

Challenging Western Environmentalism

at the United Nations Conference on
Human Environment in Stockholm 1972



The Stockholm Conferences 1972 - the tale of many battles

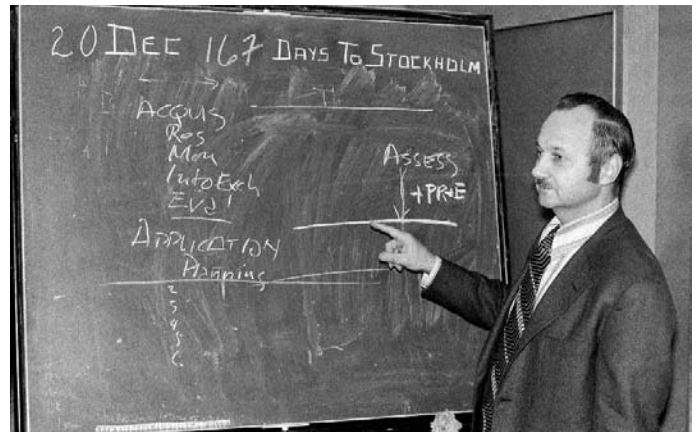
In 1972 in Stockholm global politics in a new form emerged when several international conferences took place on the same time in the same city interacting with each other. For the first time popular movements and NGOs organized several summits, demonstrated and issued a daily conference paper simultanopusly with a governmental conference. The story of the governmental summit with the name United Nation Nations Conference on the Human Envrionment (UNCHE) you can find in many books. It is considered to be

the start of broad international environmental policy. Here you will find the unique texts and picture of how global democracy emerged by popular partcipation of people in common willing to commit themselves to save the world environment.

The material have two main sources. Open Options, a brochure distributed for free at all events in Stockholm June 1972 and an anylisis of the popular participation - Challenging Western Environmentalism at UNCHE by Tord Björk.



Above: Well protected delegate arrives



Maurice Strong, general secretary of UNCHE during preparations

Below: From the left at UNCHE, Maurice Strong, Curt Waldheim and Ingemund Bengtsson



The popular movements prepared themselves by direct action. In the midst of Stockholm some 200 meters from the UN Conference hall a violent battle took place in May 1971. The police was defeated when activists forced themselves through the police cordon when the motor saws started to cut into the trees. People climbed the trees and occupied them.

The politicians claimed it was undemocratic but hundreds of thousands came to down to the occupiers and the politicians changed their mind. The trees are still standing. The activists then started to organize a People's Summit parallell to the UNCHE



Open Options

In the next few weeks, you will hear many voices raised in alarm from all parts of Stockholm, for if there is one thing on which there is general agreement, it is that the world is on the brink of an environmental disaster that knows no national boundaries. The conferences you will be attending will present a wealth of scientific information, political and social approaches to problem solving, and ways to bring the nations of mankind to make peace with their planet. We have the promise of great riches before us, the pooled riches of knowledge and of concerned human beings from many countries searching for solutions to common problems. Like Aladdin, we can cry "Open Sesame!" and these riches will be open to us; but we must really mean "open" and we must be open ourselves. If we fall into the trap of seeking power, of squabbling over nationalistic matters, of failing to try to understand through the veils of different cultures which separate us, then we may well find that Aladdin's cave has become Pandora's box.

A second maner on which there is general agreement - outside the UN at least - is that the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment is inadequate. That is why the many parallel and alternative conferences have been arranged. While opinion ranges from a belief that the UN is unable to do any good to declarations that the UN is trying to prevent any real environmental action from being taken, most of the other conferences are alternative rather than counter conferences. The alternative groups say that since the UN Conference delegates are representatives of their governments, they will be bound to represent the vested interests of those governments whether or not they coincide with the interests of improving the human environment. The alternative groups declare that the present environmental crisis is the result of a pattern of resource exploitation for profit for the few to the detriment of many, and that this pattern is an integral part of the social, economic and political structures of the powerful UN member nations. Therefore, the critics say, the UN delegates will be unable to entertain the idea of changing economic and political patterns to solve environmental problems. In short, those who have organized alternative conferences feel that the UN Conference is so bound by the existing governmental structures which have created world problems that it cannot play an effective role in solving them.

Another criticism of the UN Conference is that the topics which it is able to consider are limited to those which are not sensitive to member nations. There will be, for example, no discussion of chemical and biological warfare, no discussion of over-population and population control, no discussion of the exploitation of the resources of underdeveloped nations by developed nations, no discussion of ecocidal American activities in Indochina.

One of the gravest omissions of the UN Conference results from the vicissitudes of international diplomacy. East Germany (DDR) is not a UN member and was thus denied admission to the Conference. An attempt to work out a compromise and grant the DDR observer status through WHO has not succeeded. Not surprisingly, the

USSR and other communist countries have long tried to gain admission to the UN for the DDR, and they seem to be taking this opportunity to illustrate the folly of a world cooperative organization to which some nations are denied admission. Unless something is worked out at the last moment, neither the DDR, the USSR, Poland, Hungary nor other Soviet allies will participate in the Conference or any agreements the Conference succeeds in arranging.

The UN Conference and the Swedish government do, however, deserve a vote of thanks for initiating the conferences, and it seems likely that the publicity the UN Conference will receive may do some good by bringing world-wide attention to environmental problems. No group that is meeting here in Stockholm this month has, after all, the power to ignite all nations in a world-wide effort to stop environmental destruction. At this stage, any step that any group can take must be applauded.

The major issues taken up by the alternative conferences will, in all probability, be the major issues in the next decade of environmental struggle. A great deal of attention will be directed toward the rote that political and economic systems play in environmental destruction. Little attention will be paid to traditional conservationist concerns - wilderness management, preservation of a certain species - because the conferences proceed on the underlying assumption that when and if human beings learn to live together as part of the biosphere, the other life forms on the planet will be essentially out of danger. The present focus on the human environment underscores the realization that the way human beings treat each other mirrors the way they treat the rest of the world.

The alternative conferences will examine profit-making as a motive for resource exploration and its role as a creator of environmental destruction and human misery. While the conferences will consider this question from a variety of viewpoints, they agree that as a general pattern, the resources of the planet are being used by the developed nations at the expense of the developing nations of the Third World. From the days when the first Europeans discovered the treasures of Africa and the Americas, to Black Mesa of today, Third World peoples have had their cultures disrupted, their political systems manipulated, their lands invaded and their environment ruthlessly destroyed by exploiters from developed countries which are seldom of the Third World.

The problem then, of course, breaks down into the questions of racism as an exploitive tool, rich versus poor, and who shall pay the price if the developing nations are to develop in an environmentally sound way since such development is not economically competitive in the present world system.

Nowhere are those problems more clear than in the case of energy, for in the economics of today's world, the game of who has the power has become quite literal. It seems inevitable that control of energy producing resources and means of energy production will continue to be a major factor in shaping world events for some time to come. Thus, environmentalists will have to continue

to fight for efficient energy use, decreased demand, and environmentally sane methods of resource exploitation and energy production. For the first time in history, we are fated with a recognizably finite amount of energy producing resources. The technology exists to produce and use energy far more efficiently than we presently do, but efficient energy use has never been economically desirable. Even if we were to retool, we would gain only a few years.

Governments around the world are pouring research funds into developing new energy producing technologies, and it seems likely that we are destined to live through a chancy age of breeder reactors while scientists work on solar power, nuclear fusion and as yet unknown solutions. But the problem is not amenable to technological solution



All generations participated in the struggle for the environment and the alternative activities during UNCHE.

without world-wide agreement on the proper uses of energy. The developed nations and the multi-national resource exploitation companies have responded to the approaching fuel shortage by consolidating their hold on existing known resources by every means at their command while they ruthlessly seek out and exploit remaining energy producing resources to the last drop of oil or ounce of uranium.

The conferences will bring their respective points of view to hear on the questions: Does our present system of allowing the world's resources to belong to those with the most purchasing power make any sense? What responsibility do we have to future generations? What

would result if solar power or nuclear fusion or some as yet unknown technology produced clean, cheap, close to unlimited energy? The means rely on science, but the long-range decisions must be made in the sociopolitical realm where they will have the most impact - by whom and to what ends?

Another topic that the UN found too sensitive to discuss is the impact of military spending and warfare on the environment. Much of the world's energy and resources are used for implements of destruction while we dream up fantastic petrochemical schemes such as the "Green Revolution" to feed the world's starving millions. All over the globe, governments are conducting research on biological and chemical warfare. War has become insanely ecocidal as life-support destruction has become a tool of conquest in Africa and Asia. In Indochina we are confronted with the spectacle of an immensely powerful country waging a war of destruction on the face of the planet itself and on untold future generations of plants, animals and human beings through the use of defoliants and other teratogenic chemicals. The cries of anger, outrage and disgust have been heard from the people, if not the governments, of almost every nation, but the ears in the halls of the United States government hear them only dimly. The various groups who will be discussing war and the environment plan to present a petition against ecocidal war to the UN Conference since that body will not be considering the matter on its own initiative. They also plan to form a united inter-national front against ecocidal and genocidal war in the hope that the combined weight of world opinion can have a greater effect than that of the ears of marches and protests inside and outside the US.

A consistent theme of the alternative conferences, whatever the subject matter, centers around the question: how far do people have control over the quality of their own lives? The average person does not have the scientific information necessary to determine what chemicals we should tolerate in our food, what chemicals we should permit to be used in industry and agriculture. Decisions about these matters are made by government bodies, often on the basis of research directed by the chemical producing industries. Ordinary people are equally unprepared to set standards for other industrial pollutants. The shape of cities seems to be directed by the needs of business and shipping rather than by consideration for what is a pleasant, comfortable human environment. Who decides that should be so? Working environments are usually designed for the efficient use of machines rather than with regard for the physical and psychological health of the workers. Trade unions have never succeeded in controlling this tendency. An ever increasing sense of helplessness in the face of overwhelming world-wide problems is symptomatic of modern society; and it is a syndrome which we must overcome if we are to take effective action for environmental improvement. The concept of population control, for example, is frightening largely because it seems likely that the ultimately personal act of reproduction, like so many other facets of our lives, is destined to be subject to external control.

We live in an age of global intercommunication, global trade, and global warfare. Never has it been more true that no man is an island; the actions of Ceylon or Chile or Sweden can affect Kenya or Japan. The organizers of

the alternative conferences have, by and large, begun from the point of view that no person in the global community should be all powerful and no person should be completely powerless.

Clearly, international cooperation will be necessary if we are to avert world-wide environmental disaster, and the difficulties that had to be overcome in organizing the conferences should have produced some tolerance in the other organizations for the difficulties of the UN. The methods, means and, sometimes, motives for organizing a project differ from culture to culture, and there were misunderstandings and acrimony from time to time. Each time it was necessary to go back to the beginning and say, "the world is in danger, we must overcome this and cooperate or we will never be able to accomplish anything." Not everyone was made happy in the end, but there was a growing understanding of one another and the difficulties we will have to overcome to work together for international environmental action.

The next few weeks are likely to be the most high powered information and idea exchange that has ever taken place on the international environmental scene. The contrasts and conflicts of many cultures will be part of this exchange, but we are building a base for a future where cooperation comes more easily. While misunderstandings are bound to occur, we are people of good will faced with a common problem that we all recognize. There are a hundred ways to approach the problem and no way is right for all people or countries. The only thing we must do is cooperate in good will and good faith. From there on, all options are open.

In the following pages, every attempt has been made to make clear the approaches and philosophies of the groups which have organized conferences and presentations. White English was chosen for this guidebook as the language most likely to be common to the largest number of people who attend the conferences, there have been some drawbacks in translating statements. Sometimes mellifluous English was sacrificed to stay as close as possible to the text of the original. Whenever possible, statements, press releases and other informative literature from the organizations as well as interviews with members of organizations formed the base of the descriptions and statements of the groups. Nothing was deliberately edited from the standpoint of the editor's bias, and if that bias inadvertently affected the content of the statements, I can only apologize. If any group that should have been included has been omitted, it was because of ignorance of its existence and not from deliberate choice.

-MJH

Open Options was made by Americans coming to Stockholm to inform about the different activities. The text about the different actors is here republished in full text to give an impression of how they were presented at the time. Short descriptions has also been added on the Oi Committee and Hog Farm, two actors that received attention during the summit. Photos and text comments added.

To the right: 10000 in an environmental rally in Kungsträdgården in May 1972. One of the poster states that beneath the asphalt there is a beach. Other banners protested against city planning in the interest of corporations.





Alternativ Stad

is a Stockholm-based, city-wide action group dedicated to the concept that human beings have the right to live in pleasant surroundings designed for the convenience of people and not that of cars or office buildings. The history



of Alternativ Stad's formation and development is the history of the growing awareness of Stockholm residents that the local government's pride in its city planning has little to do with success in meeting human needs.

In the fall of 1968, a children's playground was community-built in Vasa Parken during a "Children's Fair". The children enjoyed building and using it so much that residents resisted closing the playground at the end of the fair. Neighborhood meetings about the playground developed into a sense of community and the founding of a byalag or community action group. In small country villages, the byalag was where people got together to decide what the village should do about matters that concerned everyone. Over a hundred byalag have reappeared in recent years and they have been influential in developing a

sense of community in Stockholm and other cities.

Government plans for Stockholm's future added more and more fuel to the fire of community awareness. It seemed that Stockholm was facing the dehumanized fate of so many modern cities and that government was planning for the inevitable instead of trying to direct future growth. Same architecture students were asked to help prepare a "City '67" exhibit to explain the City Plan. The students studied the plan and, instead, prepared an exhibit which showed the consequences to the quality of city life if the plan were followed. Of course, they had to exhibit their discoveries themselves, and they founded Rädda Stockholm (Save Stockholm).

City planning became an even more controversial issue in Stockholm as people suddenly noticed the suburb of Skärholmen that had appeared, it seemed, almost overnight. The suburb consists mainly of huge apartment buildings surrounded by concrete and more concrete without greenery or the relieving touch of buildings scaled to human size. Who has decided that people want to live this way? citizens asked, and it seemed that there was no real answer.

Meanwhile, a sense of community closeness continued to grow through the Alternative Christmases which began in 1968. Stockholm residents who took part in the alternative holiday resolutely avoided expensive gifts and commercialized celebrations. Instead, they prepared Christmas entertainment for those who are so often ignored at Christmas: those without families, the old, the derelict.

Alternativ Stad grew out of this reawakening community feeling and out of the controversy over city planning. They wanted to act on a citywide scale to foster pride in Stockholm and to express citizen anger at local government's passive acceptance of the destruction of the city by automobile and uncontrolled growth. Alternativ Stad first focused on traffic problems, but they soon saw that the huge suburbs planned for the outskirts of the city and the freeways that would tie them to the center of town were all part of the same problem. The group began working to change the values and assumptions on which Stockholm regional planning is based.

The now-famed Battle of the Elms in Kungsträdgården, just over a year ago, crystallized Stockholm's anger at the changing face of the city. So many of the city's trees had been removed to make way for roads and new buildings that Stockholm residents were shocked and angry at the news that a fine old stand of elms was to be removed from Kungsträdgården because the roots were in the way of the public toilets and ticket booths of a new Tunnelbana station. In vain, people protested to government authorities all the way up to Parliament; in vain, architects showed that a different design could spare the elms. Alternativ Stad set a day and night guard over the elms and on May 11, 1971, the chain saws arrived - twenty-four hours ahead of the announced time. A telephone alert soon had a protective crowd clustered around the elms in a confrontation that lasted several days and drew thousands of people. Tense at first, the crowd soon turned

the occasion into a festival. The chains saws were defeated for a time, but the matter is still moving among the various levels of government awaiting official decision. This year, on the anniversary of the Elms battle, nearly 15,000 people joined in a march to celebrate their victory and to express their decision that Stockholm will be a city for its residents

and not for cars or concrete.

Alternativ Stad is participating in the Urbanization Project Group within People's Forum to be held in ABF-huset. They will also be selling their publication *Alm-bladet* (Elm Leaf). Their other conference activities will be:

Recycle a Bicycle: Alternativ Stad has collected many discarded bicycles from attics and basements and is repairing them.

Come in to Bryggargatan 8 and help. The repaired bicycles will be loaned to people for free during the conferences. Call 11 34 03 for information.

Alternative Tours. See the side of Stockholm that Sverige-huset won't tell you about. See the Brunkeberg Crater - Stockholm has never been bombed, but construction can do the job. See! the concrete wasteland, slums of the future. See! the historic Kungsträdgården elms. It's all there and more on Alternative Tours.

Call 11 34 03 for information. Alternativ Stad will also offer information under the elms and an exhibit on the history of the environmental movement in Sweden at Arkitekturmuseet, Skeppsholmen.

To the left at former page Ingrid Eriksson with a poster claiming "Bilkön drabbar miljön!" - Cars destroys the environment.

To the left on this page Ralph Fidler, the initiator of the victorious Battle of the Elms, at Alternativ Stad's sightseeing tour during UNCHE.

*Below to the left Per Janse together with Danish activists from NOAH, today Friends of the Earth Denmark with a poster *The Baltic Sea a dying sea*.at a rally organized by Alternativ Stad during UNCHE*



The Powwow group

was formed in Stockholm more than a year ago to discuss the UN Conference on the Human Environment and the possibility of parallel activities. PowWow is an American Indian word meaning "gathering" or "council". The PowWow group took the initiative to create Folkets Forum (People's Forum) which will present hearings, teach-ins and exhibitions on subjects that the UN Conference is handling inadequately or not at all.

The following is excerpted from a PowWow analysis of the UN Conference plans and explains why PowWow decided that parallel or alternative action were necessary.

Over its lifetime, the UN has a record of very limited success. Many people inside the UN now hope that environmental problems will provide a basis for a new feeling of unity, understanding and cooperation among the member states and thus enable the UN to take some

decisive action at last. Some even regard the UN Conference in Stockholm as the last chance to get the organization to function. They feel that environmental problems are somehow less political than the security issues which are generally before the UN. Some hope that the Conference will at least increase the awareness of governments to environmental problems and thereby contribute to their solution.

However, a survey of the nature of environmental problems reveals that even these faint hopes are unrealistic. The problems are simply not the sort that can be solved by governments as we know them today.

Environmental problems can be divided into three broad categories:

1. Those for which the solution requires the application of some specially developed technology.
2. Those for which the solution requires changes in consumption patterns and production methods.
3. Those for which the solution requires fundamental changes in Life-styles, the organization of production, and the political structure.

Problems in the first category are already being worked on. They require the addition of some device to complete the already existing system. These are "bandage solutions".

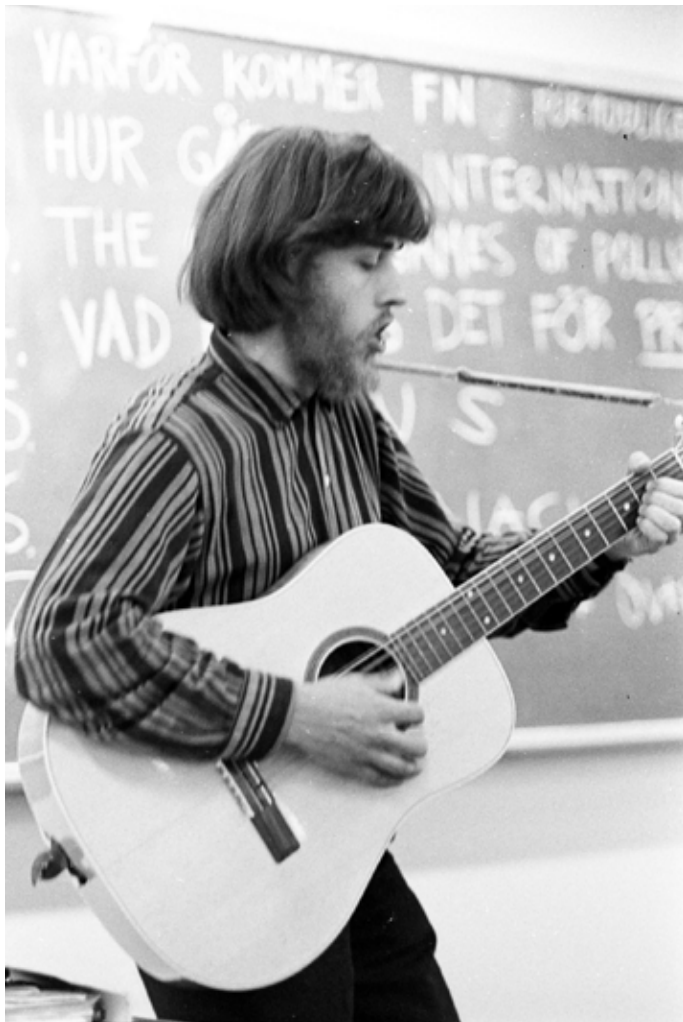
In Western industrialized countries, this has increased aggregate demand which stimulates an already stagnant economy. "The environmental market is worth millions", say the businessmen hopefully.

Many pollutants spread from one country to another via waterways or winds. For example, combustion of sulphurous coal in the Ruhr and Great Britain results in sulphuric acid in the rain over Norway and Sweden. This amounts to chemical warfare, complicated by the fact that the production which spreads these agents is often profitable to some very powerful interests inside the "aggressor" country. The UN's attempt to negotiate a general disarmament has had little success so far, which casts great doubt on its ability to negotiate binding pollution agreements.

Changing consumption patterns and production methods to solve the second category of environmental problems is a first step, but by taking these steps we can only buy time. Unless we change our culture in several quite fundamental ways, the problems will not only persist but increase.

Briefly, we need to eliminate pollution in the entire production-consumption cycle; we must curb high energy use and re-order our uses of both renewable and non-renewable resources; we must stop dangerously simplifying ecological systems for our convenience.

These changes will be resisted by producers; and they will have economic incentives to continue polluting, especially if other producers are not polluting. Moreover, if the consumption-production pattern changes are made within the existing economic system, other problems are likely to occur—higher levels of unemployment, regional imbalances, flight of capital, and weakening of trade bal-





be found by the broad masses of the people creating a new way of life. The solution will grow out of practice in the cultural revolution which has begun around the world.

-PowWow Newsletter.

PowWow's Conference activities include:

PowWow Press Center, Skeppsholmen, tel. 20 93 71 and 20 93 72.

Contacting a number of groups in other countries who are planning June 4 actions. Actions will take place in Sydney, Tokyo, San Francisco, New York, London, Copenhagen and Stockholm (under the Kungsträdgårdens elms at 17).

To the right Bi Carlberg and Björn Eriksson happy after succesful fundraising for Powwow.

Below Peter Harper and other activist in the Shit Olympics organized by owwow during UNCHE.

At the left below Roland von Malmberg sinig at a Powwow preparatory meeting at Åsö gymnasium.

ances for countries which are trying to deal effectively with their environmental problems.

Changing consumption patterns and methods of production thus cannot be dealt with as a serious issue by the UN Conference because of the strong resistance of governments and powerful corporations with too much at stake in the status quo. In these realms the UN is powerless.

Environmental problems of the third category are most difficult to solve for they originate deep within our way of living and within the political-economic power structure.

The many problems in this category cannot be viewed in isolation, for at the roots they are all interrelated.

Problems in the third category include the ever-increasing centralization of control over people's lives and the means of production. This growing centralization of power is a major cause of the growth of huge urban centers-organized concentrations of labor and capital. Since the cities are not created for the sake of the people, they become noisy, inhuman, congested and polluted and they demand ever-increasing amounts of energy to maintain them in their artificially concentrated states.

In Western industrialized countries, the third category of problems also includes continued economic growth which requires not only centralization but an endless supply of resources and an endless rise in consumption.

The plundering of resources leads to an endless succession of wars in the Third World, to world-wide environmental destruction, and to the impoverishment of future generations. People are subjected to a constant barrage of advertising designed to make them base their sense of personal worth on their level of consumption. They are induced to believe that their needs for belonging, for understanding and for a meaningful life can be fulfilled by consuming goods and services.

The solutions to the problems in the third category will not be found by the UN Conference nor by governments as we know them today. Instead, they will be found



Folkets Forum (People's Forum)

is composed of several environmental and political Scandinavian groups who joined together when they realized that the UN Conference would not deal with the issues that concerned them. They organized Folkets Forum to present their views on environmental issues and on the causes of environmental destruction.

Folkets Forum Platform

1. The peoples of the world are facing many serious environmental problems:

An accelerating poisoning of air, water and food

Uncontrolled economic growth that demands the exploita-



Ingrid Erikson writes poster for People's Forum

tion of the Third World

An often disastrous living and working environment

Increased escapism through drugs

The deliberate total destruction of the life support systems of Indochina and southern Africa for the purpose of crushing the people's spirit of independence

2. We do not believe these problems are the inevitable result of technological development. It is necessary to examine the political and economic roots of the problems if we are to arrive at successful solutions. It is quite clear that here in Sweden a holistic perspective has not been used to consider social and biological environmental questions. Instead, private companies with their shortsighted, profitmaking approach have, to a large extent, controlled the allocation of the country's resources.

3. The actions of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment will not be based on any fundamental analysis of the problems. Many central issues will be ignored because they are controversial.

The Conference decisions will not be of decisive importance in stopping environmental destruction.

4. The groups of Folkets Forum have united to arrange independent critical activities about environmental questions before and during the UN Conference. The Forum's member groups have organized ten project groups to prepare presentations on various problem areas. We will examine them with the following questions in mind:

a) Who are the victims of environmental destruction?

b) Who benefits from environmental destruction?

c) What is the role of the profit motive in the origins of environmental destruction?

d) What are the connections between environmental problems and social and cultural factors?

e) What changes are necessary in order to solve environmental problems? Can or cannot these changes be made within the framework of the present society?

5. With these questions in mind, the following problem areas will be considered: The Working Environment, Drugs and Leisure Environment, Energy, Genocide, Alternative Technology, Modern Forestry, Employment and Environment, Urbanization, China's Environmental Policy.

6. Using the above working frame-work and the findings of the project groups as a base, Folkets Forum wants to offer its contribution to an analysis which will make it possible to form guide-lines for an effective struggle against environmental destruction.

The project groups will be organized as follows:

Genocide/Ecocide -- This section has been organized by the FNL groups, Stockholms Afrikagrupp, and SKV (Sweden's leftist women's organization). The ecocide section will focus on Indochina and the Portuguese colonies of Africa. The FNL groups have been working in Sweden for about seven years, raising money for the FNL, organizing demonstrations and informing the Swedish people about Vietnam. Their work has put great pressure on the Swedish government to recognize North Vietnam, and they have



Panel at People's Forum chaired by Björn Eriksson in the middle, to the left of him Hannes Alfven and Taghi Farvar and to the right Barry Commoner.

been very influential in creating Sweden's massive popular opposition to the war in Indochina.

The genocide section will examine the role of economic forces in creating genocidal wars around the world and I will show that the UN has done nothing about the matter. This subject will not be discussed at the UN Conference.

Urbanization - Organized by Alternativ Stad, Stadsmiljögruppen, Stor-Stockholms Miljöråd, UBV (an organization for people working as volunteers in developing countries), Aktionsgruppen Moum (a Norwegian action group for the protection of a bird sanctuary that is being turned into a huge seaport), Nej till EEC (No to the Common Market), and the Swedish-Chinese Friendship Association. The first section of this project will examine the Stockholm Region Plan; the interests behind growth, what's happening in certain parts of Stockholm, social effects in the new suburbs, traffic policy, etc. The second section will deal with the official policy of letting big cities grow even bigger while the countryside dies. The UN resolution on urbanisation uses models from Sweden as solutions, so we feel it is our responsibility to tell people what that kind of planning really means.

The Norwegian group will describe their efforts to save a bird sanctuary from destruction. Nej till EEC will examine the effect the EEC is having on living conditions all over Europe; many people of EEC member nations are finding it economically necessary to concentrate in areas such as the Ruhr where industry needs labor and where environmental quality is very poor. UBV will discuss the huge slum cities in Latin America and the forces that created them; they will draw many examples from Columbia. The Swedish-Chinese Friendship Association and some archi-

tecture students who have studied urbanization in China will examine China's policy of decentralizing production and population. There will also be a joint presentation on what people all over the world are doing to protest against the concentration of people into inhuman city environments.

Drugs and Leisure Environment - Two groups that work with alcohol and drug problems, SSUH and UNF, will discuss the kinds of interests there are behind the drug industry, the role of advertising in encouraging drug use, and the government-sanctioned heroin plague in the ghettos of the US. The UN has done very little about the international drug problem. The UN recently declared that opium poppy farmers in Thailand would starve if they could no longer grow poppies. SSUH and UNF will try to set up programs to help such farmers change to other crops.

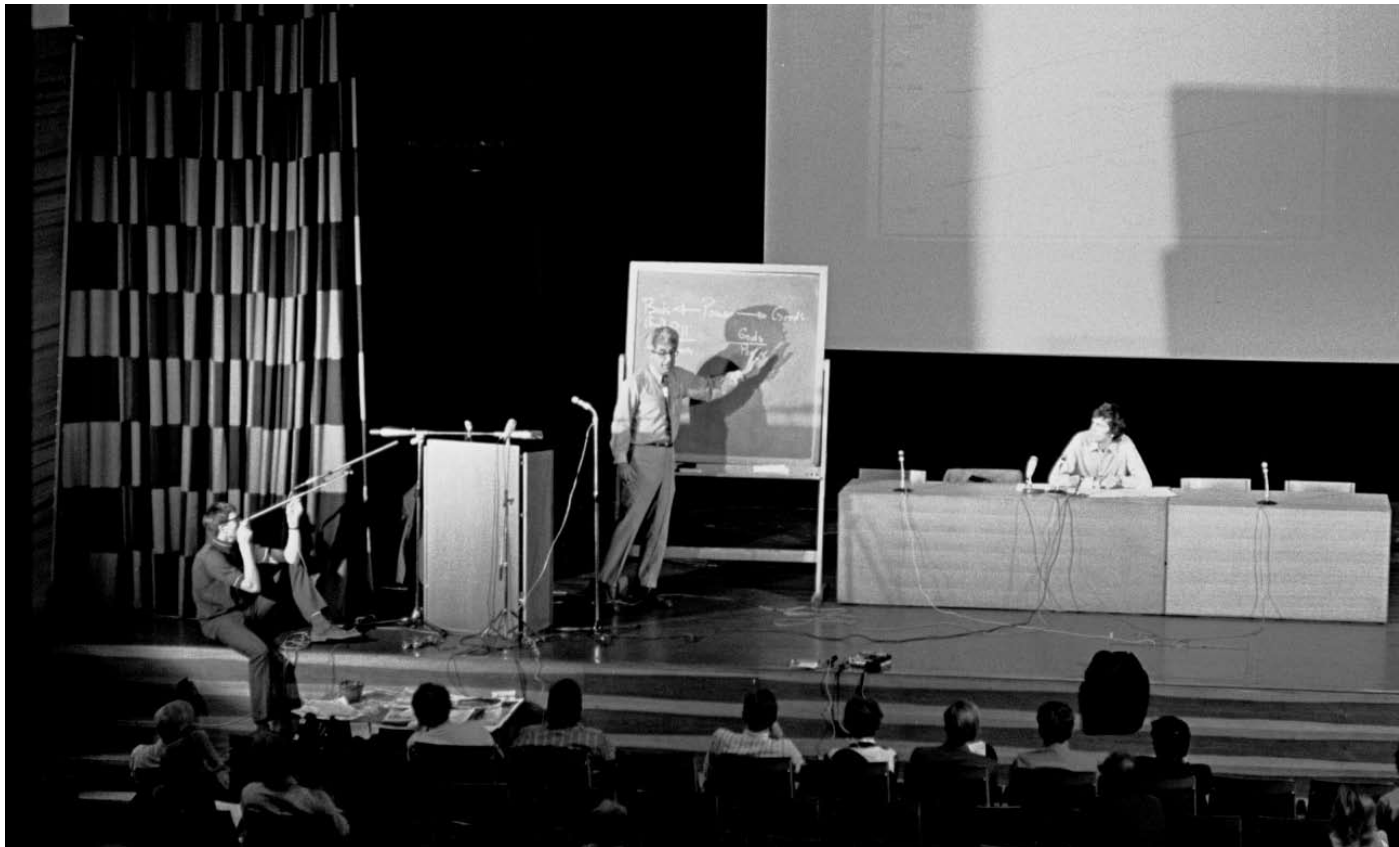
Modern Forestry - Arbetsgruppen för en Front Mot Avfolkningen (Work Group for a Front Against Depopulation) is working to stop people from being forced to leave the countryside and move to the big cities as business and industry centralize in Stockholm. Sweden is a major lumber producing country, and the lumber industry has a great effect on employment outside of cities. They will discuss the environmental effects of new forestry practices such as clear cutting and the use of herbicides and defoliants. Lumber workers will testify about birth defects and illness following the introduction of herbicides and defoliants by lumber companies.

The Working Environment-This project is organized by many leftist organizations including VPK (the communist party of Sweden which is represented in Parliament), KFML (a Marxist-Leninist organization with wide popular support), RMF (Trotskyite), Förbundet Kommunist (an-

other communist organization), Socialist Medical Doctors and Socialist Technicians. The aim of the project is to give a picture of what is happening inside the companies that cause the pollution we can all see outside. People are being wounded physically and psychologically by dangerous working conditions and by increasing pressure and speed, as well as by noise and air pollution. Dock and mine work-

sociation will discuss the Chinese policy of decentralization and communal production.

China's Environmental Policy-This project is organized by the Swedish-Chinese Friendship Association. There will be a separate exhibit on Chinese environmental policy which says the problem is not one of pollution but of re-



ers will speak about their working conditions.

Employment and Environment. This project has been organized by individuals working on economic problems inside and outside Folkets Forum. They will demonstrate that unemployment and environmental destruction have the same causes - big business profit motive-and show that the supposed conflict between environmental clean-up and full employment is a put-up job by big business.

Energy. An energy group within an organization called Symbios will be looking at the current energy crisis and its relationship to the social and political systems that are using the energy. They will consider where and what the resources are, the environmental cost of specific types of energy uses, who controls the resources, and ways of finding non-polluting energy sources.

Alternative Technology - Pow Wow and some English scientists are working on finding non-polluting ways of producing the things we need. Discussions of recycling production and consumption wastes, solar, wind and tidal energy, and the implications of non-polluting production. Do we need to decentralize and abandon the so-called economies of scale? The Swedish-Chinese Friendship As-

sociation will discuss the Chinese policy of decentralization and communal production. Explanations of reforestation to prevent soil erosion, conserving non-renewable resources, and other Chinese approaches to environmental problems will be available.

The project groups will present their material in teach-ins, seminars, discussions, speeches, films, theater, exhibitions, and pamphlets.

Folkets Forum activities will take place mainly in ABF huset, Sveavägen 41. See the Calendar in the back of this guidebook for specific information, or tel. 11 07 44.

Above: Opposition against nuclear power became a central political outcome of the popular activities during UNCHE. Here professor Hannes Alfven at People's Forum explaining his strong criticism. Also other actors as Friends of the Earth and Ecologist daily newspaper Stockholm Conference ECO and at Environmental Forum nuclear power became a main controversial issue.

To the right: Ingrid Eriksson and Per Kågesson, main organizers of people's Forum chat at the entrance of the main hall dressed in the activist fashion of 1972.



Environment Forum (Miljöforum)

Environment Forum (Miljöforum) has had a checkered history. Originally conceived within the UN Secretariat, it was intended to provide a platform for international NGO's (accredited 1 non-governmental organizations), institutions, groups and individuals since the UN Conference was limited to government delegations. These otherwise unheard organizations were expected to reach an international public through this forum.

From its inception in the late fall of 1971, and its actual working beginning in January, 1972, Environment Forum was plagued by budgetary limitations and lack of time. Same organizational difficulties were cleared away when the original idea of routing program planning through Geneva was abandoned. Realizing that the idea of a non-official forum was not viable without immediate financial support, fulfilling its role Swedish host country, undertook responsibility of assuring the survival of the Forum. With support channeled through the Swedish UN Association and the National Council of Swedish Youth, Environment Forum enlarged its approach to the nature of groups and individuals who would be invited to participate.

As a result of this move, the new creation was immediately plunged into a whirlwind of contending forces and was buffeted by political winds from every direction. Simultaneously accused of being too conservative and too radical, of being an organ for established interests, of providing a showcase for long-haired rebels, for being too much and too little, Environment Forum experienced many difficulties in developing a program. For example, Third World participation was initially hindered by a lack of funds while organizations from western Europe and North America were more able to help with their own funding.

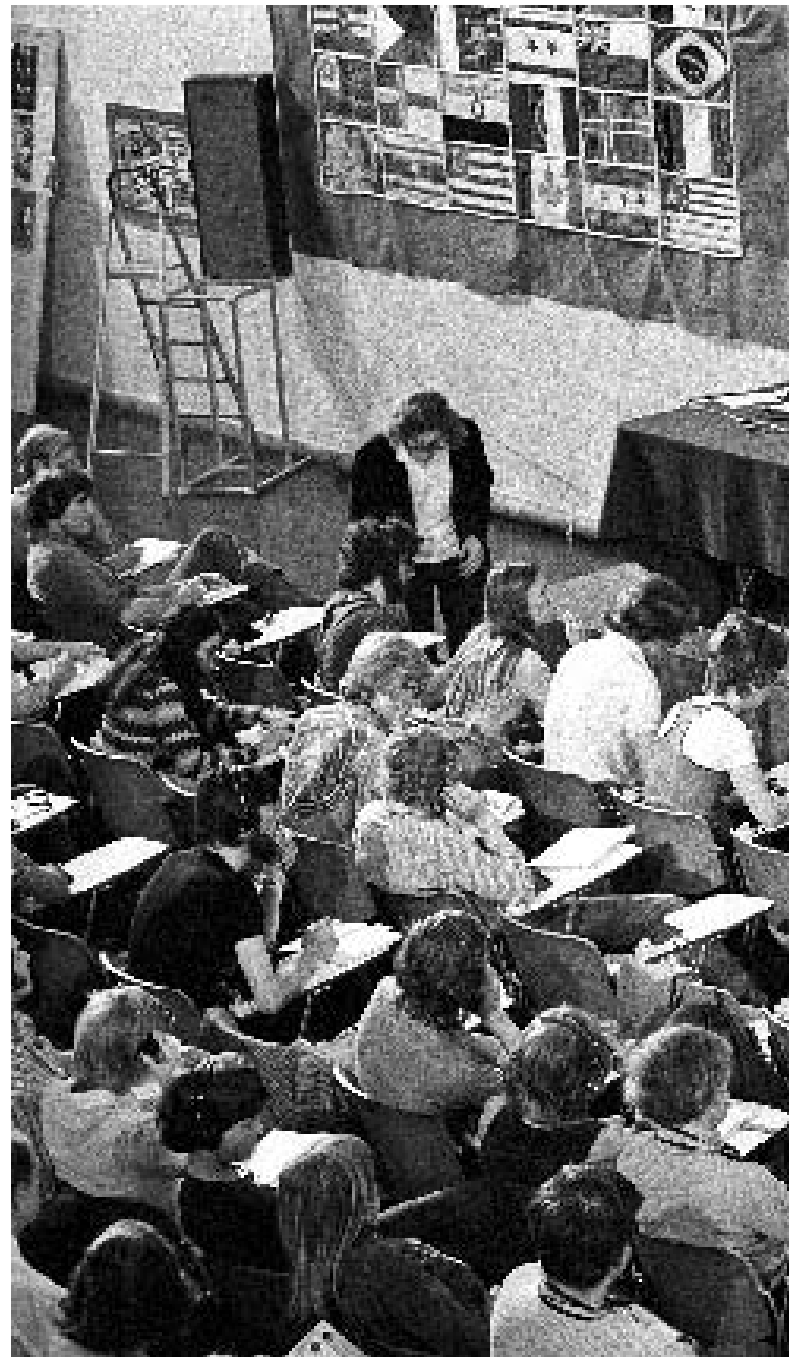
Less than a month before the inauguration of the UN Conference, Environment Forum went through another reorganization. This resulted in the addition of programs from OI Committee International and the Swedish FNL groups. The FNL groups have been very active in Sweden and throughout the world in strengthening world opinion against the war in Indochina. Environment Forum will participate in the combined efforts of the anti-war groups that will be meeting in Stockholm. OI Committee is an international committee of young scientists and scholars with a predominantly Third World membership that is expected to strengthen Environment Forum's Third World participation considerably.

With less than a fortnight to go, Environment Forum has been able to announce only a few specific programs. Nevertheless, its unique physical facilities and hard-working

staff can be expected to produce a number of programs worthy of interest and potentially full of surprise.

For further information about Environment Forum programs during the conferences, call 61 93 09, or 61 93 89. In addition there will be an information tape in Swedish and, hopefully, English at 10 06 58.

The following is a partial list of Environment Forum program topics and participants. Each problem will be analyzed from three perspectives: Third World, industrialized countries, and global.



June 5-6

Causes of the environmental crisis Exploitation of nature and resources Exploitation of peoples Warfare

June 7-14

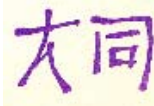
Energy-Power Urbanisation
Effects of heavy industrialization
Working environment Alternative technology Third world problems Agriculture - Green Revolution
Rural development Environment-Development-Growth
Population

Ethnic minorities Pesticides and eco-systems
Genetic and health effects of chemicals
Ecocide and warfare Models for environmental planning
Citizen participation Education-Information
Social responsibility in science
Attitudes-Values Global trade and investments.

June 15-16 Conclusion and follow up
New development strategies
International non-governmental cooperation



Dai Dong



Dai Dong is a transnational effort in peacemaking, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The name Dai Dong (The Community of Man) comes from a pre-Confucian Chinese concept of a world in which “not only a man’s family is his family, not only his children are his children, but all the world is his family and all children are his. “An Oriental name was deliberately chosen as an indication of the desire to escape from purely Western language and concepts. Dai Dong has “come into being as the result of the realization that for the first time in history we are all confronted by conditions capable of destroying civilization and even life itself and that these conditions will not be responsive to time-worn remedies or ad hoc expedients.

“Though our perceptions of our problems may differ, depending on our different locations and ways of life, the fact is that the problems are interrelated and global in nature and whether we consider nuclear war, overpopulation, environmental deterioration, or endemic poverty the major threat - they are all rooted in inappropriate or obsolete political, economic and social structures. Implicit in Dai Dong’s assumptions is that it has now become imperative to change these structures so that they are responsive to human needs and aspirations. The only alternative to such change is catastrophe on a global scale. An attempt to make these changes will be an almost unbelievably difficult task, running across some of the deepest convictions that people have. The function of Dai Dong will be to build an understanding that the attempt must be made, that it cannot be made through war or violence or the triumph of one ideology over others, and that the only hope for survival of human society is through the development of a sense of inter-dependence and world community.”

- from the UNESCO Courier Imperative Voice:

Imperative Voice

Dai Dong’s Independent Environmental Conference begins with the assumption that there is an ecological imperative which demands that present political and economic structures be changed to conform to environmental realities and to the real needs of the people of the world. Dai Dong believes that a voice that speaks for the necessity of such changes should be added to the voices of the representatives of sovereign states at the United Nations Conferences on the Human Environment because those representatives will naturally be inclined to defend existing governmental interests. The purpose of Dai Dong’s Conference is to bring about a recognition of the necessity for solutions which change the present global economic and political structures to meet the needs for human survival on the transnational as well as on local levels.

The main task of the Conference will be the preparation of a Declaration on the Human Environment. At the close of the Independent Conference, this will be offered to the UN Conference as an alternative to its own Declaration on the Human Environment. The UN document, at least in draft form, seems to encourage the perpetuation of many of the practices that have led to our present situation, and to regard present political and economic systems as given and unalterable.

This will not be the first time that Dai Dong has addressed itself to the UN. In May, 1970, a meeting of scientists was convened by Dai Dong and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Menton, France. From that meeting came the now-famous Menton Statement, which was signed by 2200 scientists from twenty-three countries and addressed to their “three and a half billion neighbors on planet Earth.” The statement outlined the “unprecedented common danger” facing mankind and suggested steps that should be taken to avert disaster. The Menton Statement

was presented to then United Nations Secretary-General U Thant on May 11, 1971.

Conference Structure: Transcending Ideologies

The working sessions of the Conference will be held from June 1 to June 3, at Graninge Stiftsgård, Saltsjö-Boo, Sweden. These sessions will be closed to the public. On June 4, Dai Dong Conference participants will move their activities to ABF-huset in Stockholm where they will discuss their findings with the public and press and present their own Declaration on the Human Environment to the UN Conference. (Dai Dong activities and exhibits will continue through June 16th. See the calendar in the back of this guidebook for more specific information.)

About thirty men and women from many parts of the world will take part in the Conference. There will be an emphasis on biologists, anthropologists, economists, and sociologists, but other professions as well as those who have had direct experience with economic and environmental deprivation will be represented. There will be a substantial representation of youth, and about one-third of the participants will be from the Third World.

The Conference will consist of four working groups, each of which will examine the draft statement from one of four key perspectives, keeping in mind the interrelationships between them. Plenary sessions will make the interrelationships more explicit. The four working groups will focus on:

1. The relationship between environment and development
2. Ideological conflict and the need to transcend ideological barriers
3. The relationship of environment and military programs
4. The questions of organization and authority

Work Group I will discuss the emerging conflict between impoverished nations who must increase both their standard of living and the power to control their own destinies, and the rich, industrial nations who have become concerned about the preservation of the natural environment without manifesting a willingness to relinquish the forms of exploitation that endanger it. How can this conflict be resolved? What would the implications of such a resolution be for both rich and poor nations in terms of levels and quality of consumption, technology, growing populations, different cultural values, exploitation and oppression, diminishing natural resources, and the control of capital and production?

Work Group II will discuss the draft declaration in terms of present cultural, political and economic ideologies, and how these ideologies themselves affect environmental attitudes. Is disregard for environmental preservation basically a matter of cultural attitudes or is it inherent in certain political and economic structures? Can present ideologies be modified to meet the “ecological imperative,” or must we seek to develop new ideologies based on a new perception of reality?

Work Group III will consider two matters that have been largely ignored in the preparatory papers of the UN Conference: military spending (now estimated at \$ 200,000,000,000 annually) and war itself. Both of these factors have a massive effect on the environment, and the rest of world armaments prevents the financing of adequate programs for environmental survival. Work Group IV will also consider such related aspects of the problem as the effect of war and military preparations on non-renewable resources and consumption of energy, and the less tangible effects of military postures on the possibility of peaceful change in political structures, and on people’s attitudes toward each other and their environment.

Work Group IV will relate the Declaration on the Human Environment to the present international system based on a balance of power among nations, the influence on international

affairs by multi-national corporations, and the assumption of national sovereignty concerning internal decisions that may have international consequences. Can people find ways of transcending this system and establishing areas of cooperation and mutual concern? Should we work for decentralization of power? If so, how do we foresee such decentralization coming about, and how would decisions be enforced? What would be the role of the United Nations in this process? Convention on ecocidal war

Participants

As of mid-May, invitations to the Dai Dong Conference have been accepted by:

Africa

Samir Amin Directeur, Institut africain de developpement economique et de planification, Dahar.
Dora Obi Chizea President, African Environmental Ass'n., Nigeria. p. t. School of Medicine, Temple University, Philadelphia.

Yusuf Ali Eraj Gynecologist, Past President, Family Planning Ass'n., Nairobi.

Asia

Mohammed Chaudhri Prof Dr., Head, Dept. of International Relations, University of Karachi.

P. J. Deoras Ph.D., Entomologist, Haffkine Institute, Bombay.

M. Taghi Farvar Ecologist, Iran.

p.t. Center for the Biology of Natural fSystems, Washington University, St. Louis.

Thich Nhat Hanh Writer, Buddhist monk, Head of School of Youth for Social Service in South Vietnam.

p.t. Paris (in exile).

Satish Kumar Writer, India, p.t. Instructor, School of Nonviolence, London.

Cao Ngoc Phuong Professor of Biology, Universities of Saigon and Hue. p. t. Paris (in exile).

Jurgenne Primavera Dept. of Biology, Minanao Univ., Philippines.

Jun Ui Research Ass't. and Docent of Water Chemistry, Dept. of Urban Engineering, Univ. of Tokyo.

Europe

Jerzy Chodan Prof Dr., Head, Dept. Agricultural College, Olsztyn, Poland.

Roel van Duyn Kabouter and writer, Amsterdam.

Hannes de Graaf Prof. Dr., Ethics, Pres. of IFOR, Chairman of Dai Dong Steering Committee, Pres. Independent Conference, De Bill, Holland.

Andre Faussurier Directeur du Centre de Reflexion et d'Etudes Scientifiques sur l'Environnement, Université Catholique de Lyon.

Bengt Hubendick Ph.D. Head, Museum of Natural History, Göteborg.

Jean Mussard Dr., Engineer. Past director of the Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Geneva.

Henryk Sandner Prof. Dr., Institute of Ecology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 41'arszawy.

Rudi Supek Prof. Dr., Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.

Andreas Szesztay Dr., Institute for Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

Ernst Winter Ecologist, Transnational Research Center, Katrelsdorf

North America

Donald A. Chant Ph.D in Zoology, Chairman, Dept of Zoology, University of Toronto

Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen Prof. if Economics, Vanderbilt University, Nashville

Conrad A. Istock Prof. of Biology, Univ of Rochester

Fred Knelman Prof. Dr. Chemical Engineering, Humanities of Science Dept, Sir George Williams Univ, Montreal

Henry Regier Prof. of Zoology, Univ. of Toronto

Arthur Westing Prof. Dr. of Botany, Dept. of Biology, Windham College, Putney, Vermont

Latin America

Jaime Hurtubia President, Latin American Youth Federation for Studies on the Human Environment,

Prof. Instituto de Ecologia, Universidad Austral de Chile, Valdivia

Prof. of Engineering, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz

Jürgen Schütt Mogro

Venerable Ancestor

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Dai Dong's parent organization, is an international pacifist organization that has worked, during its fifty-five years of existence, not only for peace, but toward building an equitable and peaceful social order. Originally Christian in membership, the Fellowship has expanded to include people of all religious backgrounds who share its basic commitments.

Though there are Fellowships in twenty-six countries and on every continent, the FOR has never sought to become a mass organization, but to provide other movements with leaders whose work for peace stems from broad humanitarian considerations. Internationally, the FOR has helped to establish the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, the International Committee of Conscience on Vietnam, and the Christian Peace Conference. For the last eight years, FOR representatives have worked in Central and South America, conducting seminars and training programs in nonviolent social change among church, labor and student groups.

In the United States, the American Civil Liberties Union grew out of initiatives taken by the FOR as did the Congress of Racial Equality, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and many other organizations. The Fellowship has always been deeply involved in movements of conscientious war refusal and has often given staff assistance and leadership to anti-war demonstrations. It has been in the vanguard of opposition to the Vietnam war, particularly in the US, Australia and New Zealand, and has played a significant role in altering public opinion toward the war. At present, the Fellowship, while continuing its past peace activities, is putting emphasis on a new ordination of training in nonviolence and upon its new transnational initiative, Dai Dong.

More information about Dai Dong will be available at ABF-huset from June 4th to June 16th

Convention on ecocidal war

During June, 1972, a Convention on Ecocidal War will take place in Stockholm, Sweden. This Convention will be sponsored by Dai Dong, a branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The purpose of the Convention on Ecocidal War is simple: it is to describe the destruction of the Indochinese peoples and environments by the military machine of the United States Government; and to call for a United Nations Convention on Ecocidal Warfare, which would receive evidence of the devastation of the human ecology of Indochina caused by the Indochina War, determine which belligerent caused that devastation, request reparations from the responsible belligerent or belligerents, and seek to define and proscribe "Ecocide" as an international crime of war.

The participants in the Convention on Ecocidal War—Professor Falk, expert on the international law of war crimes; Dr. Lifton, a psychohistorian; Drs. Westing and Pfeiffer, biologists; Messrs. Luce and Branfman, human beings who cannot rest until the human tragedy of the Indochina war ceases—I know as men with much knowledge and given wisdom, Americans whose consciences are not numbed, independent men who freely speak their minds. Their personal histories clearly say that they regard the US military assault on the human environment of Indochina as an atrocity, an overwhelming war crime more sweeping than genocide; and they work ceaselessly, peacefully to end this madness before it engulfs the planet.

If I had my way, all voices raised in Stockholm this June would be raised, each in its own way, against the destruction of Indochina by the United States Government. There would be only one Conference, a Conference of Mankind in opposition to the ecocidal war my government is waging in Indochina. That the United Nations can hold a Conference on the Human Environment which ignores the present annihilation of fifty million people and their very environment by the largest war machine ever used on this planet is an act of intolerable self-delusion and cynicism. Nothing would please me more than to find that our little Convention on Ecocidal War had become but a small, peaceful voice in a general human outcry against this all-important threat to the human environment.

John Lewallen COEW Coordinator

The Convention on Ecocidal War, will be held at ABF's -huset under the auspices of Dai Dong. It will consist of the following five presentations:

The Indochina War and International Law
Professor Richard A. Falk: A discussion of crimes of war related to the Indochina War; and a discussion of "Ecocide", the destruction of the human environment, as a proposed crime of war.

The Indochina War and the Environment
Don Luce: A discussion of the social, cultural, and psychological effects of the Indochina War on the peoples involved in it.
Fred Branfman: A discussion of the air war in Indochina, and its effects on the Indochinese, with emphasis on refugees

The Indochina War and Psychohistory
Robert Jay Lifton: An exploration of the significance of the Indochina War in the psychological development of mankind, with emphasis on humanity's attitude toward our environment

The Indochina War and the Natural Environment
Dr. E.W. Pfeiffer and Dr. Arthur Westing: A discussion, illustrated with movies and slides, of the impact of weapons used by the United States on the ecology of Indochina. Emphasis will be on the ecological effects of saturation bombing, herbicides, and forest-clearing bulldozers

The Indochina War and Human Ecology
John Lewallen: A discussion of Human Ecology as a holistic, all-inclusive perspective on the Indochina War in particular, and war and militarism in general.

About the Participants

Richard A. Falk is among the foremost international legal scholars of the United States. Some of the more recent of the fourteen books Professor Falk has written or edited are:

This Endangered Planet, The Vietnam War and International Law, and Crimes of War (edited with Robert Jay Lifton and Gabriel Kolko).

Robert Jay Lifton, M.D., is a psychologist who is pioneering the study of psychohistory. A recent book by Dr. Lifton, *History and Human Survival*, contains the following statement delivered in accepting the 1969 National Book Award for another of his books (*Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*): "Still worse, the [nuclear] weapons create in us an aura of worship. They become grotesque technological deities for a debased religion of nuclearism—gods sought by everybody as part of an all-too-human tendency to confuse the power of apocalyptic destruction with the capacity to protect or even create life. We then speak of nuclear stockpiles, nuclear arsenals; of a beneficent nuclear umbrella of an equally beneficent system of anti-ballistic missiles. We perpetuate an illusion of security by means of step-by-step logic - but this is the logic of madness."

Dr. Arthur H. Westing is Chairman of the Department of Biology, Windham College, Putney, Vermont.

Dr. Westing's field investigations in Indochina, followed

up by scientific articles, speaking engagements, and Congressional testimony, have been vital in informing Americans about the damage their government is causing to the ecology of Indochina. He has been particularly interested in the destruction of South Vietnam's forests with herbicides, bombs, and massed bulldozers. He is co-author of a book, *Harvest of Death*, along with Dr. E.W. Pfeiffer and other scientists. During 1969-70, Dr. Westing was Ecological Consultant to the Government of Cambodia.

Dr. E.W. Pfeiffer, Professor of Zoology at the University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, was instrumental in causing the American Association for the Advancement of Science (and subsequently the U.S. Defense Department) to call for an end to the use of herbicides in Indochina. For years Dr. Pfeiffer has been making field investigations of ecological damage in Indochina, and reporting his findings in scientific journals and lectures illustrated with his documentary movies. His latest article, "Cratering of Indochina", (which appeared in the May, 1972 *Scientific American*, with Dr. Westing as co-author), focuses on the extent and effects of B52 carpet bombing in Indochina. Of such bombing, Dr. Pfeiffer writes, "This is by far the most destructive bombing, and can be shown to be militarily not effective but very destructive ecologically. It is being daily proven that these weapons have not prevented a military debacle. They are a disaster for the local inhabitants, and I believe are used mainly to generate refugees. They also violate the laws of land war."

Don Luce has, for well over a decade, been a major force for peace and reconciliation in Viet Nam. While a World Council of Churches representative in Saigon, he exposed

the great numbers and deplorable conditions of political prisoners in South Viet Nam. Since the Saigon regime cancelled his visa, Mr. Luce has been traveling throughout his native Midwest, telling people about the human tragedy of the Indochina War. His writings include co-authorship of the book, *Viet Nam: The Unheard Voices*.

Fred Branfman spent four years in Laos, during which time he almost single-handedly brought the "secret war" in Laos - the CIA mercenary army and the saturation bombing of villages and fields in Northern Laos - to the attention of the U.S. Congress and public. He is author of the forthcoming book, *Voices From the Plain of Jars*. Mr. Branfman now works without rest to report the truth about the air war in Indochina, and its effects on the Indochinese peoples.

John Lewallen is a young writer whose published articles deal mainly with theological topics. He spent two years as a refugee relief volunteer in South Viet Nam. Mr. Lewallen's book *Ecology of Devastation: Indochina* employs his holistic, inter-disciplinary concept of Human Ecology to analyze the effects of the Indochina War on the social and natural environments of Indochina, and to present his view of the United States Defense Department as "a parasite on the body politic, depleting spiritual and physical resources of one subcontinent in order to lay waste to another."

Outdoor propaganda during UNCHE in Stockholm against the US war in Vietnam. Later in 1972 a third of the Swedish population signed a petition against the bombings of North Vietnam supported by all parties.



Black Mesa

The story of Black Mesa is particularly appropriate for the Stockholm conferences because while it is typical of the fate of American Indians throughout the history of the United States, it is equally illustrative of the fate of Third World people everywhere. The Hopi and Navajo Indians of the American Southwest are a small, underdeveloped sub-country, contained within one of the world's great powers. They have managed to retain a few acres of the land they once held, and on that land is Black Mesa.

Black Mesa is a mountain that the Hopi regard as the spiritual center of the North American continent. They call it their mother. But Black Mesa is black because it is made of coal, and therefore, it is worth something in the white man's religion too. By a complex series of legal maneuvers, Peabody Coal Company, with the help of the US government, acquired the right to strip mine coal from Black Mesa. Peabody will make about \$750 million over the next 30 years of mining. That is close to 90% of the profit—the Hopi will make \$14.5 million, and the Navajo, \$58.5 million. Strip mining is done by digging an open trench in the earth; it destroys the terrain permanently. Black Mesa coal is then mixed with water drawn from Indian land and pumped through a slurry line to a power plant 230 miles away.

Seven coal burning power plants are planned for the southwestern desert. The one plant that is now in operation, the Four Corners Power Plant, gained fame in 1968 because the plume of smoke it produced was the only man-made thing visible to the Gemini astronauts from 20,000 miles above the earth. Today the plant has been somewhat cleaned up, but the pollution from six more plants like it may well be visible from the moon.

The value of the water that is taken from the ground is difficult to explain to water-rich Sweden, but consider that from time immemorial the Hopi religion has included ceremonies to bring the rain. For them, water is life. It is not to be sold at \$1.87 an acre-foot. The crystalline desert air, once prescribed as a cure for tuberculosis, is smudged now with the smoke of just one plant, and—as in Sweden—it rains dilute sulphuric acid from the sulphur in the coal smoke. The acid from six more plants could sterilize the fragile desert ecosystem.

Where will the power be used? Why, in Las Vegas where they need more neon signs to attract gamblers; in Los Angeles where the population long ago exceeded the carrying capacity of the environment; and in other western cities that will be able to grow like Los Angeles on the power they bleed from the desert.

Peabody Coal Company dismisses the sacredness of Black Mesa as the superstition of a few old people—for who could prefer a mountain to money? But the entire fabric of a thousand-year-old culture is being destroyed for all time, and the return is neon for Las Vegas and growth for Los Angeles. It isn't much of a trade.

Black Mesa Defense will have presentations from Indians of both North and South America as well as from the Chicanos of the south-western United States. The presentations will be oriented toward explaining the specific nature of the cultural and environmental damage inflicted on indigenous peoples by the exploitive nature of western culture. It is hoped that the examination of cultures based on religious rather than economic imperatives may prove interesting and thought-provoking to those concerned with the root causes of environmental destruction. It is also hoped that we can begin to work toward a viable, inter-cultural Third World structure that is strong enough to withstand the onslaught of western culture and that will grow from the fertile furrows of the environmental imperative.

Conference activities:

Hopi and Navajo representatives will speak about Black Mesa and the effect that the imposition of western culture is having on their own traditional culture. Thomas Banyacya-Hopi, Miriam Crawford, Robert Salabye-Navajo. (Other Hopi and Navajo participants not confirmed).

Pit River Indians will speak about the struggle they have had with Pacific Gas and Electric and about the plight of all American Indians. Coyote, Raymond-Pit River.

Gilberto Romero will discuss the Chicano culture of the southwestern United States.

Mary Helene LaRocque will speak on the genocide being practiced on Brazilian Indians.

There will be a daily audio-visual, multi-image presentation which portrays the Black Mesa-Southwest power crisis. Shelly Grossman's documentary film on Black Mesa will also be shown.

During the two weeks of the conferences, Black Mesa Defense will present an exhibition of the prints of Edward S. Curtis. Curtis traveled across the North American continent at the turn of the century photographing Indians of many tribes. His work comprises the most extensive photographic record of Indian cultures of that era.

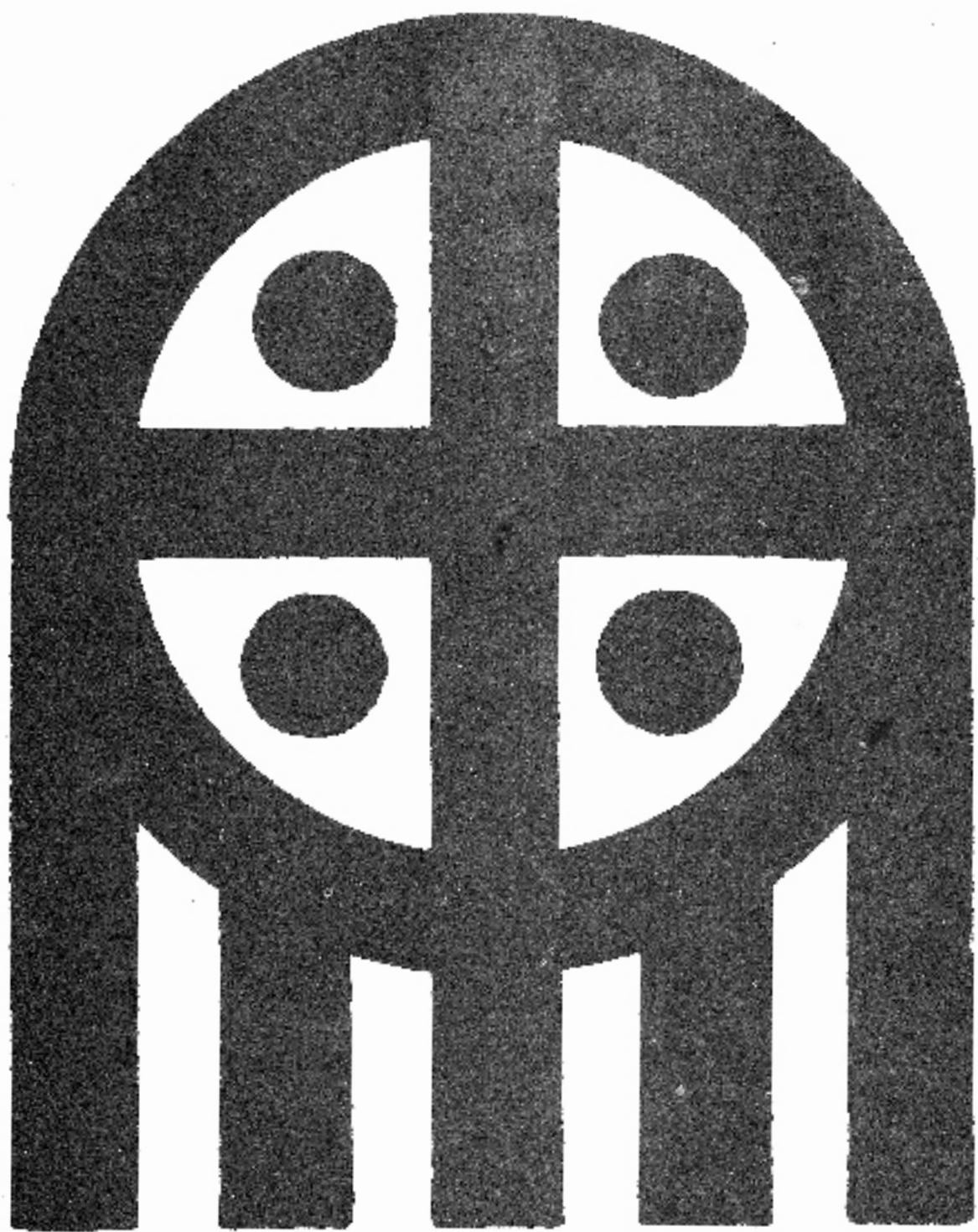
Black Mesa Defense activities will be held at Galleri Pilen, Pilgatan 11, tel. 51 11 61.

At press time unconfirmed plans include:

A presentation by Alaskan Indians on the destructive effects of oil exploration.

Mad Bear Anderson speaking on the Mohawk Indians.

**BLACK MESA
DEFENSE**



International Institute for Environmental Affairs

The existence of the International Institute for Environmental Affairs was discovered so late, that we have not obtained adequate information on it. The following was taken from an early April project proposal, so watch for changes and additions to their program.

The International Institute for Environmental Affairs, with the support of the Population Institute, is sponsoring a series of six lectures by leading thinkers and scholars on fundamental environmental issues, to be held in Stockholm, concurrently with the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. Each lecturer will be introduced by a distinguished person in a similar or related field who will present, in addition to appropriate references to the identity and authority of the lecturer, a statement of his own on the topic under discussion.

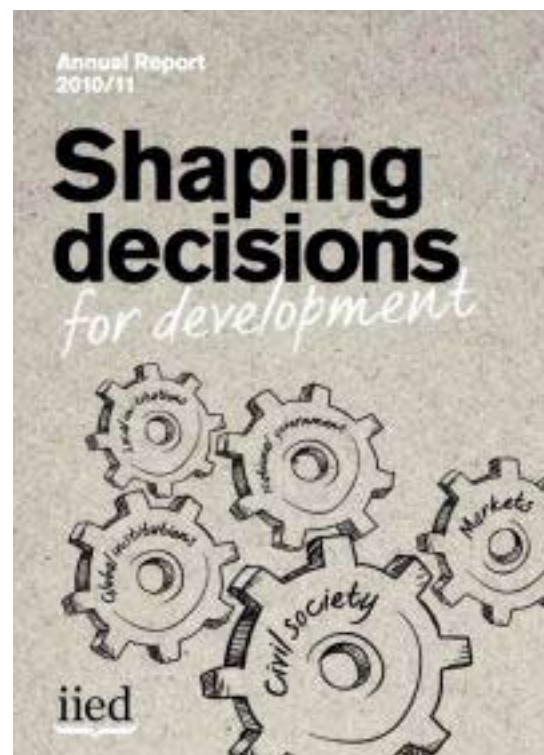
The distinguished lecture series is designed to support the aims of the Stockholm Conference by dealing philosophically with its underlying goals and subsequent world efforts to improve the quality of human life. By presenting a philosophic overview of man in the environment and the extraordinary challenges which lie ahead, the participants in the distinguished lecture series will provide an important added dimension to the Stockholm deliberations. By their prominent and professional authority, the lecturers will help attract world attention to the Conference and engage world opinion on a level the government delegations would not reach.

This project has been developed with the assistance of Maurice F. Strong, Secretary-General of the Stockholm Conference, and other Conference officials. The series, however, is not officially related to the Conference.

A partial list of Speakers will include Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson);

Rene Dubos;

Paul Hoffman, former Administrator, United Nations Development Program; Saburo Okita, President, Japan Economic Research Center; Dr. Letita E. Obeng, Director, Institute of Aquatic Biology, Ghana; Carmen Miro, Director, Center of Latin American Demographic Studies, Santiago, Panama; Ro Chung-Huyn, Director, Institute of Urban Studies and Development, Yonsei University, South Korea. Lady Jackson and Rene Dubos who will inaugurate the lecture series are co-authors of the World Report on the Human Environment.



Miljöcentrum

Miljöcentrum is a new, SIPI-like Swedish environmental group that has done much in the weeks before the conference to bring environmental problems to the attention of the Swedish public. In addition to arranging museum exhibits on food additives and laundry chemicals, Miljöcentrum presented lectures by Arthur H. Westing on the Indochina War, Dean Abrahamson on energy and the world's resources, and Miljöcentrum's head of research, Björn Gillberg, on food additives. Miljöcentrum, as a group, has arranged no special conference activities, but some of its members will be taking part in alternative conferences.

The following is taken from a Miljöcentrum information bulletin.

We don't want to breathe polluted air. We don't want our rivers destroyed by sewage. We don't want to eat food that contains carcinogenic or teratogenic substances. We don't want our children to suffer from mistakes that are being made today.

Miljöcentrum's basic approach to solving environmental problems is: Research, Information to the public, Legislation. While thousands of new chemical substances enter the market every year, the present state of research is inadequate. Much research is financed by the government or is directly under the control of industry. We need independent research directed by the consumers themselves to achieve legislation which will prevent the domination of short-sighted profit interests.

The public demands information. We have the right to know the risks inherent in chemical compounds, such as food additives, which we use every day. We have the right to know that products contain chemical additives. And we have the right to be informed of research results which are far too often published in professional journals and other forms that do not reach the public.

Present legislation says that a substance must first be proven damaging before it is prohibited. Of course, the reverse should be true. In some environmental areas there is no legislation at all. We can influence the decision makers by clearly presenting our demands.

That is why Miljöcentrum has been created

Miljöcentrum

- conducts scientific environmental research and distributes facts

- is run by the consumers themselves is financed by a contributing organization which is being created by environmental groups and interested individuals from all over the country

Miljöcentrum is devoting its first efforts of research and information to two areas:

Food and Chemical-Technical products - we want to list those products which contain unnecessary and - possibly damaging substances and to establish the effect such substances have on man.

Energy Production - we are conducting research on pollution and other problems associated with energy production.

Miljöcentrum will have its own field laboratory for local research. The group also investigates existing research material and distributes the information in an easily comprehended form.

Miljöcentrum is still active. Its leader Björn Gillberg got famous when he used the synthetic cream product Prädd (sounding as grädde, the Swedish word for cream) to wash clothes in a television program. The product soon was out of market and the concept "Food cosmetics" became a useful slogan against chemical additives in food.

Below advertising for Prädd saying If we were allowed we would tape a Prädd onto every cream package.



Om vi fick skulle vi tejpa en påse Prädd på alla gräddförpackningar.

Men det skulle vi nog inte få för mejeriforma. För då skulle alla upptäcka att det inte går att smaka sig fram till vilket som är Prädd och vilket som är grädde i kaffet. Vi bjöd 190 kaffedrickare på Prädd respektive grädde i kaffet. Deom kunde inte avgöra vilket kopp som innehöll vad.

Pröva själv. Posta kupongen så får du hem några provpåsar Prädd. Låt någon annan göra i ordning två koppar innan du smakar. Den ena med Prädd i, den andra med grädde. Du får det inte lätt.

Prädd kan aldrig smaka. Grädde kan.

Till AB Sunco, Box 42072, 11612 Stockholm 42.
Sänd mig 5 st provpåsar Prädd. (4 gms/st)

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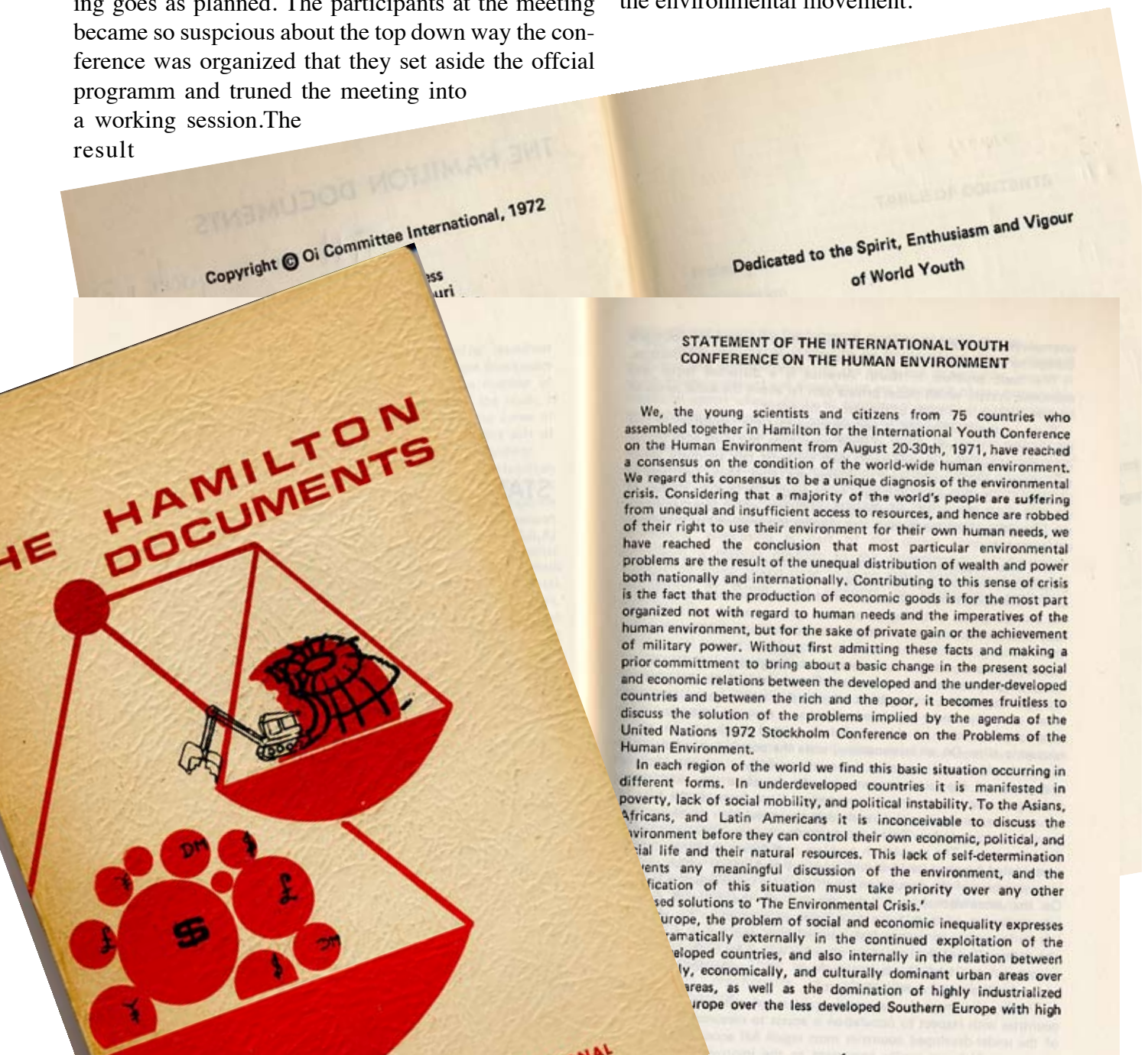
The Hamilton Conference

A special emphasis was put into have the youth represented in the UNCHE process. Thus an international conference was organized in Hamilton in Canada a year prior to the summit in Stockholm. At this conference came the Oi Committee, a group of people from the third world with one person as a contact in Stockholm. The Oi committee and the Hamilton conference is not mentioned by Open Options. But it turned out to become one of the central actors during the Stockholm conference turning the history of the global environmental movement into a new direction.

The Hamilton conference became one of the rare moments when those in power are challenged and nothing goes as planned. The participants at the meeting became so suspicious about the top down way the conference was organized that they set aside the official program and turned the meeting into a working session. The result

was the Hamilton documents were belaborate points were made for every continent putting the environmental issue into a broad social, cultural and political context. Thus the more advanced environmental movement decades later was foreshadowed.

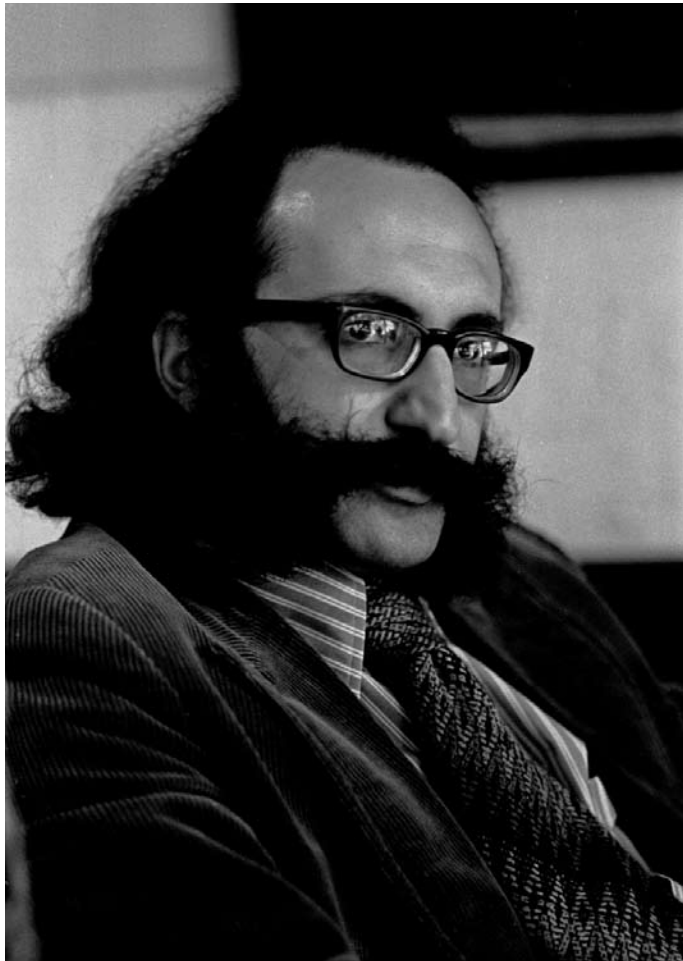
This caused severe problems for the strategy by the UNCHE secretariat to create an image of the UN conference to have full support from the global youth. Thus the Hamilton conference which from the beginning was part of activities to give legitimacy to UNCHE was wiped out of any recognition and history books. Yet the spirit of the rebellion against being used by governments to support the official agenda survived and made lasting impression on the future of the environmental movement.



The Oi Committee

What made the spirit of Hamilton to survive was the Oi Committee. Set up in Hamilton by a dozen of activists from the third world and one from Sweden it soon grew and could in the very last minute intervene at the Stockholm summit due to the combined efforts of a young theosophist and a liberal grand old lady and head of the UN Association in Sweden. Helpful was also the social democratic general secretary of the Environmental Forum, Elisabeth Wettergren and in general a society that saw third world opinion as important.

The Oi Committee ran into severe problems, especially with the left wing in Sweden. Together with the other international initiative, Dau Dong, Oi Committee chose to



Taghi Farvar from The Oi Committee

leave People's Forum without having any other support although the practical problems finally could be solved.

The Oi Committee became the main challenger of the views supported by main stream American environmentalists as Paul Ehrlich with the support of WWF, IUCN and

Friends of the Earth.

In its declaration from the Conference on Problems of the Third World and the Human Environment, sponsored by Oi-Committee International in Stockholm gathering people from 41 countries it states:

“By using the concept “THIRD WORLD” we focus attention on problems common to peoples who have the shared historical and ongoing experience of being dominated and exploited by other nations. This domination has sharpened the conflict of certain classes ruling over others in our respective societies in the underdeveloped as well as the industrialized regions of the world. The common root of these expressions of domination is in the socio-economic system which allows and favors “development” for one part of society at the expense of another. The price is hunger, disease, environmental deterioration and lack of freedom, lack of access to vital information and of participation.

The HUMAN ENVIRONMENT is the total reality of man's world which includes physical, social, economic, cultural, and political components. We strongly oppose the narrow ecological approach which emphasizes the relations of “nature and man”, ignoring the fundamental issues of relations between man, societies and classes. Any approach to the problems of the human environment is meaningless unless the economic, social and political inequalities that exist between, as well as within the countries are considered. Our analysis stresses the crucial importance of understanding and solidarity among all oppressed peoples of the world irrespective of where they are living.

Development must necessarily consider the well-being of all the people. It must involve the total conscious participation by the people in all decisions that affect their lives. Equal distribution of resources and the means and control of the means of production combined with decentralization, and reject private material and status incentives and sanctions. systems of production in the capitalist world.”

To the left in Sweden the Oi committee was seen as a threat which is hard to understand today. It is easier to understand that governments, business and environmental organizations that want to avoid any questioning of the present world order locked did what they could to marginalize the system critical voice raised by the Oi Committee and by the youth at Hamilton.

Hog Farm, the media and crowd control

An actor that played a crucial role during UNCHE was not mentioned in Open Options. It was Hog Farm and its initiative Life Forum. With much money and full of self confidence the American arrived claiming tens or thousands and even a hundred of thousands young people would come to the conference and they were the expertise needed in taking care of this masses of people.

Life Forum was a project by Stwerat Brand and other Americans attempting at influencing the public debate on world environment. Instead of such issues as the ingoing ecocide in Vietnam or chanign the economic and political system Life Forum arranged a demonstration to save the whales, a topic negotiated at the time but in another process than at UNCHE. This was a subject were the US had no doemstic business interest and thus the chief negotiator joined the American hippies in a joint demonstration through the strréets of Stockholm with a small number of people. But the action of Life forum draw attention as one man was naked at and the general secterary of the UN conference Maurice Strong made a speach to the participants at Sergels Torg.

Hog Farm was a community of people living and trav-

eling together and part of one aspect of American hippie culture. They presented themselves as experts in crowd control and got good contacts with authorities and the police. People's Forum rejected any cooperation seeing their linkage to CIA related funds and their positive attitude to drugs as unacceptable. Hog farm were given an abonded air field in Skarpnäck as a site for their community to stay and to invite others to join camping. The Canadian Wade Rowlands wrote about them in his book about UNCHE, *The Plot to Save the World*:

“In its way, the Skarpnäck village symbolised the dominant American approach to the environmental crisis in all its apolitical, naively romantic, transcendental glory. While European youths concerned themselves with the gloomy political questions of what lay behind the economic disparities between rich and poor nations, with colonialism and economic imperialism and with capitalism-versus-socialism, trying to clarify the relations of these issues to the threat of the environment, the young Americans involved themselves more with symptomology, with resource depletion and wildlife conservation. It was interesting, if

Below. Hog Farm activists at Life Forum demonstration,

To the left police outside the conference venue





U.S.



hallen

KONGRESSER
KONSERTER
UTSTÄLLNINGAR





UNCHE general secretary Maurice Strong making a speech at the Skarpnäck camp, behind him Stewart Brand. photo the UN

discouraging, to observe how the official American delegation to the U.N. conference adopted this “politics no, environment yes” attitude represented by Brand and his followers, as a means of avoiding or obscuring potentially embarrassing political issues which, for a major imperialist nation like the United States, were legion.”

The Hog farm was not only becoming important in crowd control but also in a strategy to attract media attention. In a combined effort by Swedish authorities, American governmental interests and the mass media Hog farm played a crucial role. On the one hand the Skarpnäck camp was presented as a proof of openness from the authorities while at the same time other places for expressing free opinions or stay were closed.

By 1st of June Stockholm was prepared for the conference. The children care and alcohol authorities had closed Gamla Bro and Alltinget, two centrally placed houses for homeless and chronic alcoholics. The police regularly hassled the alcoholics in the city centre and learned them to not stay there for a while during the visit of the prominent guests.

At the same time the media informed well about the liberal conditions at Skarpnäck created where Hog Farm prepared for people to come with the approval of the same authorities that closed the central city places. In 1968 a provisional free speaker’s corner and public scribble board had been arranged at Sergels Torg, an initiative that was relaunched by local politicians and municipal authorities, parts of rearrangements of the central square “brought to the fore in connection to the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment, which makes it for the present appropriate not to decide upon the furnishing plan without previous contacts have been made with the National Committee for the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment”.

The police that had been positive about the original provisional free speaker’s corner in 1968 was now disapproving (early march). They negatively pointed at that free speaker’s tribune and board “to a large extent came to be used by elements disturbing the public order that often due to their behaviour provoked difficulties from a police point of view. The scribble board did not get any considerable importance as an expression of public or private opinions. One cannot though disregard that it possibly can have

reduced the general scribbling and the damage, that frequently occur on public buildings and other objects.”

Furthermore is a placement of a free speaker’s corner “not to be approved without that the affected property owners and owners of firms has been consulted.”

Commercial and security interests should decide about the free speech in the centre of the capital in front of the new parliament and culture house where also part of the UN conference should take place. On the 6th of April the street authorities postponed a decision and thus disapproved the possibilities of a free speaker’s corner at the most central square in the middle of the UN conference area.

Instead the authorities beginning in 1970 started to use TV camera security control at Sergels Torg. At an action under the elms in Kungsträdgården during the UN conference is it the first time that the activists register the use of traffic supervision TV cameras to follow the movements of demonstrators.

The police and a private cleaning company were supposed to keep Stockholm tidy without unauthorised messages on the streets and the walls during the conference. Dagens Nyheter reported that the delegates: “will be spared all scribbling and all posters on the walls..”.

But the scene was not noiseless. Quite the contrary. The UNCHE senior information officer Stone envisaged a kind of dramatic strategy. Something that could evolve by management or maybe mainly simply in the uncoordinated interest of many different professionals and maybe lay activists, “[a] prime technique of communication is to involve and arouse the receiver of the message. A drive to greater audience involvement is a way to generate more effective communication, in short a more effective mobilisation of the public, and the need for a drive arises because, as the general communication ‘noise’ increases, signals have to be stronger to get through.”

Already in advance had international press prepared for focusing on lively side activities rather than politics.



Surveillance camera at Sergels torg

“Our editorial idea was from the beginning not to cover the conference but to write about groups like Hog Farm, Free Stage and other people that present the problem in a dramatic form. I am really much more interested in that - furthermore was that the instruction, that my chief editor gave me. Basically we have a predilection for covering the peripheral. Nobody expects much. We had a meeting with Russell Train in a lunchroom before we went, and he doesn’t expect much coming out of the conference either.”

Time and Newsweek tried to spread the slogan “Woodstockholm” to describe what happened but without much substance or success.

Of the hundred thousand participants that Brand predicted were on their way to Stockholm came a couple of hundreds. Wavy Gravy, one of the leaders of the Hog Farm commune delegation, were reported grumbling loudly at being housed in a tent city at an airport 3 miles from downtown. “They’ve got us going through freaking turnstiles,” he complained. “If this keeps up we’ll roll up our tents and move downtown to a city park”.

Tord Björk

To the left: Participants at the Life Forum demonstration at Sergels torg

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment

which, after all, started this whole thing, came about as a result of an invitation by the Swedish government to hold such a conference in Sweden. The main purpose of the Conference was summarized in General Assembly resolution 2581 (XXIX) of 15 December, 1969, in the following way:

“... it should be the main purpose of the Conference to serve as a practical means to encourage, and to provide guidelines for, action by Governments and international organizations designed to protect and improve the human environment, and to remedy and prevent its impairment, by means of international co-operation, bearing in mind the particular importance of enabling developing countries to forestall occurrence of such problems.”

The UN Conference will be divided into three committees which will take up the following topics:

Committee I

A. The Planning and Management of Human Settlements for Environmental Quality. Action proposals expected in the following fine areas:

I. Rural development

2. Industry and transportation
3. Housing, transitional areas and town centers
4. Water supply, sewage and waste disposal
5. Social and cultural aspects of human settlements

B. Educational, Informational, Social and Cultural Aspects of Environmental Issues. Action proposals covering education:

1. Training of environmental specialists
2. Public information
3. Exchange of information between governments
4. General social and cultural aspects

Committee II

A. The Environmental Aspects of Natural Resource Management. Action proposals expected:

1. Planning, management and control of natural en-

vironmental resources

2. Working group on soils
 3. Report on gene pools.
- B. Development and Environment. Economic aspects of action proposals re:
1. Development and planning
 2. Environmental standards and indicators
 3. Design and appraisal of projects
 4. International economic relations

Committee III

A. Identification and Control of Pollutants and Nuisances of Broad International Significance. Expected action proposals;

1. Development of adequate “data base”
2. Improvement of environmental media
3. Natural disasters
4. Marine pollution

B. International Organizational Implications of Action proposals.

1. Options for governments
2. New international machinery such as a UN Environmental Secretariat

Committees I and II will hold their meetings in Gamla Riksdagshuset (Old Parliament Building). This building will also house most of the secretariat functions, press and information activities. There will be a press center there with closed-circuit television facilities for following events at all Conference premises. Committee III will meet in Nya Riksdagshuset (New Parliament). Interested members of the public will be welcome to follow the public meetings of the Conference and its main committees from the public galleries, which will be open on a first come, first served basis. The public may also watch the proceedings of the plenary meetings on closed-circuit television at the 1000-seat Stockholm City Theater,

Wikipedia on UNCHE

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (also known as the Stockholm Conference) was an international conference convened under United Nations auspices held in Stockholm, Sweden from June 5–16, 1972. It was the UN’s first major conference on international environmental issues, and marked a turning point in the development of international environmental politics.

When the UN General Assembly decided to convene the Stockholm Conference, at the initiative of the Government of Sweden, UN Secretary-General U Thant invited Maurice Strong to lead it as Secretary-General of the Conference.

The conference was opened and addressed by the Swed-





Above: The general secretary of UNCHE, Maurice Strong in the middle with UN general secretary Kurt Waldheim to the left. Last page below: Strong welcomes prime minister Indira Gandhi from India to the conference. Pictures provided by the UN.

ish Prime Minister Olof Palme and secretary-general Kurt Waldheim to discuss the state of the global environment. Attended by the representatives of 113 countries, 19 inter-governmental agencies, and more than 400 inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, it is widely recognized as the beginning of modern political and public awareness of global environmental problems.

The meeting agreed upon a Declaration containing 26 principles concerning the environment and development; an Action Plan with 109 recommendations, and a Resolution.

Some argue that this conference, and more importantly the scientific conferences preceding it, had a real impact on the environmental policies of the European Community (that later became the European Union). For example, in 1973, the EU created the Environmental and Consumer Protection Directorate, and composed the first Environmental Action Program. Such increased interest and research collaboration arguably paved the way for further understanding of global warming, which has led to such agreements as the Kyoto Protocol.

You find the documents from the conference at UNEP's website: <http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=97>

Wikipedia on World Environment Day

World Environment Day (WED) is a day that stimulates awareness of the environment and enhances political attention and public action. It is on 5 June. It was the day that United Nations Conference on the Human Environment began. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was from 5–16 June 1972. It was established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1972.[1] The first World Environment Day was on 1973. World Environment Day is hosted every year by a different city with a different theme and is commemorated with an international exposition in the week of 5 June. World Environment Day is in spring in the Northern Hemisphere and fall in the Southern Hemisphere.

“Stockholm was without doubt the landmark event in the growth of international environmentalism”, writes John McCormick in the book *Reclaiming Paradise*. “It was the first occasion on which the political, social and economic problems of the global environment were discussed at an intergovernmental forum with a view to actually taking corrective action.”

World Environment Day is similar to Earth Day.

Photos on next page: UNCHE venue and demonstration





Challenging Western Environmentalism and UNCHE 1972

It was in Stockholm in the United Nations Conference on Human Environment (UNCHE) in 1972, for the first time, ever since the creation of formal meetings in the modern inter-state system, that popular participation was enacted directly and open to wide lay person participation, and not only through a limited number of representatives. It included a wide range of activities and interaction between popular and governmental spheres. There had been popular activities at international meetings before, as when demonstrations were held and riots occurred against the World Bank meeting in Copenhagen in 1970, but the interaction between the popular activities and the official meetings was minimal or non-existent except through mass media and security arrangements. There was business NGO influence also in the creation and at the first meeting of the United Nations interaction between NGOs and the governmental level. Later this NGO-UN relation was regulated through accreditation but there was no open direct popular participation in independent activities that through numerous ways interacted with the official United Nations gathering.

Young theosophists and businessmen

The two actors that sustained the longest efforts that influenced the relations within the global civil society as well as its relation to the official conference at Stockholm were young theosophists and a business NGO. Both were generally well-prepared and on their way to initiate processes on global issues and models for participations, but from contradictory perspectives before UN decided to convene an environmental conference. The business NGO was a network of foundations in the US with the executive seminar Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies as the key actor and the chairman of Atlantic Richfield oil company Robert O. Anderson as founder. The other was the theosophical youth group deeply involved with third world contacts of a Stockholm branch of a movement inspired by Indian re-

ligious philosophy and vegetarianism. As this history of how modern politics is formed at the global level through popular participation has not been put to print before, it is presented here more extensively.

The Theosophical Youth Group, had sustained for more than ten years a growing amount of solidarity initiatives



*Conference hall in the old parliament building in
Stockholm*

with the third world well integrated with peace, development, youth counter-culture and the emerging environmental movement since the early 1960s. Although the group as such did not participate in its own name as a collective at the conference, its initiative ended with a coalition of a broad group of people from the third world coming to

conventional scientific conference, not an action-oriented one.

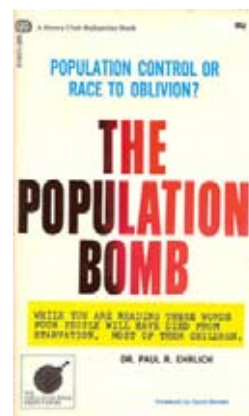
Emerging movements in the US in 1960s challenged business and internal and external colonialization. How to go beyond reacting by formulating new strategies was discussed at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in the Colorado Rocky Mountains. Here business leaders met together with elite scientists, a few trade unionists and statesmen every summer since 1950. In the early 1960s, seminars on the public role of science, field biology and long-term historical climate change were held, initially in a disparate attempt to enlarge the scope of issues beyond the core executive seminars focusing on the greatest Western thinking. However, it is first in the summer of 1967 that things started to get more focused. Joe Slater from the Ford Foundation became a scholar in residence at Aspen Institute and gave a lecture on "Biology and Humanism" for the Executive Seminar. The chairman of the board, Robert O. Anderson, asked him to become director of both the institute and its main founder Anderson Foundation. After having finished the task of setting up an international broadcasting institute, a "free-floating university" network of centres for advanced studies and renewing an institute for biological studies, Slater finally accepted in 1969. The main effort for his renewed humanistic strategy for the institute was the environment. Slater saw a problem in that "the old-line conservation organizations tended to focus only on single aspects of the environment". A positive solution was the creation of an international environmental institute.



Kenneth Kaunda from what then was Northern Rhodesia speaking to Jan Fjellander, young theosophist who organized the smuggling of election propaganda into what became Zambia as the printing houses in the hands of whites refused to help parties supporting liberation.

Stockholm clashing with the perspectives of the established Anglo-American new environmentalism, Northern governments and business think tanks. Their initiative in its content and international direction became highly provocative for both established interests and competing left-wing forces in the popular movements. Also, the Oi Committee, an influential group of third world people that with a theosophist as local coordinator could intervene at the Stockholm conference, has to a high degree, vanished from later accounts.

With Sweden and the US as pioneer countries, domestic but also global environmental issues became issues of public concern in Europe and North America. States started to react. Sweden became the first country to set up a government authority for the environment and to make a comprehensive environmental law in 1968, while at the same time responding to wide-spread popular protests by forbidding the agricultural use of mercury. The Swedish UN Delegation headed by Sverker Åström brought up the proposal to organize an environmental UN-conference and this was approved in the General Assembly in 1968. In the UN resolution the formal original aim was "to provide a framework for comprehensive consideration within the UN of problems of the human environment in order to focus the attention of governments and the public opinion on the importance and urgency of this question". The reaction was reluctant from several countries but preparations went ahead. The established organizations whether UN, governmental or non-governmental, already had their conceptual framework and working methods clearly defined for a



By the 1968 US elections, the population control of the third world got its strongest voice with the highly successful book *The Population Bomb* written by the biologist Paul Ehrlich. It was distributed world wide by Friends of the Earth in 2 million copies. It included proposals for coerced vasectomy of every Indian man with more than three children and suggested to end aid to the worst off countries to curb the population growth. Business actors like the Rockefellers had a long interest in the population control issue and now there was a person and a message they could support, someone and something that caught wide-spread support also from an alerted new young environmentalist opinion in the US.

The activist strategy

The environmental movement in the industrialized countries was closely linked to the student and youth movements, the anti-Vietnam War movement and the opposition against nuclear arms of the era. However, apart from the young theosophists with their linkages internationally and to the popular movements in Stockholm, no independent international popular initiatives of relevance for UNCHE are taken in Stockholm in this decade. The young theosophists got involved in local and international peace, ecology, counter-culture and solidarity movements in the early 1960s while maintaining TUG as a core group for unlimited discussions and as a community. A decade followed with every year bringing in new and wider concerns and organizational contacts ending with a full-scale attempt to bring in the third world perspective at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment 1972.



Provie activist adusting tobacco propaganda 1966. Every outdoor tobacco poster and in all metro stations in Stockholm were smeared with messages like CANCER. Two young theosophists, Tom Alberts and Roland von Malmberg, took the blame and were sentenced for the action.

Vegetarianism was strong in the group. This led to contacts with the health food movement in 1962 and consciousness about the problem of “emissions” before the notion of environment was born and the influential book *Silent Spring* that is seen as starting the environmental movement was

published. In 1964 several young theosophists were invited by the World Congress of Vegetarianism to India to show the youth that young Europeans also could be vegetarians. They toured around India speaking to students and at mass meetings with hundreds of thousands participants about other ways of life than using shirts made of nylons and eating meat which was favoured by many Indians students going to the Western world and coming back. TUG members carried out the first large environmental actions in Sweden in 1966 together with anarchists and others in the ProVie movement, “for life”. Ten thousand no return bottles were disposed at the steps of the parliamentary building blockading the entrance in protest against pollution and wasteful use of resources.

The Provie movement was closed but soon followed by other action groups in 1968. Neighbourhood groups started to pull down walls on backyards that had prevented people from the whole block to come together or to build a playground. The movement with support of a centre for experience-exchange, deliberately chose new more open and spontaneous forms for cooperation avoiding the more formal association with a board. Anti-commercial groups successfully stopped a teenager fair trade and immediately expanded their work and arranged Alternative Christmas celebrations all over Stockholm, the biggest at the art school Konstfack, which was occupied when the invited homeless had nowhere to go after Christmas. One of the immediate outcomes was the foundation of Alternative City in February 1969, a group formed to continue the struggle for an anti-commercial culture, defend egalitarian and environmental values and mobilize against the prevailing city planning, today still active as the local Stockholm chapter of Friends of the Earth, Sweden.

In the summer of 1967 the world theosophical summer camp took place in Sweden under the slogan Look At, Search In, Try Out Camp, LASITOC. It was turned into a highly ambitious summer university trying to grasp the important global social, environmental and scientific topics. A group was formed changing the meaning of the last letter in LASITOC to committee. During the following four years this international core group with some ten people from Sweden, Great Britain, Netherlands, France and after a while West Germany, met almost every three months to discuss and coordinate a wider and expanding ambitious agenda ending with an initiative to link with third world people and arrange alternative activities at UNCHE. The LASITOC group turned the idea of an informal university into practice by systematically contacting well-known intellectuals when they had their international meetings. In Stockholm, the youth theosophist Jan Fjellander started to work for the Nobel Foundation together with an American scientific organization of scientific symposiums, in their attempt to prepare for the start of a world university. A special youth group was set up mainly with Swedish participation, but also some international members including the young theosophists Peter Harper and Juris Brandt with

the task to help prepare background material for the meetings.

The participation at the conferences and in the planning gave a lot of contacts with top scientists and especially those trying to take public responsibility. LASITOC soon became aware of the UNCHE as one possibility to influence the world. Albeit, it also became more and more clear that the established scientists and the young theosophists had different agendas for their involvement. Whereas scientists hoped to influence the people through lobbying, LASITOC tried another path to mobilize people to act and build alternative public spaces not framed by the limitations of the content of the official proceedings. Except for the somewhat reluctant UN and the energetic Aspen executive seminar institute, it was the young theosophist that made the most concentrated effort that led to Stockholm.

The business strategy

In early 1970 the international business community was ready for a concentrated effort to build a strategy for the management of global environment. Slater at the Aspen Institute had found his man in Wilson to make a study on environmental activities world-wide to prepare for an international environment institute. Things had started to move in the direction Slater had envisioned when strategizing with Anderson towards an environmental discussion where businessmen could “play a large and direct role in the search for solutions to the great problems of the day” and the time had come not only to discuss but also to build global institutions and to act.



US Senator Gaylord Nelson, initiator of the “National Teach-In on the Crisis of the Environment.”, also called the Earth Day 22nd of April 1970

Direct, indirect and parallel attempts started to bear fruit. In his environmental report Wilson wrote that at stake for “spaceship earth” if none came and took charge of the crew “through the political-social process” were among other things “access to resources in global short supply”. In planning for the International Institute for Environmen-

tal Affairs (IIEA) envisioned by Slater, it was pointed out at the Stockholm Conference as a crucial political opportunity and at the same time that a “real danger exists that the outcome could be more divisive than anything else. Almost inescapably, the Stockholm Conference will bring to a head an incipient but necessary political collision between environmental goals and development goals.” In Europe, 1970 was announced as a Conservation year and local official and unofficial activities blossomed. The US administration initiated with the financial support from Anderson, Rockefeller but also trade unions and local environmental groups a nation-wide Earth Day in April with millions of participants.

At UN began the key phrase “action-oriented” to be widely used first in March 1970 when the 27-member preparatory committee with strong representation from the third world started its huge task of organizing and preparing documentation for the Stockholm conference, but the head of the conference still was supposed to become “Director of Studies”.



Maurice Strong, UN photo

In May 1970, Maurice Strong, a businessman and the Head of the Canadian International Development Agency, was approached to become the leader for the Stockholm Conference taking up his post officially as Secretary-General for the Stockholm Conference in January 1971. Strong had not previously shown any specific interest for the environment. He was on untrodden ground both concerning the content and the procedures and needed help. Slater and Strong knew each other since the past years. One of Strong’s first recruitments for the UNCHE secretariat was Wilson as a special advisor. Thus Strong, Wilson and Slater and others at the UNCHE secretariat, Aspen Institute and

IIEA came to continuously cooperate closely in the preparations, during the UNCHE and the follow-up. The cooperation concerned key areas like a conceptual framework or ideology for UNCHE intended both for internal effects and the broad public, institutionalization of UNCHE and cooperation with NGOs. Business interests had a low profile in the formal process, and the informal participation aimed at publicity. Instead, the more invisible cooperation in core areas was so much closer.

LASITOC also became more ambitious and in the summer of 1970 they arranged an international conference called Threats and Promises of Science at Kings College in London. The conference resulted in a broad strategy for working with the role of science in society. One focus was to arrange an international parallel event to the UNCHE. What was needed was an alternative scientific third world oriented treatment of the issue of human environment. Back in Stockholm, the situation was favourable. The local alternative and environmental movement flourished. Together with groups in Amsterdam they initiated an International Traffic Revolution with actions against cars in some 10 countries in October 1970. The Stockholm LASITOC group now expanded with some members outside TUG. Björn Eriksson, secretary of a committee for members of parliament and scientists with his roots in the anti Vietnam war movement and Per Janse and Ingrid Eriksson from the local direct democracy group Alternativ Stad strengthened the preparation for popular activities. In late 1970 it was renamed as the Powwow Group and had a key position. It was soon realized by the group that people from the whole world and especially independent groups would come to Stockholm and it was time to prepare for sending out information.



Ingrid Eriksson at Powwow information stand

To manage the conference, Strong initiated a set of activities to create a conceptual framework. They included a

“Distinguished Lecture Series”, a “report on the human environment” an official Declaration on the Human Environment. To write the report René Dubos and Barbara Ward were commissioned to make Only One Earth with the help of IIEA in managing consultations with experts around the world and organizing a workshop. Strong’s senior press advisor Stone was positive about the book. “It led one to understand and sympathise with the captains of industry and their economic rationalisers who have got us into our present pickle, but it also glowed with humane and zestful optimism, with the sort of spirit that we need to get us out of the mess.”

NGOs were not very interested

The interest among NGOs was small at the outset; only three NGOs participated at the first PrepCom 1970. This changed at the next PrepCom in December 1970 when the NGO participation in the formal preparatory process reached its peak with 39 organizations present. Different observers saw an orientation towards scientific and technical NGOs with ICSU and IUCN pointed at as main cooperation partners. Willets assessed that “[t]here was little sense of the intense political controversy that could surround environmental questions and few signs of any desire to hear from NGOs at the grassroots, tackling local environmental problems, or all parts of the environmental movement. Thus prior to the main conference Strong’s approach was to make sure that governments had sound advice from ‘experts’, and NGOs were predominantly seen as groupings of relevant experts.” However, the interests of Strong and the Information and Public Relations Officers of UNCHE, as well as among close collaborators like Slater, indicated early interest for popular activities and youth participation, in a form streamlined with business and government interests. Aspen Institute and Anderson were involved in Earth Day and the senior information advisor Peter Stone, chosen by Strong, searched for cooperation partners that could act as “multipliers” to overcome the obstacles due to lack of resources.

This emphasis on participation with those having an interest by themselves and willing to spread interest for UNCHE caused unexpected “endless controversy”. In general, the governments of the preparatory committee had been very positive towards new ideas and mobilization of public opinion. What caused suspicion was projects involving “uncontrolled participation”. A proposal for a forum for the environmental movement and NGOs caused alarm. It became a conflict between those used to secret diplomacy and official messages to the public, and those in desperate need for multipliers for publicity. One problem with this “had never been far from our minds: the risk that the Forum might turn into a ‘counter conference’.” The idea Stone had was different “I had imagined an Environment Forum in the shadow of, but apart from, the main conference. It would be arranged more or less like an exhibition and anyone could put up a stall and do their thing,



The police during the Battle of the Elms

provided they satisfied a few basic requirements such as financial solvency and a genuine interest in the environment.” The plan to avoid obstacles at the central UN level was to give the Swedish government responsibility for arranging the event. The Swedish United Nations Association (UNA) and the Swedish National Council for Youth Associations were commissioned to be responsible for the management.

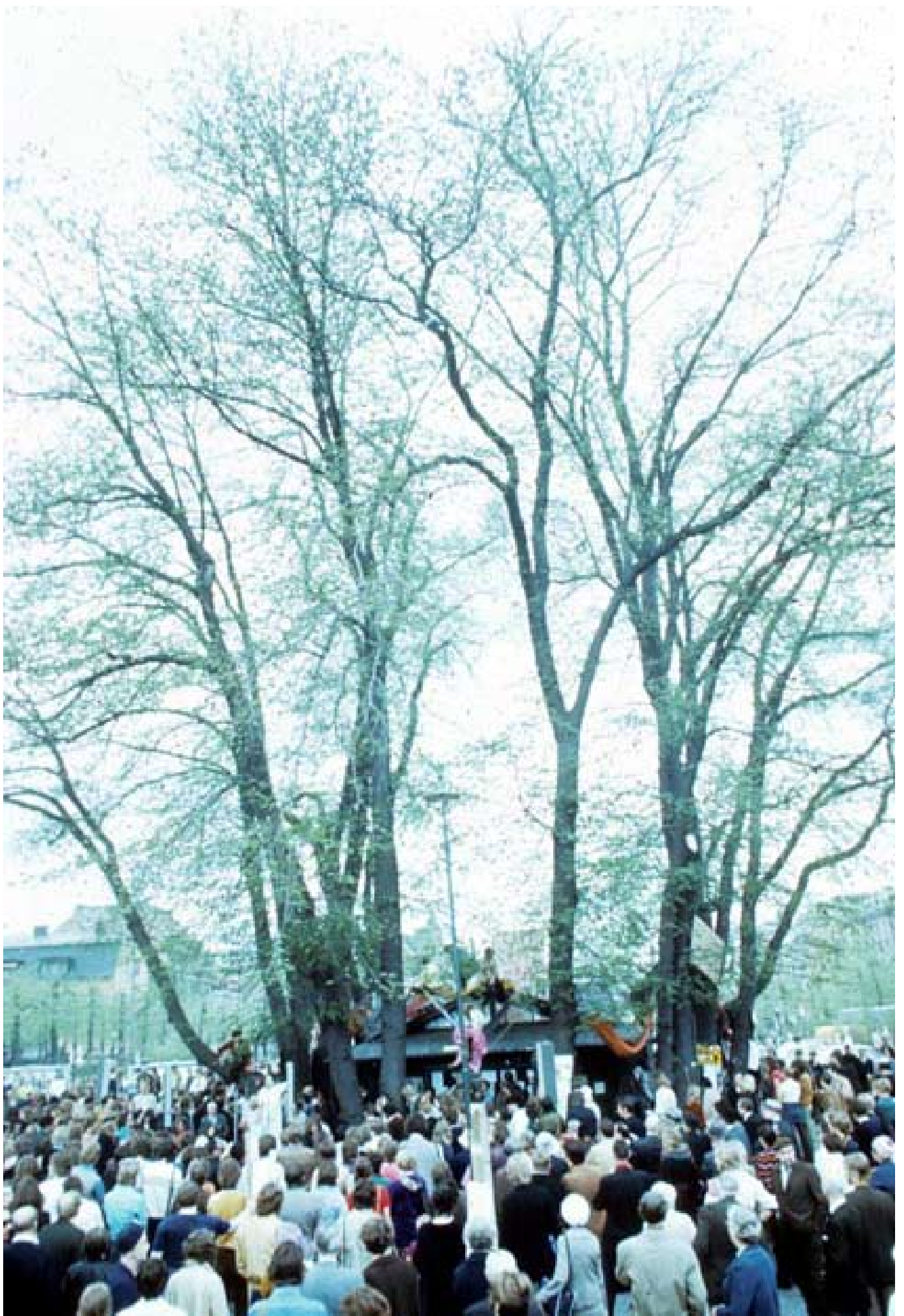
Direct action in Stockholm

Meanwhile in Stockholm, the direct democratic movement protesting against the tearing down of some 700 houses in the city centre and the felling of trees to give room for a depopulated area of offices and shops turned against the state. The movement lost some battles but when also the biggest group of trees with a tea house under them in the very middle of Stockholm was threatened the conflict escalated. Situated some hundred meters away from the coming UN conference venue the trees were going to be cut down to give room to a large underground shop at a metro station. Alternativ Stad made all the common actions to prevent the felling but all in vane. The municipality turned to the government who supported the decision to cut the trees down. Day and night the trees were now guarded by activists. When police and men with motor saws and a crane car came in the middle of the night to execute the orders a telephone alarm chain brought hundreds

to the place and the so called Elms Battle started. The non-violent Alternativ Stad sat on the ground while the more militant did what they could to brake through the police lines getting beaten by batons and mounted poilice or attacked by police dogs. The combination of many non-violent present who slowly moved forward and the decicated few who stormed the trees when the motor saws started to cut into the trees made it. The police had to give in. The state had been defeated militaril by the people.



A defeated policeman on the ground



To the left and below: Celebrations of the popular victory of the Battle of the Elms in 1971

The politicians were embarrassed and accused the activists for being undemocratic. Then up to 250,000 people came to celebrate the victory in a day and night festival at the trees, school pupils all over Stockholm promised to take their turn school by school in guarding the trees all over the summer and after a week the politicians gave in as well and the trees are still standing. The local anti-commercialist and environmentalist group Alternativ Stad a huge boost.

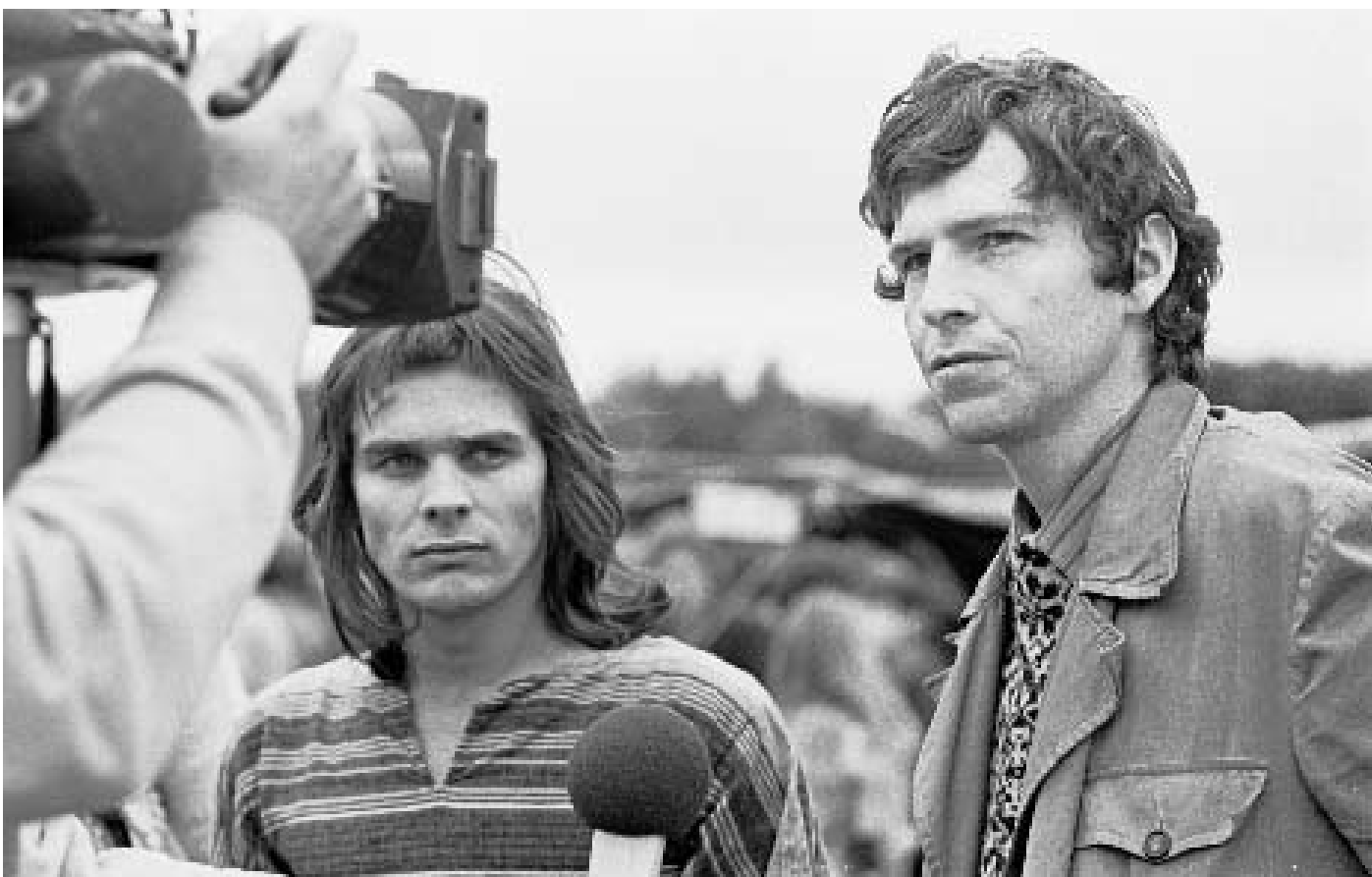


The Powwow group started building their contacts in early 1971. At Easter a Powwow manifesto was finalized and translated into several languages. The platform opened up saying that “[o]ur planet is ruined. Economic growth has become a God in whose name all living is withering away, natural resources plundered and man enslaved.” The manifesto points at both that “we must create a new way of life “and that” now we must find new ways of production that allow us to live with the resources of the earth instead of poisoning and eroding them.” and “we must solidarise us with the oppressed fighting for their liberation in poor countries and at other places.” From the politicians, corporations and international organizations little was expected. They were seen as reacting on the intensified discussion of others and not “able to solve the problems we face.” During the rest of the year contacts were made with local action groups internationally and with other groups planning parallel activities in Stockholm like the IFOR (international Christian peace movement) initiative Dai Dong, which among other things, focused at ecological warfare and had strong scientific bias. Powwow also sent Fjellander and another delegate to a global youth conference that was a cornerstone in the UNCHE preparations.

Global Democracy among the youth

Something unique happened at this International Youth Conference on the Human Environment, IYCHE. For the first time in the whole process when popular organizations met internationally the majority came from the third world. The conference was held at Hamilton in Canada

From the left Per Janse and Björn Eriksson informing about Powwow and UNCHE at Gärdet Festival in 1971



from 20-30 August, 1971 and supported by the UNCHE Secretariat, UNESCO, IUCN, the International Youth Federation for the Study and Conservation of Nature, IYF and others. 163 young people gathered from 75 countries. The programme was full of lectures by people from North America and Great Britain with overpopulation as one of the most dominating topics.

Growing disapproval among the many third world delegates and some from the North led to a take over by the participants of the conference and a complete shift of the programme into working groups instead of listening to lectures. A new actor on the scene emerged rejecting the established Anglo-American environmental discourse and replacing it with notions of the need to redistribute “wealth and power both nationally and internationally”. Their programme was comprehensive and wide in its environmental, social, cultural and political scope forecasting the later stronger cooperation in the 1990s of the environmental and development movements in the South and the North. They demanded, with UN non-accredited NGOs and other independent voices in mind, “that the U.N. Stockholm Conference organisers initiate immediate machinery to provide an independent parallel conference of such excluded parties to be held in Stockholm itself for the duration of the Conference or Environmental Forum at present being planned but completely and distinct there from.”

The popular movements were well-prepared in Stockholm and linked internationally both among environmentalists in Europe and with the third world. A group of 11 third world participants that started the change of the meeting at Hamilton formed the Oi Committee International with Fjellander as a representative in Stockholm. Scientifically and a more socially oriented environmental discourse started to gain momentum with Barry Commoner’s book *Closing the Circle* that got wide-spread attention internationally. UN was still on the defensive in getting the control of the NGOs, public activities and the total public image in Stockholm. The picture of a harmonious world was threatened were the powerful nations work together with everybody stating to seriously dealing and challenging the global environmental problems.

The obstacles for non-accredited NGOs criticized by the youth at Hamilton were partly solved at the third session of the preparatory committee in September 1971. It was now formally sanctioned by the UN to arrange a parallel Environmental Forum under Swedish responsibility for wider participation from more than a number of selected NGOs. The forum is presented as independent for interested Swedish organizations but this is constantly challenged by suspicious organizations seeing it as a “radical alibi” calling into question that all proposals for the programme are supposed to go to an advisory panel in Geneva for “review”. The Powwow Group invites more organizations, and preparations begin for making an independent alternative conference called People’s Forum without a leadership

selected by the state and not sanctioned by the UN. Meanwhile, changes take place for the Environmental Forum. The full decision-power was transferred to Stockholm and better premises more suitable for debates were selected.

The Powwow Group continued its preparations together with the People’s Forum. There were some problems rising at the horizon although they did not seem to be grave. The most important one was financing. Especially troublesome was the situation for the third world people in the Oi Committee who had now grown to 60 members from all over the third world, including a handful from indigenous people preparing themselves to come to Stockholm with reports. Key persons were Jan Fjellander as the contact person in Sweden and Tagi Farvar from Iran. Another problem was a tendency among People’s Forum organizations to prioritize the needs of local inhabitants and Swedes that do not understand English, by demanding full consecutive translation of everything said at public meetings into Swedish and not allowing for a direct international discussion in English. However, there seemed to be no bigger political divergence. People’s Forum was well linked to the most important international initiatives of Dai Dong and Oi Committee, as well as new Swedish environmental groups from Stockholm and the national level. During the spring there was also an explosive interest internationally in new books about the environment like *Only One Earth*, *Limits to Growth* and *Blueprint for Survival*, selling in millions of copies and translated into more than 20 languages. To be able to influence the UNCHE, Friends of the Earth in the United States initiated a Swedish sister organization which started to introduce books to the Swedish public. The first to be published was *The Population Bomb*. Written by the biologist Ehrlich and launched by Friends of the Earth, the notion of population as the gravest environmental problem was given legitimacy by environmentalists.

The split

Another American intervention came in March from Life Forum represented by the Kaplan Fund and the multi-mil



Above, Stewart Brand in Stockholm 1972. To the left: Jan Fjellander and Tagi Farvar from the Oi Committee at teach-in at the ABF house in Stockholm on 18.3. 1972



lionaire Stewart Brand, a Californian drug liberal that became rich when making and selling the alternative lifestyle Whole Earth Catalog. The Kaplan fund had been used since the beginning of the 1960s to channel CIA money in the interest of the US government. Life Forum met People's Forum, Environmental Forum and the police. The authorities saw the Americans as a possible help in a problematic situation and especially the Hog Farm, a group linked to Life Forum proclaiming to be experts in crowd control at events like Woodstock festival. In People's Forum, the intervention caused a split between the Swedish and the international organizations. The Oi Committee could not guarantee to refuse money from the Americans, as the left-wing Swedes wanted. Also, political tension became so intense that Dai Dong and the Oi Committee saw no other solution than to leave People's Forum. By the end of April the third world participation was in jeopardy and nobody of his long-time Swedish cooperation partners supported Fjellander at the decisive moment when his position in the forum became impossible.

On May 1st the biggest demonstration since World War II was organized in Stockholm. Five weeks before the UN Environmental Conference the two strands of the anti-Vietnam war movement joined hands in a common and unprecedented rally. The final meeting gathering 50,000 participants took place right outside Folkets Hus, one of the venues of the coming UN conference. The more established popular movements and the governing social democratic party had accepted the more radical demands of the youth radical left movement of not saying only peace in Vietnam but also specifying the US as an aggressor that had to withdraw from Indochina.

Some days later Fjellander came up to the office of Environmental Forum. There was chaos and the employees were going on strike against the conditions and lack of information. The UNA Sweden leader Ingrid Segerstedt-Wibergs tried to solve the situation. In the middle of the turmoil Fjellander was asked to help the secretariat. One problem he dealt with was the wish to have prominent lectures on the population growth issue at the Environmental Forum. There were plans for a series of lectures arranged by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), IUCN, WWF and other big international NGOs to be held at the Forum with Ehrlich as one of the keynote speakers. Fjellander phoned Ehrlich and told him that the possibility for a keynote speech was cancelled. He instead told the coordinators that they had to stand in a line just as everybody else with their proposals; a panel debate on the issue became the solution. Everybody was supposed to be treated in the same way without regard to richness or size nor possible prearrangements. Newsweek accounts for the embarrassing result of the equal treatment of everybody: "On the side U.N. is also sponsoring an 'environmental forum,' originally intended as a high-level scientific seminar on environmental issues but now degraded into political football by the arbitrary exclusion

of such prominent American environmentalists as René Dubos." Also, IIEA was involved in pushing for the population issue to become central at the Environmental Forum together with the Population Institute in cooperation with the UNCHE secretariat. When they were refused to have a dominant role at the forum for their Distinguished Lecture Series, they had to find other premises at the ball room of the Grand Hotel.

By 20th of May Fjellander presented the situation for the two responsible Swedish umbrella organizations. An Environmental Forum could be held with a 12-day programme on many scenes as several groups planned to come under all circumstances. The planning had to be ad hoc. There was one great problem though. As it appeared, the overwhelming majority of the announced participants came from as far as the US and almost all the rest from Britain or Western Europe, with a handful from the East bloc and the third world. By chance Fjellander said he happened to be in contact with 60 persons from the third world who since half a year had prepared themselves for making contributions on environment and development issues to international fora coinciding with the UN Conference. Their participation could solve the predicament if the travel costs could be arranged. If this was not arranged, Fjellander would state to the press that it was a political scandal. In two days, development authorities pushed by Segerstedt-Wiberg had provided the funding and the whole secretariat of Environmental Forum worked day and night to arrange the arrival of the third world participants.



Ingrid Segerstedt Wiberg, Chair of the UN Association, later Women's League of Peace and Freedom, appointed the foremost liberal in the 20th century, antiracist, first female editor in a daily in Sweden and member of parliament many years. photo Folkkampanjen mot kärnkraft - kärnvapen copyright

The battle at every space in Stockholm

When the UN Conference on Human Environment started on June 5, 1972 the struggle about free speech, the forms of presenting contributions in public and control of access to different spaces continued all through the conference. Hog Farmers contested People's Forum in particular, as



Maurice Strong speaking at a Life Forum action

the most critical forum to the UN Conference and also the Environmental Forum. At Life Forum's own public manifestation for a 10-year moratorium on human beings at Sergels Torg, Strong appeared and spoke freely. He said that he was totally of the same opinion as the Hog Farm that we should love each other and not kill each other. Then somebody reacted, went to the loudspeaker and said that this sounded very well, but that a spokesman of UN should try to stop the genocide in Vietnam. The audience applauded but one Hog Farmer tried to silence him by putting a hand on his mouth. Also, at the final evaluation plenary session at the Environmental Forum the Hog Farmers intervened. When the topic of the Vietnam genocide was about to be addressed "American hippies" invaded the gallery throwing paper swallows crying out "action - not politics".

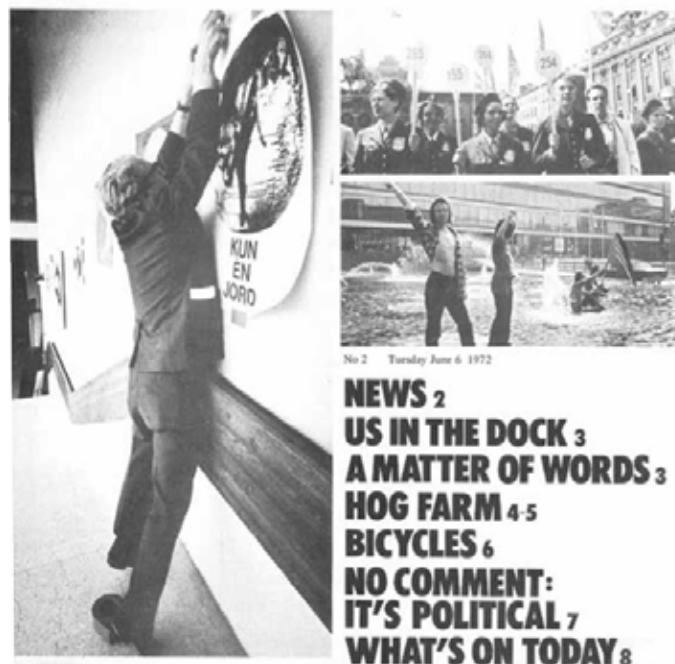
At the official conference the NGO speech was very limited. The problems of bringing in the population and other issues were effectively solved. "[a]t the end of the opening plenary session Strong rapped his gavel to say: 'Our first plenary session stands adjourned, and we will now convene right here to hear the first of the distinguished lecture series in the series sponsored by the International Institute of Environmental Affairs and the International Population Institute.'" The official process was thus effectively linked to the well-financed civil society strategy to focus on population control in the third world.

What characterized the different activities taking place in Stockholm was that everything became contested ground. Politically, four controversial issues came into focus: drugs, whaling, the extensive spraying and destruction of forests

in Vietnam as a US warfare method, and what caused the most heated ideological debate: population control. At the same time a shift in the international environmental debate took place for the benefit of the third world among both popular movements and governments.

The main controversial clash between the dominant Anglo-American new environmentalism with its support at highest business and political levels vs. the popular movements and the third world took place at the Environmental Forum on the issue of population control. In spite of many well-funded attempts, the population issue has never since this confrontation been able to catch the kind of charismatic function it had for the Anglo-American attempt to launch a global ideology for the environmental problems. The attempts were, as we have seen, large from the side of business think tanks and the biggest wildlife, nature conservation and population organizations to make the population issue central at all levels in Stockholm. They succeeded in making an issue at Grand Hotel for the selected elite but it was more important to make it an issue also in a more public debate.

At the Environmental Forum, the population debates proposed by the big NGOs had been dealt with by arranging an open (Check) panel debate where the public can participate after introductions. Peter Scott, an upper class Englishman from World Wildlife Fund, had been given the task to chair Ehrlich, the Swede Erland Hofsten and Land-



The daily newspaper published by Environmental Forum

ing Savane from Senegal. This composition of the debate made the third worlders in the Oi Committee upset. The way vasectomy was more or less forced upon oppressed and poor people in the third world and the way development aid had diminished, while aid to family planning sky rocketed, was for them highly provocative.

When the panel debate was going to start on “Aspects on the population issue” Dora Obi Chizea, a biologist from Ibadan in Nigeria was followed by three other Oi members not to accept a discussion about population control of people in the third world and wanting to take over the discussion. Chaos occurred, but the English gentleman and the proud female from Nigeria sorted things out and both became chairpersons for a panel enlarged with the three Oi Committee members.

The third world intervention in the population debate is the most controversial act during the UN conference in 1972 for most observers. At the time many Anglo-American observers dwelt upon the astonishing action. The conference newspaper ECO made by Friends of the Earth and the Ecologist was especially upset. The third world people were identified as “pseudo-leftist elite who claim to speak for the third world” and creating an atmosphere of “elitist conspiracy”. Actually the third world people are not capable of leading themselves.

“Commoner, masterminding the debunking, ... lurked in the gallery (of the auditorium), ventriloquizing to his puppet army by means of scribbled instructions carried downstairs, while Farvar, his chief lieutenant,

wandered round the forum prompting and orchestrating his O.I. boys”.

ECO asked itself not only how the population debate could have gone so wrong, their accusation went a lot further:

“How did Barry and his band of lesser commoners come to take over the Environment Forum and turn a potential meeting place for many views into a semi-Marxist monologue”.

The two books written about the conference at the time by Stone and Rowlands draw heavily on the comments in ECO that starts a trend to denounce the third world participation as incompetent and left-wing irrelevance to the truly more objective and scientific discourse. None of the books asks itself why in the first place the whole discussion is so highly dominated by the Anglo-Americans and effectively hides the political content of the global youth meeting at Hamilton. Still in the 1990s a seminal book on environmental international negotiations, *The Greening of Machiavelli* by the English diplomat Brenton is upset about the way “so highly esteemed a figure as” Ehrlich was treated.

What did actually happen? ECO says that Ehrlich from the outset was “facing a 2-1 panel” against his opinion, Savane and Hofsten being the opposition. In Ehrlich’s own account Savane is called “bright” and “interested” while Hofsten, a leading Swedish demographer, is derided as “innocent of elementary demography”. ECO also talks about how “the O.I. boys (and girls) moved in posse on to the platform

Commoner speaking in a panel at Environmental Forum



and took over the meeting, adding four of their number to the three panelists.” Stone says that “free speech was somewhat neglected” at the Environmental Forum, giving the example of Ehrlich being “howled off the platform” . In his own account Ehrlich is strongly upset, but gives surprisingly friendly accounts of the new co-chair “Ms. Obi Chizea proved both intelligent and fair”. Furthermore she is also one of the added Oi panellists, Yusuf Ali Eraj, given credit by Ehrlich for his opinions against the other Oi committee panellists and “cohorts”.

The content of the debate was heated but not totally lacking consensus. Some Oi Committee persons and third world participants as de Castro at the first day of the Forum saw forced population control as genocide and emphasized social justice as a solution to overpopulation. Furthermore, the need for self-determination was stressed instead of unquestioned acceptance of Western pre-packaged birth control programmes. Stanley Hoffsten from the UN Demographic Office pointed at the possibility that the rich Western countries advocated population control to preserve natural resources for their own use. After that, Ehrlich pointed out that population control was only one half of the problem, the other half consisting of two factors, affluence and technology, thus influencing the environment the situation calmed down further. However, the Oi Committee members still pointed at a severe unbalance in Ehrlich’s points of view as he did become specific when the environmental problem had to be addressed by population control but refrained from being concrete when he talked about redistribution of wealth.

At other fora outside the official conference, the population issue was also discussed or at least promoted extensively. At the Grand Hotel Aurelio Peccei, Vice-President of the transnational corporation Olivetti and President of the Club of Rome, made the typical dualistic explanation of the environmental crisis in population growth and something else, in his case urbanization. His “nightmarish vision” was of “gargantuan megalopolis” and his solution was similar to so many Anglo-American environmentalists close to business interest, a call for “la dimension de l’homme”, the human dimension. Club of Rome’s report Limits to Growth was effectively spread globally in 2.5 million copies with the help of funds received from Volkswagen and Ford Foundation. The message was clear. If the masses in poor nations get the same standard as in the West, there will be an environmental catastrophe. What is needed to solve the crisis is more power in the hands of experts who can monitor the situation by using computers. To reorganize economy making it possible for everyone to live a decent life on earth according to Gandhi’s vision: “There is enough for everyone’s need but not enough for everyone’s greed” was not the issue. Changing social relations to save the planet and humanity was not to be discussed, only addressing people’s individual moral and

Strong chairing the conference, UN photo



claiming that only the elite had the broad vision enough for controlling the situation.

The Oi Committee in their final declaration opposed the Club of Rome and others by wanting to “reject models of stagnation proposed by certain alarmist Western ecologists, economists, industrialists and computer fans, ... We therefore strongly condemn the international agencies and aid programs for their involvement in population control policies which are against Third World peoples and which will perpetuate their exploitation.”

specifically wanted to fight against was blaming the human beings in general and population growth in particular for causing environmental destruction. For this they



Oi Committee International
 An International Committee of Young Scientists and Scholars
 for a Critical and Holistic Approach to Development and the Human Environment

**DECLARATION
 on the
 THIRD WORLD
 and the
 HUMAN ENVIRONMENT**

STOCKHOLM JUNE 1972

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The Stockholm became historical in terms of third world participation also at the official level. The Soviet bloc did not participate due to diplomatic problems with the right for GDR to attend as a delegate. For the first time Communist China was an actor at an international UN summit. China entered the scene as the great opponent of USA. At their first appearance after entering the UN they wanted the carefully prepared draft reopened for discussion, since they had not been able to participate in the negotiations. A diplomatic war started that continued all through the conference. While countries like the USA and France were not interested in a declaration with legal precepts, and thus not especially interested in a declaration consisting of more than a preamble, smaller industrial nations and the developing world wanted a declaration. The Chinese leaked through the ECO newspaper that what they wanted was a full discussion of their proposals but not necessarily everything included in as formal statements. What they

The influential daily Stockholm Conference ECO published by Friends of the Earth and the Ecologist jointly made a vitriolic attack on China in the final negotiations. “So crippling are the Chinese amendments, and so intemperate is their language - going far beyond that of the Chinese declaration reported exclusively in this news paper on 10th of June - that, with the usual reservation about miracles, the Declaration must now be regarded as dead.” After the conference the Chinese negotiation papers were found by activists in the garbage and in an unpublished manuscript it was stated that the ECO editors grossly exaggerated. The manuscript is now gone (the author if this paper have read it), but the very different assessments from other sources as the Canadian Rowlands highly critical against the third world activists at Environmental forum indicates that ECO used its central position as the only media reaching all delegates at the conference, the media and all other concerned in Stockholm in a biased manner. What embarrassed ECO was not only China’s criticism of imperialism but especially the claim that “plunder, aggression and war are the real causes of overpopulation problems. The notorious Malthusian theory is absurd in theory and groundless in facts. Man is not only a consumer but primary a creator.”

could find wide-spread support. More and more delegations found that behind the Chinese ideological glossary the Chinese wanted to strengthen the same legal principles as themselves. Finally, the declaration could be agreed to after negotiations until 5.00 AM before the last day’s ple-

nary . Rowlands notes that not only the US had hoped for less substantive action and legal principles promoted in the declaration, “If it can be said that international law is habitually developed by weaker nations to protect their interests from the stronger nations (who can look after themselves), Stockholm was proving to be no exception to the rule. The strong Chinese ideological position for the interest of the developing countries was also part of a general trend of developing countries changing the hitherto environmental discussion focusing on pollution to a more balanced view.

much of the discussion and changed the narrow-minded pollution oriented and uninteresting development environmental discourse of the industrialized countries and Northern environmental movements.

The historically new model for popular participation in world politics

For non-governmental organizations Stockholm became an innovative experimental field, more or rather totally due to initiatives from others than the already established and accredited NGOs in the UN system. The governments themselves and the UNCHE secretariat initiated many new avenues for NGOs wanting to influence the official process. NGOs were invited to take part in writing national reports or join national delegations or to participate in the semi-official Environmental forum. People’s organizations themselves had also taken initiatives to a forum and Friends of the Earth and The Ecologist to a daily conference newspaper followed by the Environmental Forum that published one more. Peter Willets (1996:1967) in his assessment of NGOs and the UN sees these innovations as historical,

“Each of these four procedures - input to reports, joining government delegations, holding a forum and producing a newspaper - first became a feature

Bill Robertshaw and others prepare the development and environment exhibition at Environmental Forum. The calendar and telephone services Fröken miljö och U were the outcome of Educaids meeting in 1965. To the left is the exhibition against US ecocide in Vietnam.



Olof Palme and Indira Gandhi at the conference

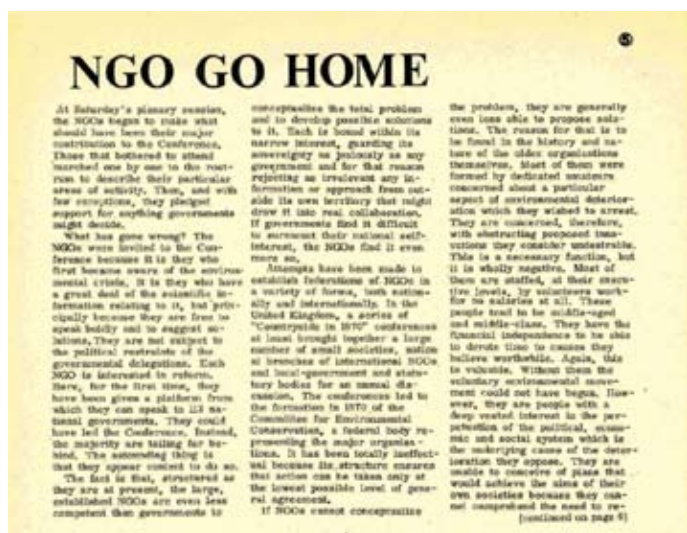
Indira Gandhi was present as the only other head of government, apart from the Prime Minister of Sweden Olof Palme. She saw hunger, disease and poverty as the main environmental problems in her country as well as other developing countries. Many observers conclude that at the Stockholm conference the developing nations dominated



of a UN conference at the Stockholm environmental conference in 1972.”

There was also established mutual reporting between the official conference and the NGO Forum as the main points at each of the parallel meetings were reported to others at plenaries and the forum daily paper distributed to all official delegates, a degree of interaction not accounted for at later conferences.

As often, NGOs were in the corridors lobbying, this time with the help of the high presence of the international media and the pressure from the many activities going on outside the official conference. There was little interest in making something in common and Margaret Mead and Barbara Ward had to push the NGOs together at coffee lunch tables to make a joint statement.



ECO first denounced the NGOs at the conference and angrily stated: “with few exceptions they pedged support for anything governments might decide.” And continuous - “What has give wrong? The NGOs were invited to the Conference because theyfirst became aware ofn the envrionmental cirisis, it is they who have a great deal of scientific information relating to it, and but principally because they are free to speak boldly and to suggest solutions.”



Then the next day ECO changed its mind after the efforts of Mead and Ward and now welcomed the NGOs back again, “happy to be able to say that we underestimated, soemwhat, the level of awareness and determination of the NGO’s who prepared the document. What was seen as psotive was acknowledging that the resources on earth

are finite and that “the world economy must come to be in balance with environmental carrying capacity”. Criticized was the lack of clear criticism of nuclear power and commitment to find paths towards using lessenergy.

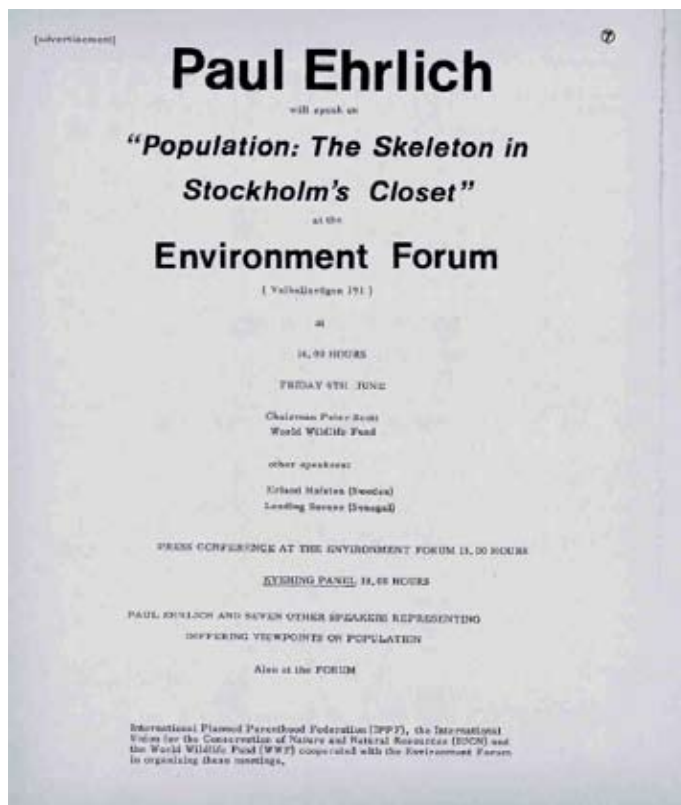
Apart from the differing views in the two articles on the NGOs addressing the conference ECO put very little attention to the NGOs inside. Nor did other observers at the time. It is only afterwards that the NGO participation inside has been seen as the most significant popular participation by some writers on the relationship between civil society and the UN. At the time of the conference the werew in spite of that they often had a large membership base marginal in what was seen as important.

Pseuo-leftists and eco fascists

What provokes more lively descriptions than the NGO lobbying is the Environmental Forum.

“The atmosphere of the building where the Forum was held was charged with excitement and controversy. At some sessions, more than 700 people jammed into the space of 500, filling the balcony, flowing out into the corridors which were already crowded by exhibits.”

Actvists from the third world and many others were outraged by thecentral role planned be given to Paul Ehrlich



Advertising in ECO for the controversial speech by Ehrlich initiated by WWF, IUCN and IPPF, International Planned Parenthood Federation and a panel at Environmental Forum on population.

who in his book *Population bomb* promoted forced sterilization of people in the South. This was perceived as eco-fascism.



Barry Commoner portrayed in ECO.

Many Anglo-American observers are critical against the Swedish organizers for letting the control over the forum come into the hands of a “pseudo-leftist elite” claimed to be master-minded by Commoner. It is as if the only explanation to the change in favour of some more third world perspective could only be the result of outside pressure from American leftists and not rest in internal interest of a majority of both Swedish organizations and globally as expressed at Hamilton. Even after the invitation of more third world participants, Anglo-Americans dominated. 68 out of a total of 149 panelists and chairs were Anglo-American, out of them 59 from the US. If the added panelists and others were taken away during the population debate and also the podium participants on criticized issues of political and cultural self-determination were taken away, the Anglo-Americans were in majority, 63 out of 121 podium participants. The winners of the additions to the population issue and liberation themes were especially Africans who raised their participation from 9 to 20.

The Swedish organizers felt pushed by the Americans wanting to be on the programme and were not used to the kind of promotional attitude for books and services that Americans unashamedly used the meeting for. That the planning was late was not made any secret, but the Swedish organizers with UNA Sweden and the secretariat maintained influence of the programme together with other persons like Mead, who represented the NGO community at the official conference. They met daily to finally decide about the

coming day. The content of the final programme except for the intervention by Oi Committee which was solved, and the Hog Farmers occupying the final panel which was not solved, was an expression of what the organizers wanted. A closer look in the programme also shows that the main emphasis is on more narrow environmental themes. The difference from the later environmental NGO fora was that working environment clearly was included and that most politically controversial issues were discussed.

The accusations against the Swedish organizers for being dominated by a pseudo-leftist take-over motivates some investigation. The two key persons doing practical jobs after SIDA gave the money, were Fjellander and Melander, none of them ever belonging to a leftist group, but rather being considered by leftists to be non-socialists or belonging to the opposite of the left. The key politician was Ingrid Segerstedt-Wiberg, Chairman of UNA Sweden. She was a senior liberal MP having a strong position in UNA circles, dominated by trade unions, churches and other organizations of different political colours. So the key actors rather stood to the right of the social democrat chief organizer Wettergren in political party terms.

Any attempts of the Swedish government to interfere would have caused problems. Segerstedt-Wiberg's position, anchored both in parliament and popular movements



The Environmental forum

and with a long record of independent opinions, made her hard to assail. Furthermore, unwritten law in Sweden said that once government and popular movement organizations have agreed on a mandate, movement organizations are supposed to have full independence so long as they adhere to the agreement. The change towards more third world participation that made Anglo-Americans believe in a leftist take-over was thus caused by non-socialists with approval of the officially appointed Wettergren, who was a member of the Social democratic party, long before the accused Commoner had arrived. Rather than reflecting leftist manipulations against scientific views, the Oi Committee intervention reflected the strength of the global majority and an unusual Anglo-American loss of control of international events. Both at Environment Forum and at Hamilton another kind of view succeeded in making its voice heard.

In spite of the tensions due to internal contradictory intentions from the official initiators and insecure practical

arrangements, the result was that Environmental Forum became an arena for independent voices from all over the world. The programme and participation was such that it also by today's standard was surprisingly wide and relevant. The internal controversy among the Swedish organizers did not change a common attitude in relation to the importance of criticism of American involvement in the Vietnam War and third world opinions, except when it came to the take over of the population panel. Without the change in some favour of the third world, the programme would have been biased towards American interests.

The transformation of the US grass root movement into professionalism

The new environmentalism that had exploded in the US in 1970 with the joint governmental, popular and business sponsored Earth Day, had produced a lot of strong expressions capable of making itself heard with a dramatically raised noise level. It was though, according to the US



press, already before the UN Conference truly transformed into a professionalized actor that no longer was present on the streets. In Stockholm, this internal need for Anglo-American new environmentalism to transform itself also into a more coherent ideology dominated the global popular scene, or what can be described as the superficial part of the global civil society.

The way this change is described by an Anglo-American observer as if it is a question of how the whole global environment movement is transformed is clearly expressed by John McCormick in his assessment of the Stockholm conference in his book *Reclaiming Paradise: The Global Environmental Movement* :

“It [the UN conference] also marked a transition: from the emotional and occasionally naive New Environmentalism of the 1960s to the more rational, political, and global perspectives of the 1970s. Above all, it brought the debate between LDCs and MDCs - with their differing perceptions of environmental priorities - into open forum and caused a fundamental shift in the direction of global environmentalism.”

Rather than being a description of the transformation of the global environmental movement, it describes the change in Anglo-American new environmentalism and coming to fore of such actors as IIEA and FOE.

Some of the Anglo-American initiatives were fruitful. ECO or some kind of daily newspaper about a summit became a key instrument already in 1972 for making NGOs important and influential and a standard model for almost all forthcoming international events beginning at a meeting on nuclear power and energy. Friends of the Earth became the strongest international democratic popular movement organization increasingly more socially oriented as third world members joined.

The US press was afraid of the conference and wrote that: “It will provide a conspicuous soapbox for demonstrators against the US role in Vietnam.” For the joint Swedish and American anti-Vietnam war movement, the UN conference was a success. The FNL movement had strong influence at both important public fora, the People’s Forum and the Environmental Forum. The many years of polarized relations with the Swedish Vietnam Committee ended with the many actions in cooperation taken during the conference. The American critical voices against ecocide in Vietnam were welcomed everywhere except at the Hog Farm headquarters at Skarpnäck. Demonstrations, a special Swedish hearing on ecocidal warfare, interventions by NGOs and governments in the official proceedings and the Dai Dong effort jointly created a strong effect.

To the left: Demonstration against US ecocide in Vietnam outside the UN conference venue.



Outdoor posters against US war in Vietnam

The limitations of localism and the left wing

After the split in April, Powwow and the People’s Forum never regained their spirit. The main idea of the strong local environmental group that the movement should be decentralized made it less interested in using the Stockholm event for building an independent international environmental movement. The strength of Alternative City was its capacity to mobilize the inhabitants of Stockholm, not to defend and contribute to the formulation of an identity and ideology for an emerging independent movement. The Powwow group was unable to break out of the progressively narrower message from People’s Forum and build a long term alliance with the third world position from Hamilton so close to their original declaration. When the first conflicts emerged of the nature of People’s Forum, the Powwow group did not defend the view that the Stockholm conference was an important occasion for a qualified discussion for forming an international movement and not only a possibility for a Swedish speaking audience to listen and form its opinion.

The left could gradually increase its domination of the People’s Forum. A polarized position was strengthened all through the conference by the interaction with Hog Farm. Even if one accepts the point of view of a strategy that maintains a strong independent position before compromising to get resources, the strategy of People’s Forum is problematic in another sense. The self-chosen isolation from others that can accept money from CIA related funds is not necessarily the same as self-chosen isolation from the same group’s political message.

The political lack of solidarity towards the environmental positions of the third world by the People’s Forum is shown by the disinterest for the Hamilton documents. Instead of systematically linking and building on the global message from Hamilton that hitherto had defeated the kind of Anglo-American focus on population and apolitical en-

vironmentalism, the People's Forum changed itself into a school for local inhabitants setting yet another example on how capitalism is the main source for the problems in the world. This disinterest in supporting the political momentum from Hamilton and contributing to the building of a third world oriented independent environmental movement had negative results. It delayed such a development by a decade and opened avenues for the established and new Anglo-American environmental NGOs to dominate the international scene.

However, the task of both maintaining a dividing line between popular movements and drug liberals as well as CIA-related funds was perhaps ambitious enough. The strong independence of People's Forum left others enabled to have opinions in conflict with established interests, but basically People's Forum international impact became part of a colourful background for the professional NGO system and UN to educate and reform itself.

Below, Jan Fjellander, Oi Committee



The demonizing a youth theosophist and disintegration of the Oi Committee

The youth theosophist's attempt to get the third world perspective into the global environmental discourse came to an end. The discussions about how to continue the Oi Committee became coloured by extensive demands for representation from different regions and sub-regions while there were no resources and ended without any building of a third world dominated organization.

The Oi Committee declaration that was worked upon during the 12 days at Stockholm was distributed and then lost to the organizers in the chaos and exhaustion, that was the final result. Jan Fjellander was stamped by left activists as a traitor to the Vietnamese and portrayed as being a tool in the hands of Maurice Strong. In the book Skarpnäck-USA about the US influence on the UNCHE through the Hog farm and spreading of drugs a photo of Fjellander was manipulated into a picture where he and US politicians responsible for the war were seen dancing in the air above bomb craters in Vietnam. >Fjellander had been one of the earlier protesters against the war and the American Desreters committee was for a while housed in his apartment. That a person could have many contacts with people in the third world without being a leftist occurred as odd that he was by many stamped as a CIA agent. But the theosophists had their own international organizational contacts and through the radical pacifist movement. Peter Harper, also a young theosophist started a center for alternative technology in Wales while Fjellander turned to other interests until he got engaged in the peace movement again and the Green party in the 1980s.

While the organizational efforts of the Oi committee waned they still became the beginning of a global environmental movement. Organizationally such a movement could emerge thanks to such actions as the tree huggers in Himalaya starting their movement in 1973 and at the global level with the action networks on specific issues as baby food and pesticides. In 1983 this global environmental movement was expressed by the creation of Third World Network integrating social and environmental justice concerns in the ways the youth and Oi Committee did at Hamilton and Stockholm. It is the Hamilton documents and the Oi declaration that shows how the global environmental movement will look upon the social and environmental crisis many decades later, in spite of that the documents in practice were lost.

The reason why they had a lasting effect is due to the ability of the Oi Committee to create an alliance with a broad range of Swedish popular movements willing to make their presence in Stockholm practically possible and uniting in successfully challenging the Anglo American environmentalism. The pre-UNCHE agenda of the Anglo American environmentalism with its close linkages between business, big NGOs as WWF and IUCN, the US

administration and new organisations as Friends of the Earth were forever broken. Friends of the Earth changed direction drastically and left the dissemination of books proposing forced population control in the South behind, focused more on unequal distribution of wealth between nations and especially on combatting dangerous energy as nuclear power and support transition to saving energy. The environmental movement started focusing on confronting polluters and demanding democratic solutions rather than authoritarian control.

The decline of the population issue

Population maintained its popular role among UN circles and private foundations, but the UN Conference on population in 1974 became a continuation of the battle between North and South. Developing countries asked for additional (or further) help to become more economically prosperous, thus making their population rate fall, the North did not want to give the help and thus all population targets were removed from the plan of action of the conference. Shifts in the domestic politics in the US towards more Christian moral values proved more important in deciding the de-emphasizing on population control rather than its popularity among global NGOs and intergovernmental organizations. A steady increase of bilateral and multilateral population projects had anyway taken place and helped promoting growth. Especially China, which opposed many of the ideas of blaming the environmental problem on the growth of the masses in the third world, had carried out effective population control programmes partly with rather coercive means in line with what Ehrlich suggested. In India, population control programmes became a controversial issue that caused great protests against the regime of Indira Gandhi, ending with and her fall from power. The catastrophic predictions of exponential population growth until cut off by famine are now less common in the debate.

Dualistic development ideas and energy confrontation

Development was made an issue by the third world governments together with NGO-experts to address the issue in the dualistic way of seeing environmental destruction as caused by poverty and lack of development in the South, and by lack of pollution control in the North. This view was included in UNCHE documents, but development was of secondary priority and not really addressed in the official follow-up of the conference. The broader, less dualistic economical, political and cultural development critique of independent third world activists and the Powwow group was maintained among socially oriented environmental movements in the North and popular movements in the South, but had difficulties in establishing any more elaborated conceptual framework.

What became an issue at Stockholm in spite of its low priority on the agenda was energy. All non-state actors at Stockholm that had made early attempts to influence the

UN conference made energy their next main point on their environmental agenda, the youth theosophists, the Pow-wow group, the left-wing environmentalists in Sweden, Friends of the Earth, ECO and Aspen Institute. Energy also became the most controversial environmental issue during the coming decade in the industrialized countries. Furthermore, the activities at Stockholm radicalized the environmental movement in the energy issue. The peace movement was present with their long time experience of struggling against nuclear interests. They together with New Zealand raised the issue of nuclear bomb tests with some success. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom also opposed nuclear power before most environmental organizations and made an exhibition based on it at Stockholm.



Cartoon in ECO showing France ignorance for New Zealand protests against atomic bomb testing

Business, governments and science after UNCHE

Aspen Institute was well-prepared for continuing its central role in influencing the global environmental discourse focusing next on energy and population issues. Strong offered Ward the role of leader for IIEA and she accepted it on the condition that the headquarter be moved to London and that the integration of environment and development become central. Thus, IIEA changed its name to International Institute for Environment and Development, IIED continuing its close collaboration with Aspen Institute. Strong had a key role at both Aspen Institute, IIED and other organizations such as the Trilateral commission initiated by Rockefeller aiming at uniting the interests of the leading businessmen and politicians in Japan, Europe and North America. Business was well-placed and institutionalized for continuing their work for a conceptual framework of global environmental problems compatible with

their interests.

For the UN, the Stockholm conference became a new model for helping the image by arranging a series of theme conferences. The most successful one in terms of popular participation in the 1970s was the World Conference to start the Women's Decade in Mexico in 1975. The institutional outcome of the Stockholm conference was United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), and UN unit without full power as an executive body with Strong as director. Basically information, education and trying to coordinate others' efforts became the way UNEP worked including administering a smaller fund for environmental programmes in developing countries.

The great influence of the Stockholm conference on the governmental level was the growth of nation-state environmental machineries from about ten at Stockholm to 100 ten years later, by 1985 more than 140 countries had environmental agencies. The result was a solution to acute pollution problems in rich countries while the environmental degradation was becoming more complex and dispersed over larger areas. "On virtually every front there has been a marked deterioration in the quality of our shared environment," Mostafa Tolba, the Director of UNEP summed up the situation ten years later.

The wider societal knowledge interest of the environmental movement changed with the Stockholm conference and in early 1970s towards specialization. Systematic holism was often separated into instrumental and fragmented energy research and philosophical deep ecology. Established science and the political institution's need for scientific legitimation renewed itself by meeting the broader knowledge interest with elitist advanced study networks and future study institutionalization outside the control of popular movements.

NGOs gets closer to governments and isolates themselves from the popular movements

For the established NGOs the follow-up of the Stockholm conference was times of open doors. Conference after conference was held where they were invited to discuss how the cooperation between UN and NGOs in the environmental field should continue. Also at the regional level in Western Europe, an intermediary organization started in 1974 in Brussels to influence EEC and disseminate information having its roots in discussions at the Stockholm conference, the European Environmental Bureau. On the global level the result was finally the creation of Environment Liaison Center (ELC, later ELCI, the I added for International) with its headquarter in Nairobi at UNEP. The ideology of the NGOs is already stated in the characteristic part of the name, liaison, middlemen between popular and other environmental organizations and the UN. What made Stockholm dynamic was excluded. Now organising actions were excluded as well as popular movements em-

phasizing their own role as changers of society criticizing business, politicians and the UN.

Not even the NGOs themselves had the energy to make much out of their self-limiting role that made them popular guests at official meetings. In 1974 more than 150 NGOs had registered to attend the annual UNEP Governing Council and by 1980 it had fallen to less than 20.

Instead of broader dialogues with popular movements, the big international environmental NGOs IUCN and WWF developed together with UNEP a general World Conservation Strategy in 1980 with the objective of integrating environmental concerns in all different policies. In a way where the distinctions between NGOs and official organizations were more totally blurred than in any other sector, the ideology of sustainable development was born.

The Anglo-American environmentalism successfully institutionalized itself in professions and organizations like Friends of the Earth while the public opinion in both the US and the UK slumped. In the US the kind of dense networking between different social movements building a movement culture was not fulfilled as in Northern Europe. The influence reversed across the Atlantic and in the late 1970s Northern Europe popular movements with their occupation of nuclear power sites were inspiring the Americans at Seabrook.

For popular movements in general, the Stockholm conference ended in a stalemate. Business, governments and established NGOs were not capable of creating an ideology and practice that got hegemonial acceptance. Nor could the popular movements build a sufficiently broad vision. The struggle continued after Stockholm, now within more narrow issue areas. Nuclear power became the central way to challenge established economic, political and military interest, especially in Europe and North and Latin America. Gradually the third world showed their organizational strength and made the environmental movement more aware of politics and issues of social justice.

Popular movements played a crucial role in establishing a new pattern for interaction at the global level between governments and non-governmental organizations. At every step in the process popular actors were ahead or parallel in their efforts. Through their sustained independent endeavour, the semi-official forum initiated by the UN developed into an independent NGO forum with direct linkages to the official conference. This is of historic importance as it is the first time since the establishment of the modern inter-state system in the 17th century that such a parallel process and independent level in direct linkage to an inter-state meeting is established. This new pattern has, since the Stockholm conference, become regular not only at UN theme conferences but also for the World Bank, as well as outside the formal UN system when EU, APEC or G-8 organize summits, with different balances between a more

Alternative sight-seeing bus organized by Alternativ stad to show visitors environmental problems that the authorities prefer to hide during UNCHE



popular independent character and a semi-official NGO process.

That the end result of the Stockholm conference was a stalemate between the governmental, business and popular actors is substantiated by the shift among almost all leading popular actors in the UNCHE process choosing to focus on nuclear power and energy issues with the beginning at Stockholm. Although the issue was not high on the formal agenda and not so controversial at the time, it rapidly became so. In this issue the popular movement could regenerate their momentum and confront industry and governments, now with Northern Europe as leaders and not the US.

Anti-Nuclear Power and Alternative Movement

In Sweden, the Powwow group and a commune initiated by young theosophists played crucial roles in establishing the first cross-political anti-nuclear power movement in Stockholm and Sweden in 1973. It took 23 years before the development of the Swedish environmental movement could rid itself of splits stemming from the extra-ordinary course of events in the Stockholm conference process. In 1995, Friends of the Earth Sweden and Environmental Federation, a coalition of local environmental groups merged.

Powwow and the Oi Committee had effects on the form of popular participation at Summits and continued capacity to challenge corporate environmental strategies. The ideas that population was the main issue to not talk about that

forced sterilization was something to promote was effectively put aside in the environmental movement. However, the third world perspective that the Oi Committee and the Hamilton conference brought forward was forgotten. It remained as a vague memory in the Swedish environmental movement and influenced the discussions on growth and strategy. No to growth never became an issue as the whole growth concept was seen as socially neutral and not of relevance, and thus sustainable growth that was launched later was not an option either. Most clearly, the difference was seen when the environmental federation at its summer camp in 1981 decided against the concept of thinking globally – acting locally. The Environmental federation at this time was highly involved in building local alternatives like cooperatives for distributing ecological food. Nevertheless, this was seen as part of a wider movement that had to act on a larger scale, thus the conclusion was Think globally, act globally.

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