

OVERDEVELOPMENT AND ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE:

THE CASE OF NORWAY

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Table of contents:

	Page
1. Introduction	1
2. The changing view of DWL	2
3. AWL movements in Norway - a reaction to DWL	6
4. Structural limits to AWL	13
5. Obstacles to AWL at the micro level	21
6. Conclusion	26
7. Notes	27
8. References	33

1. INTRODUCTION

In previous papers we have discussed the concept of overdevelopment¹ and also indicators of overdevelopment in Norway² and in the western world in general.³ In this paper we shall explore some of the reactions to the dominant ways of life (DWL) in terms of peoples' attitudes to material welfare and industrial life. We also shall review some of the important groups in Norway reacting against DWL and try to understand why it is so difficult for members of such groups to put into practice alternative ways of life (AWL). In discussing structural limits to AWL, however, we shall not forget that structures consist of people, that there often are social and psychological explanations for why people behave as they do, whether they operate inside or outside the dominant structures.

We are in this paper arguing that although changes in the DWL indeed are taking place, such changes should and could have taken place much quicker, given certain conditions. Life in Norway is, compared with conditions in the Third World, relatively good, at least materially speaking. However, the point is that life could have been much better, that we have the potential for creating a good life in this country without relying on exploitation of internal groups, of other countries, or of nature.⁴ For instance, it is not difficult to imagine that improved diets could greatly reduce the death tolls from many common diseases (of the heart and cancer), that lung cancer rates could be slashed following a change in smoking behavior, or that a ban on all unnecessary chemicals would give long-term reductions in cancer mortality.⁵ A successive limitation on the use of private cars in intra-city traffic and a transfer to public transportation and bicycles would drastically reduce death tolls from traffic accidents, and a cultural change in the direction of smaller, closer social networks could do away with a significant part of the need for professionalized care of the mentally ill.

But why are not such obviously effective measures as limiting the use of private cars put into effect? Why do we continue polluting our lands, of handicapping young and old, of eating ourselves sick and trying to repair the damage done by promoting

more or the same things which made us sick in the first place? These are some of the issues we shall try to come to grips with in this paper. It is not enough to blame it all on capitalism, to say that a system which puts profits and material growth before human and social development necessarily must lead to mal-development. Such analyses have been done before and shall not be repeated here.⁶ Instead of using a language taken from the political economists of the left, we shall try to go beneath and inside the system. Besides looking at the structure from the outside, we shall try to understand how the actors behave inside the system and analyze some of the dimensions which make them function the way they do.

First, however, let us look at some indicators of how people in several countries of the capitalist West look at their own societies, expressed through opinion polls.

2. THE CHANGING VIEW OF DWL

It seems axiomatic that since most people persist in doing what have done for most of their lives, that is what they want to do in the future. In other words, since the DWL in fact is what most of us are engaged in, there is no need for AWL movements or for an alternative development path. Many surveys on peoples' view of this, however, seem to indicate that those who view the DWL as a desired state, in fact represent a minority. The reason why people often times do not change their ways has something to do with structural obstacles making any change seem insuperable.

In a project sponsored by The Agricultural Research Council of Norway (NLVF), the activist group "The Future in Our Hands" (FIVH) and The state institute of consumer research (SIFO) during 1975, a number of questions were asked concerning people's attitudes and knowledge about world poverty, nutrition and material aspects of life in Norway. One key question was the following: "Do you think that the standard of living in Norway by and large is much too high, somewhat high, about right, somewhat low or

much too low?" The representative survey of 609 respondents gave an unexpected result: 28% of the respondents said that the living standard was much too high, 48% indicated that it was somewhat high, while 22% felt that it was about right. Only 1% answered that the living standard was somewhat low and none thought it was much too low. ⁷

Another question relevant to the AWL debate was the following: "If you had to make a choice between two alternative ways of life, what would you choose?" The alternatives were either "A quiet and simple life with only necessary goods - but at the same time with a limited income and a limited career opportunity" or, "High incomes, many material goods and good career opportunities - but at the same time possibilities of experiencing stress in work and leisure time." Again, 74% chose the former alternative, and only 23% the latter, while 3% were undecided. ⁸

A question concerning whether increased real incomes would give people a better life or not gave as result that most people (52%) thought things would remain the same, while more people thought there would be more problems (27%) than those who thought life would be enhanced (20%) by such a possibility.

A control survey made by the Gallup Institute in January 1976 ⁹ asked 1600 persons above the age of 15 the same question concerning living standard in Norway, but also asked people what they thought of their own standard of living. The first question confirmed to a large extent the SIFO results, but indicated a somewhat lower level of dissatisfaction: 58% thought that the living standard in general was much too high or somewhat too high, 38% felt that it was about right, and only 2% said it was too low. As to people's own living standard, the figures were less clear: 29% felt that their living standard was too high, 65% that it was about right, and 4% somewhat too low, while 1% indicated that it was much too low.

In the midst of the bleak economic prospects for the coming years another poll was taken up in the beginning of 1978. ¹⁰ On a question about whether or not we should try to maintain real wages in 1978, 7% felt they should be increased, 67% felt they should be kept at the same level as before and 24% thought

the standard of living should be reduced. However, on the question "Are you willing to reduce your family's incomes somewhat if most Norwegian families do the same?", 67% responded affirmatively, while only 31% were opposed.

The issue of reduced standard of living has been raised in connection with a possible slow-down in the growth of energy use. Here indications are that people are willing to forestall growth in material welfare for the benefit of protection of our natural resources, even if it is not obvious that such a connection does exist.¹¹ Of people opposed to constructing hydro-plants at the Hardangervidda (48% were opposed, 18% for building more hydro-power in this area), almost 60% of the opponents said that they were willing to accept none or even negative growth in real wages, if this would be necessary to stop further construction.¹²

Finally, after the Nordli government had gained acceptance in the Parliament for a wage- and price-freeze for 1979, a poll revealed that almost 80% of the respondents thought this was necessary, while less than 7% thought this to be unnecessary.¹³

Altogether, it seems reasonable to conclude that indications are that people in general are willing to opt for an alternative to the present growth ideology inherent in the DWL, and, in fact, only a fraction of the population keeps insisting on continuous increases in material welfare.¹⁴ Accordingly, one cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that it no longer represents political suicide to argue for a steady-state economy in terms of material consumption, in other words, that politicians, bureaucrats and capitalists should start preparing themselves for the day when AWL movements are so strong that growth will no longer come about, regardless of stimulations induced by the elites.¹⁵

Now, one may argue that Norway is a very special case and that other industrialized countries are different. However, available results from polls taken up elsewhere seem to indicate that feelings of material saturation is more universal than one might think. A 1979 survey from England showed that as many as 90% of the population did not believe that continued material growth would solve the problems of a welfare society.¹⁶ French surveys indicate distinct changes in people's attitude to material growth:

In 1971, two and a half times as many Frenchmen preferred higher incomes and a hectic life, compared with a more quiet life and lower incomes. But in 1973, the two groups were of equal size. In 1972, 9 out of 10 French people asked thought that economic growth should be maintained or be increased - in 1974, only 30% believed in continued growth, while 53% would prefer to put brakes on consumption increases and instead try to find a new way of life.¹⁷ A survey taken up in France in March 1974 gave some particularly interesting results:¹⁸

- 53% of the respondents would accept a halt in the increase of consumption and economic growth if this was commensurate with a new way of life
- 68% would prefer classic and durable clothing to those which are worn out in one season
- 75% consider that the use of throw-away packaging is an idiotic waste
- 78% would receive one evening per week without television as a welcome opportunity to see people close to them and to be able to talk together.

Finally, a Louis Harris poll in the U.S. taken up in 1975 concluded that "when the alternative is posed between changing our life-style to have less consumption of physical goods, on the one hand, and enduring the risks of continuing inflation and unemployment on the other, by 77 percent to 8 percent, the American people opt for a change in life-style". Also, 92% were willing to eliminate annual model changes in automobiles, and 90%, yearly fashion changes in clothing. A 1977 poll showed that 76% of the respondents favored "learning to get our pleasure out of non-material experiences" rather than "satisfying our needs for more goods and services".¹⁹

In conclusion, the data that we have looked at, although admittedly insufficient to draw too bombastic conclusions from, indicate that people are willing to change the way of life, not only in Norway, but also in countries of comparable material standard of living. It is therefore not surprising that a number of AWL groups have become actively involved in trying to change different aspects of DWL in these countries. In the following we shall look at the major AWL groups in Norway and try to assess their importance in the years ahead.

3. AWL MOVEMENTS IN NORWAY - A REACTION TO DWL

The growing number of environmentalists and alternative thinkers is becoming an important factor in shaping future life in Norway. At present, thousands of men and women, young and old, have organized themselves in study groups, committees, action groups or organizations to fight for various causes or against certain aspects of the Dominant Way of Life (DWL). Of groups that are related to anti-imperialist struggles, peace and solidarity work, the number totals about 65.²⁰ Nationally oriented, but often with a global view, are registered 27 groups among at least 93 various information and action-groups that primarily are concerned with environmental issues. Of the 14 organizations or groups comprising the women's movement, one is particularly concerned with shaping a new society, of creating Alternative Ways of Life (AWL) based on "soft values" in science, technology and democratic rule. Alternative bookstores, shops and book cafés spreading alternative thinking throughout Norway number almost 70. Let us briefly discuss some of the most important environmental groups and the impact they have had on DWL in Norway:

Aksjon mot Atomkraft (AMA), or Action against Atomic Power:

This group was created by various local actions against nuclear energy in cooperation with the environmentalist group (SNM), which is commented upon below. AMA started its activities in 1973/74 and has kept its activities in full preparedness for counteracting government initiatives on the nuclear issue. When the debate occasionally flares up, AMA can draw on a few thousand members for financial support. In 1972/73 the government planned to start construction of the first nuclear power plant, which was hoped to be completed by 1980.²¹ However, due to the strong public opposition there still are no nuclear power plants in Norway. This opposition has largely been established thanks to AMA, thus forcing the government and the parliament to reconsider their plans. According to the government's 1980 White Paper on future energy policies, no nuclear power plants will be decided built at least until after 1987.²² Four out of six parties in the Parliament and all the party political youth organization have taken a stand against nuclear power. According to a nationwide opinion-poll taken up in 1975, an overwhelming majority of the

respondents did not want any nuclear power plant in their municipality.²³ And all of the municipal boards asked in the survey were against constructing nuclear power plants in their region.

Folkeaksjonen Framtiden i Våre Hender (FIVH), or The People's Movement
The Future in Our Hands:

FIVH was established in 1974, after the publication of the book The future in our Hands by a former marketing executive, Erik Damman, as early as in 1972.²⁴ The central idea of the book was that each one of us has a responsibility for trying to alleviate hunger, poverty and exploitation in the world and that actions taken in the industrialized countries indeed can help to change the conditions for the world's poor. The book also argued that industrialized man suffers from overconsumption of things, with the development of "civilization diseases", ecological imbalance and social isolation as consequences. By changing aspects of our lifestyle we not only could help alleviate problems of the Third World, but also improve DWL in our own country. These ideas were put into action by a center for consciousness-raising and action, and the membership grew very rapidly to a recent figure of about 27.000 (fall 1980). The Center publishes a bi-monthly magazine called Folkevelt ("Common sense") with a circulation of 45.000. A country-wide network of study and action groups has been formed, with new members joining daily. These local groups are not only engaged in propagating an alternative way of life, but trying to put into practice the central ideas of the movement. Projects have been started in many places, involving, for instance, used clothes shops, restoration of abandoned farms, organic small-scale farming ventures, bicycle demonstrations and traffic actions, setting up exhibitions on our wasteful way of life, selling Third World handicrafts, establishing alternative schools and curriculums, alternative socially useful production based on the ideas developed by LUCAS Aerospace workers,²⁵ etc. Recently, a development fund has been set up to help small self-reliance projects in underdeveloped regions of the world (Mali and Sri Lanka are among the first countries contacted for such projects), and the FIVH study organization, run by the Center in Oslo, has received public funding. At present, plans are being drawn up for establishing a fund for helping alternative development and research projects in Norway, in other words, to help scaling down overdevelopment. Sister movements to FIVH have been established in both Sweden and Denmark, and the Center in Oslo has established an extensive contact network with similar groups all over the world.²⁶

When it comes to the political impact of FIVH, its major importance has been to raise the general consciousness-level among the population. Representatives of major political parties, who in the beginning scoffed at FIVH, now have turned to this group for counseling on global solidarity issues and ecological thinking. Much of the verbal support for central FIVH ideas are now found in many political parties' programs, and the election for a new Parliament in 1977 seemed to be a turning-point in that the previous emphasis on economic growth now focussed almost entirely on environmental affairs and employment issues. But in spite of the rhetorics, one cannot say that major policy changes have taken place, thus placing the major importance of FIVH in a more long-term historical role than at the immediate policy action level. As we shall come back to below, however, FIVH has been important in helping to change the life-style of many of its members, besides serving as a general group of consciousness-raising in the Norwegian population.

Folkeaksjonen mot utbygging av Alta-Kautokeino-vassdraget, or The People's Movement Against the Exploitation of the Alta-Kautokeino Hydro-Resources:

This is one of the recent movements formed on a country-wide bases, but with international support, to protect a particular canyon and a river system from being built out for hydro-electric production. The movement was formed during the spring of 1978 and has its main office in Alta in Finnmark, the northernmost county in Norway. The strategy of this movement has been to use civil disobedience combined with information to the public about the harmful effects on both the local ecology and on the Sami peoples who live in the region. A hunger-strike before the Parliament during the fall of 1979 succeeded in having the decision to build out the water resources postponed, but recent decisions taken by the Parliament on the issue upheld the former plans for the construction of a 110 meter high dam, although the actual construction plans now have been delayed about one year. In spite of the decision to go ahead as planned, however, the movement has not given up to resist the construction and plans further sit-down actions on the spot as soon as any signs of an imminent construction period manifest themselves. ²⁷

Natur og Ungdom (NoU), or Nature and Youth:

This is the youth organization of NNV (see below), operating as a country-wide activist organization having some 3.000 members up to the age of 25. The groups are primarily action-oriented, staging demonstrations and exhibitions, delivering pamphlets and booklets at the grassroot level. Important issues taken up include local traffic actions against

automobiles and for the increased use of bicycles, arguments in favor of alternative sources of energy and energy conservation as an alternative to further energy growth, self-reliance in agriculture, small-scale technology and for the improvement of urban environments. NoU's basic philosophy is that ecological thinking should have priority over economic reasoning in the shaping of society, a viewpoint which is clearly reflected in the concrete actions which NoU has been involved in. One of the most important engagements which NoU has undertaken during recent years, was the major contribution towards arranging a "Scandinavian alternative energy week" during the fall of 1978, with demonstrations, exhibitions and political theater throughout the Scandinavian countries, thus helping to raise the public's awareness of alternatives to the dominant way of thinking with respect to energy policies.

Norges Naturvernforbund (NNV), or The Norwegian Society for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources:

NNV was established as early as in 1914 and is today the largest environmentalist organization in Norway with about 38.000 members. It has a national secretariat in Oslo and local chapters in all counties throughout Norway. Having originally been more concerned with landscape protection and wildlife issues, the organization has, during the past ten years, become more concerned with energy questions (particularly against turning rivers and waterfalls into hydroelectric power, but also against nuclear power and the Norwegian affiliation with the IEA, the International Energy Agency). NNV is also involved in traffic policies (bicycles instead of cars in the cities, arguments against a new giant airport south of Oslo), with agricultural self-sufficiency, and for a more labor intensive and decentralized industrial structure. NNV operates less at the activist level than NoU, but has had significant impact on policy-makers because of its large and often influential membership. Generally, NNV has contributed considerably to an increased awareness of and interest in environmental questions, both among the public and the politicians. NNV played a significant role in the establishment of the new Ministry of Environmental Affairs and the new Law of product control. NNV had these issues on its program already in the 1930's. Also, the organization has a network of political influence, and is the organization most often asked to pronounce itself on public decisions relating to environmental issues. During 1979, NNV filed a lawsuit against the Norwegian Ministry of Oil and Energy in order to halt the construction of the Alta/Kautokeino hydro-electric project.²⁸ At the same time, NNV put the spotlight on the legal issues involved in hydro-

power construction schemes in general, arguing that present hydro-electric projects already built out or decided to be built out more than suffice to cover any future electric needs in Norway (the yearly production in 1985 is estimated at about 25.000 kWh per capita from hydro-power alone). Recent parliamentary decisions on the Alta-Kautokeino project show that the influence of NNV on such issues so far has not reached beyond the rhetorical level, although an increasing number of representatives in the Parliament now has become opposed to the project in question. ²⁹

Opplysningsutvalget om IEA, or The Information Committee on the IEA:

This group was formed by a number of party-political and other organizations (among them FIVH and NNV) in 1975, now consisting of 16 nation-wide organizations with a total of more than 150.000 members (however, not excluding double memberships etc). Several of these organizations were involved in the anti-EEC campaign before the national referendum in 1972. The inauguration took place shortly after the formation of The International Energy Agency, with the main goal of having Norway withdraw from any cooperation with the IEA. The Committee acts as a lobbyist group, spreading information material, arranging study circles or public meetings to confront policy-makers with popular sentiments about the energy issue. The Committee's main argument against the IEA is that the membership will make Norway more likely to increase the exploitation of indigenous sources of energy (hydro-electricity, oil and gas), but also that the IEA in fact is a pressure organization for enforced energy growth, having a nuclear energy path as a major policy. The Information Committee has argued for zero energy growth within Norway, basing itself on international solidarity with non-industrialized countries. This means that a central goal is seen to work for zero energy growth or even a reduction in energy use in countries with a significant scope for saving energy, thus making fuels available at lower prices to countries currently experiencing shortages. The committee has managed to get three parties in the Parliament take a stand against the IEA, but has not influenced the two main parties, the Labor Party (DNA) and the Conservatives (H). These two parties, together constituting an overwhelming majority in the Parliament, usually agree on future industrial and energy policies, although the rhetorics are different.

Samarbeidsgruppene for natur- og miljøvern (SNM), or The Cooperative Groups for Natural and Environmental Protection:

SNM has consisted of some 30 groups of purely active members, each group working on specific issues, for instance on nuclear energy, oil policies,

agriculture, traffic, eco-politics or alternative technology. The group was established in 1969 and gained a stronger foothold after a sit-down demonstration at the construction site for a major hydro-electric project (the Mardøla action in 1970). The action did not prevent the waterfall to be built out, but it was the starting-point for the modern eco-political debate in Norway. SNM has had a definite influence on nuclear energy and on the oil debate in Norway. After an internal disagreement over political issues, where Norwegian Marxist-Leninists took over many steering functions, 2/3 of the almost 1000 members left SNM and joined other environmentalist groups, in particular "The Ring" (see below).³⁰ The current influence of SNM is therefore much reduced.

Økopolitisk Samarbeidsring (Ringen, or The Ring of Eco-political Cooperative Network (The Ring):

The Ring was established early in 1978 by many of the older members of SNM. It consists of individuals and groups, having as their main goal to work for some kind of a conserver society, as a clear contrast to the present industrial growth society which is the model of the Western world. Participants in The Ring are mostly active researchers, students or practitioners of AWL who see the protection of our natural environment and a strategy for increased self-reliance at the local and national level as a vital condition for global development and human growth. Shortly after the breaking up of SNM, The Ring became international and has today members all over the world, cooperating closely with the inter-European eco-political organization ECOROPA, based in Bordeaux. These two organizations have, during the last two years, organized an international action in order to stop the Norwegian government from carrying through two large hydro-electric schemes (Alta/Kautokeino and Orkla/Grana). One outcome of this action has been the launching of the Green International, consisting of about 40 organizations in 17 countries, counting a total of 10 million members. The Green International has been established to lend strength to the mounting international movement for the preservation of world ecology, recognizing the need for international solidarity work among the green movement.

As mentioned above, there is an untold number of different action groups working for specific causes in Norway, and new groups are forming for each new issue arising. One relatively recent group is the Aksjon Bygde-Norge (ABN), or Action Rural Norway, started at Voss in 1977 to work against the current trend of depopulating rural Norway and the abandonment of small farms. The group consists of several local groups and about 1000 support members, trying to gain foothold in organizations like the Small Farmers Association and win contacts in the labor movement. ABN works for an alternative agricultural policy in Norway and for a more ecologically oriented development policy in general and has good contacts with the rest of the environmental movement. The political impact of this group has so far been small, but given a more intensive campaign to recruit people from the country-side, this group may become an important supporter in the quest for AWL throughout Norway in the future.

It should be mentioned that all major hydro-power projects planned in the future will be met by country-wide, well organized action groups who will fight construction by non-violence in a determined struggle to preserve the ecological balance and the beauty of the Norwegian country-side. As a survey performed during the period 1970-75 has revealed,³¹ new action-groups are forming all the time all over the country. Of the groups surveyed, only one-fourth had accomplished their purpose, while one-fourth had accomplished nothing at all. The remaining half of the 154 city-based groups surveyed felt that they had achieved some things or had managed to get the decisions postponed. However, when it comes to concrete energy and industrial policies the present groups have had no significant impact. But with the mounting pressure from below to develop alternative policies in the field of energy and industrial policies, agriculture, traffic and health, etc., it may only be a question of time before the action-groups and organizations working to change DWL will succeed in changing the course of history.³²

Besides these groups, which explicitly are oriented towards changing DWL in Norway, several new groups have been formed to organize direct imports from producers of Third World products.³³ These groups operate on a non-profit basis in order to promote direct producer-consumer contacts and to spread information

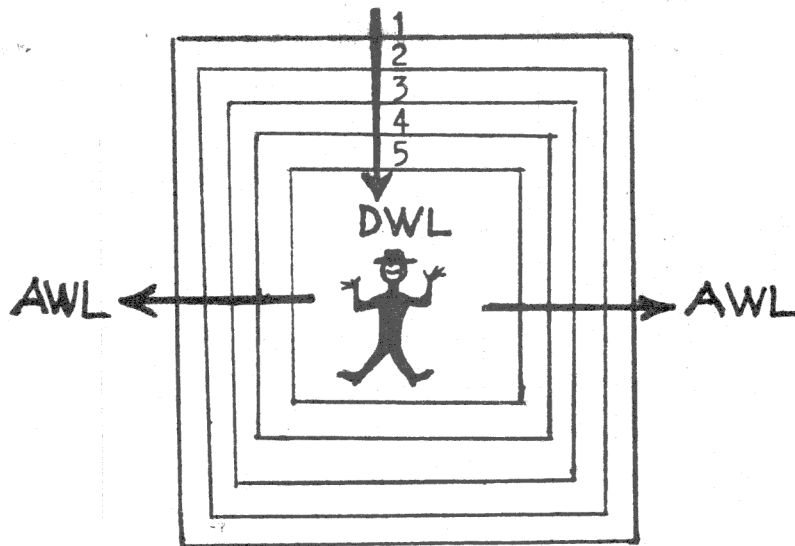
about problems of underdevelopment, at the same time as poor, rural communities in the Third World are brought in contact with concerned citizens of an affluent society like our own. Such projects may contribute to weaken the power of multinational corporations operating in the Third World, and have as such been met with a certain amount of resistance, notably by traditional Norwegian coffee importers. Nevertheless, these initiatives are not easily rebuffed, since they do not compete on the same terms as the multinationals. But in spite of enthusiasm from the grass-root level, changes in the structure are not easily achieved. Below we shall analyze some possible explanations of why this is the case.

4. STRUCTURAL LIMITS TO AWL

A somewhat incoherent picture of the development pattern in Norway seems to emerge from the discussion so far. On the one hand, the dissatisfaction with DWL expressed through opinion polls and AWL groups forming all over the country; on the other, the feeling that many, especially young people, that things are not really changing at all. In other words, there is a feeling that the AWL movements have not had a very large impact on the structure, even if people are willing to change at the personal level. This may be due to a great number of limitations imposed on people from the top, often making it very difficult to engage in AWL.

To give an image of the limitations on individual actions, we may visualize a number of Chinese boxes, inside of which we find people engaged in DWL. In order for the people inside the boxes to be able to engage in AWL, some of the shells, and eventually all of them, must be broken, in order for new possibilities to open up. However, as things stand now, there is not much room to move about in the innermost box, as illustrated by Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Chinese boxes limiting AWL actions in NORWAY



As the Figure illustrates, people's range of action, defined as the DWL, are seen as being imposed by the five "Shells", while AWL involves breaking out from inside. However, we imagine that it is possible to be helped somehow by other forces (like f.inst. OPEC actions) eating themselves inwards towards the DWL, enabling people to break out faster than merely by their own initiative.

We also imagine that the limits to AWL have not come about by chance, but because choices have been made, first to impose shell number 1, then number 2, and so forth. Implicit in this idea is that other choices could have been made at each step, thus making the range of AWL larger than at present. And the choices that we feel actually have been taken in Norway, are illustrated in the model drawn up in Figure 2 below. It does not matter whether these choices have been made deliberately or not, as part of a strategy or whether they simply have come about by chance, or just because these steps seemed to be logical to the decision-makers at each step. The important thing is that such choices have come about, and that there are possibilities for doing things in different ways, and that these possibilities have not been utilized to their full potential.

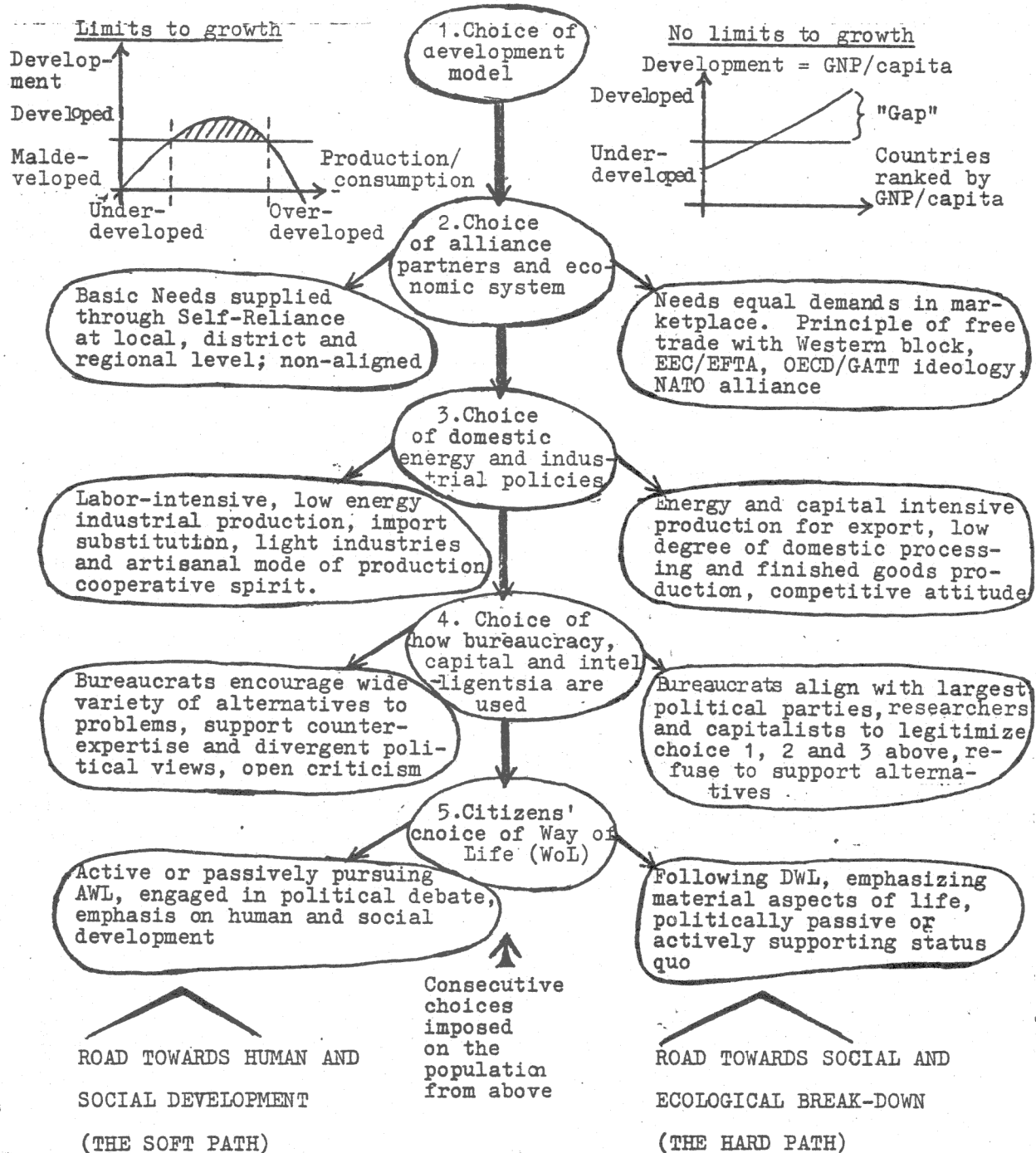
In Norway, as in other industrialized countries, a number of important choices in terms of socio-economic development can be

seen to exist.³⁴ We have depicted a series of five choices in Figure 2, where the right-hand side reflects the DWL encapsulated in our Chinese boxes, and the left-hand side shows the way to another economic structure, where there are much wider options for alternative ways of life. The following options are seen to exist:

1. Choice of development model: Norwegian elites, being solidly anchored within the western development paradigm, see the growth of Gross National Product per capita as a means to becoming more developed. No limit to material growth is yet envisaged; people are implicitly assumed to reach higher levels of fulfilment as the GNP/capita figure soars upward. This way of thinking is clearly preferred to the view depicted on the left-hand side of the Figure, where the production and consumption of material things not necessarily are seen as leading to development of human beings.³⁵ In fact, the view is taken that although a minimum level of consumption is necessary to transcend underdevelopment, the consumption level should not get too high, as this will lead to overdevelopment, in this case in the form of counterproductive overconsumption. The desired range of material consumption is between a floor and a ceiling, a satisfactory level which can be attained by all, and development is only seen as taking place within this range, where those most in need and the needs most lacking are given first priority. In other words, the "trickle-down" assumptions implied in the present development paradigm, expressed on the graph to the right, is rejected for the benefit of an even, balanced and moderate development for all.

2. Choice of trade and foreign policies: The success of the growth model chosen by Norway has been seen to be best assured by allying ourselves with the western trading block, by having an open economy being subject to free trade through a GATT membership, and by securing it all in the western military alliance, NATO. Instead of affiliating ourselves with EFTA and the Common Market, we could have joined the East European equivalent, the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). However, we do not perceive this as being an essential dividing-line, since the CMEA development goals are more or less identical to those of the OECD. A different path would have been to choose a basic needs strategy, based on local, regional and national self-reliance, for instance in the context of an enlarged Nordic cooperation.³⁶ Such a policy would give us

Figure 2: Structural limits to AWL.



more leeway in shaping our own future economy, although such a strategy would not be likely to be of much long-term value if our foremost goals continue to be economic growth. In that case, we feel that a Nordic alliance very soon would turn into a mini-EEC and then slowly lose its significance in a basic needs/self-reliance context, as trade barriers were removed and the Nordic countries once again emphasized the international division of labor and full use of "comparative advantages".

3. Choice of domestic energy and industrial policies: Having made the choice of affiliating with the OECD ³⁷ and integrating the Norwegian economy with the European, our abundant hydro-electric resources were to become the basis for a still larger, power-consuming industry exploiting our unspoiled nature for the benefit of "comparative advantages". Our industrial policies are based on cheap capital and expensive labor, and energy prices kept low. Recent discoveries of oil and gas in the North Sea only have served to accelerate policies for capital - and energy-intensive employment, making a strategy for increased self-reliance in most consumer goods and foodstuffs seem utterly unrealistic. Even within the OECD, variations with respect to these dimensions do exist, as shown by Japan, Denmark or Switzerland. These countries use much less per capita energy than Norway does, the latter, for instance, engaging itself in the processing of other people's money rather than in primary metals, as is the case for us. ³⁸ Instead of the choices made, we could have chosen to put high taxes on energy instead of making labor too expensive for Norway to be able to compete in the international marketplace. However, even if variations in terms of primary energy use within the OECD are very substantial, ³⁹ an open economy would in the long run force Norway to increase capital and energy intensity on behalf of labor, so as to slowly erode an imagined preference for "small is beautiful". Should light industries, repair, recycling and reuse be instituted as policies, it would require a new development philosophy, including efforts to increase our self-reliance and a rejection of free trade principles, in order for this to be viable in the long run.

4. Choice of how bureaucrats, capital and the intelligentsia are used: Do policy makers make sure that alternative thinking is presented to the public and discussed in open fora, and are decisions taken at the local level when relevant? Or do the ruling élites rather prefer to reinforce decisions made at higher levels (1, 2 and 3), thus legitimizing their own power basis? ⁴⁰

The experience we have from Norway is that the political leadership, the present Labor Party government, is using the existing capacity of the central bureaucracy to justify policies favored by themselves. In fact, we do not see any significant conflicts between bureaucracy (B), capital (C) and the central research institutions (I, the intelligentsia). On the contrary, they have found a viable partnership, where they legitimize each other's power: C provides jobs and taxes for B, B is unifying markets, organizes infrastructure and subsidizes C when necessary, and I gets paid by B and C to provide insight, new ideas and professional advice. More often than not it is the B-C-I complex which is deciding national policies, as alternative options for overworked parliamentarians are filtered out so that only the "best solutions" reach the policy level;⁴¹ best for B-C-I, that is. Both being eager to stay in power, the two major political parties representing B (the Labor Party) and C (the Conservatives) do their best to look different in the public eye,⁴² although they both favor the western development model, our alliance partners and trade policies, as well as a capital, research and energy intensive industrial policy, thus further legitimizing and strengthening the B-C-I complex.

5. Choice of way of life (WoL): With choices of development model, trade policies, foreign affiliation, energy and industrial policies already being more or less determined by the ruling technocracy, what kinds of choices are left to be determined by people in general? Is there any latitude for living alternatively within the existing social and material structures shaped by B-C-I? As shown on Figure 2, we perceive that there is a choice between following the dominant ways of life and attempting to break out and live alternatively. As discussed above, many people have started to question DWL (the bourgeois way of life, BWL, and its less successful "twin", the "chemical way of life", CWL; C standing

for circus, chemicals, cancer and constipation) and have engaged themselves in different AWL movements.⁴³ Many others attempt a partial decoupling from DWL in passively resisting career patterns, quit smoking, start exercising or change unhealthy dietary practices. But in spite of such efforts at the individual level, structural changes at higher levels (regional, national) are hardly discernable. The struggle to do something other than what the structure was made for (bicycling if there are no bike-roads, supporting local production when only imports are sold in the stores, etc) is too much for most people. In fact, research has shown that AWL practices first of all are taken up by resourceful people, i.e. people with relatively high incomes and above-average educational level.⁴⁴ In this historical time-period, therefore, the driving-force for social change seems to come from the middle and upper middle class; from middle-level managers, educators, intellectuals and office workers, and not from the traditional working class, which in our society do not yet have the resources and capacity it takes for engaging themselves in the process of social change. However, we keep our idea that choices at the individual level still exist, although more important choices are imposed from above. What remains is to have people's willingness to take part in a change process reflect itself in new political constellations, so that the ruling élites can help to enlarge the scope for AWL at the individual and micro levels.

If we look back at Figure 2, we have summarized the path taken by our society, the cumulative results of relatively consistent choices to the right of the figure, as the "hard path" or the road towards social and ecological break-down. It is understood that a number of mechanisms act on this path in the direction of a "soft path", a road towards human and social development, and that such influences act at each level of choice simultaneously or in a "trickle-down" fashion. At the same time as pressures exerted from the top of the structure trickle down, pressures exerted from lower echelons will tend to have a "trickling-up" tendency. As examples of events or things that will influence our 5-level "Chinese box" or choice model, we would like to mention the following: 1) The international development debate, including the "North-South dialogues" and the discussions on the New International Economic Order and the self-reliance ideas,⁴⁵ 2) The world energy situation, with prospects of serious shortages

in oil and the efforts made to use alternative sources of energy⁴⁶
3) the emerging unemployment problems in the OECD area⁴⁷ as a
consequence of market saturation, technological advances and the
competition from Japan and the emerging new, small countries
copying the Japanese model,⁴⁸ and 4) the rapidly growing AWL
movements all over the industrialized part of the world.

Unfortunately, these forces have not yet made much of an impact
on the Norwegian B-C-I élite, even if problems of overdevelopment
and DWL are debated in mass media daily. The inability of our
present system in grasping how things change is reflected in the
sectorial division of the Norwegian administrative system, with
14 ministries each being responsible for only a small sector
of reality. As an example, while the Ministry of Industry carries
through the establishment of new energy and capital intensive
industries, the Ministry of the Environment must try to limit and
restrict the inevitable pollution which follows, while the
Ministry of Social Affairs must try to alleviate social problems
caused by stress encountered in the rationalization and structural
change in industry. In other words, there is no holistic view
of things, merely a patchwork of different interests trying to
undo what others are doing. And in this way industrial growth may
continue unabated for a long time.

If more profound changes in the development path is to take place,
the idea that changes not only are necessary but also are desire-
able from the point of view of promoting human and social deve-
lopment, must be reflected in the structure of our political and
technocratic leadership. Such macro-changes may combine with the
many mini-revolutions about to take place today through a rising
number of AWL practices and theory. The question remains which
model of change is more realistic, a sudden change of leadership
in the form of a violent revolution, or a gradual change through
a growing membership ratio in AWL movements. Changes can also be
initiated or helped from above, either through sectorial
policies and patchwork on the existing structures, or by abolishing
the present sectors and integrating for instance the ministries
in more holistic institutions all being concerned with human and
social development at large and not only one small sector. The
strategies for change are depicted in Figure 3 below, where four
squares offer different possibilities of combination.

Figure 3 Strategies for change

		Changes initiated:	
		From above (the elite)	From below (the people)
Changes determined by	One factor	1) promoting a holistic structure for human and soci- al development.	2) revolution, sudden change of leadership "for the people"
	Several factors	3) Sector policies, patch- work on structure	4) AWL movements, many mini-revolu- tions by the people

As we see it, a strategy involving a sudden change of leadership, combined with keeping the structure as before (square 2 + square 3) would only lead to changes from, say private capitalism (B-C-I) to state capitalism (B-I). It would not involve a real alternative to people's choice of ways of life, on the contrary, as we have experienced from the East European model, the hard path would still be pursued with even less freedom of AWL than in many capitalist societies.⁴⁹ In other words, a viable strategy would involve a more holistic development view promoted from above (square 1) combined with many mini-revolutions, small experiences and increased self-reliance at the local level (square 4).

5. OBSTACLES TO AWL AT THE MICRO LEVEL

As mentioned above, it is not enough to discuss structure when trying to explain why things don't seem to change. When structures change, it also involves changing people, and if this is not the case, structural change may not matter, or the same structures will again emerge in a different guise. Therefore, we must try to understand some of the social and psychological mechanisms which act upon people when systems are under pressure for change. Below is a preliminary discussion of some of these mechanisms, trying to give a picture of some of the factors that act to conserve the structure as it is today, thus slowing down the process of change towards new development goals:

1. Prospects of material rewards: People who follow the regular career pattern within the established system can, in most cases, look forward to a high material living standard, to the Borgeois Way of Life (BWL). When bureaucrats and the intelligentsia ally themselves with capitalists, they also learn to enjoy capitalist habits. Frequent trips abroad, nice luncheons with representatives of the corporate elite, seminars and conferences in secluded places, prospects of meeting "important and interesting people" and having at one's disposal private means of transportation (helicopters, jets, limousines) to and from meetings, together with the possibility of accumulating tax-free earnings from generous per diems and expense accounts, all add up to attracting ambitious MAMU's (middle-aged males with university education) into the B-C-I system.⁵⁰ The OECD ideology of maximizing foreign trade relations gives ample opportunity for B's, C's and I's to mingle with diplomats and business or research contacts in far-away places, a life-style which to most people seems most enviable. People who choose to denounce this system must be prepared for a less certain material future, with less exotic trips abroad, possibly opting for work in local communities and a less "exciting" WoL in general.

2. Knowing who you are: The people belonging to the B-C-I complex and the people working for the existing system (most people with regular employment) know who they are, and they are well organized. In this way they can protect their own interests, promote arguments for doing more of the same, so that they do not lose their job. A choice of an alternative development strategy means that many existing groups with significant power will stand to lose, while others, as yet undefined groups, will emerge.⁵¹ These new group cannot, per definition, be as well organized as those presently in power, nor do they control financial resources large enough to lobby effectively for their cause. Moreover, the fight for future generations, suppressed peoples in other countries or the protection of nature itself will, understandingly, be seen as being less important for those who struggle to keep their job today.

3. Organizational dynamics give growth: With more and more people aspiring for high-level positions within the existing system, institutions are bound to grow in order for more people to move up the socio-economic ladder. In static organizations, job promotion becomes problematic, as vacancies only open up when somebody retires or dies. In Norway, the quickest ascent to high wages and an inclusion on top of the system during recent years has been to enter the new growth industry based on North Sea petroleum exploitation, with its bureaucratic and research appendices. This development has brought in a new element of high wages and rapid career patterns, sucking in people traditionally identifying themselves with our largest political party (Labor) and very quickly habituating them to a high-level BWL.

4. Fragmentation produces knowledge gaps: Because the B-C-I complex is based on extensive division of labor and specialization in different compartments, it becomes virtually impossible to gain insight into knowledge produced in other sectors than one's own. This applies both with respect to the analysis of what is wrong with the present system as to the perceived possibilities of an alternative development.⁵² The often implicit insecurity of each narrow specialist in not wanting to be exposed as one knowing very little outside of his/her own field may serve to tie together capitalists, bureaucrats and intelligentsia in a joint effort to keep up the front of belonging to those "who know best". In this way, they maintain not only ignorance of possibilities, but also a fundamental ignorance of how Big Capital, Big Bureaucracy and Big Science can manipulate them for the purpose of maintaining control and status quo.⁵³

5. Ideology as a screening device: When new ideas are presented to leading B's, C's and I's, they are often rejected outright as being "impractical", "unrealistic" or "too expensive", when, in fact, the reason for rejecting them can be found in preconceived dogmas or myths. A fear of everything tasting of "socialism" to a capitalist, of "capitalism" to a socialist or of "promiscuity" to a religious fundamentalist may serve as an effective mental block to considering something even vaguely outside one's own frame of mind. The whole notion of "alternative development" demands a certain detachment from past beliefs, an ability to think freely not too often found within the B-C-I milieu.⁵⁴

6. Trusting the experts: Since "experts" often know so much about one particular field of knowledge, people tend to believe that their judgement in general is sound. However, expertise in one narrow sector of society does not make one an expert on human and social development goals in general. And when people rely on myths or dogmas in other fields of knowledge, combining the "halo effect" with ignorance about human beings, being an "expert" becomes a negative factor in shaping our future. It is therefore encouraging that the trust in "experts" seems to be on decline,⁵⁵ while the confidence in people's own ability to judge what is best for themselves, seems to be rising.

7. Cooptation and misrepresentation: When new ideas are promoted outside of the structure, the ruling elites often coopt them and misrepresent them by swithing the rhetorics but keeping the old practive as long as they can. One example of this is found in the oil/energy companies' attempt at joining the solar energy bandwagon with perverted, hard solar technologies, while all the benign, simple and economically viable technologies are kept on the waiting-list.⁵⁶ Another classic example is the industry which grew up during the anti-authoritarian protest wave during the 1960s, selling "used" clothes at high prices and posters and artifacts of all kinds extolling the new WoL. A more recent phenomenon is the praise of inter-disciplinary research and studies at the verbal level, but the lacking academic and research positions in this field.

8. Information overload: Not only is the information level in our part of the world very high, it is also in part contradictory and confusing. This situation makes it very difficult for people to differentiate between right or wrong,⁵⁷ and it becomes much easier to continue on the present path than engage in any changes. Our capacity to think of alternative futures would have been greatly enhanced, had we been able to rid ourselves of all the irrelevant information pouring over us from commercial interests, institution-builders or sales promotion of all kinds, instead focussing on issues that count with respect to human and social development.

9. Conformity pressure: As anyone who has tried to do something slightly different than other people knows, strong pressures are

exerted upon those who deviate from what is considered "normal". Asking for milk when everybody wants coffee or beer, declining a cigarette in a group of smokers or going to a dress-up party without a tie or long dress takes an effort. Opting for a radically different WoL is something which only very few people have the strength to do, unless they are well organized and such changes can be done on a collective basis.⁵⁸

10. Dilemma of the dissident: People who enter existing institutions with ideas of changing the system from within very soon discover that it is they and not the institution that is changing. This mechanism can be explained by cognitive dissonance theory,⁵⁹ which states that cognitive elements always strive towards balance. A person entering an organization with the intent of changing the organization has the same need as other people to like the people he or she is working with. After a while, friendships will develop, and one normally finds that the work-mates have a positive attitude towards the institution. Thus an imbalance arises, as two positive elements combine with one negative one. The prediction would then be that either one starts liking the organization (three plusses), the colleagues start disliking it, too (two minuses and one plus), or the imbalance maintains. In the long run, such an imbalance would normally lead the "dissident" to leave the organization, unless he/she has found a strong outside support group which may assure maintenance of his/her views. In some cases such "dissidents" develop mental problems, even ending in suicide.

These ten points only scratch the surface of understanding why what often seem to be very obvious beneficial changes in the WoL are so slow to come about. We do not deny that things indeed are changing, but have argued that we need to know more about how we may help to promote changes in the direction of a more human and development-oriented path. Hopefully, this list of issues may inspire others to expand our understanding of how relevant strategies for change may be instituted.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has taken the viewpoint of an impatient AWL spokesman. In an historical perspective, changes may be said to have come about very quickly, and it is likely that in 20 years, industrialized societies will be very different from today.⁶⁰ However, even if 20 years is a short time in light of our very long history, the suffering and misery experienced in such a time-span today cannot be compared to the long past. So many factors are different today; our level of understanding, the possibilities for creating a good life for all, and the sheer quantity of those suffering, running into hundreds of millions of people who lack even the most basic amenities in life. Therefore, we cannot sit back and wait until history has taken care of change - we must work for changes now.

In this paper, we have discussed indicators showing that people in an industrialized country like Norway indeed are ready for radical structural change. The growing number of actions and groups involved in AWL is another indication that proponents of the "hard path" will not stay in power indefinitely, even if structures and socio-psychological mechanisms at this point appear to give them the upper hand. However, this fact should not make us despair, but rather inspire us to continue our search for strategies towards an AWL which eventually will replace Dominant Ways of Life, thus changing the course of history in the direction of the "soft" path, the road towards human and social development.

7. Notes:

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- 1) Dag Poleszynski (June 1977) and Galtung, Poleszynski and Wemegah (May 1979).
- 2) Dag Poleszynski (June 1980).
- 3) Dag Poleszynski (October 1980).
- 4) An analysis of the social construction being based upon three kinds of exploitation (of the internal and external proletariat and of nature) combined with increasing productivity of labor is made in Galtung, Poleszynski and Rudeng (1980). Here it is argued that not only is such a social construction objectionable, it is also very fragile and therefore likely to be subject to change due to various global processes resisting exploitation, alienation and environmental destruction.
- 5) According to Epstein (1978), page 23, "a series of epidemiological studies have concluded that environmental factors cause from 70 percent to 90 percent of all cancers."
- 6) Some of the mechanisms operating in a capitalist economy to assure the perpetuation of more of the same is analyzed by the author (December 1979). As for an excellent study of how capitalist societies induce poor health, particularly in lower classes, see Lesley Doyal (1979).
- 7) See Arbeiderbladet, 14 October 1975. For the full report, see Jan mehlum (1976). This Norwegian report contains an English summary of the main findings.
- 8) Mehlum, page 72.
- 9) Mehlum, page 79.
- 10) Aftenposten, February 24, 1978.
- 11) On the contrary, recent studies linking energy use and GNP growth have shown that industrialized countries may continue economic growth for several decades and still cut down on total energy use. A representative finding is that it is possible to conceive today a doubling of per capita material wealth at the same time as energy use is slashed in half during the next 50 years. See Krause et. al. (1980) and other references given in Poleszynski (October 1980).
- 12) Vår Framtid, October 26 - November 2, 1978.

- 13) Dagbladet, November 7, 1978.
- 14) A further discussion on this point is taken up in Galtung, Poleszynski and Rudeng (1980).
- 15) In fact, only a minority of the Norwegian population believes that the economic situation in Norway is likely to improve in the coming years. Polls taken up in June 1978 - June 1980 asked 1500 adults how they thought that the economic situation for Norway would be in one year compared with the present. In 1978, only 14% thought the situation would be much or slightly better, 33% thought that things would remain the same, while 45% believed that the situation would change for the worse. In 1979, the figures were 20%, 37 and 36%, prespectively, while figures for 1980 were found to be 27%, 43 and 25%. The rising optimism as indicated by these figures does not detract from the fact that a majority believes in status quo or a worsened situation. When asked about prospects for their own situation, figures were more stable: for the three consecutive years, those who believed that their economic situation would improve were 17%, 16 and 19%, respectively, while 53%, 55 and 56% counted on status quo. For those who believed that their economic prospects would get worse, figures were 25%, 23 and 23% for 1978, 1979 and 1980, respectively. See Aftenposten, September 13, 1980.
- 16) Aftenposten, March 17, 1979.
- 17) Figures taken from Philippe d'Iribarne (1977).
- 18) See André Gorz (1977).
- 19) Figures quoted by Denis Hayes (1978). A number of other polls taken up in the United States during recent years confirm this picture, see Jacob Bomann-Larsen (April 1980).
- 20) Such groups are registered in the yearly Rød Kalender ("Red Calendar") published by Pax Forlag A/S in Oslo. Figures referred to refer to ultimo 1979. Some of the main groups are also discussed by Jan Borring in Benestad (1978), page 24 etc.
- 21) For a detailed account of the history of atomic energy at the research level in Norway, see Håkon Gundersen et. al. (1977).
- 22) The Norwegian Government does not **at the present time** think that it will be necessary to use nuclear energy in Norway during this century. No final decision concerning the possible use of nuclear energy will be taken until the end of the 1980s, but in the meantime, the Government wants to keep up with the international research and development work in this field. See Olje- og energidepartementet (1980) and the views expressed by the major political parties in Industrikomiteén (1980).
- 23) An opinion poll taken up in March/April 1980 asked 1400 adults which alternative source of energy they would prefer, if we already had agreed to enlarge the electric power production capacity in Norway. Only 3% of the respondents favored nuclear power (against 7% in 1978), while 71% (against 56%) favored hydro-power and 25% (34%) preferred thermal (coal) power stations. See Aftenposten, April 31, 1980.

24) This book is now available from Pergamon Press, London, in English.

25) This very important experiment is discussed in Dahlgren/Sjödén (1977).

26) A preliminary list of international contacts on "Alternative Production" has been compiled by Jacob Bomann-Larsen, Boston, February 1980. This list can be obtained through the FIVH Information Center in Oslo.

27) At the end of October 1980, the Finnmark police started preparing for a possible confrontation with demonstrators against the Alta construction. Awaiting the decision to go ahead with construction as planned, 39 trucks and field cars were sent north by the civilian defence. However, in spite of having taken the route through Sweden and Finland, the convoy was spotted by the resistance, and an intense newspaper debate immediately broke loose. At the time of writing, the Government has not yet given its go-ahead signal, possibly waiting until January 1981, when two court decisions will be made public concerning the legality of sit-down protests and of constructing a dam in the relevant area. There is considerable pressure on the Government not to make any decisions until a committee endorsed by the Government has evaluated the rights of the Sami people to the land in question. See for instance Professor Thomas Mathiesen in Aftenposten, November 7, 1980: "Opptre med fornuft i Alta" ("Behave sensibly in Alta").

28) This lawsuit refers to the legality of the Alta hydro-project and is one of those referred to above (note 27). The court will have to decide whether the construction can be accommodated within existing laws of natural protection, whether important information missing must be supplied, whether the hydrological research performed is sufficiently thorough that construction may be recommended and on a number of other issues dealing with the legal and administrative aspects of the project. If the court decides that the construction is illegal, the Government decision to build out the dam will probably be postponed indefinitely.

29) In the Parliamentary debate on the Alta construction on May 30, 1980, two proposals were put forward in order to prevent the construction from taking place. One proposal for giving the river lasting protection fell by 32 to 95 votes, while another proposal to postpone construction until a new study of the whole project had been completed and discussed in the Parliament fell by 31 against 96.

30) The breaking up of SNM and the creation of "The Ring" was given significant attention in the Norwegian press, see for instance Dagbladet and Aftenposten, both February 18, 1978.

31) See Kolbenstvedt, Strand and Østensen (1978).

32) For a macro-historical view of the last 2,500 years of Western history and the coming 500, see Galtung, Høiestad and Rudeng (1979).

33) Tanzania-Import A/S imports coffee and Alternativ Handel A/S ("Alternative Trade Ltd.") imports various handicrafts and art objects directly from small artisans and farmers in a few, "development-oriented" countries.

34) An analysis of choices for the Norwegian economy has been made in Galtung, Poleszynski and Rudeng (1980), and to some extent by Karl Georg Høyer (1979) and Olav Benestad (1978).

35) This thinking is further elaborated in the reference above (note 34), but also in Poleszynski (June 1977, June 1980).

36) **The possibilities for an enlarged Nordic cooperation** have been discussed in Poleszynski (June 1976).

37) The OECD ideology is spelt out in most of the organization's publications, stating the purpose of OECD as being

"to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus contribute to the development of the world economy;

- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;

- to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multi-lateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations."

OECD has 24 member countries, including Japan and Australia. For an additional view of OECD, see Benestad (1978).

38) Next to Luxemburg, Norway is probably the largest per capita producer in the world of energy-intensive goods, with its large alumina and ferro-alloys industries, fertilizer plants, pulp and paper, magnesium and iron works. In addition to this, Norway is about to become a major producer of petrochemical products, and existing metal refiners are planning large expansions in the years to come.

39) Krause et. al. (1980), page 120, shows that variations in primary energy units to units of GNP vary with a factor of more than 4, with Switzerland at the bottom (2.5 kWh(t)/DM) and Luxemburg on the top (12 kWh(t)/DM).

40) This problematique was discussed by Johan Galtung in two chronicles in Dagbladet in 1977 (April 19 and 21) and later elaborated upon in Galtung, Poleszynski and Rudeng (1980). The topic was also extensively discussed in Gundersen et. al. (1977).

41) See Dag Tangen (May 8, 1979).

42) The similarity in response to a number of questions concerning resource and energy use is clearly shown by Bomann-Larsen and Damman (1977).

43) A discussion of the various ways of life is taken up in Galtung, Poleszynski and Rudeng (1980).

- 44) A survey of the extent to which members of FIVH (see page 7 above) had managed to change their consumption and way of life patterns during the period of 1974 to 1977 showed that the respondents had a significantly higher educational level than the Norwegian average. They also had higher incomes, and the FIVH members were younger than the general population (a clear overrepresentation of main providers under the age of 30), at the same time as single-person households were more frequent and households with more than four persons were clearly under-represented. Typical findings of the survey was that the FIVH members having responded showed extremely low usage rates for alcohol, tobacco and sugar, and during the survey period, this consumption pattern was further strengthened. At the same time, there was an increased use of home-made bread, natural grains, fish, vegetables, fruits, home-made juices and herb tea, while the consumption of things like factory-made bread, butter, meats, sugar and premade dinner servings was cut significantly. For further details on this interesting study, see Leif Holbæk-Hanssen (1980).
- 45) This debate is extensively covered in the CCPR paper series, cf. some of Johan Galtung's works listed in the references.
- 46) The intermittent oil shortage experienced during the last years, of course, being related to overconsumption and waste in the industrialized part of the world, and not one of exhaustion of the resource base as such. See Poleszynski (1977 and October 1980) and Krause et. al. (1980) for a further discussion on this point.
- 47) The present unemployment level in the OECD is estimated at about 20 million, while unemployment in the Third world is thought to be around 400 million. For a discussion of the impact on future unemployment levels from the introduction of micro-processors and automation in industry, see Toffler (1980).
- 48) The emerging new international division of labor is discussed extensively by Fröbel, Heinrichs and Kreye (1977) and also covered by Galtung, Poleszynski and Rudeng (1980).
- 49) For a discussion of the East European model, see Johan Galtung (forthcoming 1980), and for a discussion of the recent Polish experience, see his recent GPID mimeo (August-September 1980).
- 50) Some of the fringe benefits attracting people to join this system have been widely debated in the Norwegian press during recent years. In one case Elf Oil Company, one of the North Sea operators, was reported to have arranged a three-day safari trip to Africa, inviting high officials in the Ministry of Industry and Handicrafts, some top bureaucrats in the oil division (now in the Ministry of Oil and Energy) and the Director of the Oil Directorate - even including wives. See Dagbladet, October 18, 1977.

51) This point is well taken by Denis Hayes (September 1978), page 34: "An analysis ...of proposed national returnable-bottle legislation found (that the) program would produce 165,000 jobs while eliminating 80,000 jobs (of which normal attrition would account for 40,000...)...the 40,000 people who would lose jobs if all bottles had to be returnable have a clear idea who they are; the 165,000 who would acquire jobs are not easily identified, and have no union looking out for their prospective interests."

52) At an energy seminar arranged by the Liberal Party in Oslo, December 4 and 5, 1978, the previous Danish minister of finance, Professor in economics Thorkil Kristensen, gave an analysis of the crisis of understanding which reigns in the OECD countries. As a 14-year long general secretary of the OECD, he had warned against the growth-policies recommended during the post-war period by the U.S. in order for the West to surpass the Soviet Union in economic performance. Such policies would lead to long-term structural unemployment, to overinvestment and inflation, an evil circle which would be hard to get out of. The present situation of continued unemployment and inflation is not likely to be solved unless policy makers reduce taxes levied on labor and increased energy prices substantially. But changes in such a direction, he warned, would prove difficult as long as policy-makers do not have a good grasp of the problems of the present, fast-changing world.

53) The control is being held, we maintain, by the very large corporations, the main research institutions and central government branches, although there are conflicts within the B-C-I complex, in particular with smaller units (b-c-i's). In Norway, the "softer ministries" seem to be those of Social Affairs, Consumer and Administrative Issues, Environmental Protection and the Ministry for Municipal and Employment Affairs, while the "hardliners" are best represented in the Ministries of Justice, Oil and Energy, Industry and Defence.

54) Accordingly, the dispensing of the myth that there is an energy shortage must be made by people like Amory Lovins (see Hugh Nash, 1979), while it took people like Lappé and Collins (1977) to show that there is enough food to feed everybody in this world.

55) This is discussed in Poleszynski (October 1980), where an indicator of this is taken to be the increase in resignations from high-level government jobs.

56) This was discussed by Poleszynski (March 1975) and in a more recent article by Ray Reece (September/October 1980).

57) Alvin Toffler (1971) made this point very clear in his well-documented Future Shock.

58) See Philippe d'Iribarne (1977) and Holbæk-Hanssen (1980).

59) This is probably one of the most forceful theories we have in the field of social psychology in that it gives us the opportunity to predict likely outcomes of inconsistency of beliefs, acts, expectations and attitudes. See Freedman, Carlsmith and Sears (1970), Baron and Liebert (eds., 1971) and Hinton and Reitz (1971).

60) See Toffler (1980) for a discussion of the possibilities lying ahead of us.

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