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The EARTH BELONGS To The PEOPLE

A graphic illustration featuring silhouettes of a crowd of people. The silhouettes are arranged in two rows: a back row in yellow and a front row in red. They are set against a dark green background that has the shape of a map of the Americas. The overall composition is bold and political.

**ECOLOGY
AND POWER**

75¢

THE EARTH BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

ECOLOGY AND POWER

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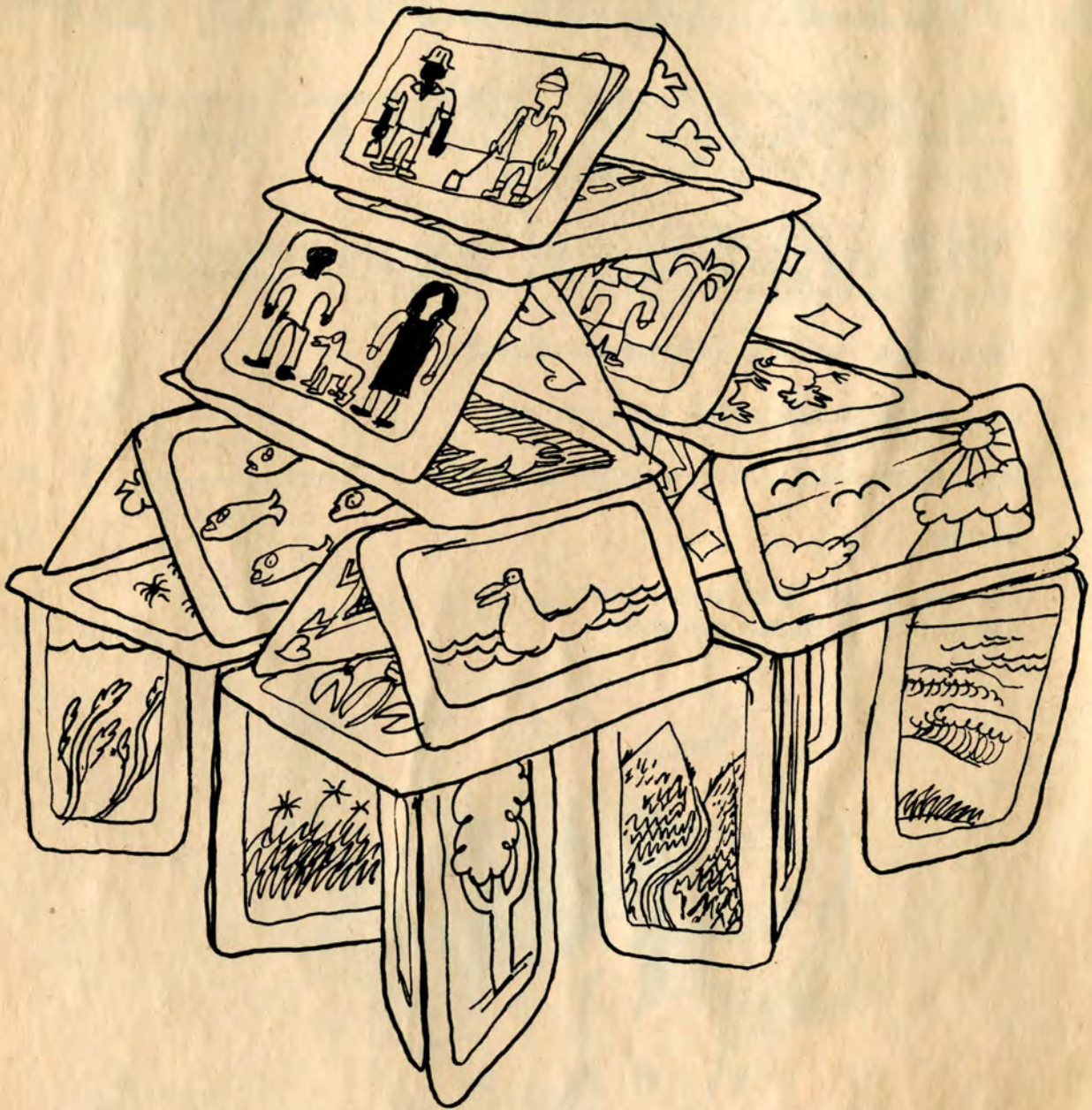
*THE AUTHORS OF THIS BOOKLET ARE VERY WILLING TO
APPEAR AT ANY SORT OF GATHERING WHERE PEOPLE
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NECESSARY IF WITHIN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA.
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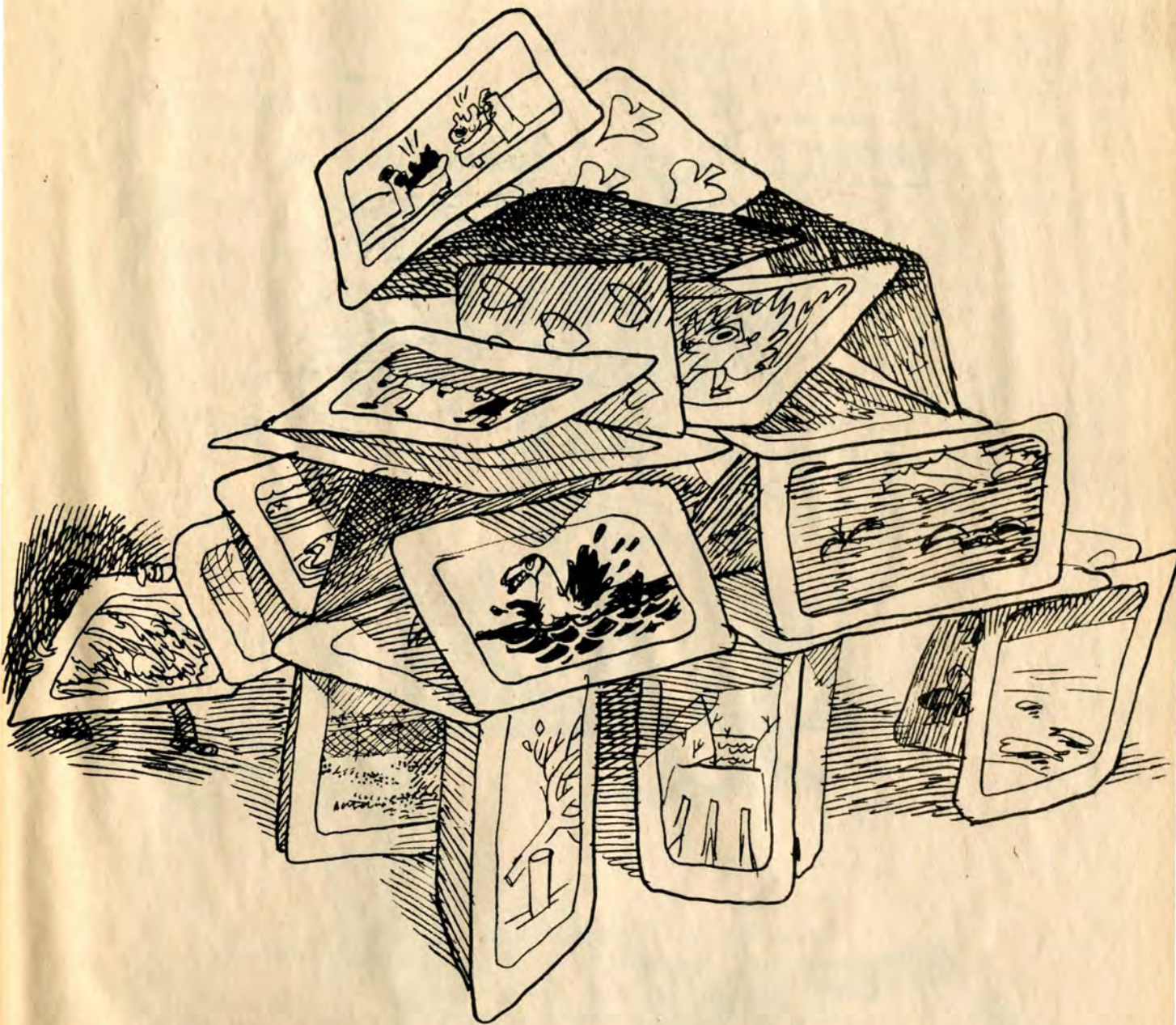
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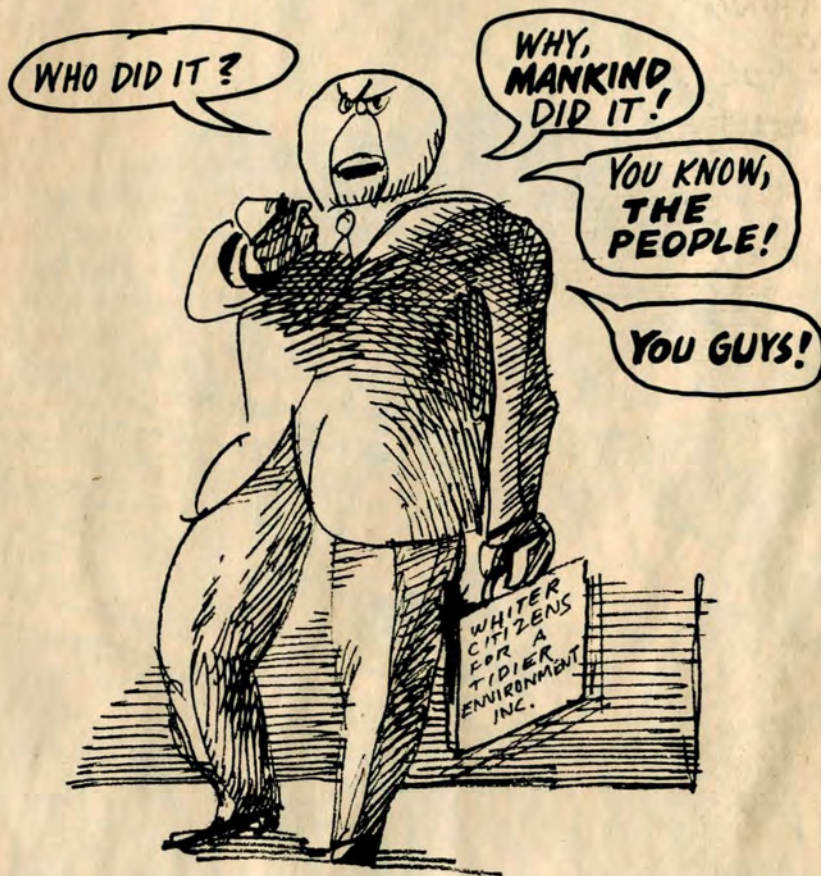




Ecology is about everything that makes life possible. It is about the fact that all these things depend on each other, and *if one goes, all suffer*—just like a house of cards.

Ecology is a matter of balance: the balance of life.





President Nixon, Life Magazine, the New York Times, NBC, Standard Oil, all tell us the same thing: there are too many people in America, and in the world. Overpopulation is the root cause of pollution. Overpopulation is the reason people around the world are starving. There are too many people and not enough food. Too many people wanting too many things. Too many people making too much of a mess.

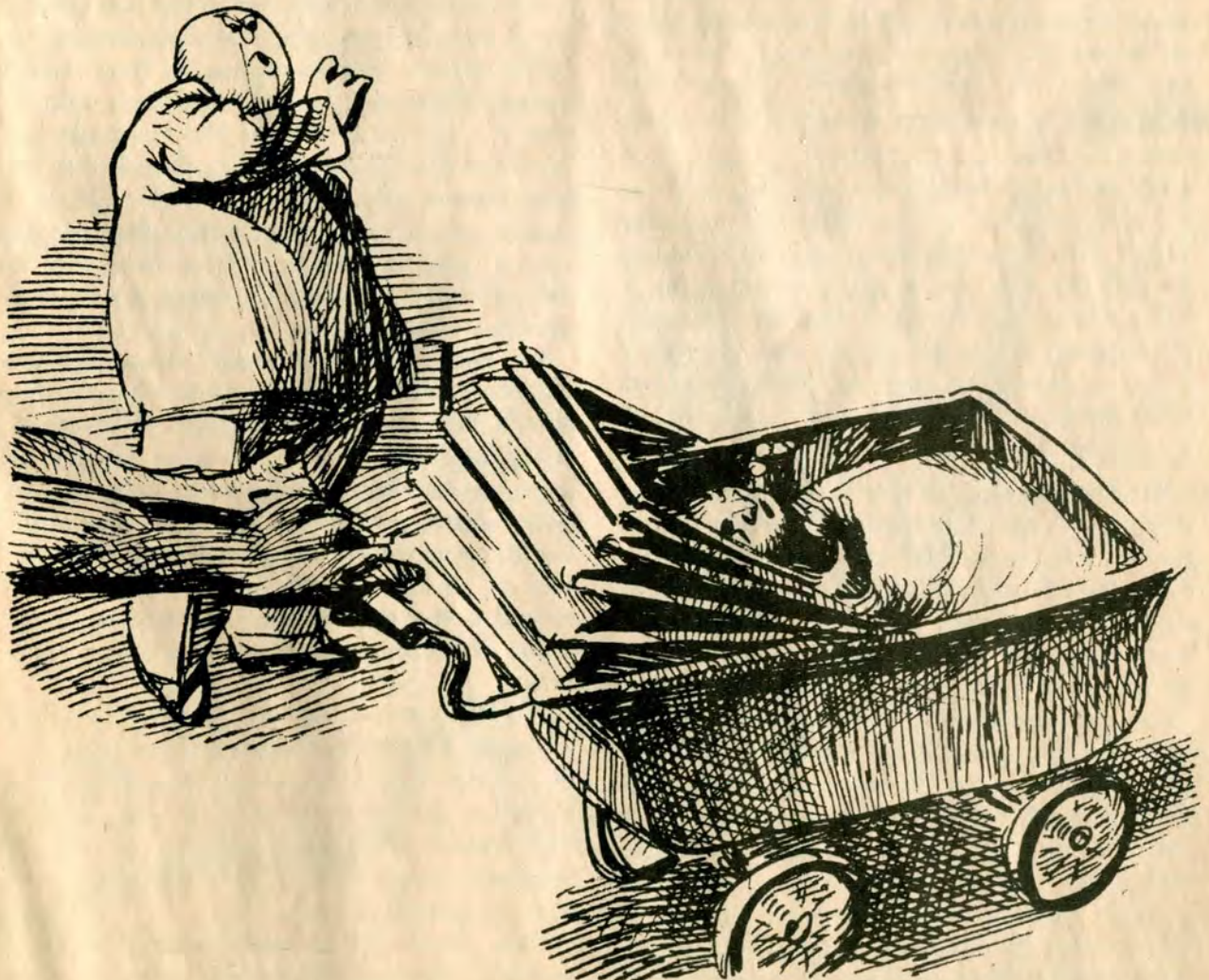
Pollution, they tell us, is merely the by-product of a much greater threat, one that could plunge mankind into chaos. They call this the Population Explosion.

Are they right?

FOR ONE THING,
THERE'S TOO
MANY OF YOU

AND YOU'RE
MAKING TOO
MANY MORE

UGH



"POPULATION EXPLOSION!" Newspapers warn that we'll be jammed together like chickens in a coop within a century. University professors claim that a tremendous number of us will starve to death before that can happen.

Everyone agrees that people themselves are the problem. Too many people cause overcrowding; too many people cause hunger.

Blaming *people* for these troubles sounds perfectly reasonable, but that doesn't automatically make it true. If we pick apart the "population explosion" idea, it's clear that people are really talking about two somewhat different things: the growing population of the planet, and why people are starving. We have to tackle these one at a time to see if the world's "population problem" is really a *people* problem.

Perhaps we are really the victims.

I

TOO MANY PEOPLE?

Right now, the world's population is reported to be growing at a rate that would cause it to double every 37 years.

Play around with this figure and you find that a few centuries of growth at that pace would pack the earth with people. Sometimes newspapers or magazines carry incredible articles which do this, and they end up by predicting a sardine-package death for humanity!

Don't believe it. We won't run out of room.

The world's population supposedly is growing like never before. But that doesn't mean that the world will become so crowded we can hardly move. Several powerful forces have always limited the number of people that live on the earth, and they will stop population growth long before we find ourselves sleeping five to a bed.

This is easy to demonstrate. Imagine that you're in an automobile cruising along at about 20 miles an hour, and suddenly you press the pedal to the floor. In a few seconds you're doing 60 mph. Now, at this point you wouldn't think, "If in five seconds I've gone from 20 to 60, then I'll be doing 100 in another five seconds. And if I keep it floored for a minute, I'll be up to 500 miles per hour!" You know very well that the car reaches a top speed and won't go any faster.

The same thing holds true for population. Certain *natural forces* prevent endless population growth, just as a car will only go so fast because its engine can suck in only so much air and fuel and won't turn over any faster. People need food, water and space in order to live; as these get scarce, population growth must slow down.

But a car usually stops accelerating, even if it hasn't hit top speed, because the driver *decides* not to go any faster. In the same way, people too may *decide* to have smaller families and slow down or stop the rate of population increase. People may put off getting married for many years or practice various methods of natural birth control. In modern societies contraceptive devices and medical abortions give people even

more ability to limit population growth. All of these are *social forces*.

But then, why is the number of people in the world still increasing? People have been around for over a million years; why haven't we hit our limit yet?

The answer is simple but decisive: technology. Technology means that although there's only so much farmland and water and living-space in the world, we can find better ways to use these things. Metal plows grow more food than wooden hoe-sticks, especially after they've been attached to tractors.

This leads to an important point, overlooked by all the alarmists who fear that more people on the planet automatically means less food per person. These people make the same mistake that the Reverend Thomas Malthus made two centuries ago. Malthus and his 20th century followers never take into account the effects of new forms of technology; people keep finding ways to get more and more from the unexpandable resources of Nature. *Technology expands the limits of population.*

The lesson of human history shows just how important this is. World population has not *constantly* increased since the dawn of humanity. It has increased in *stages*. Whenever a significant improvement in technology came along that let people get more from the fixed resources of the world, population went through a *growth cycle*: first it increased very rapidly, then growth slowed down and, eventually, tapered off. Population stabilized once again, at a much higher level.

The first people on the planet filled their stomachs by hunting animals and gathering wild plants that could be eaten. The balance of Nature decided how much food was available. This meant that human population, once it reached a certain level, grew very little over many thousands of years.

Then, about eight or nine thousand years ago, people discovered that it was easier to plant

seeds in the ground and raise food in one place than to wander across the countryside looking for it. More food could be grown this way, and extra food could be raised and saved for hard times. Because the technology of agriculture meant more food, it also meant more people: there was a "population explosion." Within 4,000 years, world population had increased 16 times!

There were many other improvements in agriculture, but even so, by the year 1300 A.D. world population had more or less stabilized again. The planet could support more farmers than hunters, but still *only so many*.

In the middle of the 17th century, a new technology began to develop. People began to study the laws of natural science; discoveries were put to use in ingenious machines that magnified human labor and used new sources of power. The production of a single worker was enormous with the new methods. Soon enough machines were also used to get increased benefits from the natural riches of the earth. People could make things never before imagined and grow more food than ever.

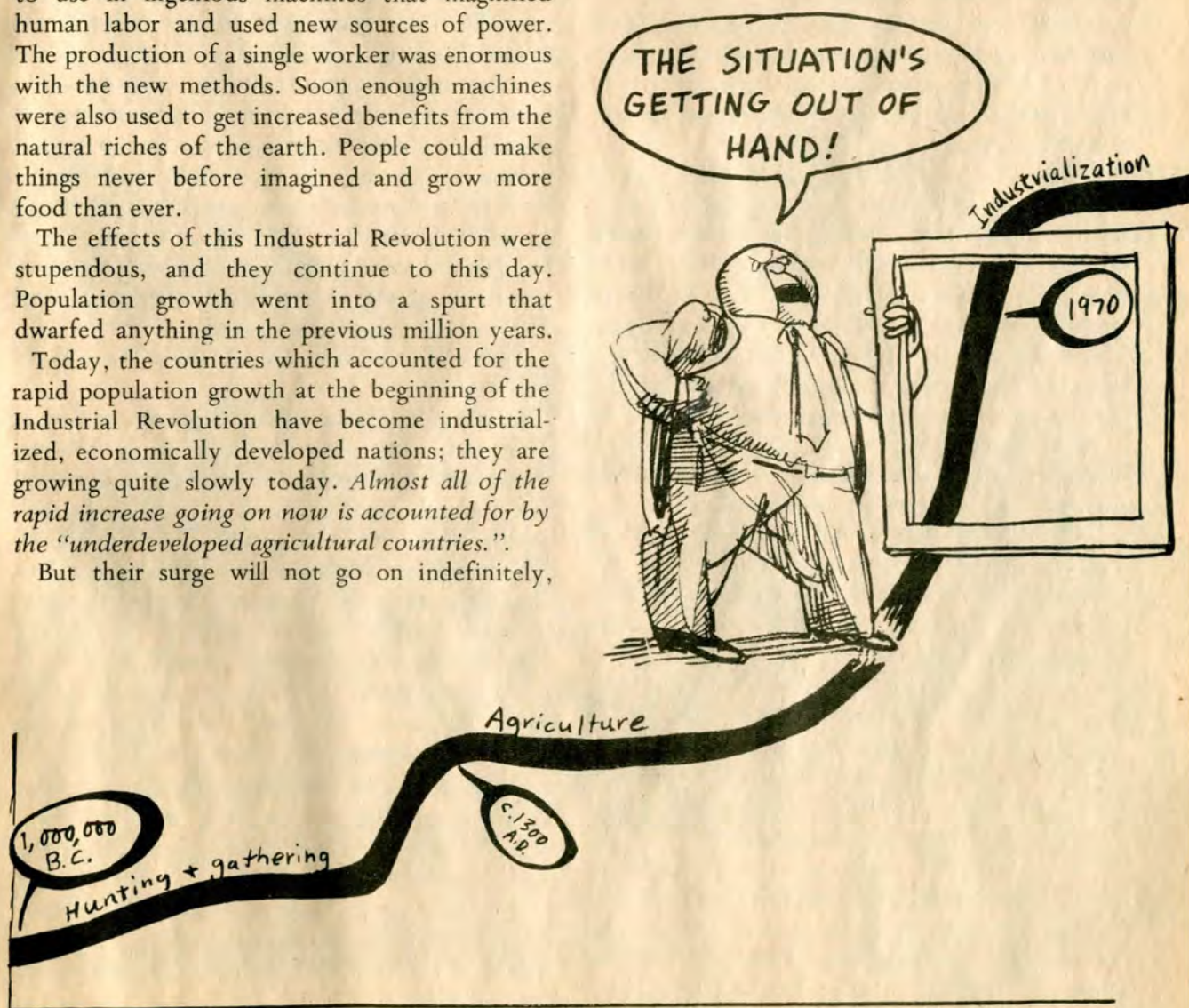
The effects of this Industrial Revolution were stupendous, and they continue to this day. Population growth went into a spurt that dwarfed anything in the previous million years.

Today, the countries which accounted for the rapid population growth at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution have become industrialized, economically developed nations; they are growing quite slowly today. *Almost all of the rapid increase going on now is accounted for by the "underdeveloped agricultural countries."*

But their surge will not go on indefinitely,

something conveniently overlooked by many population alarmists. When these "experts" look at the charts and blurt, "Look how fast world population is growing: it's going to double every 35 years!", they assume that today's high growth rate won't slow down. It's as though the driver who rammed the car accelerator to the floor and jumped his speed from 20 to 60 mph in five seconds suddenly shouted, *at that instant*, "I'll be zooming along at 500 mph in a minute from now!"

The same combination of natural conditions and social forces that have always controlled the size of population will eventually stop the spurt in the underdeveloped countries. We can see why the boom must taper off, as it has in the



developed countries by understanding what caused it in the first place.

All the "underdeveloped countries" of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Third World countries) are based on farming rather than industry. History tells us several important things about the traditional farming society:

These societies have always had *high birth rates*, which means large families. It takes lots of human effort to work the fields when farm machinery isn't available; with a few more kids, you can produce much more food. Big families usually do better than small ones.

At the same time the death rate is also very high. People don't know much about science and modern medicine. They can't fight disease. Many families have ten children and see only two or three reach adulthood.

In traditional farming societies, the high birth rate and the high death rate just about balance each other, so population doesn't grow very fast. It is a growth limited mostly by *natural forces*: hunger and disease.

Things change when a society becomes industrialized and modernized. Here, birth rates drop off. One important factor is that kids are unproductive and expensive to raise in a city. You've got to support and care for them for 16 years or more before they can earn their own way. Space and food cost money: the more children you have the more you spend without getting any income in return. Families get smaller.

At the same time, though, the industrial society learns a lot about science, and medicine, and hygiene. So the death rate too drops off.

Nor is it necessary that population growth halt completely to attain a basic leveling off. Many developed societies, such as those in Western Europe, continue to grow, but at a constantly decreasing rate. If such a pattern continues, their populations would never achieve absolute stability yet would never get far beyond their present sizes (mathematicians use the phrase "approaching an asymptote" to describe such a situation). *Social and economic forces* are most important in limiting growth.

In the last few years women have begun to break down some of the traditional roles. Fewer women now feel compelled by social pressure to have children just to appear "normal." There is a growing movement calling for free, legal abortions on demand, without forced sterilization.

At the same time many people are building other forms of relationships like extended families, communal living and gay relationships, that are not based on the traditional nuclear family of mom, pop and the kids. As a result of these social developments there are fewer unwanted children being born.

Today, the countries of the Third World are still mainly agricultural societies. The people are poor and their birth rates are high. But since World War II, the death-reducing techniques of the industrialized nations have been introduced. Babies get vaccines to keep them from getting sick; swamps are drained or treated to remove disease-carrying mosquitos; public sanitation is developed—and fewer people are dying.

The result: fast-growing population.

What is going to cut this rapid population growth? Two roads open out for Third World countries caught in this bind.

They could begin to develop economically. Land reform and selective industrialization would allow them to get more from their natural resources. The greater food yields from better land use and modern farming techniques would go a long way to feed their people. Soon enough, the social forces and economic pressures especially active in industrial societies would start reducing population growth.

This is already happening in some Third World countries.

At present, though, *most* countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America seem to be heading down a different road. They remain agricultural and unmechanized while their populations balloon and their food output starts to fall behind. The amount of food per person has declined for the last ten years. Sooner or later the pre-eminent natural force—starvation—must start cutting down the population growth.

These countries are on a road of misery. Today almost a billion and half of their people are under-fed. Half a billion are actually starving. Whether or not their population growth manages to keep increasing over the next decade or two, Hunger looms as the only future for these nations—*unless they develop*.

Why have some Third World countries developed while others remain trapped in a cycle of misery? This, and not population growth, is the true problem.

II

LOTS OF FOOD AND LOTS OF HUNGER

Over half the people on our planet go to bed hungry every night. Why?

"The world is hungry because we can't grow enough food to feed all the people." This is what TV analysts, government officials, businessmen, and college professors tell us. They predict massive famines within ten years, killing hundreds of millions of people at a time.

They may be right about the famines. It's hard to say there aren't famines right now when up to five million people, mostly children, starve to

death in a year, and when 650 million of the world's billion children won't reach adulthood.

But are they right about *why* these people starve? Has humanity swollen so much there isn't enough food to go around?

To look at the pictures in the news or listen to the experts and officials, you'd think underdeveloped countries are hungry because they are overflowing with people. You see miles and miles of tightly-clumped shanties, filled with gaunt, desperate people, surrounding the cities



of Brazil. Ask the slum dwellers of Brazil where they came from, however, and many talk of the vast empty countryside. They came because they had lost their land. A few big landowners and some American investors control most of the good land. As these interests develop their property, trying to harvest profits from the soil, they evict the peasants who have always lived on the land.

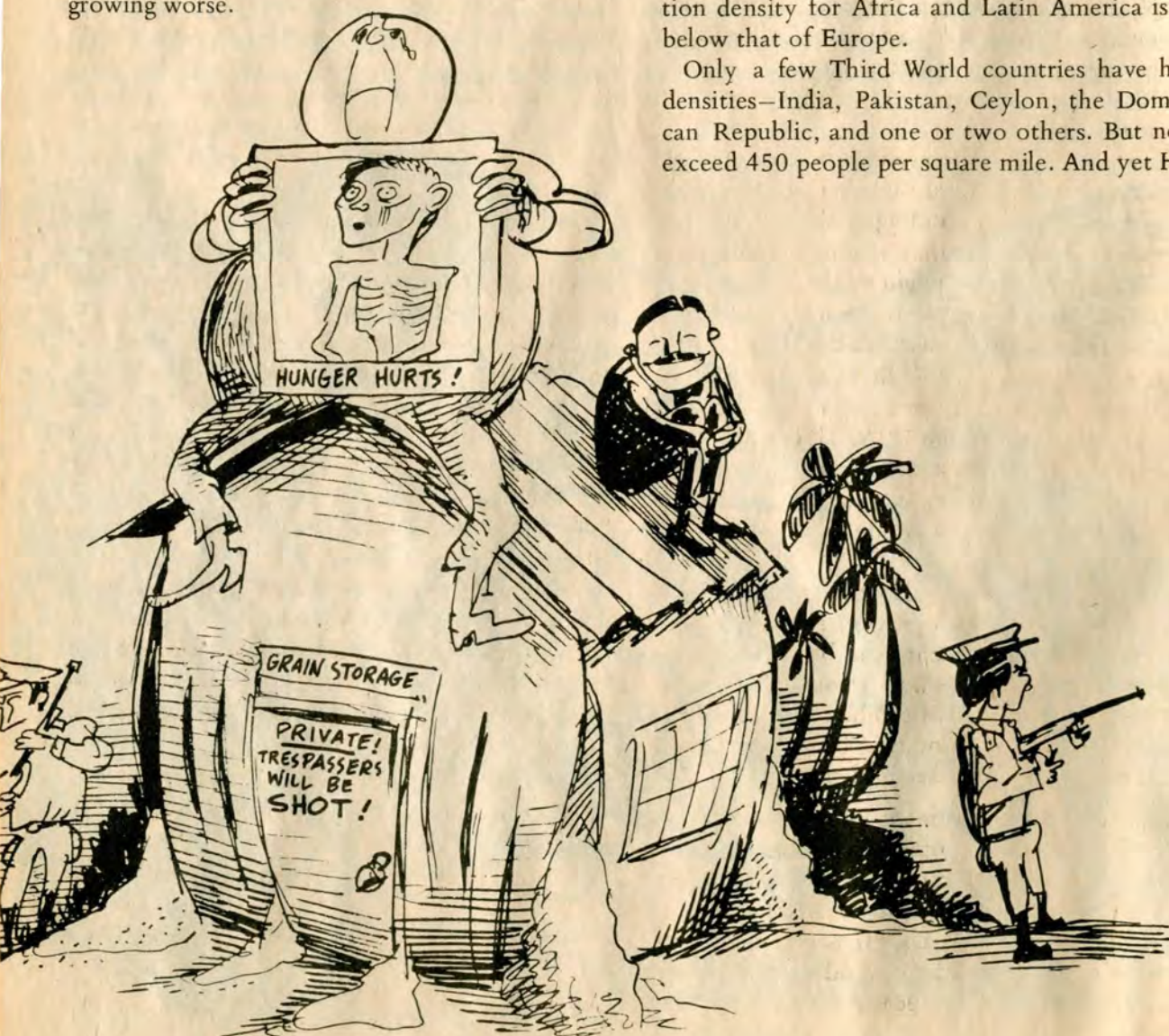
These families have nowhere else to go but to the city. And the slums continue to swell.

In America, too, we find ourselves packed ever more tightly. Like the peasants of Brazil, more and more of us are *compressed* onto less and less of the land. Like the peasants of Brazil, we do not own or control the land, and so we have no choice: *70% of the people live on 1% of the land in America*, and the concentration is growing worse.

It is this relentless *social compression*, and not overpopulation, which is the real cause of crowding. Some people claim that America is overpopulated because of the tremendous congestion here, and yet the population density of the USA is about the same as Sweden's, and with a much higher percentage of usable land. But the office-building skyscrapers rising in American cities across the country symbolize the fact that more and more people are being crammed onto less and less of the land. And every year, tens of thousands of small farmers are economically forced off the land and into the cities.

The squeezing together of people is happening in many places. But the plain fact is that there are a lot fewer people for a lot more land in most of the underdeveloped countries. Population density for Africa and Latin America is far below that of Europe.

Only a few Third World countries have high densities—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, the Dominican Republic, and one or two others. But none exceed 450 people per square mile. And yet Hol-



land, with a population density of 972 per square mile, is not called overpopulated, while countries like Venezuela, with only 27 people for each square mile, are said to have a "population problem." There are no hungry people in Holland.

So "overpopulated," to the experts and officials, primarily means "underfed." Look through the lists these (white) men compile of "overpopulated" countries, and you will find that they have actually compiled a list of hungry countries.

Virtually all the nations of Latin America are on this list, and most of Africa (the black states), and Asian countries like India, Indonesia and Syria. In other words, the *poor* nations—and people—of the world are the ones said to have "population problems." Experts and officials see hungry people in thinly settled countries and tell us, "If bellies are empty there, then they have too many people."

Does this kind of reasoning trouble you? It should, especially if you've ever been hungry, out of money and standing in the middle of a supermarket. Because that is a much more accurate description of the plight of the hungry.

America itself is the perfect example to prove this. In 1968, the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States discovered that there are 30 million hungry people right here in the USA. They found that 10 million are not just hungry but live on the edge of starvation. They saw starving children in the fields of Mississippi and in the slums of New York.

The United States is also the world's richest nation. It worries about growing *too much* food. In 1968, the government paid big-time farmers and agribusiness \$4 billion to take 35 million acres of good soil out of production. Otherwise, the bumper crops from this land would have glutted the world market and made prices fall.

Why does the government limit production in a world of hungry people, even when some of those people live in our own country? Said a top official in the Department of Agriculture (as quoted in *Hunger U.S.A.*), "It is true that there may be a greater need for food in some countries, but there is not necessarily a market for such food."

Translation: *In America, food is grown for profit, not to feed people.*

What does this mean in human terms? It means, for one thing, that a place like Stanislaus County, in central California, smack dab in the lushest farmland in the world, can become an official "Hunger Disaster Area." That's what happened in December of 1969, when thousands of unemployed people in the area did not have money to buy food from the fertile fields of their own county—while surplus food was stuffing federal warehouses in the area.

And this is exactly the same situation faced by the hungry countries around the world.

According to the 1969 report of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), food surpluses—not shortages—are the looming problem in the near future. In the underdeveloped countries, their report points out, food production supposedly outpaced population growth in the last few years. Experts are starting to worry that too much food may accumulate.

One FAO official, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (December 10, 1969), even predicts that, based on production figures, "There will be no danger of starvation in the next 10 to 15 years." With two billion people underfed right now, that's a rather incredible prediction. The same official tossed off another remark that begins to make sense: "Whether or not people will have income to buy the food . . . is a different matter."

Translation: *Hunger is not lack of food. Hunger is lack of money.*

People are hungry while wheat-glutted Canada drastically slashed its 1970 crop; while American farmers are plowing under thousands of tons of potatoes to raise the market price; while as much grain sits in warehouses around the world as was exported in all 1969.

It should be clear, then, that "overpopulation" is not the real cause of hunger. Does this surprise you? Let's take it a little further.

Remember the list of "overpopulated" countries, a list composed of hungry people on four continents? There are several countries that would have been on that list 25 years ago, but aren't there now. They are China, Cuba, north Vietnam and north Korea. Over a fourth of the

world's people live in these nations. All have had socialist revolutions within the last 25 years.

The people there are no longer starving. If you find that difficult to believe, check out the sources listed at the end of this booklet. They offer recent information on the food production and other economic aspects of these nations.

So our list takes on a new meaning. The two billion hungry people of the world live in areas that were colonized by the Western countries and are still closely bound to them, or live within the Western countries themselves. *Hunger is a "Free World" phenomenon.*

What does this tell us now about overpopulation and hunger? We can learn much from an interesting comparison: China, Brazil and the United States are more or less equal in size. China has 700 million people, the United States has 200 million, and Brazil has 90 million.

If lots of people means overpopulation, and if overpopulation means starvation, then China should be incomparably worse than the other two.

But instead, Brazil has 40 million hungry people, America has 30 million, and China has virtually none!

A closer look at Brazil will show why so many people of the "Free World" are hungry. Brazil has, according to Latin American scholar John Gerassi, "more arable land than all of Europe." But most of this land is controlled by a tiny elite and by wealthy corporations from America and other Western nations. What do these landowners grow on their enormous plantations? Coffee.

Brazil's largest export is coffee. There is no food value in coffee, but there's a lot of profit in it. Unfortunately, the profit all goes to a handful of big landlords.

The situation is the same for the rest of the Third World. While landless people starve, the immense plantations and foreign-owned estates occupy the most fertile land and produce only one or two cash-crops for export.

Land that could produce basic foods goes to grow cotton and tea in India, coffee and cotton in Guatemala, bananas and coffee in Honduras, rubber in Indonesia, sugar, coffee and cotton in Mexico . . . the list could go on and on.

All this tells us why there is hunger in a world with so much food.

It tells us that most food production in the "Free World" is seen from a capitalist standpoint: it's supposed to make money for the farmer. If you can't afford it, then you can't have it. That's why in India big farmers sometimes let their wheat harvests rot in the silo when they can't get a good price, even though whole provinces are starving. It's why in America, with 30 million underfed people, the government holds down the harvest to keep prices high.

Overpopulation is a hoax. Hunger in these "Free World" countries is not due to the limits of Nature. The people are poor and hungry because too often the great resources of their land are gobbled up for the benefit of a wealthy few.

Their hunger is not a matter of too many people. It is a matter of too much theft.



III

GETTING OUT FROM UNDER

"We may have to announce that we will no longer ship food to countries unwilling or unable to bring their population increases under control."

"The relevant question is not, 'If you have all those babies, how will you care for them?' but 'Why can't we get enough to care for our children?'"

The above quotations deal with the problem of hunger. The first was taken from *The Population Bomb*, a best-seller written by Paul Ehrlich, a white, middle-class professor from Stanford University. It assumes that hunger is due to overpopulation. Cut down the number of people now, it says, and there will be less hunger later.

The second quotation comes from the Black Panther Party newspaper, which is published by an organization of militant black people who were raised in the slums of the city. There is food enough for the poor, it asserts. But our bellies will never be full until we get it.

One viewpoint says hunger can be defeated through control of people. The other says it can be defeated through control by people.

Which viewpoint is correct?

The term "population control" is being tossed around a lot these days. Newspapers write stories about it, government officials discuss it, "advisory panels" recommend it.

What they are saying is this: "Population control is the only way Third World countries can raise their standard of living." How is population to be controlled? Mass birth control if possible, they reply, or sterilization and starvation if necessary.

And they mean it. They recommend putting chemicals into the food we ship abroad that will sterilize people. Some of them even say that the "developed" countries of the world (the wealthy countries) should get together and decide how

many people the underdeveloped (poor) nations ought to have. And some want to have these same policies right here at home.

But there's a problem with their approach. These experts assume that people are poor and hungry because they have large families. If that was true, then forcing people to have few or no kids, as brutal as it sounds, would be the way to improve their situation. Only, *it's not true*.

In the first place, the overwhelming majority of Third World people make their living from the land. This means that large families are actually an *advantage*, because when you've got to farm by hand, having more people around to help means being able to grow *much more food*. American farm families in the 19th century were just as large as Third World farm families today.

There's a second reason why people in underdeveloped countries have many kids: few of them survive to adulthood. This is important for parents, not only because they love their families, but also because grown-up children will be their only support when they get old.

Beyond all these things, though, is the basic reason why population control is no solution for hunger: hunger is not caused by overpopulation. It's caused by *theft*; theft of land, theft of resources, theft of real control from the people themselves. Hunger is caused by *exploitation*.

People are not poor because there isn't enough wealth to go around. They are poor because wealth is unequally distributed, throughout the world and within a country. And population control will do nothing to change that inequality—if anything, it will *preserve* it. Forcing population control on underdeveloped countries will only ensure that they remain underdeveloped.

Population control will only condemn the peoples of these lands to their present misery. Preventing more miserable people doesn't make people less miserable.



How can poverty, and thus hunger, be overcome—this is the real question.

The solution for Third World nations is that the people control the economy and resources of their own land.

This is an extremely important point. In most of the underdeveloped countries, the richest resources—the best farmland, the mines, the oil fields—are owned by foreign businesses or a tiny native elite. These powerful overlords cooperate with each other. They use these resources for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of the great masses of the people. This is why so many of the “Free World” underdeveloped countries remain poor, and underdeveloped, and hungry—they are *prevented* from developing! They are exploited.



Ending exploitation makes development possible *for people*. It allows them to plan the use of their resources for everyone, and to use them well. Farms can be run scientifically, using machines and even chemicals, using them carefully to help and not hurt people—or the land. Industries can be developed that will make products people really need. All of this leads to something else: population growth that is slower because people no longer find it necessary to have large families to produce enough food to live. And they can make the choice *themselves* to limit the size of their families.

These things have actually happened in poor countries which were exploited and did something about it. China, Cuba, north Vietnam, and north Korea had socialist revolutions. They seized control of their national wealth from the native aristocrats and foreign businessmen and set about developing the wealth for the benefit of all.

They have solved their hunger problem. North Vietnam actually managed to feed its people and *increase* agricultural output while fighting an enemy that has bombed, strafed and even chemically poisoned her soil. China, which once suffered from the worst famines in world history, may actually have surplus wheat to export in a few years. Here is what E. L. Wheelright, an Australian economist who traveled over 5000 miles across the country in 1966, had to say about China and food:

For example, wherever I went, there was no evidence of malnutrition, let alone starvation; food is plentiful and cheap; even in the poorer areas I never saw anyone who looked as though he could do with a square meal, although I did see what I considered to be inadequate clothing in some of these areas. But these were excep-

tions, and the vast majority were well clothed. The younger generation in particular were in fine physical condition, the teen-agers being already taller and heavier than their parents in many cases.

They are developing economically. North Korea, which was totally devastated by U.S. air power in the early 1950's, has increased industrial output eleven times above the last pre-war year, 1949. Today they no longer import food and are almost self-sufficient in machine production. In just two decades, China has become a world power with a huge industrial base. Cuba is re-investing 31% of her Gross National Product to speed development, a figure unmatched by any Third World country, and it was the only country in Latin America that substantially increased food production in the 1960s.

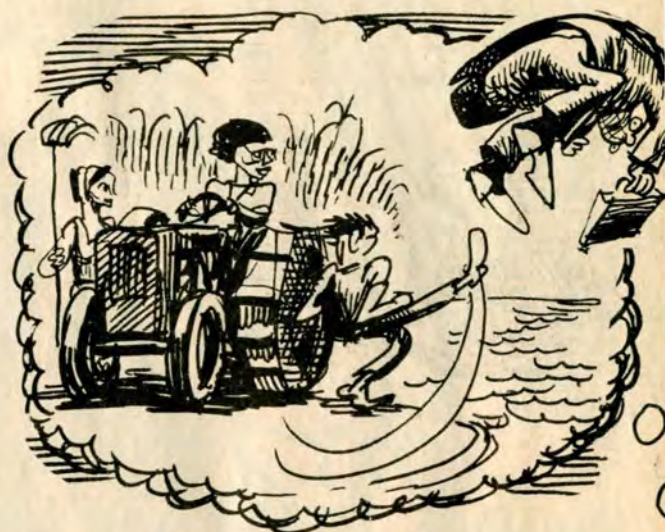
Their population growth is *slowing down!* China has reduced its growth rate to 1.4%, approaching our own of 1.1%. Within 30 years it will probably be lower than ours. In one decade Cuba has cut its growth rate 20%.

Bear in mind that this has happened without forced population control. People have not been sterilized in these societies, nor have laws been passed telling people how many children to have. Family planning is possible, if couples want it: contraceptives are supplied, and free medical abortions are readily available.

Just as important is the changing role of women. They have more freedom to choose the kind of work they want to do. Women are no longer bound to the hearth, and so they have fewer babies.

Our newspapers don't tell us such things about these revolutionary countries. They go to great lengths to assure us that the people are not better off, not happier.

Perhaps they are afraid that revolution could prove tempting to the remaining two billion



people in the Third World. Perhaps the wealthy and powerful men who control America's newspapers, corporations, universities and government are worried about their other investments in hungry Third World countries. Perhaps what scares these men the most is that hungry people rise up to take back what is their own as their lives become more desperate and their numbers grow.

The point of all this is simple. Overpopulation is a red herring. World hunger is not a "people" problem. It is the problem of a system which causes the land and resources of nations to be developed for the profit of a few at the expense of the people.

Now, what does all of this have to do with pollution?



"UNLESS YOU STOP POPULATION GROWTH, THERE IS NO WAY YOU CAN CONTROL POLLUTION IN THE ENVIRONMENT."

— REP. PAUL McCLOSKEY
(R. CALIFORNIA)



"FOR THE VILLAIN OF THE PIECE IS NOT SOME PROFIT-HUNGRY INDUSTRIALIST, NOR SOME LAX PUBLIC OFFICIAL WHO CAN BE REPLACED. THE VILLAINS ARE CONSUMERS, WHO DEMAND (OR AT LEAST LET THEMSELVES BE CAJOLED INTO DEMANDING) NEW, MORE, FASTER, BIGGER, CHEAPER PLAYTHINGS WITHOUT COUNTING THE COST IN A DIRTIER, SMELLIER, SICKLIER WORLD."

— NEWSWEEK, JAN. 26, 1970
SPECIAL ISSUE ON "THE RAVAGED ENVIRONMENT"

GET
IT?

PEOPLE
POLLUTE!



"THE POINT IS, AIR POLLUTION IS A PEOPLE PROBLEM. IT COMES FROM MAKING AND CONSUMING THE THINGS MORE PEOPLE WANT, NEED, REQUIRE. INDUSTRY STILL DELIVERS THE GOODS, ALL THE NECESSITIES FOR MODERN LIVING. PLUS ONE MORE THING — CLEANER AIR."

— FROM AN AD PLACED IN
WEST COAST NEWSPAPERS
BY THE BAY AREA
LEAGUE OF INDUSTRIAL
ASSOCIATIONS

"PEOPLE POLLUTE!" That should have a familiar ring by now. First we hear how hunger and overcrowding is due to people—too many of them. Now we're being told that the pollution of America is due to people—too many of them.

Is it really our fault that breathing city air is like smoking three packs of cigarettes a day? Did we kill Lake Erie, or muck up the beaches of California, Louisiana, Florida and Maine with oil? Did we command the bulldozers and cement

trucks that paved under a million acres of America last year, substituting a million acres of shopping centers, tract homes, motel strips and industrial parks? *Do people pollute?* And if not, who does—and *why?*

The best way to answer this question is to take a deeper look at the things they tell us about pollution—where it comes from, how it can be stopped, and who is going to stop it.

AFTER ALL, WHAT'S THE
SINGLE GREATEST PROBLEM?
IT'S AIR POLLUTION FROM
THE CARS YOU DRIVE!



IV

POLLUTION: WHERE'S IT FROM?

It's foolish to say that any one thing is "the major problem" as far as pollution is concerned. Ecology is a matter of *balance*. Anything which upsets that delicate balance threatens us all. The problem is really the tremendous number of things which are upsetting the balance of life.

The rivers and lakes we drink from are also used as vast, open sewers. And all the chemicals and pesticides and detergents and oil dumped in them wind up in the ocean, which gets filthier every year.

Over 450,000,000 *tons* of garbage accumulate in America every year, filling useful land and costing immense amounts of money. Much of the trash—bottles, cans, plastic containers—is almost impossible to get rid of.

Even radioactivity is a problem, as in Denver, where they recently discovered that a nearby atomic bomb factory was releasing radioactive plutonium into the air, water and soil. For those without community A-bomb plants, substitute the color TV set, which apparently broadcasts



a lot more than living color (latest safety breakthrough in this area: keep six feet away!).

Obviously, then, there's a lot more to this than dirty air. But what about air pollution itself? We can learn a lot about the other forms of pollution by understanding what makes our air so bad. What's true for one is true for all.

Air pollution has many causes. Most officials and reporters play up the role of automobiles because they contribute heavily to air pollution in terms of sheer tonnage of pollutants released. Even here, though, estimates vary widely, from less than 25% to over 50% of the total. More important are the amounts of really toxic chemicals that escape into the atmosphere.

Alcohol and arsenic are both poisons, but it takes a lot more booze than arsenic to do you in. The same principle holds true for the air we breathe.

Over 80% of auto exhaust, aside from carbon dioxide and water vapor, is carbon monoxide, an odorless, colorless, tasteless gas. It's bad stuff, but the human body happens to have a good deal of tolerance for it. Carbon monoxide is more or less the booze of air pollution: over a long time, it will do harm.

The other four major components of polluted air are much more in the arsenic tradition: a little bit goes a long way. Both cars and industry produce them. These highly poisonous substances include:

particulates (microscopic bits of matter suspended in the air)

organics (hydrocarbon compound gases from incomplete combustion)

nitrogen oxides (also gases from burning)

sulfur oxides (gases from the burning of fossil fuels—coal and oil)

These are the pollutants you frequently see or smell, and it takes *very little* of them to damage your body.

In addition, nitrogen oxide and organic pollutants combine chemically in sunlight to produce photochemical smog. This is the brownish haze

that blots out the afternoon view on sunny days in most American cities. It's also the stuff that makes your eyes sting and tear, and starts you coughing.

Now, the point of all this is that industries produce *at least 50%* of these really dangerous pollutants. Don't be misled by quantity (how much); in many ways it's the quality (how dangerous) of air pollution that counts.

Furthermore, in major industrial areas the amount and variety of dangerous filth industries put in the air is even greater and more dangerous. Arsenic itself makes a fine example: in 1969, two students who had grown up in Gary, Indiana, went off to college in Michigan and within a short time got very sick. Doctors found that they had actually become addicted to the arsenic belched into the "air" of Gary by the enormous steel mills and were suffering withdrawal symptoms!

An even better example is San Jose, California, one of the major industrial areas on the West Coast. San Jose has one-tenth the population—and one-tenth the cars—of Los Angeles, but in many ways its air is *more dangerous*. San Jose has the third highest concentration of cancer-causing pollutants in its smog, according to the U.S. Public Health Service. Only Gary and Pittsburgh are worse.

San Jose may not have millions of people or cars, but it does have companies like Owens-Corning Fiberglass. One of their factories, just outside the city, got so bad that the local citizens hired their own investigators after the smog control authorities kept pooh-poohing the threat. Soon enough, they learned that the one plant, operating 24 hours a day, spews a more deadly exhaust than a million new cars! Eight tons of filth-saturated exhaust *every minute*. The plume from the smokestack, photographs revealed, drifts fifty miles and blankets all of San Jose, covering an area of 126 square miles.



If industry stands equal to the automobile as an air polluter, why do cars take the brunt of the blame?

The answer is money. *Big Business doesn't want the clean-up bill.*

As long as people think cars are the culprit, they can be fooled into thinking that cutting down auto exhaust will really make the air fit to breathe.

And this leads to something even more important: people can be persuaded to accept the idea that air pollution is *their own fault*.

Belching smokestacks aren't our fault. What about exhaust pipes?

Do you feel guilty when you drive your car? Do you believe that anyone who owns a car is a pollution criminal?

Let's follow it through. Let's admit that cars are a major air polluter; after all, it's true. And admit that we're the ones who buy and drive the things. Does that make us responsible?

Consider the following:

Fact: The auto industry has always led efforts to block mass transit programs and push highway systems through the cities. 50% of the space in American cities is consumed by cars and their needs.

Fact: General Motors products net the company over \$1.7 billion in clear profit every year, but they also account for 35% of the air pollution tonnage in the U.S. Yet GM spends less than \$40 million a year (equivalent to 2% of its profits) on cleaner engine research, as compared to \$600 million for style changes and \$300 million for advertising (together, equivalent to over 50% of its profits). Moreover, auto companies buy up and suppress patents and designs that could lead to cleaner transportation (such as the Lear steam car, bought by GM and quietly shelved).

Fact: The American auto industry designs its cars to last about three years. As a result

over 12 million cars are junked every year, creating a tremendous disposal and dumping problem, the cost of which is borne by you and me.

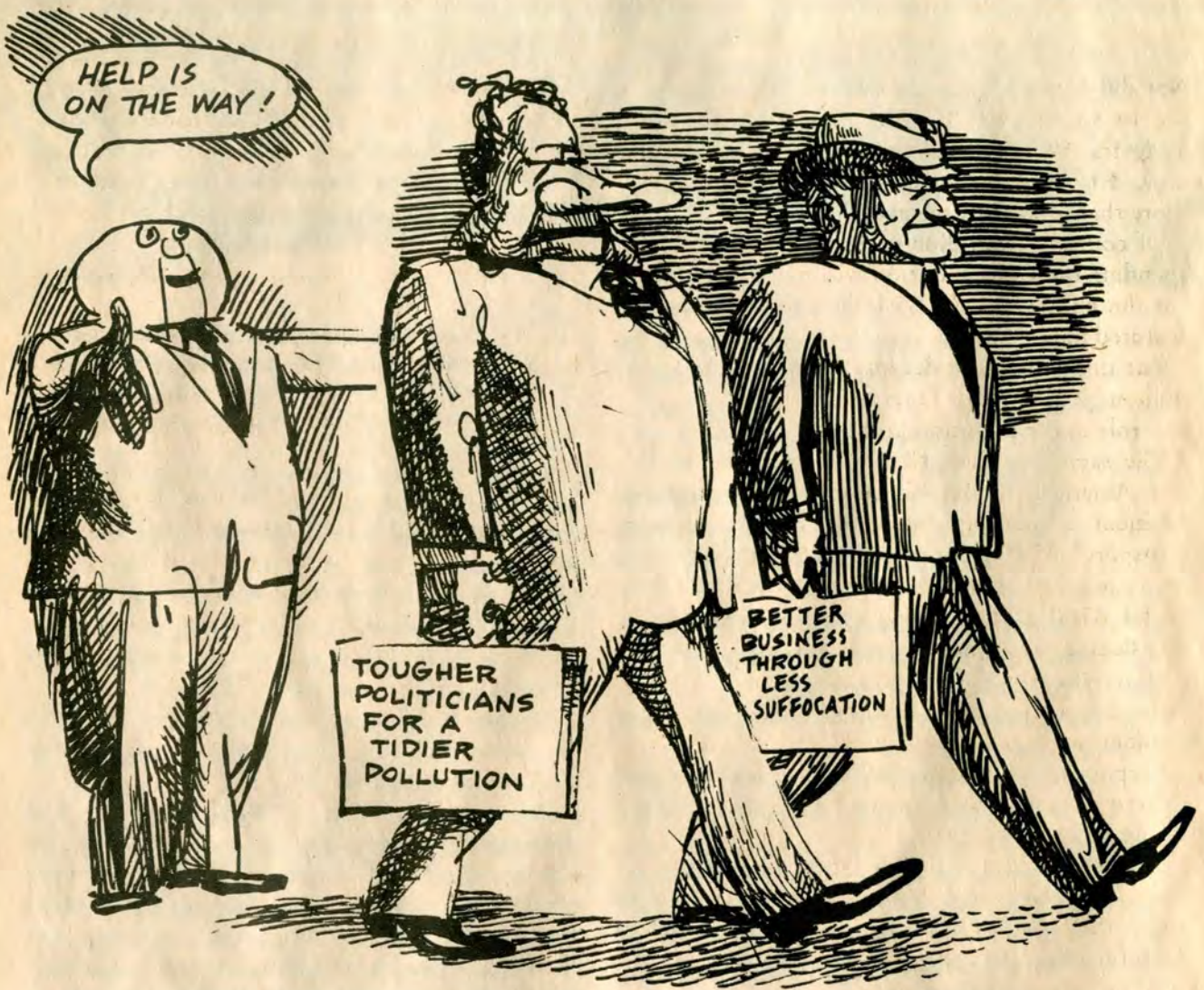
Add to this the fact that our towns and cities are all spread out. We live in one place, and work miles away, and have to shop for food in a third location, and buy our clothes in a fourth. *We* didn't design it that way. And the mass transit system (if, indeed, there is one in our community) is invariably slow, inconvenient (lots of transfers), dirty—and, lately, expensive.

To top it off, they have the nerve to tell us that auto pollution is our fault because we drive cars—so let *us* pay for it.

As if we hadn't been paying all along. The freeways and superhighways pushed through by the auto, oil and construction industries were paid for by us. These were all highly subsidized operations. Take a look at the gas pump, and you'll see right there just how much you're paying. By law, gasoline tax money can only go to build new highways and repair old ones. It can't go for smogless, free public transportation, despite the fact that studies have shown that such a system would be *cheaper* for everyone—given the hidden costs of air pollution, the valuable space consumed by cars, and the junk problem. That tax money can't even go for anti-pollution research (although some congressmen want to change that, as long as the research isn't intended to phase out cars).

So what choice do we have? The auto pollutes, yes. Not the driver, but the machine. Which means that the corporations who built those machines, used the profits they got from us to make sure we'd have no other way of getting around, spent all that money to sell us more and poorer quality cars—they pollute.

It doesn't end here. Because pointing the finger at the cause of pollution raises the question of who is able to stop it.



V

POLLUTION: HOT AIR AND SMOKESCREENS

Government and industry are leading the fight against pollution, President Nixon told the country in his 1970 State of the Union message. The press agreed: the energy and initiative of American private enterprise, directed and funded in the public interest by the watchdog government, is the only solution.

Mr. Nixon's own program is a shining example of how the government tackles this problem. On nationwide TV and radio, with perhaps half the

American people tuned in, he proclaimed a \$10 billion program just for water pollution—a headline story.

He failed to point out that the federal government's share would be only \$4 billion, to be spent over a nine year period. This would make the average yearly expenditure only \$455 million, little more than half of what Congress had already appropriated for 1970, and only about a third of what had already been voted for 1971.

Nor did Nixon care to confess that he was refusing to spend over half the money already set aside for 1970 to start fighting water pollution now. His "war on water pollution" is nothing more than a stealthy retreat!

Of course, Nixon didn't compare his proposed spending on water pollution with the \$80 billion for the military or the \$5 billion for space now featured in his budget.

But this little bit of deception—in front of 100 million people—only hints at the government's real role in the pollution problem.

The same President Nixon who told 100 million Americans about his concern for our environment is pushing the controversial "super-transport" SST, a commercial airliner that will fly faster than the speed of sound. He wants to spend \$700 million giving airplane companies like Boeing the money to develop it.

Have you ever lived by an airport? With all the noise, it's a lousy place to live. The SST, trailing thunderous sonic booms, will bring the sounds of airport violence to over 60 million Americans.

Even worse, many scientists fear that the high-flying SST will leave smoke and dirt in the upper atmosphere, where it will remain indefinitely and change the chemistry of the air. Such pollution, they believe, could have tremendously harmful effects, ranging from blotting out sunlight to letting through deadly ultra-violet rays that would bombard the earth.

Very few of us will ever be able to afford a ride on the SST. Fares will be several times higher than on regular jets. Who finds it so important that such a destructive and limited aircraft be built? Business executives, for one. They want to be able to cut a few hours flying time off their intercontinental flights. TWA and Pan Am and United like it: it means more business. Boeing and General Dynamics like it: it means a nice, safe government contract on which they can't possibly lose money.

And, evidently, President Nixon likes it.

There are also less obvious ways in which the federal government aids the forces that are ruining America. In southern Florida, for example, the Army Corps of Engineers drained vast areas of swamp and diverted natural waterflow with an elaborate and costly "flood control/irrigation" complex.

Real estate speculators and businessman-farmers who controlled the land made tremendous profits. But the ecology of the entire region has been disturbed; drinking water is being poisoned with pesticides, and now the Everglades are dying from lack of water.

We subsidize the pollution of our own country.

It's not hard to understand why the federal government does these things. Look at the kind of men who hold the major "environment-management" positions. Look at the policies they've set.

The past Secretary of the Interior was Walter Hickel, a millionaire businessman from Alaska. He's the guy who made a big deal about stopping oil drilling in the Santa Barbara channel after a Union Oil off-shore well blew out and





covered hundreds of miles of California coastline with oil—and then he quietly reversed himself and let the drilling continue. Together with President Nixon, he tried to force the “Timber Supply Bill” through Congress, which would let lumber companies come in and chop up millions of acres in our National Forests.

Was Hickel more concerned about the environment, or about the profits of the oil and lumber companies?

Can a *businessman* work for the best interests of all of us?

The federal government thinks so, but then most of the top positions in government are held by business executives and corporation lawyers—like Nixon himself.

The January 18, 1970, edition of the Los Angeles *Times* carried a short article which demonstrates rather clearly how a businessman’s government responds to pollution problems. It

pointed out that after the Santa Barbara oil-drilling disaster, Nixon and Hickel appointed a special panel to decide whether or not drilling should be continued in the area. After “long and careful study,” this panel decided that Union Oil and the other companies in the channel should resume drilling.

At least five of the eleven members of that panel, observed the *Times*, were working for Union Oil or its partners in the channel! In addition, the paper observed that most of the others also had dealings with the oil industry, such as contracts, or running universities that received large donations from oil companies.

If the federal government allows the wolves to be the shepherds, what do state and local governments do?

INDUSTRY DOMINATION

The state of California has been facing pollution problems as bad as any in the nation. Now state officials are talking big about their counter-attack, which is supposed to be a model for the nation.

Among California’s worst problems is massive pollution of seashores and coastal waters from off-shore oil drilling. If big oil companies had to pay for the messes they make, they might be a little more careful about mucking over our land and water. So that is what the deputy state attorney-general, Charles O’Brien, set out to do after the big Union Oil blow-out. But when he tried to help citizens sue the oil companies, he found that the very state agencies set up to protect the people against industries were the strongest supporters of the oil companies!

The state conservation boards, charged Mr. O’Brien, suffer from “industry domination.” How often does a public official come out and admit something like that?

But then, it was becoming difficult to cover up. Especially when one of the directors of the state agency most responsible for controlling pollution in the Santa Barbara channel happened to be a Union Oil executive.

So O’Brien turned to the experts in the state’s universities. Men who, for the most part, drew their salaries from the taxpayers. The response of these professors was rather interesting.

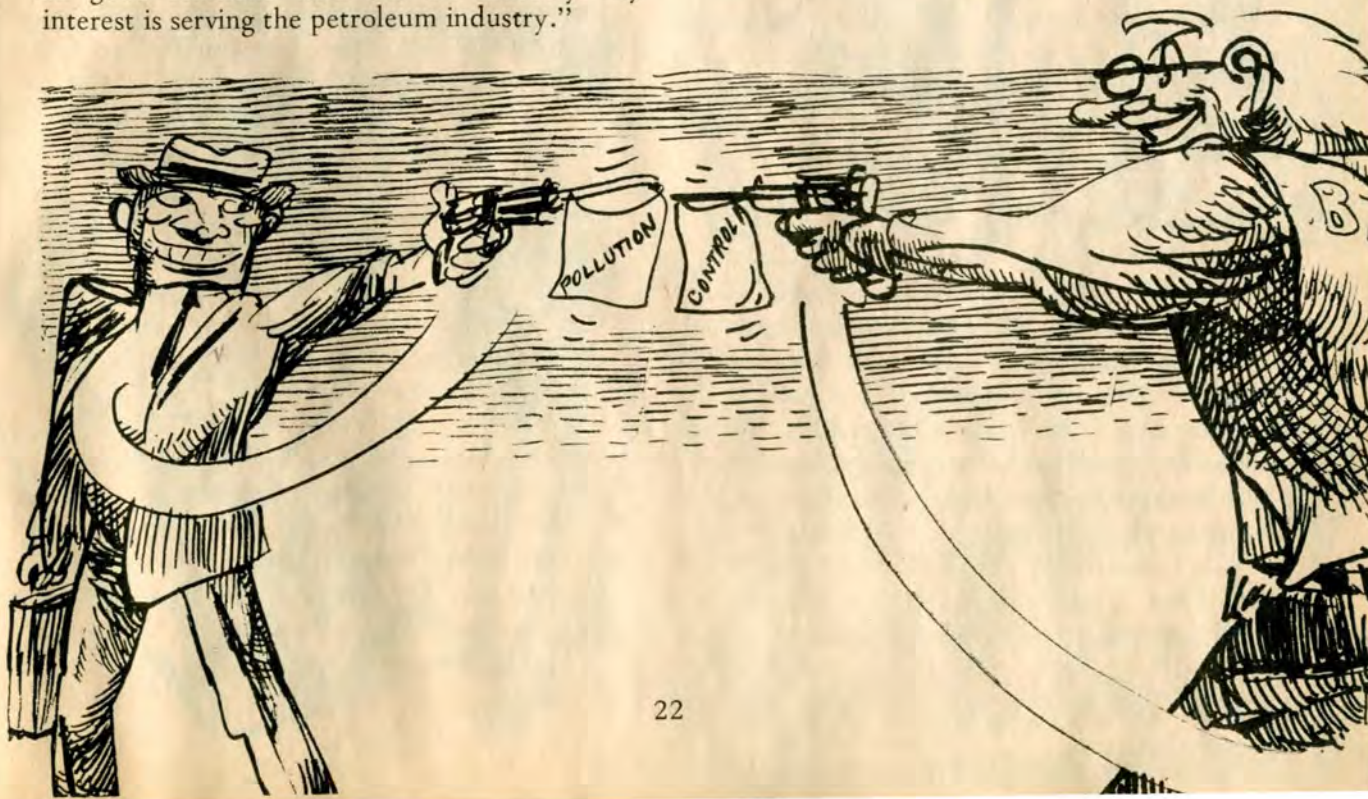


"The university experts," said Mr. O'Brien, "all seem to be working on grants from the oil industry. There is an atmosphere of fear. The experts are afraid that if they assist in our case on behalf of the people of California, they will lose their oil industry grants."

Does that sound far-fetched? Wilbur H. Somerton, a professor of oil engineering, admitted that he wouldn't testify "because my work depends on good relations with the oil industry. My interest is serving the petroleum industry."

California cities are notorious for their air pollution. What have urban officials done?

In the Bay Area, officials got together and set up a regional authority: the Bay Area Air Pollution Control District (BAAPCD). Read the hand-outs this agency distributes and you'll see how they've cut down on air pollution by vigorous enforcement. Go to San Francisco or Oak-



land, especially on a sunny, calm day, and your eyes, nose and lungs tell a different story.

What kind of policies does the BAAPCD follow? For one thing, it's very tolerant of industrial pollution. According to BAAPCD regulations, when pollution control devices in factories have breakdowns, companies can be excused for polluting the air.

One study found that the Shell Oil refinery in nearby Martinez reported "breakdowns" on 84 out of 111 days!



The BAAPCD likes to play down air pollution from big industries. They set their standards so low that they don't even conform to state health standards. This way, industries can pollute all they please and still brag to the public, "We're responsible! We're within the safety standards!"

The BAAPCD makes big claims about how it is winning the battle against air pollution. It tells the public how it cut air pollution "34.3%" in 1967 alone. It doesn't confess that this impressive figure really refers to the amount of air

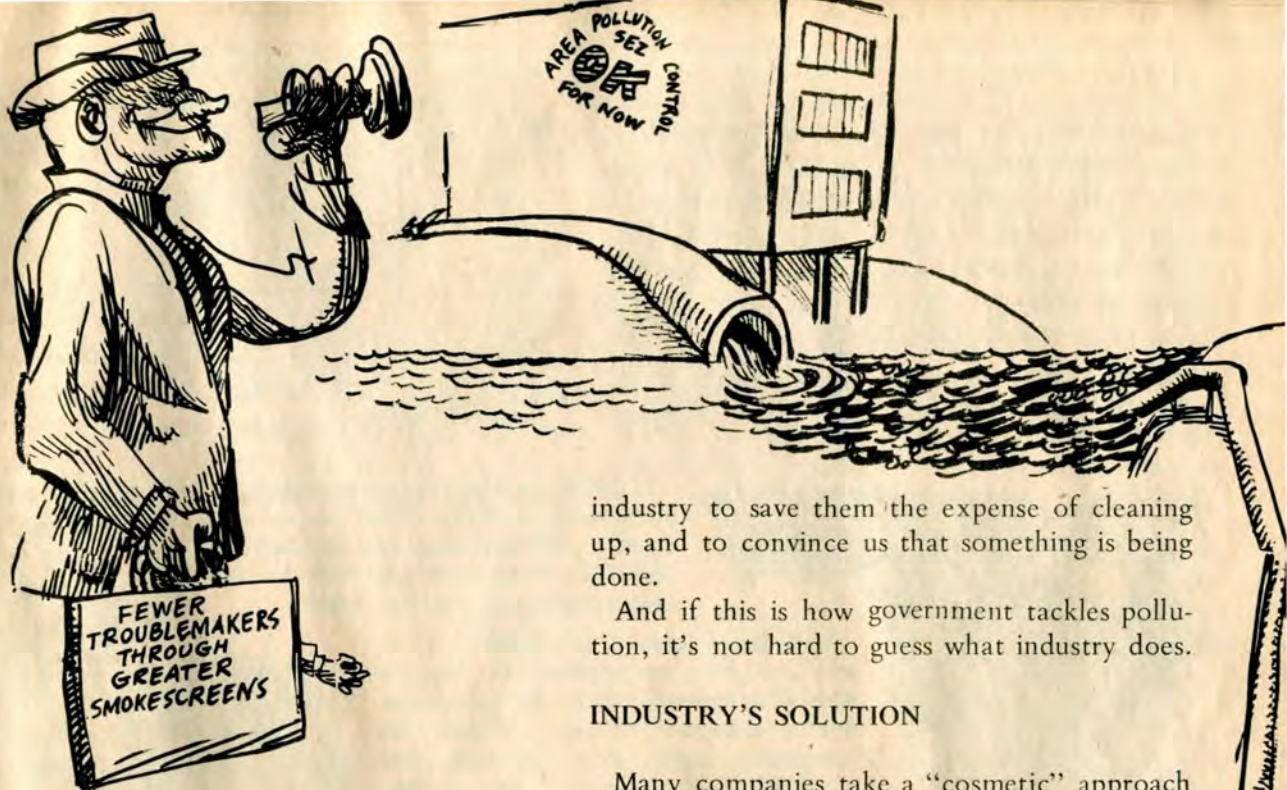
pollution it claims to have *prevented*. But *total* air pollution is increasing. "At least things are getting worse a little less quickly" is what the BAAPCD really means.

Things weren't always done this way. Back in 1961, a man by the name of Benjamin Linsky was the main enforcement officer for the BAAPCD. He ordered a series of studies and then concluded that autos were causing only 25% of local air pollution. Mr. Linsky was quietly eased out of office. His replacement was D. J. (Jud) Callaghan, a former PG&E executive. Within a short time, the BAAPCD decided that cars, not industry, were the worst offenders of all.

What kind of ecology-minded people give policy advice about air pollution to Jud Callaghan and the BAAPCD?

One advisor works for Standard Oil. Another works for Dow Chemical. A third draws paychecks from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, one of the major air polluters and landholders in the area. Three of the "advisors" are actually paid consultants for the Bay Area League of Industrial Associations, an organization put together by big companies like Standard Oil and PG&E to apply "friendly pressure" on public officials and tell the public what a great job industry does.





The wolves are the shepherds.

And California is no exception. It is even considered to have the strictest pollution controls in the nation!

In Eugene, Oregon, there was a filter stoppage in the huge Weyerhaeuser wood-pulp plant. Rather than shut down the plant, the company decided to continue operations, even though they were dumping untreated chemical pollution—*sheer poison*—into the river 100 yards upstream from the city water intake. The company continued production for the two days it took the filter to be fixed, and then paid a small fine for its pollution.

In Tacoma, Washington, the American Smelting Co. paid the grand total of \$3,750 for one year of poisoning the area with lethal, stinking sulfur dioxide. The company is now building an 1100 foot high smokestack to spread the poison over an even wider area—and in doing so it gains legal freedom from pollution prosecution!

All over America, penalties and fines like these are nothing but a license for companies to pollute. Check out your own area. If you have a pollution control board, you'll see that people who live near the big, messy factories don't sit on it. Nowhere are the people who are most affected by industrial poison given the chance to control it. Everywhere government works with

industry to save them the expense of cleaning up, and to convince us that something is being done.

And if this is how government tackles pollution, it's not hard to guess what industry does.

INDUSTRY'S SOLUTION

Many companies take a "cosmetic" approach to pollution. If you can't see it, then it's not there.

They mix steam with the crud belching out of their smokestacks so that the plume looks white, and clean, and harmless. Companies that emit too much filth to disguise often do their dirty work at night—an even better ploy.

Oil companies come out with big ads showing how their "special additive" gasolines make car exhaust so clean that a balloon can be filled with exhaust and remain nearly transparent. This is supposed to mean it's no longer dangerous pollution. A better test would be to stick an oil company executive in the balloon along with the fumes for a few minutes, or pump that exhaust through the company board room while a meeting is in session.

Other companies prefer to juggle statistics. And there are companies, slightly more blatant



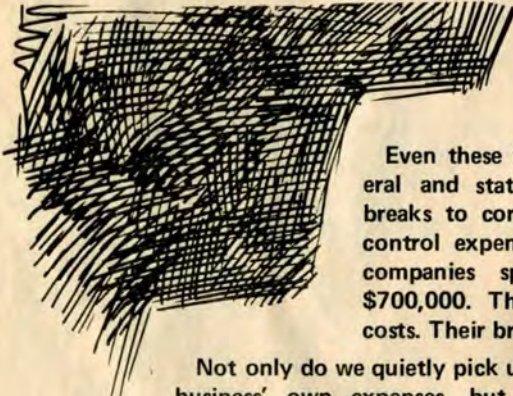
than most, that revert to outright lies:

If you read *Life*, or *Look*, or *Time*, you've probably seen full-page ads showing crystal-clear rivers flowing through green, unspoiled forests. The Georgia-Pacific Lumber Co. places these ads and tells us how much it believes in conservation. That same company, reported a Portland, Oregon, newspaper, sent letters to its workers attacking conservationists because they were "trying to limit the workers' right to cut trees!" They're also spending huge sums of money

pushing for the Timber Supply Bill.

It's a good story to remember next time some big corporation tries to tell you how concerned it is about our environment.

What big corporations are really concerned about is money. That's why they go to so much trouble to be sure the government—and even the public—won't tip the applecart. Because the balance sheet is very one-sided about who profits from pollution versus who pays for it. It reads as follows:



In 1969, American corporations spent approximately a billion dollars on pollution control, while amassing after-tax profits of \$66 billion. They spent only 1.5% of their profits cleaning up their own mess!

Even these figures are deceptive. The federal and state governments give big tax breaks to corporations for their pollution-control expenses. For every million dollars companies spend, they get back over \$700,000. The public pays 70% of their costs. Their break is our burden.

Not only do we quietly pick up the tab for business' own expenses, but the bill for government anti-pollution programs also falls on our shoulders.

The government wants the public to pay over \$10 billion for municipal treatment plants over the next five years, while asking industry to spend only \$3 billion (tax-deductible) on its own waste water. But industry uses—and dirties—two-thirds of America's water, and farmers account for most of the rest.

The icing on the cake is the simple fact that 40% of all the wastes handled by public water plants come from industry! There's another \$4 billion we pick up for them.

It's the same story with air pollution. What companies pay they save on tax deductions, or else they raise prices and pass the costs on to us. We pay extra for smog control devices on our cars, and for modified gasoline.

And garbage: the cost of handling all the trash from industry, and all the consumer products which can't be disposed of, will be over \$40 billion during the next five to ten years. *Forbes Magazine*, a businessman's journal, tells us very clearly just what this means: "Little wonder that businessmen and Wall Streeters alike are drooling . . . The taxpayer had better steel himself to pay the tab."



In other words corporations want us to pay for their own pollution, while making big profits out of pollution itself. Pollution control is becoming a Big Business. Some of the big companies that rank among the worst of all polluters are buying up pollution control companies. They want to have their cake and eat it.

There should be no doubt now why the Bigwigs tell us that "People Pollute." "Let the public pay!" is their real message.

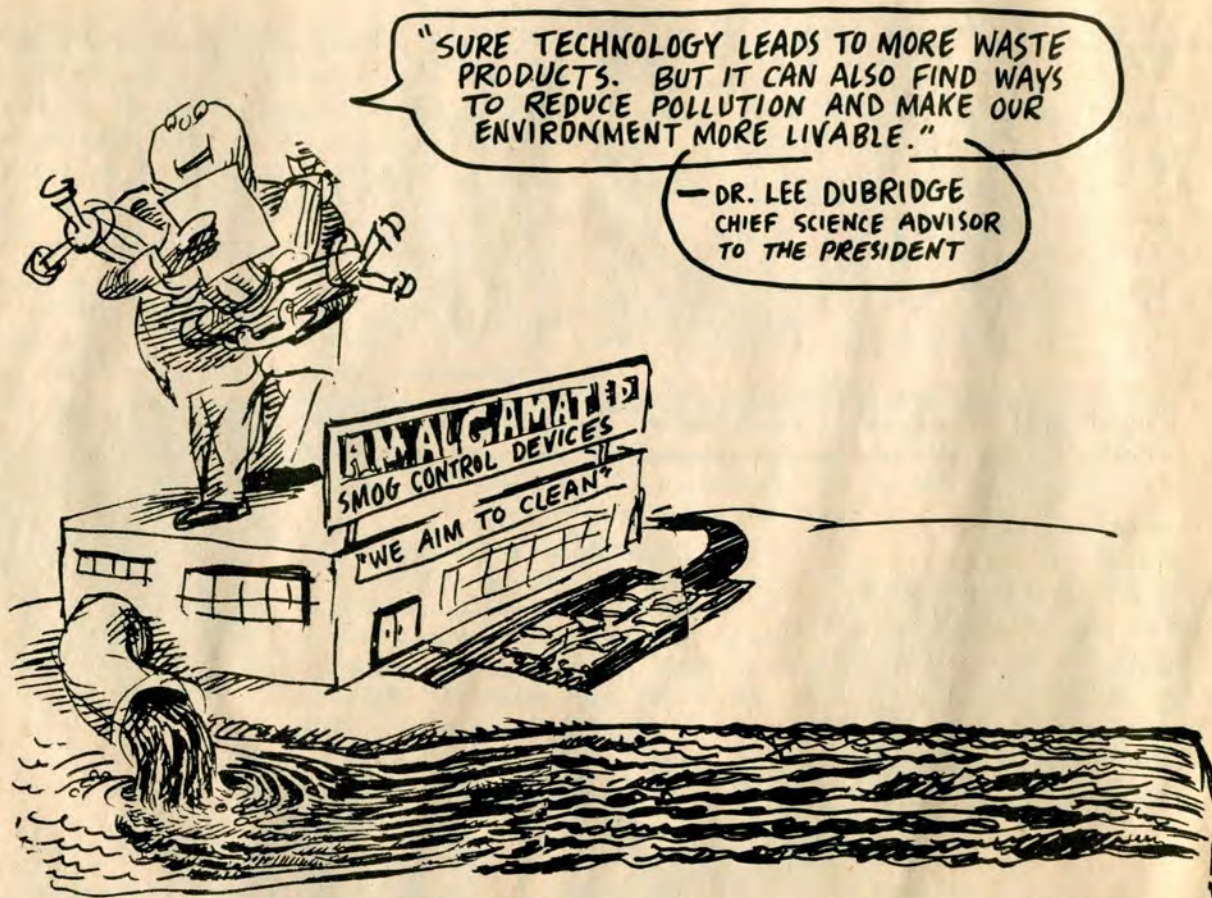
They get away with it because the role of industry shapes the role of government. All across the nation, big corporations have friends on planning boards, in legislatures, and on pollution commissions. They sponsor the research of university experts. Their interests are well represented. Who represents the interests of the people?

No one *can* represent our interests when only

wealthy people, or people with powerful backers, can get into office; when the nation's newspapers and radio and television stations are controlled by wealthy men and powerful corporations. Very rarely do black or white working people, or non-wealthy housewives, get to become mayors, or city supervisors—or pollution control officials.

But what if more of them did? Suppose there were lots of dedicated politicians, and suppose corporations agreed to cooperate. *Then* could they stop pollution? How would they do it?





VI POLLUTION: SCIENCE CAN DO ANYTHING

"Science got us into this mess, and science will get us out. *Technology can cure the problems of technology.*"

Unfortunately, America depending on technology to pull her out of the hole is like a high-pressured, over-anxious businessman expecting a few Tums to cure his ulcers after smoking and drinking coffee all day, and gulping down big dinners of extra-spicy, artificially-flavored, preservative-laden food. You can't tack a solution onto a problem and expect it to work if you don't deal with the *cause* of that problem.

Besides, you just can't say that "technology" is the cause of pollution. Someone controls that technology and uses it for specific purposes. If you don't consider these things, then "pollution control" won't even get off the ground. Basic laws of nature see to that.

One of the fundamental principles of science is that disorder tends to increase. Whenever energy is used, or transformed, some will always be wasted; this unavoidable loss is known as the *entropy* factor. In simpler words, making a mess is much easier than cleaning one up.

So atomic generating plants merely replace air pollution with water pollution and greatly increased radioactivity in the environment. Technology takes us out of the frying pan into the fire.

Oil spills are a good example. Remember the pictures of Santa Barbara? The massive drilling rigs out in the water symbolized the complicated, ingenious technology that had been developed to bring oil up from under hundreds of feet of rock and water.

But when that technology broke down and

sophisticated methods to break up the oil—by dropping detergents on it—they only ended up doing greater harm. People may have been convinced that things were better because the messy oil goo was no longer visible, but the detergents were even more poisonous to sea life.

Another basic principle of science makes the problem a little sharper: matter cannot be destroyed, only transformed. There are three states of matter, and we suffer from three types of pollution: too much garbage (solid), water pollution (liquid), and air pollution (gas). When we try to deal with one, we tend to make the others worse.

Take garbage, for example. If you try to burn it, you've got air pollution. So you develop special incinerators that cut down air pollution, but then you get dirty filters and residues—more solids. If you dump that stuff in the water, you've got water pollution.

It's the same story with dirty water. With advanced methods, water can be considerably cleansed, but one by-product is tons of sludge (solid). Getting rid of the sludge brings in all the problems of garbage disposal.

And controlling air pollution, as just mentioned, produces solid wastes, often very poisonous, that are hard to deal with.

The only possible solution includes something called recycling. This means finding ways to use waste products over again. The metal, paper and plastic components of garbage, for example, could be separated and re-used. The rest of the rubbish could be converted to compost, which is nothing more than natural fertilizer.

But recycling requires total economic planning. In America, big companies sell millions of dollars worth of chemical fertilizer, and they will fight any program which sees city and state governments putting organic fertilizer on the market. In this country total economic planning for the best overall results is not possible.

The same goes for water and air pollution. Most by-products which could be recycled are

already being produced very profitably by other companies. American corporations make more money digging additional resources out of the ground than recycling them. They're not about to sacrifice these profits just because recycling makes better ecological sense.

To make matters worse, many new products are made to be super-disposable. As a result, they are harder to recycle.

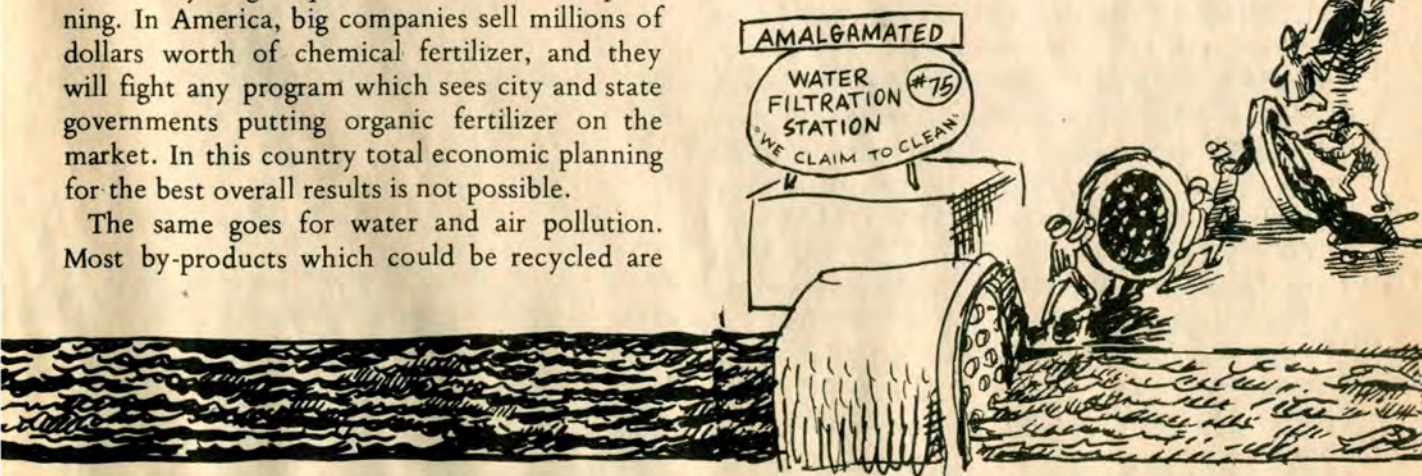
Plastic beer cans, for example, have been developed to replace metal ones. But the only way to get rid of them once you've used them is to burn them—and then you end up breathing beer cans.

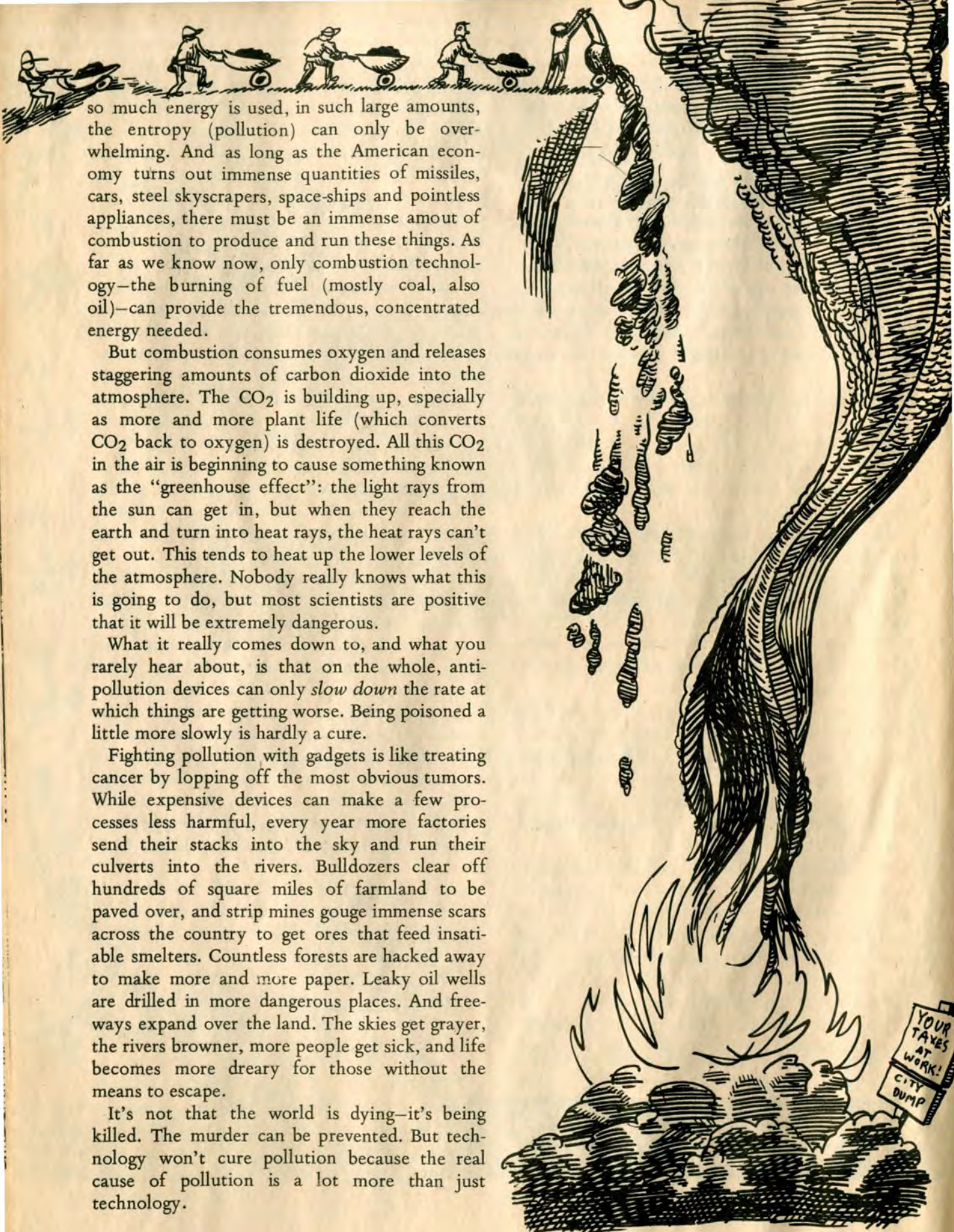
Behind all these difficulties is the sheer problem of energy. Most of our electrical power is generated by plants that burn coal or oil. This is why electric utility companies like Con Ed in New York or PG&E in California are always among the worst air polluters. Their air pollution is very visible, so they talk up atomic generating plants.

Atomic plants, however, also pollute. They need immense amounts of water to cool the reactors, and this water, when discharged back into the rivers, is very hot. This creates something called thermal pollution: hot water changes the balance of life and kills off many fish; rivers and lakes lose their ability to clean themselves and become much more polluted.

So atomic generating plants merely replace air pollution with water pollution. Technology takes us out of the frying pan and into the fire.

This leads to the most basic problems of all: in America, as things are now, certain kinds of





so much energy is used, in such large amounts, the entropy (pollution) can only be overwhelming. And as long as the American economy turns out immense quantities of missiles, cars, steel skyscrapers, space-ships and pointless appliances, there must be an immense amount of combustion to produce and run these things. As far as we know now, only combustion technology—the burning of fuel (mostly coal, also oil)—can provide the tremendous, concentrated energy needed.

But combustion consumes oxygen and releases staggering amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. The CO_2 is building up, especially as more and more plant life (which converts CO_2 back to oxygen) is destroyed. All this CO_2 in the air is beginning to cause something known as the “greenhouse effect”: the light rays from the sun can get in, but when they reach the earth and turn into heat rays, the heat rays can’t get out. This tends to heat up the lower levels of the atmosphere. Nobody really knows what this is going to do, but most scientists are positive that it will be extremely dangerous.

What it really comes down to, and what you rarely hear about, is that on the whole, anti-pollution devices can only *slow down* the rate at which things are getting worse. Being poisoned a little more slowly is hardly a cure.

Fighting pollution with gadgets is like treating cancer by lopping off the most obvious tumors. While expensive devices can make a few processes less harmful, every year more factories send their stacks into the sky and run their culverts into the rivers. Bulldozers clear off hundreds of square miles of farmland to be paved over, and strip mines gouge immense scars across the country to get ores that feed insatiable smelters. Countless forests are hacked away to make more and more paper. Leaky oil wells are drilled in more dangerous places. And free-ways expand over the land. The skies get grayer, the rivers browner, more people get sick, and life becomes more dreary for those without the means to escape.

It’s not that the world is dying—it’s being killed. The murder can be prevented. But technology won’t cure pollution because the real cause of pollution is a lot more than just technology.



VII

POLLUTION: THE NATURE OF THE BEAST

PEOPLE DON'T POLLUTE

The human race has been around for a million years. Nature engineered us very carefully so we wouldn't interfere with the balance of life, which supports all living things—including humanity.

You breathe in oxygen and breathe out carbon dioxide (CO_2). You give off solid and liquid wastes.

Plants breathe in CO_2 , and take in minerals and nitrogen from animal and human waste. They use sunlight to turn these things into food substance, and they grow.

Animals eat the plants, then humans eat these animals and plants as well. After we die, our bodies decompose, and become food for the plants.

The cycle is closed. Nothing is wasted.

Pollution interferes with this natural cycle of life, a cycle which depends on air, land and water. Pollution is smoke and oil slicks and junk cars and weed-killers. Pollution pours out of smokestacks, exhaust pipes, culverts, dump trucks.

Pollution comes from producing things and from the things that are produced.

We've already seen what makes the air so dirty. Cars and industries do an equal job of poisoning the atmosphere.

Water is even more the victim of the factory. Industry uses and pollutes almost two-thirds of our water supply, and agribusiness (big farms using irrigation) accounts for most of the rest.

People themselves use less than 1/7 of all the water consumed in America. Sewage, the waste that humans put into water, can be removed. The oil, acid, ammonia, dissolved metal and pesticides from industry and agribusiness in most cases cannot be removed.

It's the same story with land pollution (garbage). Industrial and commercial waste makes up 60% of the hundreds of millions of tons of garbage discarded annually. The other 40% comes from "people." But look more closely and you find that much unavoidable people garbage—discarded food, paper and the like—breaks down or can be recycled. The problem comes from all the "convenience" packages.

The no-deposit, non-returnable cans and bottles are hard to get rid of. They pile up on the scrap heaps—over 100 billion a year—and actually cost us a lot more money than the old returnable types. Each one costs you, over the years, an extra 30¢ in taxes for disposal, a tab the manufacturer never mentions. That's one reason they started making non-returnable containers in the first place: to slip us the bill for getting rid of them.

All of which leads to one conclusion: pollution is not a people problem. If it was, countries like India which have many more people and less area than America would be dying from pollution. It is the industrial countries of the world that are polluted, but even among those some are much more polluted than others. And none of them—not even Japan—compares with America.

The cause of pollution is the way machines and technology are used.

EXPANDING CORPORATIONS

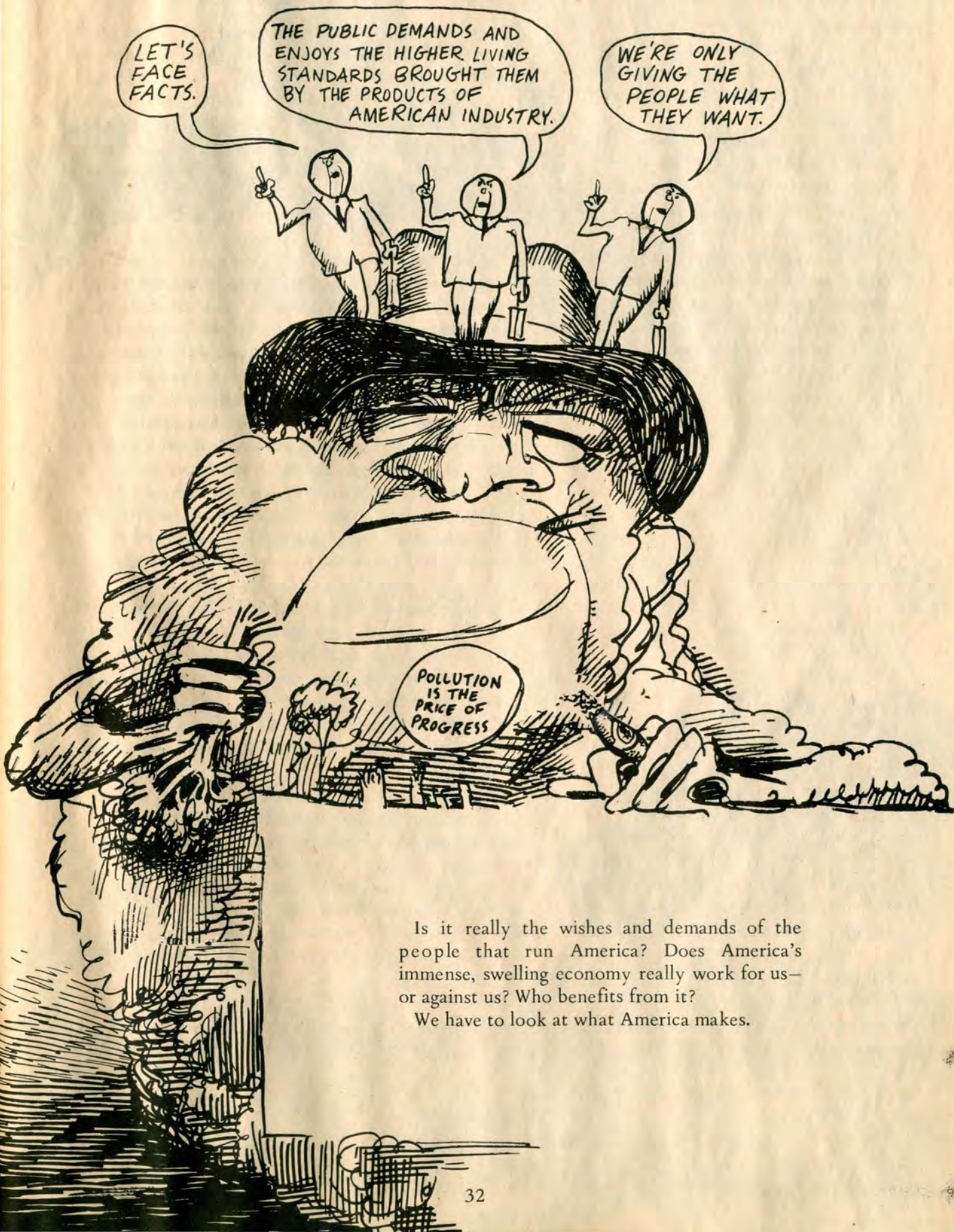
In America, most of the machines and technology are controlled by corporations. The goal of these corporations is to make more and more profits. And in order to do this, they have to grow bigger and produce more. This is what determines how they use the machines and technology and land that they own. This is capitalism.

Our economy is like a person built leaning forward who must keep running ahead or he will fall over. Businesses can't keep making and selling the same things all the time because people would soon have most of the products they need, and demand would fall off. Which means profits would fall. Then workers get laid off, plants shut down, and you've got a recession or depression. Which makes profits drop more.

Corporations have to make more things, and convince people to buy more, in order to keep making profits. They *must* keep growing.

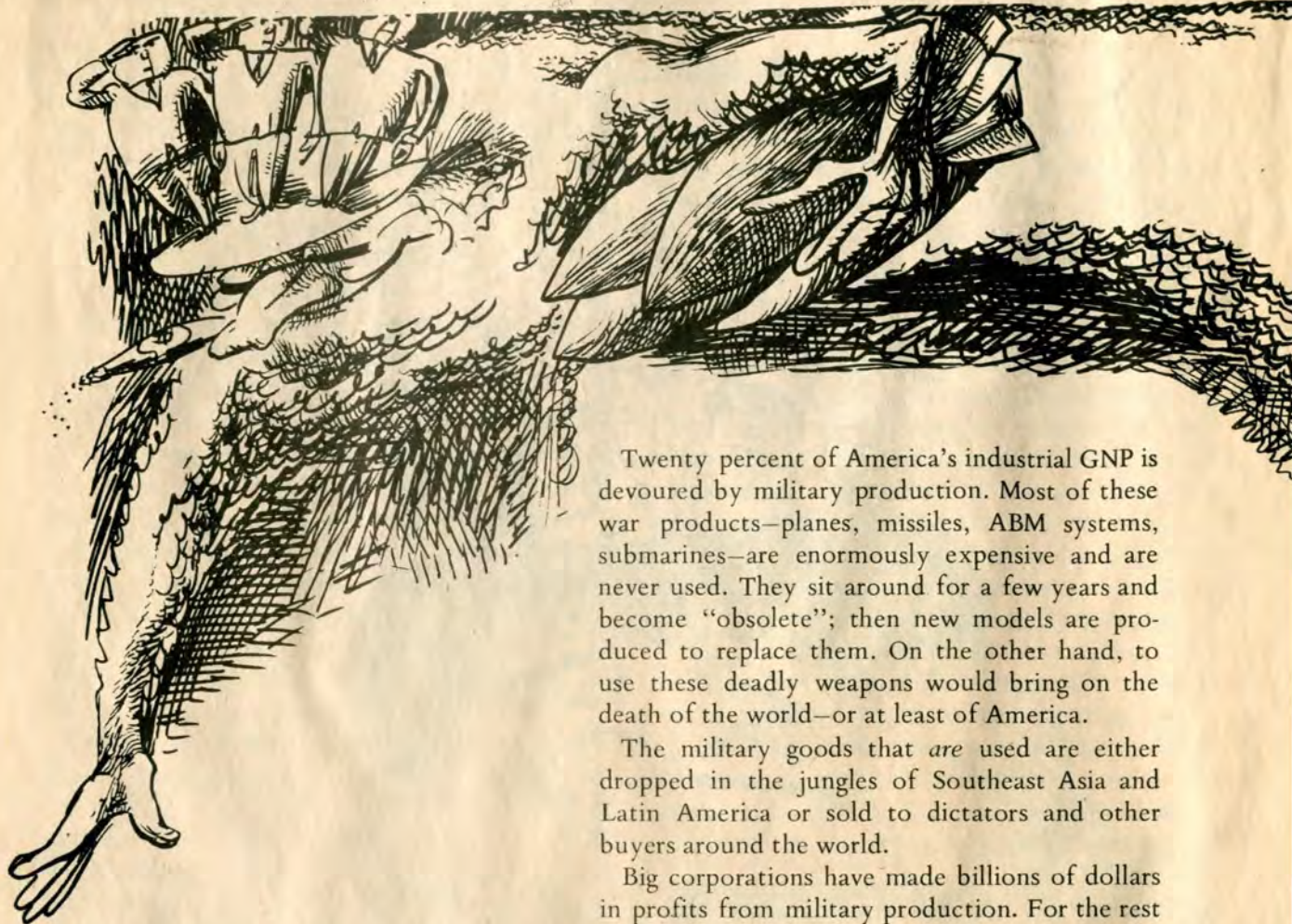
America has the world's largest "Gross National Product." That means that America makes more things than any other country in the world. And every year, the GNP gets bigger.





Is it really the wishes and demands of the people that run America? Does America's immense, swelling economy really work for us—or against us? Who benefits from it?

We have to look at what America makes.



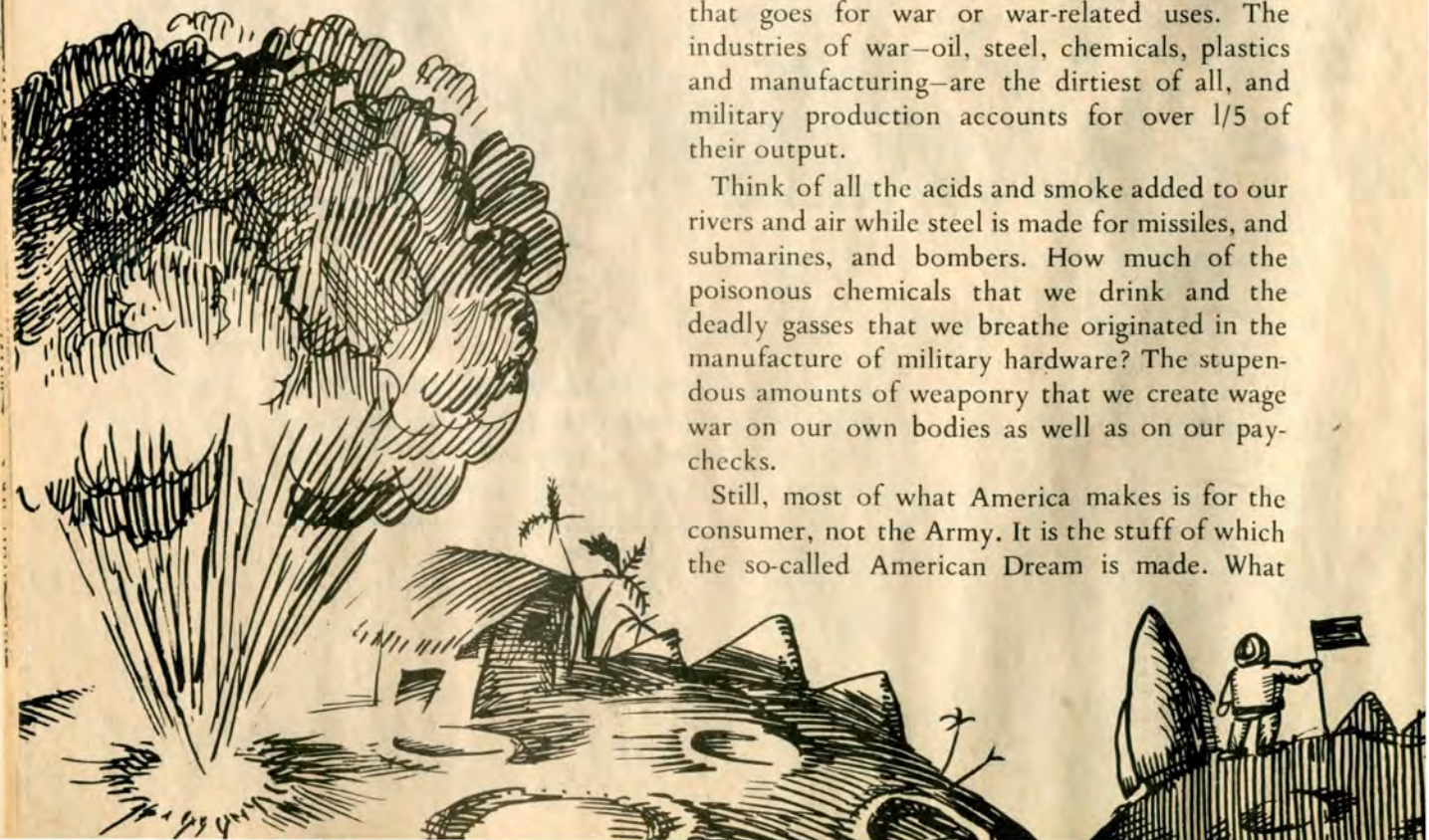
Twenty percent of America's industrial GNP is devoured by military production. Most of these war products—planes, missiles, ABM systems, submarines—are enormously expensive and are never used. They sit around for a few years and become "obsolete"; then new models are produced to replace them. On the other hand, to use these deadly weapons would bring on the death of the world—or at least of America.

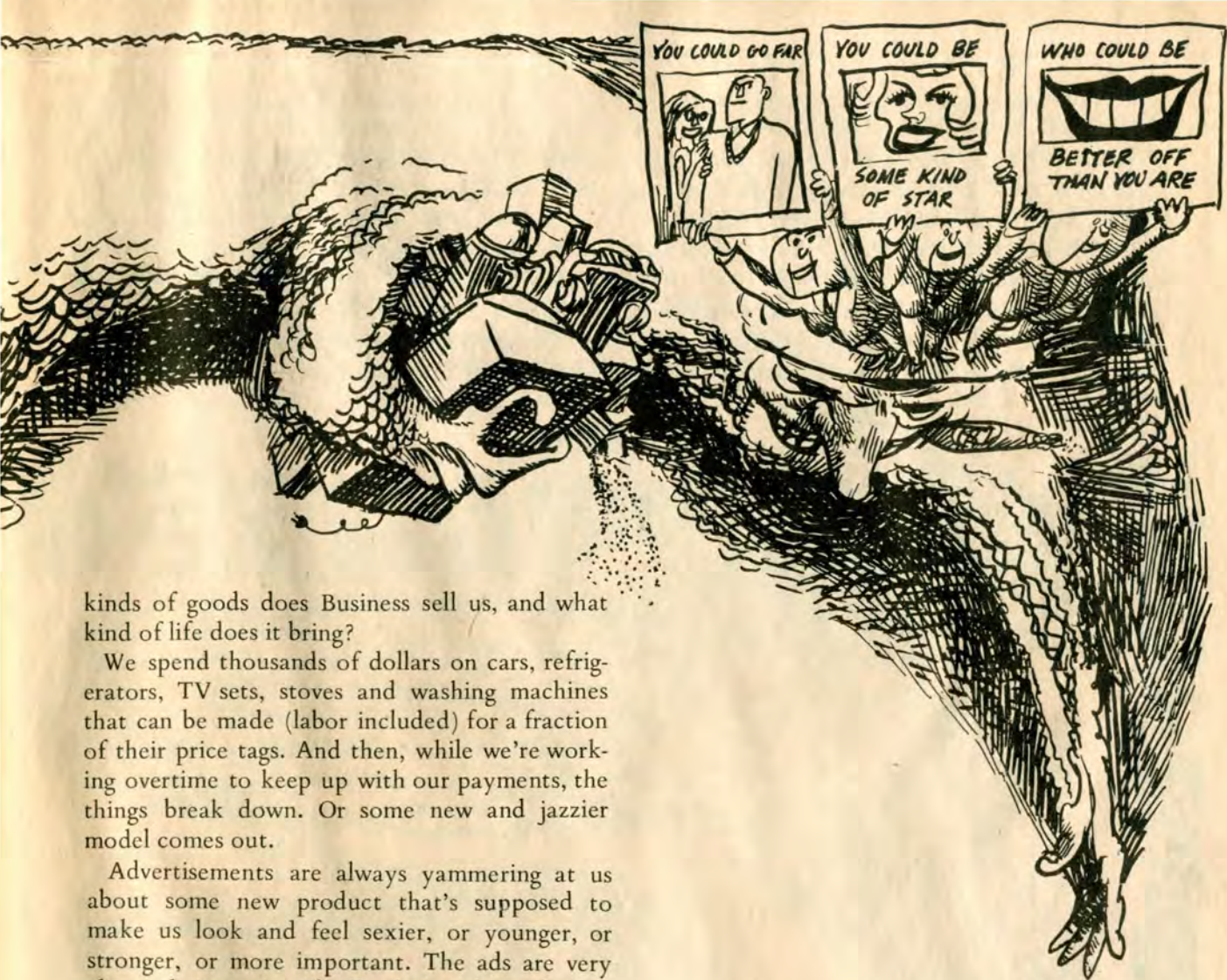
The military goods that *are* used are either dropped in the jungles of Southeast Asia and Latin America or sold to dictators and other buyers around the world.

Big corporations have made billions of dollars in profits from military production. For the rest of us, the cost has been enormous. It goes far beyond the 70¢ out of each tax dollar we pay that goes for war or war-related uses. The industries of war—oil, steel, chemicals, plastics and manufacturing—are the dirtiest of all, and military production accounts for over 1/5 of their output.

Think of all the acids and smoke added to our rivers and air while steel is made for missiles, and submarines, and bombers. How much of the poisonous chemicals that we drink and the deadly gasses that we breathe originated in the manufacture of military hardware? The stupendous amounts of weaponry that we create wage war on our own bodies as well as on our pay-checks.

Still, most of what America makes is for the consumer, not the Army. It is the stuff of which the so-called American Dream is made. What





kinds of goods does Business sell us, and what kind of life does it bring?

We spend thousands of dollars on cars, refrigerators, TV sets, stoves and washing machines that can be made (labor included) for a fraction of their price tags. And then, while we're working overtime to keep up with our payments, the things break down. Or some new and jazzier model comes out.

Advertisements are always yammering at us about some new product that's supposed to make us look and feel sexier, or younger, or stronger, or more important. The ads are very clever, being scientifically designed to play on our weaknesses, our desires, our vanities. They're nothing but psychological pick-pockets and purse-snatchers.

Many of us go into debt to buy all the things the ads tell us we need. No matter how much we have, we never have enough. There's always something else we're urged to buy. There's always a new set of Joneses we're supposed to keep up with.



SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

So consumer goods and military hardware form the heart of the gigantic American economy. Why are these things produced?

Business must keep growing to make profits. Profits come from sales. The critical problem for corporations becomes "How can we increase sales?" They have found several ways.

They build their products to break down in a relatively short time, because this increases turnover. Scholars call this "planned obsolescence." We can call it *waste*.

They spend billions of dollars on advertising (and tack the cost onto the price-tag) to convince us to buy new things, often things we don't really need. This too we can call *waste*.

They back the politicians and newspapers that push for expensive new defense systems, which collect dust for a few years and are replaced. What else could we call it but *waste*!

Our enormous, expanding economy powers itself by creating waste!

Look at all the metal objects which surround



To make greater Los Angeles even greater, some of the world's best farmland is being plowed under at the rate of 90,000 acres a year, over $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres altogether. This is the private property of speculators turned into profit property: motels, hot dog stands, split level houses and industrial parks rise on prime farmland in a world and a country where people are hungry.



To make up for the resulting shortage of crop-land, other interests have opened up inferior land in the desert. Taxpayers had to shell out the \$1½ billion necessary to irrigate 1,500,000 acres of Central Valley drylands.

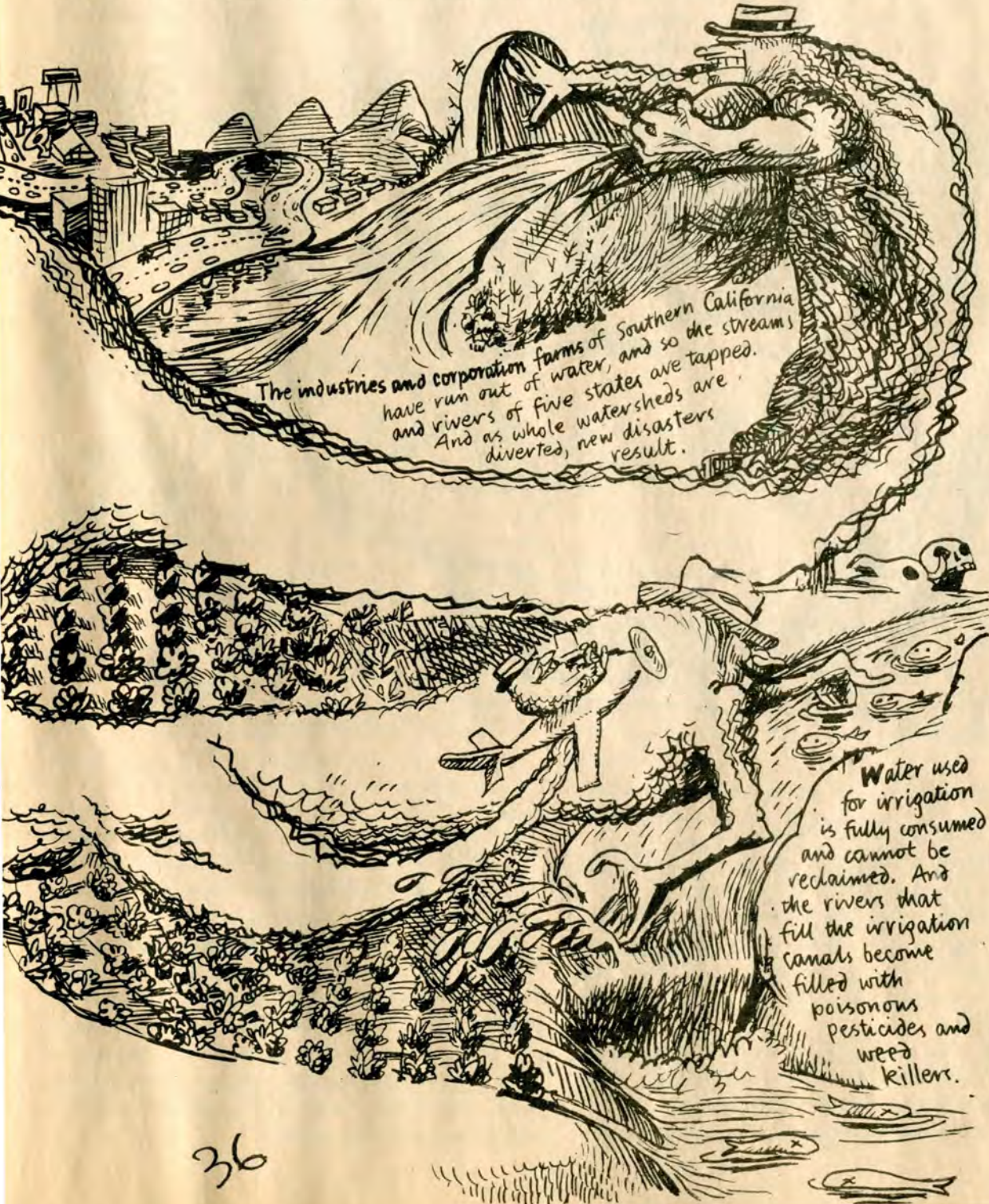
But intensive irrigation can ruin land permanently. Salts and minerals can be leached into the soil, poisoning it for life. The corporation farms of Southern California are working the land as hard and fast as possible, and the land is starting to die a salt death.

you and consider how many of them you really need. While you do this, keep in mind that 650,000 gallons of America's water are degraded making one ton of steel; 130 million tons are produced each year. It's part of the cost—*your cost*—that companies don't tell you about.

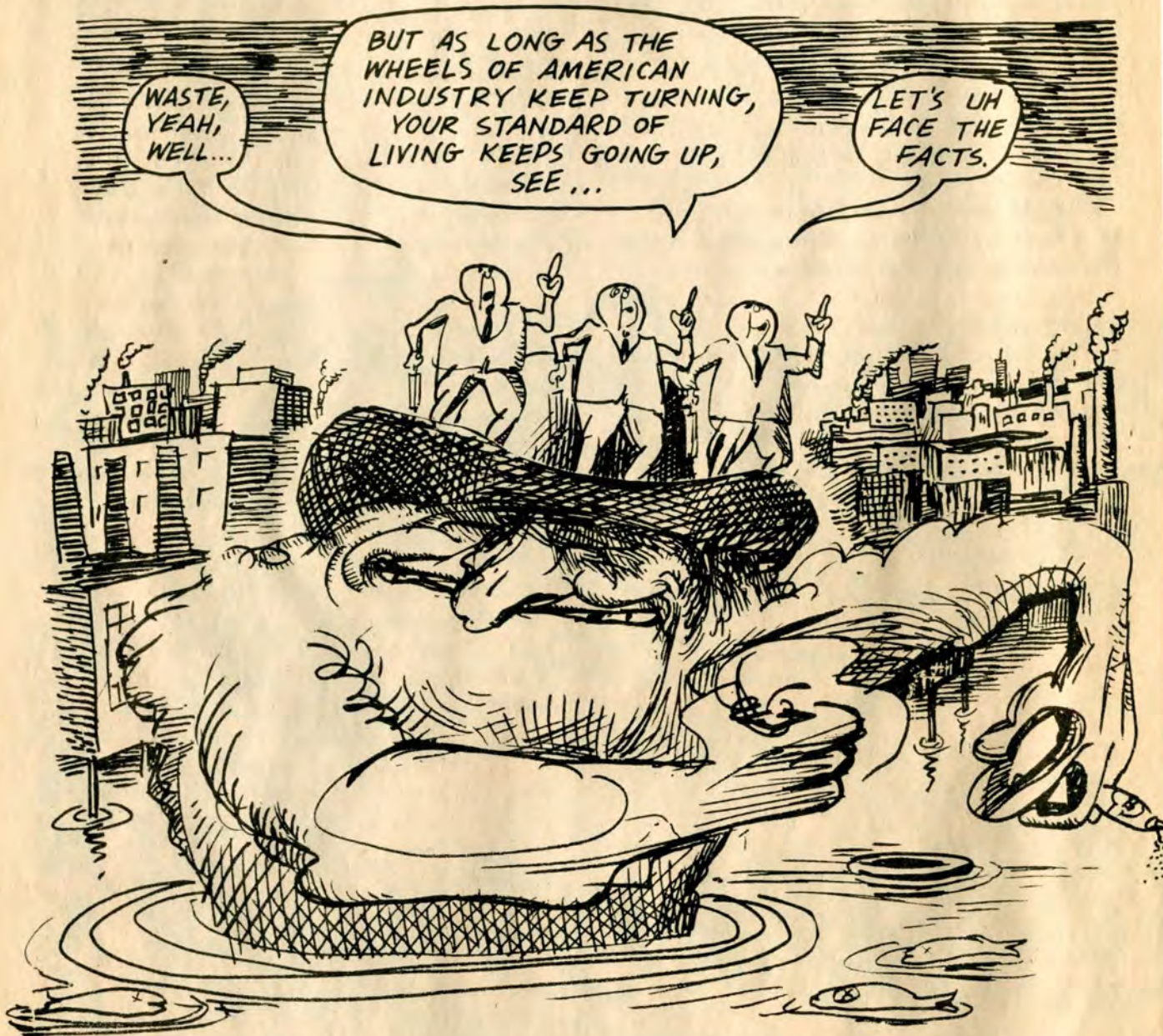
Thumb through the daily paper and notice all the advertising pages. You pay for these ads. Not only do the companies tack the cost onto the

price-tag, but 240,000 gallons of water and dozens of trees go into making one ton of newspaper. 61% of all newspaper goes for ads, consuming well over 5 million tons of paper each year. That's your cost also. *Waste exhausts the resources of the land—and of the people.*

There are other, less obvious ways in which we pay the price of an illogical system fueled by greed:



WASTE MAKES WASTE



How much better off are we?

Businessmen are much better off. In the last 5 years, big corporations have grown 31%.

But inflation has crippled many of us. It's left us running on a treadmill. Many of us are even going backwards: working people can't even buy as much now with their paychecks as they could 10 years ago.

Many of us are deeply in debt. American consumers are over \$98 billion in the hole. That works out to over \$2000 per family!

And the final price we pay for all the posses-

sions and "conveniences" that they sell us runs a lot higher. The billions and billions of dollars worth of goods America produces every year exact a fearsome ecological toll.

Our cities are crowded, smelly, and ugly. There's less open land each passing year. Our health is deteriorating: more people are getting degenerative diseases—which means their bodies virtually rot—at younger ages. Even life expectancy is decreasing. Our jobs are boring. We work harder and harder to pay our bills and end up making other people rich.

Things don't have to be this way.

Suppose America was really run for the benefit of everyone. That would make it possible to plan very carefully how to use our land, resources and technology without ripping up our environment.

We could use things over instead of using them up. People would decide for themselves what their needs are and what should be produced.

Things would be built to last: there's no reason why lightbulbs can't shine for years, and refrigerators run for a lifetime. The know-how exists right now, but most companies know that durable goods compete with fast profits.

We could get a lot of energy from cleaner power sources like solar power or "super-battery" fuel cells. These things aren't used now because they can't deliver the kind of power needed for enormous cities packed with people, or industries which crank out endless heaps of goods. But they would be perfect for smaller, spread-out cities that could be planned and built.

Even if some of the goods we need must be made by dirty methods and with dirty power, making only as much as we really need and not overloading any one area with factories would minimize the damage. Nature has tremendous ability to clean up human messes if she isn't pushed too hard. Decentralization is the key word.

The same principles can work for agriculture. Today, enormous areas of American farmland are planted with single crops, overloading the soil and making it easy for pests and blights to invade. This requires harmful and expensive fertilizers and sprays. Instead, we could practice mixed agriculture. For example, different crops attract different insects and rodents and one crop can attract creatures which destroy the enemies of another crop. Also some crops return to the soil the nutrients that others take out. We can use Nature's own system of checks and balances to ensure our harvests. When the earth is tended as a garden, it gives higher, healthier yields than when used as a factory.

The rewards of technology need not be abandoned if technology is used selectively, and care-

fully. We don't have to go back to the horse and plow to escape death from the smokestack and culvert.

But this sounds like a wild dream. Not because these things are impossible—they could be started immediately. It sounds unreal because the men and the corporations that run the present system, and profit by it, insist that no other way of doing things is as good as what we have now. And they back up these claims with force when people try to change their system.

And yet, these same white men, who are now being attacked from so many directions—by people against the war, by people suffering from inflation, by black and brown and poor people—are now leading the parade and carrying the banners for America's new Ecology Crusade. Politicians talk tough and make promises; government officials slip money and supplies to "responsible" students who demonstrate for ecology; businessmen give financial support to the college professors and conservation clubs that are spreading the word.

But the Word they spread is a lie. And if lies work better than force to keep people confused and keep them from attacking their system, then lie they will. If encouraging people to rally for their brand of Ecology discourages others from rallying for decent working conditions, an end to the war in Asia, the fight against racism and real control over their own lives and environment, then they will make Ecology the watchword of the day. The wolves will pose as shepherds.

is not a technical oversight, nor is it the fault of the people, or caused by too many people. It will not be cured by a few fancy gadgets or inventions.

Pollution comes from waste: producing too much, producing too sloppily, and wasting what has been produced. There will be pollution as long as things are made for profit, not because people actually need them. There will be pollution until we consider *all* the costs of making something—including the cost to the environment.

There will be pollution and hunger as long as the land and resources of a nation are run for the profit of a few, and at the expense of the many.



America is a have-not nation.

After years of waste and misuse corporations have used up many of our vital raw materials. Since the 1940's American companies have grabbed large holdings in more and more Third World countries to get these resources, the fuel for their runaway production.

And the outcome?

American corporations and the powerful men who own and control them have reaped staggering profits.

Many Americans have lots of stuff but it's hard to say whether their lives are any easier or happier. Many others are still poor and hungry. And we've all been left with the mess.

So far, most of the people demonstrating against the mess and talking about ecology have been college students, suburban housewives, doctors, engineers, lawyers—by and large, middle class people.

Their complaints are legitimate. But there are

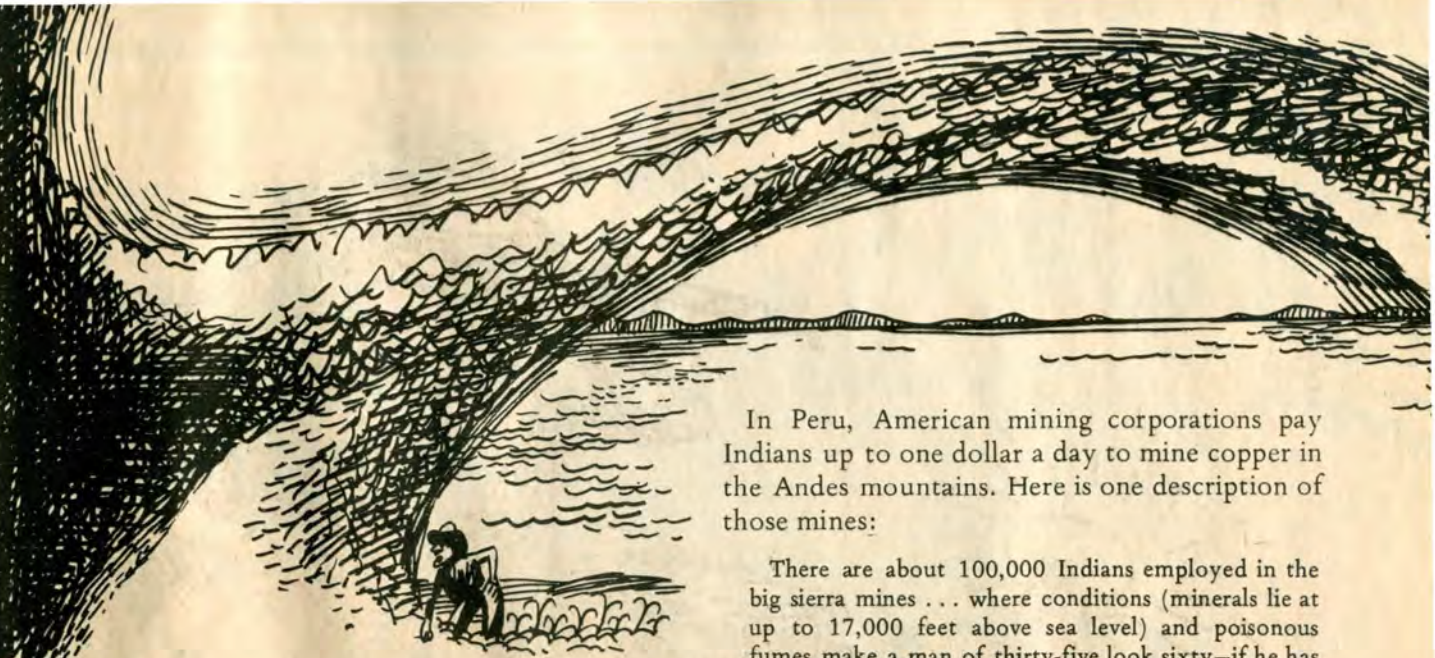
many people in America and the rest of the world who suffer much more from pollution and the system which causes it.

In America, they are black, brown and white working people, who are squeezed into cities and crowded together. They are the people with the worst jobs, the ones that leave you deaf. They are exposed to the most concentrated poisons, the kind that rot away lungs.

They are the ones who have to live around industrial "parks." You don't find factories in nice suburban neighborhoods.

They are less likely to have cars or the money to take long trips. A few extra National Parks don't mean much to them.

They are the people that population control advocates were talking about at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting of December 1968. These scientists recommended that urban planners build future cities more compact and narrow, so that the



sheer psychological pressure of overcrowding would force people to have fewer kids.

It's the same story in rural areas. The poorest people, the ones that do the real labor, are the ones who have to stoop over fields covered with poisonous chemical dust. In California, growers have been known to spray fields while people were working in them!

It doesn't end here. The ecological piracy which has exhausted America extends beyond our borders. All over the world, people in underdeveloped countries are seeing their own natural resources dug up, cut down, and pumped away. The signs on the plant gates carry names like Standard Oil, Anaconda, or United Fruit. The people know that they will never see a penny of the profits from these mines and plantations and factories. The big American companies divide their take with the rich overlords who control the land.

This is called imperialism. Imperialism lets American companies get cheaply from other countries what they have used up and need at home; it lets them convert these countries into captive markets for over-priced American goods; it lets them get away with moving factories overseas and paying dirt-cheap wages to desperate workers who have no other choice.

What big American companies do dirty at home, they do much dirtier in Brazil, or Indonesia, or Ghana. In these places, no officials will bug them about sooty smokestacks, oil slicks, dangerous pesticides, or unhealthy working conditions.

In Peru, American mining corporations pay Indians up to one dollar a day to mine copper in the Andes mountains. Here is one description of those mines:

There are about 100,000 Indians employed in the big sierra mines . . . where conditions (minerals lie at up to 17,000 feet above sea level) and poisonous fumes make a man of thirty-five look sixty—if he has survived that long in the first place. Many companies . . . distribute coca (which produces cocaine when chewed) to the Indians before they enter the pits so as to render them semi-unconscious of dangers, hardships, and the internal pains the fumes create. (J. Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America*, p. 129)

In Brazil, most of the good land is controlled by American companies like United Fruit, Standard Fruit, W. P. Grace Co. and Bank of America. These companies grow non-food cash crops, like coffee, in a country which should be one of the richest food producers in the world and instead is one of the poorest. They grow their crops on huge jungle plantations, on sensitive but fertile tropical soils. George Borgstrom, in his book *The Hungry Planet*, tells what happens to this farmland in a section called "Coffee on the March" (p. 329):

The almost predatory exploitations by the coffee planters have ruined a considerable portion of Brazil's soil. In many areas, these abandoned coffee lands are so ruined that they can hardly ever be restored to crop production Therefore, the coffee plantations have always been on the march, grabbing new land and leaving behind eroded or impoverished soils This march of the coffee plantations over the wide expanses of Brazil has been likened to a devastating giant wave In some of these early coffee regions the abandoned soil is so crisscrossed by ravines and gullies that it almost resembles a lunar landscape.

Should Brazil be called "Brazil the Overpopulated"? Or should it be called "Brazil the Raped"? It is no coincidence that American corporations dominate the economy of many of the world's poorest and hungriest countries.

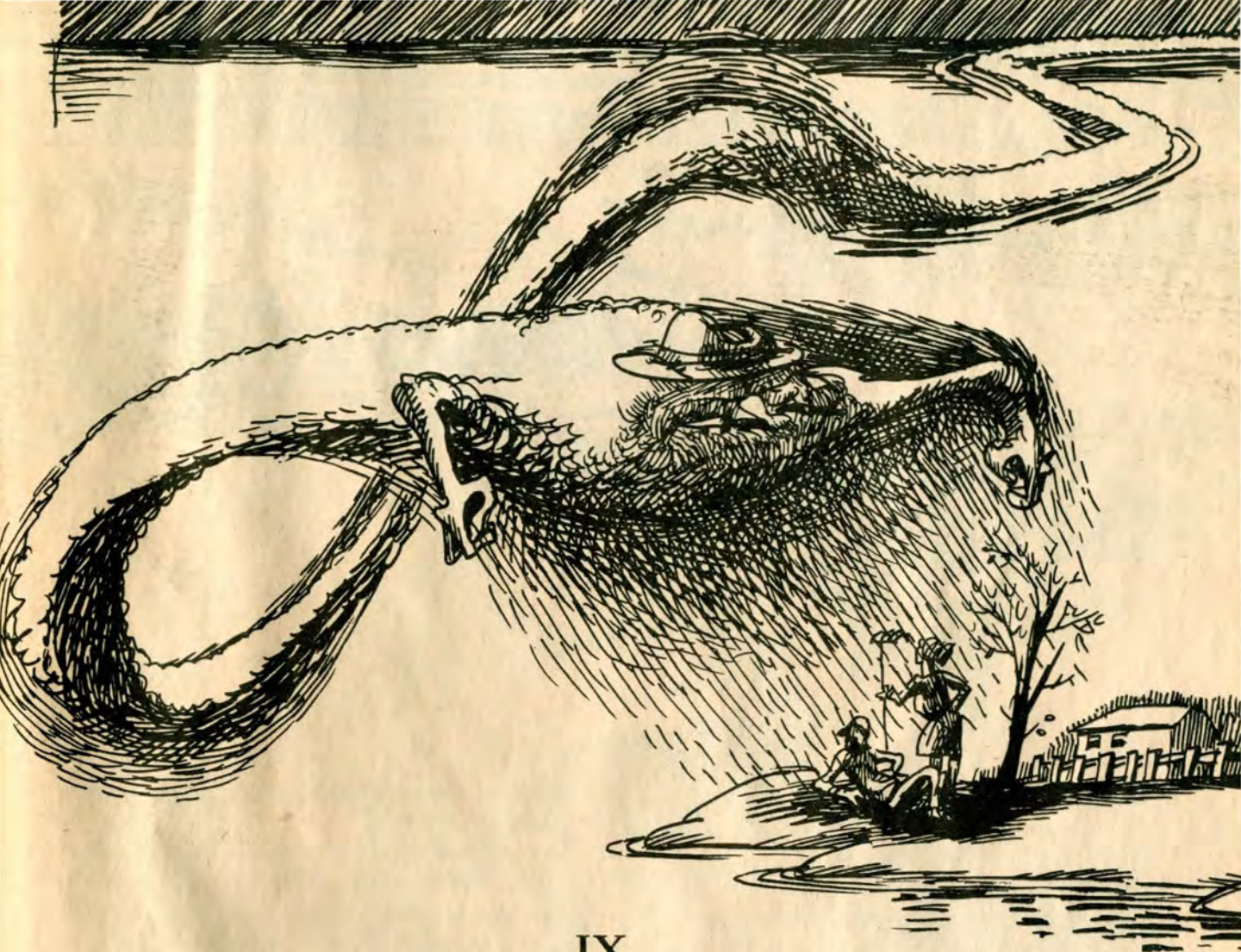


Peru, Brazil—the list could go on and on. It could include South Africa, where black men are paid slave wages to build Ford cars.

Or Liberia, whose rubber plantations yield Firestone average net profits three times as great as the entire Liberian national revenue.

Or the Dominican Republic, scene of American military intervention in 1965, where American companies own the best plantation land on the island, make big profits from sugar crops, and pay hungry Dominicans about a dollar a day.

And the list would have to include Vietnam.



IX

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER: VIETNAM AND AMERICA'S "ECOLOGY PROBLEM"

Lyndon B. Johnson, a now retired American politician, once said that "the best guide to what we do abroad is what we do at home."

One of the things we have been doing at home is spraying farms, lawns, highway medians and vacant lots with herbicides (weed-killers). Something called 2,3,5-T is the most common one used; it has been sprayed on over 5% of the U.S. Unfortunately it does a lot more than kill weeds.

2,3,5-T was being used near Globe, Arizona in 1965, and some of it drifted over populated areas. Shortly thereafter, one farmer reported

that 60% of his goats were born dead or deformed, and his chickens stopped laying. Then trees started to die. Children got sick. And finally women in the area began to have miscarriages; and many had their reproductive organs removed.

Possibly 30% of South Vietnam has now been sprayed with 2,3,5-T *thirteen times more concentrated* than that permitted in America.

The Army says that it "only" wants to defoliate the trees. But it sprays 2,3,5-T directly on "unfriendly" villages. Unfriendly villages are



those in which *any* of the people are sympathetic to the Viet Cong. This includes almost all the villages in South Vietnam.

The American government and American corporations are running the Vietnam war. The corporations build the war machine that the government directs. And polluting Vietnam is one of their basic tactics. They attack the people and destroy the ecology of their country.

The poisons they have sprayed to kill trees and destroy crops stay in the soil. Much of this soil is permanently destroyed. In many places, after the plant cover dies, the bare ground becomes as hard as a rock through a process called "laterization." Generations must pass before laterized soil can again be farmed.

In other places, bamboo weeds grow in after the original plants are killed. So tough and stubborn is the bamboo plant that it is almost impossible to get rid of once it has taken over the land.

American planes have also sprayed herbicides over 100,000 acres of the mangroves which line Vietnam's estuaries. Estuaries are coastline bays and inlets where fresh water mixes with salt and where, in Vietnam, shoreline mangroves provide breeding grounds that yield premium harvests of fish and shellfish. The Vietnamese have always

depended on their estuaries for much of their protein supply.

Now the estuaries of Vietnam have been destroyed. The few fish and shellfish that have survived the destruction cannot be eaten. They are so contaminated as to be poison timebombs for humans.

Poisons that get into soil and water also get into humans, even humans that are born years after the poisons were sprayed. As the lesson of Globe, Arizona shows, they are as deadly to people as they are to weeds and forests. One substance in the herbicides has been found to be 10,000 times more harmful than thalidomide. Already there are reports filtering back from Vietnam of stillborn and deformed babies. We may be crippling a whole generation of Vietnamese.

What does the ecological destruction of Vietnam have to do with the ecological destruction of America?

The same government that tells us about its concern for America's environment poisons the environment of Vietnam. The same corporations that pollute America and call it "pollution control" make products to pollute Vietnam and call it "saving Vietnam from the communists."



Saving Vietnam from the communists can be translated as saving Vietnam from the Vietnamese, even if this means destroying the whole country and the people themselves. The same goes for Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, or any country whose people want to get rid of foreign businessmen and take control over their own resources. Politicians and businessmen cry "Communism!" whenever their power over the people and resources of the earth is threatened, either abroad or at home.

Money and power is the real story behind the Vietnam war. Power for American companies to control the wealth of Southeast Asia. Power that

will let them keep the money rolling in.

Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia are prized by American businessmen because of the great natural resources of the region, and because control over this area would give them an immense captive market.

American corporations value the resources because they are things that America no longer has, or never had—things like tungsten, antimony, tin.

American corporations need these markets because the American people just cannot keep buying fast enough to keep the corporations growing and profiting.



The Vietnamese know all this. That's why they are fighting back. For over a thousand years, the Vietnamese have been fighting against foreign powers that came to take away the wealth of their country.

How about us?—we have to fight the war, and we have to pay for it. 45,000 lives and over \$100 billion dollars, and the war grinds on. We have nothing to gain from this war — we can only lose.

When you get right down to it, we really have much in common with the Vietnamese. The companies that run America make profits off both of us. And both of us are the victims of their ecological crimes.

The Vietnamese have a headstart on us in solving their pollution problem. They know very clearly what causes it. They are attacking the problem at its source.

If we really want to make America a fit place

to live in once again, we also have to understand our problem. More of us have to realize that bad ecology cannot be separated from unfit housing, inflation, lousy working conditions or the rat-race life; from racism, the repression of women, starvation or wars of aggression.

The fight against ecological disaster cannot succeed if it does not recognize the common obstacle to the solution of all these problems: in America, the wealth of society is produced for profit, not for people. And the small elite that gains power and wealth from this system will use every weapon at their command to preserve it, no matter whether they see the threat rising from the people of Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America or the United States itself. Once we understand these things, it will be clear that there is only one way to deal with our ecology problem:

Attack the problem at its source.

ALSO FROM PEOPLES PRESS...

CUBA for BEGINNERS

A history of the Cuban struggle for freedom and independence in cartoon form by Mexican artist RIUS. 48 pages.

Single copy 50¢
2-9 copies 40¢
10-50 copies 35¢
51 or more 30¢
Bookstores: 35¢ per copy/60-day
consignment



TOOLS AND HOW TO USE THEM—A PEOPLE'S CAR REPAIR MANUAL

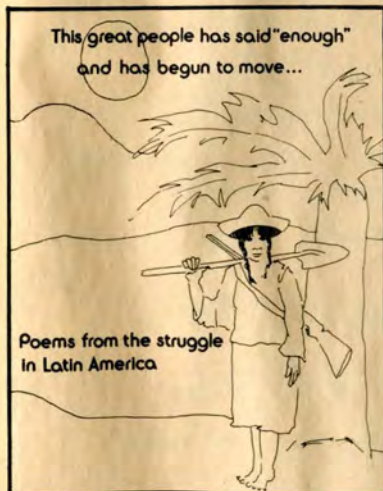
A complete rundown on tools for the budding auto mechanic. How to use, take care of and buy tools. Lots of illustrations. The second part of the Dimwit Auto Repair Series. Single copy—50¢. 5 or more—20¢. Bookstores: 25¢ per copy on 60 day consignment.

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A 4-page pamphlet about bread and nutrition. Single copy—8¢. 5¢ each for 2 or more.

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A 4-page pamphlet about food additives. Single copy: 8¢. 5¢ each for 2 or more.



Single Copy: \$.50

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5-2530

26 and more25

Bookstore Rate (40% discount)30/copy

LEGAL FIRST AID

12 legal street sheets written by the regional office of the Bay Area National Lawyers Guild, compiled into a 28-page manual. Single copy—25¢. Bulk orders: 10-50—20¢. 51-100—15¢.



FURTHER READING

HUNGER, POPULATION & FOOD PRODUCTION

The Geography of Hunger, and *The Black Book of Hunger*, by Josué de Castro.

Hunger USA, a report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

Lands Alive by Rene Dumont, and *The Hungry Future* by Dumont and Bernard Rosier. Discussion of the problems and possibilities of food production around the world.

A Geography of Population: World Patterns, by G. T. Trewartha.

The Economic History of World Population, by C. M. Cipolla.

Malthus: Selections From Marx and Engels, Ronald L. Meek, Ed.

Aldine University Atlas, or any other good atlas, gives invaluable information about land, resources, population densities and other ecological fundamentals. You can also read between the lines and see how these and other indicators imply the influence of politics and economics on the ecological health of a country (e.g. a starving country which also is a world leader in agricultural commodities; an industrialized country with a large number of steel plants in a small area).

POLLUTION AND ECOLOGICAL BALANCE

Disaster By Default by Frank Graham.

Ramparts Nov. 1969 and Jan. 1970 for the inside story of the Santa Barbara oil slick and the oil industry in Alaska.

The Promised Land, A grass roots report on Mid-Peninsula Land Use; an intensive study of one local area (in California) that probably holds lessons for every community in America.

Order from Grass Roots, 424 Lytton, Palo Alto, Calif.

New Yorker, Feb. 7, 1970; long article on the ecological destruction of Vietnam.

Pollution Control Myths in the March, 1970 issue of *Bay Guardian*, 1070 Bryant St., San Francisco. Material on pollution is rather hard to come by. One of the best sources is your local newspaper, watch it daily and keep a clippings file. Most of the articles are misleading but the gems you find expose the real source of pol-

The Black Mesa Crisis, by the Committee for Traditional Land and Life, tells the story of one of the great ecological ripoffs of our times: the destruction of the air, water and people of the American South-West in the behalf of cheap power for the defense plants, corporations farms and bloated cities of Southern California, and for the profit of the large power and mining corporations.

ENERGY SOURCES: ATOMIC, SOLAR & WIND

The Case For A Nuclear Moratorium, by Environmental Action Foundation, c/o Sandy Jerebek, Suite 731, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

How To Harness Sun Power & Avoid Pollution, in *Smithsonian Magazine*, November, 1971, by Wilson Clark.

Power From The Offshore Winds, W.E. Heronemus Marine Technology Society, Washington, D.C., September, 1971.

Nuclear Energy: Promises, Promises, Washington, D.C., 1971, by G.L. Weil.

RESOURCES AND POWER

The following books really go into who owns and controls the wealth in America and throughout the "Free World."

Who Rules America? by William G. Domhoff

Wealth and Power by Gabriel Kolko

Age of Imperialism by Harry Magdoff

The Pillage of the Third World and *The Third World in the World Economy* by Pierre Jalée.

The Great Fear In Latin America, by John Gerassi.

Containment and Change, by Carl Oglesby.

DEVELOPMENT AND REVOLUTION

The Economic Transformation of Cuba, by Edward Boorstein.

Fanshen, by William Hinton.

Impressions of the Chinese Economy, by E. L. Wheelright. A firsthand account of China's development by an Australian economist.

Visit to a Rural Commune, by Felix Green. This pamphlet and the last one by Wheelright are available from: R.E.P., 491 Guerrero St., San Francisco 94110

SPirit OF THE LAND

CUBAN PHOTOGRAPHS OF VIETNAM

A Frenchman who came to Vietnam in 1860 was impressed by the popular resistance to his country. He wrote:

The insurrection seemed to spring up from the soil. The fact was that the center of resistance was everywhere, subdivided almost as many times as there were Vietnamese. It would be more accurate to say that every peasant tying up a sheaf of rice was a center of resistance.

The world has been changed forever by the struggle in Vietnam. In spite of all the bombs, all the vicious escalation, all the genocidal acts of the U.S. government, the people of Vietnam continue to build a new, more decent kind of world.

Spirit of the Land is a photographic essay about the struggle for life of the Vietnamese people. It combines photographs of Cuban journalists with text about U.S. actions in Vietnam with poetry from the Vietnamese people.

Spirit of the Land is 64 pages. It costs \$1.00. We have done a small run of 5000 copies and will do more as the demand increases. If you order 5 or more you get the book at 65¢ a copy. Please prepay all orders. Bookstores can get *Spirit of the Land* at a 30% discount on 60-day consignment.

Single copy—75¢

Bulk rates:

10-50—50¢

51-100—40¢

101 or more—35¢

All orders must be
PREPAID.

Store orders:
50¢ per copy sold.
50 copies,
consignment limit.

All orders must be paid in
paid in 60 days or
the copies returned.

VIETNAM

A THOUSAND YEARS OF STRUGGLE

A primer on the history of the Vietnamese people
48 pages with plenty of illustrations.

One afternoon a thousand years ago a Chinese administrator named Cao Bien was sitting by the River Lo in Vietnam. He had been sent by the Emperor of China to conquer Vietnam and make it part of China.

As he sat there on that afternoon, 500 years before the first white man ever set foot in America, scheming of ways to get the riches of Vietnam back to China, he saw something huge and terrifying.

An enormous shape towered above him over the river and the hills. "I am the spirit of this land," it announced. "you will never defeat me."

