, Pervez, 191, 242, 266 Hope for the future, 123 Hospitality, 125 Hospitals targeted, 166 Hubbert peaks, 77, 80, 84 Hubbert, M. King, 80 Human civilization threatened, 170 Human Development Index, 94 Human economy, 79

Human emotions, 113 Human error and nuclear war, 176, 255 Human failings, 200, 261 Human groups, 129 Human hands as currency, 289 Human misery, 56 Human nature, 113, 127, 131 Human rights, 215, 217, 224, 372 Human rights abuses, 175 Human Rights Watch, 306 Human solidarity, 218 Human suffering, 75 Humane response to refugees, 351, 366 Humanitarian law, 199, 260, 261 Humanitarian tragedies, 275 Humans cause global warming, 28 Hungarian Skins, 313 Hunger and child deaths in Africa, 363 Hunter-gatherers, 75, 124, 131 Huntington Ingals, 272 Hybrid cars, 19 Hydrogen technology, 18 Hydrological cycle, 178, 180, 258 Hydropower, 80 Hyperbolic trajectory, 75 I=PAT, 88IAEA, 267 ICBM's Carey drank heavily, 195 Idolatry of the Free Market, 224 Illegality of nuclear weapons, 199, 260 Illiteracy, 171, 215, 250 Immediate action required, 366 Imperialism, 292, 381 Imprinting, 118 Inaction is not an option, 231 Incendiary bombings, 177, 257 Incendiary rockets, 162 Incompetent person, 194 Increased arms trading, 275 India, 54, 56, 88, 94, 99, 123, 132, 204, 272, 367

India's nuclear weapons, 191, 266

India's population, historical, 89 India-Pakistan war danger, 191 Indian monsoon disruption, 38 Indigenous faiths, 224 Indirect costs of war, 170, 215, 249 Indirect effects of war, 369 Indiscriminate mass slaughter, 198, 259 Individual citizens, 217 Individual conscience, 161 Individual identity lost, 162 Individual, value of, 135, 136 Individualism, 136 Indo-China conflicts, 171, 250 Indoctrination in nationalism, 213 Indonesia, 74, 94 Industrial Revolution, 75, 216, 223 Industrial sector, 83 Industrial waste, 62 Industrial workers, 83 Industrialized farming harmful, 66 Industrialized nations, 77, 175 Inequality, 64, 215, 226 Inertia of educational systems, 213 Infant mortality, 64 Information accumulation, 124 Information transfer, 130 Information-driven population growth, 75 Information-related work, 83 Infrastructure, 73, 170, 218, 249 Inhumane treatment at the border, 306 Injustice, economic, 132 Inorganic fertilizer, 58 Input/output ratio, 58 Insane person, 194 Instinctive behavior, 111 Instincts, 111, 113 Institution of war, 161, 170, 171, 174, 204, 249.250 Institutionalized injustice, 377 Insurrection of peoples, 132 Inter-group aggression, 128 Inter-group marriage, 129 Interdependence, 130, 132, 224

Intermittency, Denmark and Norway, 18 Intermittency, problem of, 18 Internal combustion engine ban, 18 Internal peace, 123, 217, 218 Internally displaced persons, 172, 251 International agreements, 29 International borders, 172, 252 International control, 265 International cooperation, 276 International Court of Justice, 215 International Criminal Court, 215, 379 International government and law, 371 International law, 175, 216, 229 International police force, 373 Internationalism, 218 Interreligious understanding, 216 Intertribal aggression, 121 Intertribal massacres, 127 Intolerable economic inequality, 175 Intra-group altruism, 128 Intragroup aggression, 118 Inundation of coastal cities, 28 Invention of printing, 129, 130 Invention of writing, 129 Investment in solar energy, 20 Investment opportunity, 18 Invermittency, Denmark and Germany, 18 Iodine 131, 193 IPCC, 28, 54 Iran, 204, 269, 270 Iran nuclear deal, 275 Iran, attack by Israel, 195 Iraq, 269 Iraq war, 302 Irish Potato Famine, 56, 81 Irrational beliefs, 131 Irresponsible decisions, 192 Irreversible biodiversity loss, 28 Irreversible damage to civilization, 176, 254 Irrigation, 56, 57, 98 Isaiah 45 = 45th President, 345Isotope analysis gives temperatures, 48 Isotopes, 264, 266

Isotopes of uranium, 264 Israel, 195, 272 Israel's nuclear weapons, 188, 265 Italian neo-fascists, 313 Ituri Provence of Congo, 127 IUCN, 32

Jack D. Ripper, 194 Jainists, 224 Japan, 74 Japanese terror bombing, 166 Jesus, 130 Jewelry, 129 Jewish plot for white genocide, 332 Job security, 86 Jobbic party (Hungary), 351 Jobs from renewables, 21 John Atkins Hobson, 381 Juan Peron admired Mussolini, 377 Jungle burned for agriculture, 81

Kaiser Wilhelm II, 180 Kantians, 148 Karma, 376 Kassel destroyed, 167 Kenya, 62 Keynes, John Maynard, 85 Khan, A.Q., 191, 266 Killing civilians, 162 Kilowatts (KW), 10 Kim Jong-un, 272 Kindness, 121 King, Rev. Martin Luther, 225 KKK classified as a hate group, 338 KKK cross-burning, 338 KKK responsible for many lynchings, 338 Klare, Michael, 175 Klein, Naomi, 231 Kleist, 139 Klu Klux Klan, 338 Known resources, 9 Kobe firebombed, 167 Koestler, Arthur, 119

Korean Peoples Army, 272 Korean War, 132 Kosovo, 127 Kristensen, Thorkil, 79, 84 Kubrick, Stanley, 194 Kurdish civilians gassed, 127 Kuznets curve, 88 L-3 Communications, 272 Labor, 79 Lack of action, 28 Lancet report on food reform, 100 Land Use Policy, 364 Lang, Tim, 100 Language, 117, 124, 129, 136 Language and ethnic identity, 125 Lao-Tzu, 130 Lapham, Robert J., 74 Lapps, 123 Large nations, 217 Large, hetrogenious states as models, 379 Large-scale global famine, 98, 379 Last frontier, 56 Late Devonian Extinction, 31 Late marriage, 60, 88 Latin, 136 Latin America, 61 Launch officers cheating, 194 Law of the Sea, 215 Laws binding on individuals, 217, 372 Layers of peat are burning, 44 Learning, 115 Lebanese civil war, 127, 171, 250 Lebanon, 269 LeMay, General Curtis E., 200, 262 Lenton, Timothy Michael, 38 Leonardo-Finmeccanica, 272 Leopold II, King of Belgium, 289 Leopold's private army, 289 Lerma Rogo, 56 Less animal products, 100 Less developed countries, 175 Lester Brown, 53

Lethal heat events, 365 LEU, 265 Level playing field, 301 Liberalism, 136 Libya, 269 Life on earth threatened, 170 Lifestyles, 9 Light of the black sun, 313 Light weapons, 270 Limited problems, 130 Limited reserves of uranium, 187 Limited war, 137 Limits to Growth, 84 Liquid fuels, 80 Literature, 125 Lithium ion storage cells, 18 Livestock feed, 58 Living from war, 247 Living on inherited water, 368 Living standards, 86 Lobbys, 229 Local communities, 125 Local currencies, 96 Local self-sufficiency, 96 Lockheed Martin, 272 Long-distance trading, 129 Long-term future, 96 Loot, 139 Lord Cranborne, 166 Lorenz, Konrad, 114, 118, 119, 121, 124 Loss of 175 million lives, 173, 253 Loss of life, 171, 250 Love your enemies, 375 Low enriched uranium, 265 Low-lying islands, 44 Loyalty, 119, 121, 131 Loyalty to humanity as a whole, 228, 374 Lucky Dragon, 170, 220 Müller, Adam, 135 Mafia, 267 Magnetic bottles, 268

Mahatma Gandhi, 372, 375

Mahayana Buddhists, 224 Mahler, Halfdan, 73 Mainz destroyed, 167 Major extinction event, 33 Making money from war, 370 Malaria, 174 Malaysia, 129 Malnutrition, 28, 171, 215, 250 Malnutrition and disease, 369 Malthus, Thomas Robert, 60, 77, 83 Malthusian forces, 60, 75, 94 Mandela, Nelson, 326 March in Poland, 313 Marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, 338 Marginal land, 77 Marine Ice Cliff Instability, 44 Market forces, 86 Market mechanisms, 86 Marriage, 121 Marriage across ethnic boundaries, 127 Marriage within a group, 128 Marseillaise-singing masses, 133 Marshall Islands, 170 Mass media, 131, 214, 228, 231, 276, 301, 302, 374 Mass media have failed us, 380 Mass meeting, 138 Mass migration, 365 Mass murder of Soviet civilians, 293 Massacres, 127 Masses, 135 Massive nuclear retaliation, 198, 225, 259 Mathew, Binu, 231 Mattas, James, 270 Maudlin, W. Parker, 74 Mayor of Hiroshima, 221 McInnes, Gavin, 343 Meadows, Dennis L., 60 Medical consequences of war, 171, 250 Medical science, 61 Medicine, 81 Megacities, 96 Megawatts (MW), 10

Melting of Arctic ice, 54, 99, 367 Melting of glaciers, 54, 98, 99, 102, 367 Melting of polar ice, 54 Men's choirs, 138 Mercenary soldiers, 135 Merchants, 132 Merkel, Angela, 350 Mesopotamia, 130 Metals, 218 Methane hydrate feedback loop, 27, 31, 34, 39Methane, 10,000 gigatons, 34 Mexico, 57, 81, 94 Mexico City, 62 Miami, 44 Middle East, 132, 224 Middle East conflicts, 275 Might makes right, 175 Migrant crisis, 364 Migrant crisis drives neofascism, 377 Migrants and swings to the right, 364 Migration into Europe, 366 Migration to cities, 73 Migration, political reactions, 350 Migrations, 123 Militant enthusiasm, 119, 120 Militarism, 219 Militarism in North Korea, 272 Militaristic government, 182 Military budgets, 174, 215, 381 Military Expenditure Database, 272 Military might, 175 Military technology, 275 Military-industrial complex, 174, 229, 247, 301, 370 Mill, John Stuart, 59 Minerals, 79 Mining ancient groundwater, 55, 99, 368 Minister of Education, 221 Miscalculation, 200, 261 Misplaced power, 247 Missile defense system, 204 Mistaken for a missile strike, 200, 261

MIT News, 56 Mitigation, 28 Modern agriculture, 75 Modern arms, 224 Modern feudalist society, 293 Modern science, 130 Modern society, 130 Modern weapons, 218 Modernism, 204 Monocultures, 81 Monsoon, 54, 99, 367 Monsoon disruption, 38 Monsoon failures, 54, 99, 367 Monsoon rainfall, 367 Moral responsibility surrendered, 162 Morality, 135 More military spending, 275 More violent conflicts, 275 Morphology, 111 Moses, 130Most dangerous organization in history, 346 Movement of refugees, 275 Multi-ethnic societies, 123 Multinational corporations, 175 Multiracial society, 123 Mumbai, 44 Murder, 139, 289 Murder justified in war?, 161 Murder of black people, 293 Murder of ethnic Poles, 293 Murder of Soviet citizens, 293 Murky depths of stupidity, 301 Musharraf, Pervez, 266 Mussolini, 377 Mutually Assured Destruction, 262 Myth, 137 Nagasaki, 119, 167, 179, 182, 187, 192, 228, 263, 264Nairobi, 62 Nanjing Massacre, 166 Napoleon, 133, 137, 139, 162 Nation-state, 132, 135, 228

Nation-states, 131, 132, 218 National Academy of Sciences, 33 National armies, 218 National cult, 138 National Front party, 351 National identity, 133, 136, 139 National pride, 204 National symbolism, 138 Nationalism, 119, 131, 132, 135, 137, 139, 214, 219, 228, 372 Nationalism a dangerous anachronism, 213 Nationalism and religion, 127 Nationalism in England, 139 Nationalism taught in schools, 213 Nationalism, nuclear, 266 Natural capital, 79 Natural gas, 57, 80, 380 Natural habitat destruction, 32 Natural resources, 29, 79 Natural selection, 121, 128 Nature: Climate Change, 365 Navigant Research, 20 Nazi and neo-Nazi symbols, 343 Nazi atrocities, 293 Nazi genocides, 293 Nazi ideology revived, 313 Nazi murder of homosexuals, 293 Nazi Party, 127, 138 Nazi racism, 293 Nazi salute, 332 Nazi symbols, 313 Negative peace, 217 Nelson, 139 Neo-Nazi demonstration in Leipzig, 313 Neo-Nazi skinheads in Spain, 313 Neo-Nazi symbols in Ukraine, 313 Neo-Nazism, 313 Neocolonialism, 215, 289 Neptunium, 267 Net carbon sink, 101 Net primary product, 79 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 180, 195 Netherlands bans petrol driven cars, 19

Neuborne, Burt, 352 Neutral countries, 180, 198, 259 Neutrons, 264 New Agenda Resolution, 200, 261 New ethics to match new technology, 383 New global agricultural revolution, 100 New global ethic, 374 New leaders, 170 New York, 44 Newspapers, 132, 228 Nigeria, 62, 94 No one can win a tsunami, 180 Noam Chomsky, 381 Nobel Peace Prize, 57 Nobel Prize in Literature, 229 Noble dead, 137 Non-Proliferation Treaty, 265 Non-renewable resources, 80, 83, 218, 380 Non-violence, 225 Nonvoters, 302 North America, 9 North Atlantic Anomaly, 54, 99, 367 North Korea, 204, 272 North Korea's nuclear weapons, 265 Northrop Grumman, 272 Norway bans petrol driven cars, 19 Norwegian mass-murderer, 277 Not what we intended, 180 NPT, 265 NPT, threatened failure of, 266 NSA, 302 Nuclear arms race, 169 Nuclear black market, 202 Nuclear catastrophe, 176, 254 Nuclear criminals, 191 Nuclear darkness, 203 Nuclear deterrence, flaws, 202 Nuclear environmental catastrophe, 177, 257 Nuclear fusion, 268 Nuclear Mafia?, 192 Nuclear nationalism, 191, 266 Nuclear power dangers, 263 Nuclear power generation, 263

Nuclear power plant accidents, 176, 255 Nuclear proliferation, 170, 263, 265, 266 Nuclear reactor, 264 Nuclear terrorism, 191, 202, 204, 266 Nuclear tests, 174, 254 Nuclear threat greater today, 170 Nuclear war by accident, 267 Nuclear warhead stockpiles, 272 Nuclear wasteland, 194 Nuclear weapons, 216 Nuclear weapons and terrorism, 170 Nuclear winter, 177, 257 Nucleon number, 264 Nuremberg Principles, 205, 215, 263 Nuremberg rally, 293 Nuremberg trials, 313 Nuts, 101 Oak leaves, 137, 138

Obama, Barack, 364 Obedience paramount, 161 Oberg, Jan, 230, 231 Obscenely enormous military budget, 302 Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, 312 Ocean current changes, 54, 99, 367 Ocean currents, 54 Ocean level rises, 54 Odd nucleon numbers, 187 Ogallala aquifer, 55, 100, 368 Oil. 80 Oil spills, 174, 253 Old world of international anarchy, 377 Omar, Ilhan, 312 One child policy enforcement, 89 Optimum global population, 59, 77 Ordine Nuovo, 313 Ordovician-Silurian Extinction, 31 Organized criminals, 266 Orgy of external cruelty, 290 Orthodox Christians, 224 Orwellian society, 131 Output per hectare, 77 Overdrawn aquifers, 102

Overgrazing, 79 Overpopulation, 368, 373 Overshoot and crash, 75 Overwrite ethical principles, 161 Oxford Institute of Economic Policy, 367 Ozone layer, 178, 180, 203, 258 Pacific ecosystems contaminated, 182 Pack leader, 117 Packaging and retailing, 58 Pagan festivals, 137 Pagan tradition, 137 Pakistan, 54, 56, 94, 99, 132, 204, 272, 367 Pakistan floods, 363 Pakistan's nuclear weapons, 170, 180, 191, 195.266 Palestinians, 172, 252 Pan-German movement, 372 Pan-Slavic ambitions, 180 Pan-Slavic movement, 372 Paraguay, 74 Paranoia, 170 Paranoid times, 346 Paris Agreement, 101, 302 Paris Climate Agreement, 275 Paris Climate Conference, 231 Parochial interests, 364 Partha Dasgupta, 382 Party for Freedom, 351 Pastoral societies, 75 Pasturage, 77 Patagonia, 351, 366 Patriotism, 119, 128, 139 Paul Ehrlich, 178, 258 Peace, 218Peace education, 214, 220, 224 Peace in Colombia, 275 Peace movement, 228 Pearl Harbor, 276 Pecci, Aurelio, 84 Peierls, Rudolf, 187 Pentagon's budget, 302 People without electricity, 17

People's Party-Our Slovakia, 351 Per capita energy use, 9 Permafrost melting, 38 Permanent arms industry, 247 Permanently uninhabitable, 181 Permian extinction, 27, 31, 381 Pesticide overuse, 67 Pesticides, 56, 57, 98 Petroleum, 57 Petroleum price, 60 Petroleum, conventional, 80 Petroleum-derived fibers, 77 Petroleum-driven tractors, 77 Petrov, Stanislav, 262 Pforzheim destroyed, 167 Philippines, 94, 129 Photosynthesis, 79 Photovoltaics, 80 Photovoltaics, rate of growth, 14 Physical properties, 264 Pictographic writing, 130 Pile of corpses at Buchenwald, 293 Pilger, John, 231 Pimentel, David, 58 Planned attack on Iran, 180 Planned lifetimes exceeded, 192 Plant diseases, 56, 67, 81 Plant genetics, 56 Plant-based foods, 100 Plasmids, 66 Plato, 130 Playing fields of Eton, 213 Pledges remain unmet, 28 Plutonium, 183, 202, 264, 266 Poetry, 125 Poison gas, 127 Polar ice, melting, 54 Polar Portal, 46 Polish farmers killed by Germans, 293 Political action, 135 Political chaos, 175 Political cohesion, 132 Political inactivity, 229

Political influence, 247 Political instability, 275, 364 Political institutions, 132 Political justice, 224 Political swings to the right, 377 Political unity of France, 133 Political will, 9 Politicians tell him to kill, 162 Pollution, 80, 368 Poor and most vulnerable, 28 Pope Francis I, 226 Pope John Paul II, 225, 226 Pope John XXIII, 226 Population, 83, 86 Population and fossil fuel use, 75 Population and the threat of famine, 367 Population crash, 60 Population density, 59 Population explosion, 216 Population extinction pulse, 33 Population genetics, 121 Population growth, 61, 77, 215, 380 Population growth and famine, 368 Population growth and poverty, 73 Population growth rate, 62 Population headed for a crash?, 75 Population losses and declines, 33 Population of China, 88 Population of India, 88 Population oscillations, 79 Population pressure, 78 Population projections in Africa, 94 Population stabilization, 73, 86, 98, 371 Population/cropland ratio, 77 Populations displaced by war, 365 Populations of animals, 79 Populism in the US, 351 Positive checks, 77 Positive feedback loops, 33 Positive peace, 217 Possible extinction of humans, 366 Post-fossil-fuel era, 67, 75 Post-Kantians, 135

Postures, 129 Potato blight, 81 Potsdam Institute, 28, 46 Poverty, 64, 77, 85, 102, 215, 224 Poverty alleviation, 29 Poverty and war, 174 Poverty generated by war, 253 Poverty-generating war, 173, 175 Power, 139 Power reactors, 265 Power struggles, 170 Power unbalance, 218 Powers of government, 86 Precious bodily fluids, 194 Prehistoric trading, 129 President Truman, 169 Pressley, Ayanna, 312 Preventable disease, 250 Preventable diseases, 171, 250 Prevention of disease, 60 Preventive checks, 77 Price of petroleum, 60 Priests, 138 Primary energy, 9 Primary health care, 175 Primitive state, 162 Primitive tribes, 131 Printing, 132 Private army, 292 Private life, 135 Privileged position, 175 Profits, 83 Progress of science, 218 Prohibitively dangerous reactors, 188 Projected deaths from extreme heat, 363 Proliferation risks, 181, 265, 266 Proliferation, nuclear, 263, 266 Promotes political violence, 343 Propaganda, 228 Propagandist drama, 139 Propagation of genes, 128 Prosperity gospel preacher, 345 Protestants, 224

Protons, 264 Proud Boys, 343 Provision of health services, 74, 382 Prussia, 133, 136 Prussian army officers, 124 Pseudospeciation, 124 Psychological conditioning, 162 Psychological effects of war, 171, 250 Psychological techniques, 137 Pu-239, 187, 264, 265, 267 Public health, 73, 170, 249 Public opinion, 263 Public transportation, 86 Pugwash Conferences, 220, 377 Pulses, 101 Purchasing Power Parity, 64 Quakers, 225 Quasi-automatic reaction, 195 Quasi-religious fervor, 137, 139 Quick action, 9 Quincy Wright, 369 Rössler, Fritz, 313 Racial cleansing, 127 Racism, 289, 293, 313 Racism is popular, 293 Racism of Cecil Rhodes, 292 Racist theories and atrocities, 290 Radar, 200, 261 Radiation sickness, 167, 176, 255 Radioactive cloud, 182 Radioactive contamination, 180 Radioactive fallout, 170, 174, 220, 254, 263 Radioactive graphite, 263 Radioactive grass, 182, 263 Radioactive leaks at Hanford, 192 Radioactive release kept secret, 193 Radioactive uranium, 263 Radioactive waste disposal, 263 Radioactive wasteland, 192 Rainfall, 54 Rainforests, 79

Rank-determining fights, 118, 119 Rate of fossil fuel use, 10 Rate of species loss, 32 Rates of use, 11 Rational thought banished, 161 Rats feeding on corpses, 167 Raytheon, 272 Real needs, 85 Recovery of the U.S., 293 Recycling resources, 86 Red button, 194 Red Cross targeted, 166 Red Dawn, 276 Red meat, 101 Reduced consumption of meat, 351, 366 Reduced rainfall, 364 Reforestation, 86 Reform Jews, 224 Reformed teaching of history, 375 Refugee crisis, 364–366 Refugees, 172, 251, 252 Refugees from rising temperatures, 365 Regional agreements, 29 Regional Defense Strategy, 270 Religion, 124, 137, 217, 228, 374, 375 Religion and culture, 127 Religion and ethnicity, 127 Religious ethics, 216 Remember your humanity, 377 Renewable energy, 27, 77, 86, 175, 381 Renewable energy infrastructure, 218 Renewable energy policy network, 301 Renewable energy sources, 77, 80 Renewables cheaper than fossil fuels, 14, 18 Reprocessing, 202 Reprocessing fuel rods, 187, 265 Republican Party, 346 Republican presidential candidates, 301 Republicanism, 135 Reserves of uranium, 265 Resistance factors, 66 Resource curse, 175 Resource wars, 175, 277

Resource-extracting firms, 175 Resources per capita, 102 Resources wasted on war, 382 Respiratory diseases, 62 Responsibility to future generations, 380 Restoring democracy, 380 Revelations of misconduct, 194 Revenge, 139 Revenge and counter-revenge, 198, 205, 259, 263Reverential attitude, 139 Reverse transition, 77 Revival of Nazi ideology, 313 Revolution in nuclear nations, 191 Rhodes' secret society, 293 Rhodes, Cecil, 292 Richard Wilkinson, 381 Righteousness, 120 Rising average global temperature, 365 Rising sea levels, 102, 363 Rising temperatures, 364 Risk management, 29 Ritual scarification, 124 Rituals, 125 River of money, 247 Robock, A., 203 Rockefeller Foundation, 56 Rockström, Johan, 100 Rockwell, George Lincoln, 313 Roma, 293 Roman Catholics, 224 Roman Empire, 213 Romantic Movement, 132 Rome Treaty, 215 Romer, Ernst, 313 Rooftop solar installations, 17 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 85, 86, 166 Rosa, Antonio C.S., 231 Rosenfeld, Steven, 352 Rothschild, Nathan, 293 Rotterdam devastated, 166 Round dance, 115 Roy, Arundhati, 249

Russell, Lord Bertrand, 220 Russell-Einstein Manifesto, 220, 377 Russia, 202, 263, 270, 272 Rwandan genocide, 131 Sacred duty, 120, 139 Sacred flame, 137, 138 Sacred space, 138 Sadam Hussein, 269 Saddam Hussein's atrocities, 127 Safe drinking water, 175 Safe water, 171, 250 Safety rules, 194 Sale of African land, 94 Sanctions, 372 Sanders, Senator Bernie, 302 Sanitary water supply, 171, 249 Sanitation, 62 Sao Paulo, 62 Saturation pressure, 33 Saudi Arabia and photovoltaics, 17 Scandinavia, 131, 371 Scandinavian countries, 302 Schrade, Herbert, 138 Science, 383 Science double-edged, 368 Science education, 216 Scientific evidence, 28 Scientific revolution, 75 Scientists, responsibility of, 216 Sea ice loss, 34 Sea ice melting, 50 Sea level rise, 28, 38, 79, 98, 364 Sea level rise of several meters, 44 Sea level rise will threaten cities, 364 Sea of fire, 167 Secrecy, 380 Secret diplomacy, 380 Secret society, 293 Secure jobs, 86 Security, 224 Security Council, 269 Security for old people, 382

Security threats, 366 Self-congratulatory mood, 290 Self-destruction, 119 Self-sacrifice in war, 128, 161 Self-sacrificing courage, 120 Self-sufficient economy, 96 Selfish motives, 119, 121 Sellers, Peter, 194 Semi-automatic rifles, 343 Sense of responsibility, 161 Senseless rituals, 161 Sequestered carbon, 67 Service sector, 83 Several hundred million deaths, 198, 259 Severe droughts, 178, 258 Sewage, 62 Shamanism, 123 Shanghai, 44 Shared knowledge, 130 Sharp-shooters, 138 Sharpeville Massacre, 326 Shaw, Pamela, 86 Sheep-dogs, 117 Shiite Muslims, 224 Shintos, 224 Shiver, 120 Shock electrolysis, 56 Short-sighted project, 368 Shortened food chain, 351, 366 Shrunken globe, 383 Siberia, 123, 351, 366 Siberian town of Verkhovansk, 44 Siberian Traps, 31 Sikhs, 224 Simiens, 20 Singapore, 74 Sinister double meaning, 187 **SIPRI**, 272 SIPRI Yearbook, 2017, 275 Sir Nickolas Stern, 367 Sixth mass extinction, 33 Slaughter of civilians, 166 Slavery, 376

Slavic majorities, 137 Slums, 73 Small arms, 269, 270 Small arms, 639 million, 270 Small farmers, 67 Smaller families, 80 Smith, Adam, 83, 85 Smith, Dan, 275 Social cohesion, 123 Social Darwinism, 292 Social disruption by war, 171, 250 Social epidemiology, 381 Social impact of science, 216 Social inequality, 56 Social insects, 129 Social responsibilities of scientists, 375 Social unit enlarged, 130 Socialism, 302 Socrates, 130 Softening ethnic boundaries, 127 Soil conservation, 86 Soka Univ. of America, 230 Soka University Japan, 230 Solar energy, 79 Solar Foundation, 21 Solar Jobs Census, 21 Solar panel prices, 14 Solar panels on new houses, 17 Solar thermal power, 80 Solstice, 137 Somalia, 269, 270 Sonora 64, 56 Soot particles, 34 South Africa, 80 South Africa's nuclear weapons, 191, 265, 266Southeast Asia's food supply, 54, 99, 367 Southern Asia, 129 Southwest Asia, 270 Sovereign states, 173, 252 Sovereignty, 132 Soviet atomic bomb, 169 Space-age science, 139

Specialization, 130 Species, 124 Species loss, 32 Spemcer, Richard B., 331 Spiritual influence, 247 Stabilization of population, 78, 351, 366 Stable future, 170 Stable, just and war-free world, 379 Standard of living, 77 Stars and stripes, 346 Starvation, 60, 77, 171, 172, 179, 250, 251, 270, 289 State, 135, 136, 139 State Militia, 218 State Secrets Act, 182 State-provided care of elderly, 74 State-sponsored terror, 162 Steady-state economic system, 380 Steady-state economics, 83 Steady-state economy, 86 Stein, Jill, 302 Stern Report, 54, 367 Stern Review, 99 Stern, Sir Nicholas, 54 Stockholders, 381 Stockholm, 83 Stockholm Resilience Center, 100 Stone, Oliver, 229, 231 Stone-age politics, 139 Stonehenge, 138 Stop subsidizing fossil fuels, 301 Straits of Hormuz, 195 Strasser, Otto, 313 Strategic competition, 276 Stronger bargaining power, 175 Student peace prizes, 220 Submission, 118 Subnational organizations, 191, 266 Subsidies, 301, 302 Subsidized nuclear power, 182 Sudan, 269 Suffering caused by poverty, 175 Suffering caused by war, 175

Suicide by soldiers, 161 Summer water supplies, 55, 102 Sunni Muslims, 224 Superbombs, 169 Superpower status, 270 Survival, 121 Survival of civilization, 249 Survival of the fittest, 226 Sustainability, 79, 83, 85, 86, 96 Sustainable agriculture, 67 Sustainable economic system, 220 Sustainable goals, 80 Sustainable limit, 75, 77 Swaminathan, M.S., 56 Sweden, 263 Sweden Democrats party, 351 Swings to the right in Europe, 350 Switzerland, 215 Sykes-Picot Agreement, 380 Symbol of fascism, 379 Symbolism, 137 Synthetic fertilizers, 77 Svria, 269 System of despotism, 292 Systematic murder, 292 Szent-Györgyi, Albert, 131 Taiwan, 129 Targeted individuals, 277 Tasks for the future, 379 Tattoos, 125 Tax structure, 80 Taxation, 80, 86 Taxation, power of, 217 Teacher's training colleges, 216 Team-spirit, 119 Technical defects, 200, 261 Technology, 77, 132, 139, 226 Technology, transfer of, 73 Television, 228 Temperature increase, 54 Temperature inversion, 178, 258 Ten feet of sea level rise, 43

Terawatt, definition, 80 Terawatts (TW), 10 Terp, Holger, 223, 245 Terrorism, 166, 224, 270 Terrorism risks, 181 Terrorism, nuclear, 202 TFF, 229 Thailand, 129 Thales Group, 272 The 2016 US presidential election, 301The albedo effect, 50 The Birth of a Nation, 338 The climate emergency, 363 The drift towards fascism, 377 The Guardian, 32, 100 The Telegraph, 292 The True Believer, 161 Theme days, 217 Theologians, 133 Theology studies, 216 Thermal expansion of oceans, 79 Thermohaline circulation, 38 Thermonuclear bombs, 266 Thermonuclear catastrophe, 229 Thermonuclear reactions, 169, 268 Thermonuclear war, 218, 231, 301, 368, 375, 379, 381 Thermonuclear weapons, 119, 132, 176, 225, 254Thou shalt not kill, 226 Threat of nuclear war, 176, 254 Threat to white womanhood, 338 Threats and costs of war, 170, 249 Thusnelda, 139 Thwaites Glacier may shatter, 43 Thyroid cancer, 182, 263 Tinbergen's studies of instincts, 115 Tinbergen, Nikolaas, 114 Tipping points, 9, 27 Tipping points and feedback, 38 Tipping points, definition, 38 Tlaib, Rashida, 312 Toda Institute of Peace, 230

Today war is prohibitively dangerous, 369 Tokyo, 44 Tokyo firebombed, 167 Tokyo, firebombing, 198, 260 Tolstoy, Count Leo, 375 Too holy to be seen, 302Toon, O., 203 Topsoil degradation, 67 Torture, 289, 292 Total destruction of Hamburg, 166 Total global supremacy, 270 Total output of a society, 381 Totalitarianism, 136 Totnes, Devon, England, 96 Towards a Non-violent Society, 223 Trade, 132 Traditional agriculture, 67 Traditional rain patterns, 364 Tragically self-contradictory, 181 Training of soldiers, 161 Transition to 100% renewables, 10Transition Towns, 96 Transmission infrastructure, 17 Transnational Foundation, 231 Transportation, 58, 132 Trench warfare, 119 Trevada Buddhists, 224 Triassic-Jurassic Extinction, 31 Tribal identity, 131 Tribal instincts, 133 Tribal markings, 123, 124, 131 Tribal religions, 130 Tribalism, 119, 121, 128, 130, 131, 135, 162, 228, 370, 375 Tribes, 123, 139 Trickle-down theories, 227 Triggered by a madman, 195 Triggered by error, 195 Trillion-dollar elephant, 302 Tropical cyclones, 28, 54 Tropical rain forests, 32, 81 Trump demonizes the Squad, 310 Trump elected on a racist platform, 299

Trump is Alt-Right with us, 332 Trump rally supporting racism, 307 Trump sent by God to be King, 345 Trump's father a KKK member, 338 Trump, Donald, 276, 302, 345, 346, 351, 352, 379Truth, 131 Truthout, 229 TTAPS Study, 177, 257 Turco, R., 203 Two billion malnourished, 102 Two faces of Janus, 131 Two trillion dollars spent on war, 369 Typhoid fever, 73 U-235, 183, 264 U-238, 264, 265 Uexküll, Jakob von, 231 Ukraine, 263 Ukrainian Neo-Nazis, 313 Ultra-nationalists, 313 Ultracentrifuges, 187, 265, 266 Ultranationalism, 313 UN Framework Convention, 28 UN General Assembly, 199, 200, 260, 261 UN High Commission for Refugees, 227 UN Security Council, 270 UN's Agenda 2030, 275 Unauthorized act, 202 Unemployment, 73, 85, 86, 218 Unenriched uranium, 176, 254 UNESCO, 227 Unfair agreements, 175 Uniforms, 138 Unite the Right rally, 332 United Kingdom, 272 United Nations, 229, 372 United Nations Charter, 173, 205, 215, 252, 263United Nations Day, 220 United Nations Emergency Force, 373 United States, 60, 94, 123, 202, 215, 272 United Technologies, 272

Universal human brotherhood, 127, 216 Universality of religion, 127 University for Peace, 230 University peace education, 230 Unknowing human guinea pigs, 193 Unlimited growth, 224 Unlimited material needs, 224 Unprecedented heat waves, 28 Unprecedented investment opportunity, 18 Unstable Greenland cliffs of ice, 46 Unwarranted influence, 247 Uranium, 264 Uranium enrichment, 266 Uranium reserves, 265 Uranium-235, 176, 254 Urbanization, 62, 73 US Evangelicals, 345 US Federal Government, 218 US food system, 58 USSR's civilian deaths, 179 Value systems, 125 Vanguard America, 332 Vapor pressure, 33 Variations of instincts, 113 Vast proportions, 247 Vegetables, 101 Veils, 125 Versailles, 133 Vestas, 20 Viceroy Lord Lytton, 290 Vietnam, 129, 174, 253 Vikings, 131 Village solar installations, 18 Village wind turbines, 18 Violence, 118, 139 Violence on television, 119 Violent death, 172, 251 Violent team sports, 119 Vitousek et. al., 79 Vlaamse Militanten Orde, 313 Volcanic eruptions in Siberia, 31 Volvo bans petroleum driven cars, 18

Vulnerability of modern society, $224\,$

Waggle dance of bees, 114 Wales, 263 War, 60, 75, 77, 88, 94, 139, 215, 225, 269, 270, 346 War as an institution, 247, 370 War compared to slavery, 376 War in Syria, 366 War is now prohibitively dangerous, 214 War of subjugation, 137 War, unbridled, 139 War-free world, 217, 219 Warning from the World Bank, 27 Warren, Elizabeth, 302 Wars block development, 175 Wars manufactured to sell weapons, 249 Wars of religion, 127 Wasserman, Harvey, 182 Wastefulness, 215 Water purification facilities, 173, 253 Water scarcity, 28, 53 Water supplies near dwellings, 382 Water supplies near to dwellings, 74 Water tables falling, 88 Water vapor a greenhouse gas, 33 Water, safe, 62 Waterbourne diseases, 174 Watts, 10 Wave power, 80 We Are All Loyal Klansmen, 338 We must abolish war, 377, 382 We must stabilize global population, 377 We need a World Federation, 382 We Were Soldiers, 276 Wealthy countries, 175 Weapons destabilize regions, 175 Weapons of mass destruction, 119 Weapons-usable materials, 265, 267 Weapons-usable Pu-239, 192, 265 Welfare, 28 Wellington, 139

West African monsoon loss, 38, 54, 94, 99, 367 Western Europe, 270 Wheat varieties, 56 Wheeler, John A., 187, 264 When at Times the Mob is Swayed, 352 White nationalists, 332 White supremacists, 332 Widespread general war, 195 Will, 136, 148 Willingness to kill, 128 Wilson, E.O., 32, 81, 121, 128 Win-win diet, 101 Wind energy, 17 Wind energy, rate of growth, 14 Wind farm's footprint, 17 Wind power, 80 Wind turbine cooperatives, 20 Window of opportunity, 366 Wiretappers, 131 With hands on our hearts, 213 Wolfowitz Doctrine, 270 Wolves, 117 Women and children, 166, 167 Women held as hostages, 289 Women's rights, 371 Women, education for, 74 Women, higher status for, 74 World arms spending, 171, 249 World Bank, 27 World Bank Group, 29 World Bank warning, 27 World citizenship, 214 World Conference of Religions for Peace, 224, 225World Development Report, 28 World domination, 293 World federal authority, 218 World Federation, 372 World Future Council, 231 World government, 217 World Health Organization, 171, 227, 249, 369, 370

World market for food, 53 World Meteorological Organization, 44 World of Warcraft, 277 World population projections, 89 World Trade Center, 192, 204 World under British rule, 293 World War I, 166, 179, 181, 369, 372 World War II, 166, 173, 177, 179, 253, 257, 369 World War II deaths, 293 World War III, 128, 195 World Wars, 132 World-destroying war, 180, 181 Worldwatch Institute, 86 Worms in topsoil, 67 Worse than wasted, 175 Wynner, Edith, 374 Xenophobia, 228, 313 Years remaining, 11 Yokohama firebombed, 167 Yongbion Research Center, 272 Young population, 74 Zambia, 62 Zimbabwe, 270

Zionism, 127 Zoroastrians, 224