
The Call for a New Ecotheology in Norway

Peder Anker

Gallatin School of Individualized Study/Environmental Studies,
New York University, 1 Washington Place, New York, NY 10003, USA
peder.anker@nyu.edu

Abstract

The call for a new ecotheology in Norway began in the early 1970s with environmentally concerned deep ecologists and continued within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Norway and the university system. Church officials and intellectuals saw ecotheology as an effective way of engaging the young in caring for the Creation. Alongside the eco-philosophical projects of redefining the natural, the deep ecologists also sought to renew religious faith. Norwegian theologians found their questioning of economic growth, technocracy, and industrialism appealing, and they sympathized with their call to save wilderness and their endorsement of outdoor life, rural communities, and modest lifestyles. Deep ecology represented for theologians an opportunity to revive the Church, mobilize a new and younger audience, and address the question of how to behave towards God's Creation.

Keywords

Ecotheology, Norway, Deep Ecology, History, 1970s

In the early 1970s a group of young intellectuals at the University of Oslo began adding the 'eco-' prefix to various disciplines, as in eco-philosophy and eco-politics, to find out ways in which ecology as a natural science could enhance different academic fields. Known today as 'the deep ecologists', they are largely portrayed as philosophers of nature seeking 'deeper' answers to the problems of the environmental crisis, while their attempt to formulate an eco-theological platform has been largely ignored. I review their religious aspirations, arguing that along-

side the eco-philosophical projects of redefining the natural, some deep ecologists also sought to renew the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Norway (in which roughly 80% of Norwegians at the time were registered members, though only 40% of them attended Church services on a monthly basis, and they were mostly the elderly). Many Christians within the Church found the deep ecological questioning of economic growth, technocracy, and industrialism appealing, and they sympathized with their call to save wilderness and their endorsement of outdoor life, rural communities, and modest lifestyles. Early attempts by theologians and some key lay believers to incorporate deep ecological perspectives within the Church of Norway were done in an effort to revive the Church, mobilize a new and younger audience, and address the question of how to behave towards God's Creation.

Deep Ecology and Religion

In 1971 Lynn White's article 'The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis' appeared for the first time in Norwegian. Here the medieval historian accused Judeo-Christian theology of nurturing an exploitative ethic towards the natural world. Human domination over nature was at the core of the Bible's message, according to White, as it states that humanity was formed in God's image and is thus superior to the rest of the world. The article had originally appeared in *Science* in 1967 and was thus well known among Norwegian academics following the international debate. The translation aimed at bringing White's critique to a broader Norwegian audience, as it appeared in the popular science journal *Naturen*.

The translation was initiated by the Co-working Group for the Protection of Nature and the Environment (*Samarbeidsgruppa for Natur-og Miljøvern*), as the deep ecologists labeled themselves (Anker 2007). The group had just organized itself, thanks to its charismatic leader Sigmund Kvaløy (b. 1934). What brought them together was an unsuccessful yet highly visible civil disobedience demonstration aimed at protecting the Mardøla waterfall from hydropower development in the summer of 1970. Though it is hard to approximate the number of deep ecology-informed activists, judging from circulation numbers of their various publications, they were probably in the hundreds, perhaps even a thousand. In terms of spiritual life it was a diverse group of people, though most of them followed a secularized trend among the young and did not attend Church services. It is therefore not surprising that White's article was initially read as a contribution to the need to weaken the role of religion in society in order to advance the ecological cause. Even though creationism never achieved any sway in Norway, most scientists

saw religion in opposition to science, as they thought faith should not be mixed with ecological facts (Rønnild 1977). There was also a wide mistrust of religion among left-leaning students, activists, and environmentalists, who tended to agree with the famous saying of Karl Marx that religion 'is the opium of the people'. Thus, many of the environmentalists would not include religion in their discussions of the eco-crisis, and White's arguments explained why. Instead, they hoped that ecological science in itself could be a substitute giving 'purpose and meaning' in a secularized world (Lyngnes 1972: 392). As the historian of religion Tarjei Rønnow (2002) has argued, the deep ecological call to save nature came in the form of a secularized 'new pietism' that picked up language and rituals from traditional Norwegian Lutheran pietism.

Among the philosophically informed ecologists there was a general uneasiness about this dominating tendency to exclude religious beliefs from the framework of analysis. Harald Olsen (b. 1945), a graduate student at the International Biological Program at the University of Oslo, may serve as an initial example. Although he was an atheist, his call to end capitalism and establish a steady-state society based on ecological principles emphasized the importance of moving beyond technological answers to the environmental crisis (Olsen 1972). This was to him an issue of nurturing belief in the power of environmental ethics, lifestyles, and faith in a radical moral change in human attitudes towards nature.

The importance of a moral stand against industrial technocracy was at the core of deep ecology. As a consequence, deep ecologists looked with hope and admiration at those with a system of beliefs in tune with their ecological views. They made it clear that they were involved in a social movement within which people had different perspectives and arguments for protecting the environment. Thus, people with religious beliefs were welcome to join the deep ecologists, as long as they were credible defenders of nature. Indeed, the difference between being a 'deep' and a 'shallow' ecologist depended on whether or not one went beyond mere technocratic or economic reasons for preserving ecological complexity.

The deep ecologists recognized that religion could be a powerful ally for a common cause if its principles and practices showed respect for nature. Though he was strictly speaking not a deep ecologist, Johan Galtung's statement at the third World Future Research Conference in Bucharest in 1972 may illustrate this sentiment: 'A nature without soul is easy to destroy; a nature with soul is one that invites partnership, respect, equilibrium' (Galtung 1973: 108). Galtung was a non-believer and Marxist, but he did recognize that religion could play a role in hampering destructive materialism. Issues related to spirituality and ecology were debated at the Peace Research Institute in Oslo where Galtung was in

charge. In 1967 they hosted the first conference for the World Futures Studies Federation, and one topic was the separation of humans, God, and nature in Christian thinking that allowed exploitation of the world's material resources (Gjessing 1967). As a remedy, peace researchers in Oslo, including Galtung, pointed to the wisdom of Oriental thinking and religion.

There were several reasons why Galtung and the deep ecologists would look towards the Orient. Most generally, this region represented a viable alternative source of inspiration for those who refused to take a side in the Occidental Cold War deadlock. Galtung and Arne Næss (1912–2009) had published books about Gandhi that pointed towards his non-violent approach as key to lessening tensions between communists and capitalists (Galtung and Næss 1955; Næss 1965). In the process they also learned to appreciate Buddhism and the Hindu scriptures, including the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

This was not only an intellectual issue, as Galtung and Næss, along with fellow deep ecologists, would visit India, Nepal, Iran, and Pakistan to draw inspiration from the region. In the summer of 1971, for example, Kvaløy, Næss, and Nils Faarlund (b. 1937) visited the village of Beding in Nepal. The nearby mountain Gauri Shankar was considered holy and therefore a forbidden place for the local Sherpa. The ecophilosophers found this approach to nature impressive. As technical climbers who traveled to Beding in order to reach its peak, they decided to abandon this aim in respect for Sherpa beliefs. This was a personal sacrifice and a learning experience for all of them, as it led them to abandon for good the view that climbing was about reaching mountain peaks.

To Næss, the belief in the holiness of Gauri Shanker served as evidence of the power of religion as a source of resistance to the exploitation of nature (Næss 1972a). Indeed, Næss, upon his return to Norway, looked upon the Hallingskarvet Mountain on which his own cabin was placed in religious terms. 'Climbing was hailing and pilgrimage' to the mountain, as to him Hallingskarvet had the status of 'what one in the mythology calls a god (*deva*), and fortunately a good one' (Næss 1975). Both Faarlund and Kvaløy expressed similar views (Faarlund 1972, 1973; Kvaløy 1985). Næss explored these religious longings by working alongside people of faith, as in the case of a textbook in philosophy of science he wrote with Hans Eirik Aarek, who in the early 1970s formulated a deep ecology platform for the Norwegian Quaker community (Næss with Ariansen, Krogh, and Aarek 1973; Aarek 1978).

These views raised important questions with respect to religion and the science of ecology. In February 1972, the deep ecologists gathered to discuss the issue at a small seminar at Tømte Gård, a botanical Research

Station near Oslo. The seminar was arranged by David R. Klein, an ecologist at the University of Alaska spending his sabbatical year at the University of Oslo to research reindeer, among other things (Reimers, Klein, and Sørumsgård 1983). The roughly 30 participants included Kvaløy and Næss, as well as esteemed ecologists such as Ivar Mysterud (b. 1938), Eivind Østbye (b. 1935), and Eigil Reimers (b. 1939).

Næss gave the keynote lecture (which is lost). Judging from Klein's response it is likely that it was about ecology and the Bible, as Næss in this period wrote about this topic for his book on ecosophy (Næss 1972b). Here White's criticisms of Christian domination of nature served as his point of departure, though Næss would quickly turn to what he saw as a largely forgotten eco-friendly message contained within the Bible. Inspired by the studies of John N. Black (1970) and Clarence Glacken (1967), among others, he pointed out that one could not judge the environmental friendliness of a person based on whether he or she believed in the Bible. Næss was not a Christian himself, but saw potential allies for the emerging deep ecological movement among Christians. There was plenty of support for an ecological sensitivity in the Bible, he argued, and he quoted several passages from both the Old and the New Testaments to support his view. 'The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats; and the rocks for the conies', according to Psalm 104, which to Næss proved that God had not created everything for the sake of man (Næss 1972a: 162). Næss was not the only one at Tømte who saw religion as a source of insight for understanding the deeper meaning of ecology. Most active was Kvaløy who, upon his return from his travels to Nepal, began to practice Buddhism. It was especially the Tantric idea of a spiritual dimension to the web of life that fascinated Kvaløy, as it revealed 'mother earth's treasures' and allowed an animistic view of nature's ecology (Kvaløy 1987, 1995). One of his many drawings depicts monks in Beding, Nepal, meditating on the holiness of the mountain Gauri Shanker in terms of a 'reunion with the One that flows through the entire nature' (Kvaløy 1978). That Buddhism could offer a way forward in understanding nature's rhythms and life on Earth raised interest and eyebrows among the concerned environmentalists.

At the Tømte seminar there were thus three competing answers to the question of the role of religion in environmentalism in response to White's criticisms of Christian domination of nature. The ecologists, including Mysterud and Østbye, thought the ecological debate would be better off if one stuck to ethical issues and kept religion out of the picture. Næss, on the other hand, saw a potential to gain Christian allies of deep ecology by interpreting the Bible as promoting a more humble

human caretaker, while Kvaløy abandoned the Christian heritage altogether in favor of Buddhism.

Coming from the University of Alaska, ecophilosophy represented a new intellectual territory for Klein. On the one hand, he was fascinated and flattered by the philosophers taking interest in his lectures on wildlife ecology as well as his collaborative research on reindeer. On the other hand, he saw a flight from reason in religious adaptations of ecology. At Tømte he asked:

What form will this new ecophilosophy take? Will it supplant, alter or be absorbed into existing religious theology and become the new ecoreligion that offers the salvation of mankind as a substitute for salvation of the individual; or will it be merely another parameter of human understanding, outside of religion, scientifically based, but recognized for its importance to the future of human society? (Klein 1972: 1).

Klein was in favor of the last option. To him this was an issue of intellectual hierarchy: science and not religion should be at the core of environmental debate. Yet he recognized that the 'mass media capitalizing on the public interest in ecology, plus the inexactness of ecology as a science', made his field vulnerable to absorption into existing cultural conceptions and religions (1972: 1). Ecology was much in the news when Klein wrote his paper, both in Norway and in the United States, and the field's lack of precision was widely recognized, also among biologists. What worried Klein was the bending of ecological research in support of what easily could end up as authoritarian religious dogmas. '[T]he current ecological movement [is] strongly infused with a "religious" emotionalism and a revival of vitalism in attitudes toward nature', he claimed (1972: 2). Moreover:

[S]ome philosophers and ecologist-conservationists have... become spokesmen for the developing ecoreligion. They argue that the survival of the human species in the face of an impending 'eco-crisis' is dependent upon the widespread adoption of a religious humility toward nature. They admittedly are searching for a 'panacea for the masses' on the premise that the end (in this case the survival of mankind) justifies the means. Their motivations therefore, while sincere, are pragmatic rather than epistemological (1972: 3-4).

Næss was the chief target of Klein's criticism, as Næss valued a potential ecoreligion on pragmatic grounds. Klein would have none of it. He also warned against developing a new ecoreligion on epistemological grounds, as Kvaløy suggested. It could, like all religions, easily develop into an 'emotional self-righteousness' ideology justifying irrational or destructive acts 'in the name of piety' (1972: 4). Religious persecution on behalf of the environment was the issue at stake: 'One wonders how

many Giordano Brunos might be at least figuratively burned at the stake in the name of an ecoreligion' (1972: 5).

Instead of an ecoreligion, Klein argued, the philosophers should formulate a new eco-ethics or philosophy based on a scientific foundation. Mysterud and Østbye agreed, and they had an impact. Næss, for example, thought Klein's 'warning against ecoreligion' was 'very relevant!' (Næss 1972a: 214). Two years later Næss would recall Klein's paper saying that 'Klein may be right in his fear that the ecological movement, as any other, will foster some sectarianism and thereby intolerance, arrogance, verbal rituals instead of debate, [and] sentimentality instead of spontaneity'. Yet, Næss did not agree with Klein that an ecoreligion firmly based on non-violence 'would lead to persecution of the ecosophic "infidel"' (Næss 1974: 211). Indeed, it is worth remarking, subsequent 'dark green' religious adaptations of deep ecology in North America have been mostly tolerant and non-violent (Taylor 2010).

The deep ecologists at the Tømte seminar in effect took Klein's warnings to heart, as their subsequent writings focused on ecophilosophical and not theological arguments. This was not a hard choice for Næss, who included theological references in his writings to illustrate a possible 'deep' ecological position rather than professing faith in the Bible, while in public appearances Kvaløy focused on environmental issues and hardly on his personal Buddhist beliefs and thinking. This inclusive mood of thinking with respect to ethics, beliefs, and religion by deep ecologists sent important signals to the Christian community. 'Ecosophy is a kind of philosophy and not religion', Næss pointed out. 'Yet it can easily be given a religious meaning' (Næss 1976: 278). What that 'meaning' entailed would soon be explained by lay churchgoers and an emerging group of ecotheologians.

Ecological Debate within the Christian Community

The Christian community in Norway was not indifferent to the ongoing environmental debate, the dramatic Mardøla demonstrations, White's criticisms, and the deep ecological activities. Though it is unfeasible to locate all responses, the following passages indicate that reactions from churchgoers in the early 1970s varied from flat-out rejection of the relevance of environmentalism for faith to deeply felt sympathy towards the cause.

Among those rejecting environmentalism altogether were both conservative and left-leaning theologians. The way to God, according to conservative theologians, was through prayer, reading of Scripture, and participation in Church rituals. That population growth was an

underlying cause for environmental problems also seemed to contradict the key call in the Bible to '[b]e fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it' (Gen. 1.28; Try 1968). The leftists, on the other hand, worried that nature protection could take attention away from helping the poor. 'There is no road from the [natural] world to God', the socialist student of theology Trond Skard Dokka argued in 1970. 'To arrive at faith in God by studying nature, speculating about the path of the stars or sitting by the Vøringsfossen [waterfall], is according the Christian thinking not only a completely absurd thought, it is also a sin that leads[?] humans away from their original destiny', namely faith in Christ and care for fellow human beings (quoted in Repstad 1970: 106). Vøringsfossen, it is worth noting, was a prime tourist destination in the scenic Norwegian fjords threatened by hydro-power development, and it had been the object of romantic longing for at least a century. That admiring the splendor of the waterfall had nothing to do with religion was particularly upsetting to environmentalists who desperately needed support in their (ultimately) failed attempt to save it from destruction.

The conventional stand by both conservative and leftist theologians would gradually change. After all, old school churchgoers were also devoted to outdoor life, an activity that for some represented 'a partial return to the state of nature' when humans 'went naked in the Garden of Eden and lived directly from nature's gifts' (Borchgrevink 1968: 360-61). A growing group of leftists within the Church was also turning its attention to nature protection, an environmental socialist observed in 1971 (Unneberg 1971). The non-violent demonstration to protect the Mardøla River in the summer of 1970, led by prominent deep ecologists including Arne Næss himself, was admired in a theological journal (Holm 1971). One of the key activists at Mardøla argued in the same journal that the demonstration was signaling 'one of the most exciting watersheds in Western history' between 'the literal interpretation of the Jewish command about conquering the earth' and a new 'understanding of values' and 'protection of life' in nature. 'The issue at stake', the activist claimed, was to be found 'in the realm of ethics and religion' (Godal 1971: 496-97). The Mardøla experience had given him a feeling of being part of the 'the wheel of life' or 'the brotherhood with our fellow earth' which meant that 'we must give up increasing our [material] wealth' and halt population growth (Godal 1972: 408). A similar sentiment was expressed by Ole Jensen (b. 1937), a lecturer in philosophy of religion at University of Århus, Denmark, whose visiting lecture at the University of Oslo in September 1971 contended that Pollution is Blasphemy. 'We have caught the wrath of the Gods, as we have replaced gratitude with usurpation and exploitation, as we continuously exceed

our limits' to growth, Jensen claimed in his anger against the Christian heritage (1972: 387). Following White, he argued that unchecked economic growth was an act of hubris, 'a gigantic suicidal foolishness' caused by Western Christendom (1972: 386). As a remedy, Jensen pointed to the value of indigenous religions and Hindu mysticism (1976).

Rolf Edberg (1912–1997) was one of those who managed to turn Christians on both sides of the ecological 'cold war' divide towards the environmental cause. As the Swedish ambassador to Norway and through a series of books, he questioned the technological optimism prevalent at the time (1967a, 1967b). As early as 1966 he published a book on the importance of taking better care of the Earth. A series of popular books by him on ecology with religious undertones hit bookstores in the subsequent decade and were published in Norwegian, Swedish, and English (1966, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1989). They were inspired by the deep ecology of Kvaløy and Næss, though Edberg could not, in his capacity as an ambassador, publicly endorse their radicalism. Instead, he raised environmental concerns in a non-inflammatory manner, and he cited biblical passages about humility towards the Creation to make his points (Bjørnstad 1975).

The young feminist Dagny Kaul was another churchgoer using deep ecology in her theological thinking. Instead of mobilizing distinctions such as 'deep' versus 'shallow' or 'ecological' versus 'technocratic' in dividing friends from foes, Kaul introduced in 1973 (for the first time in Norwegian) the distinction between 'biocentric' (*biosentrisk*) and 'anthropocentric' (*antroposentrisk*) understandings of nature. Her source of inspiration was not Næss, who wrote that 'biospherical egalitarianism' was one key characteristic of deep ecology, but otherwise avoided the demarcation (Næss 1973: 95). Instead, she pointed to the writings of the Presbyterian minister in Minnesota, Frederic Elder, who discussed the anthropocentric/biocentric binary at length (Elder 1969, 1970).¹ Using Elder as a point of departure, Kaul argued that anthropocentrism

1. The anthropocentric/biocentric binary was nothing new in theological debate, as scholars had been discussing it for years, at least back to the 1930s. In a textbook meant for schools and colleges, Franz de Hovre, for example, notes that 'when man gives up the idea of God he falls back upon himself and thus his "ego" becomes the basis of his philosophy'. In other words, he becomes anthropocentric. Equally problematic to Hovre was 'biocentrism': 'Modern thinkers have essayed to eliminate Christ from their conception of humanity and to make life, as revealed by the science of biology, the center of their philosophy. With them it is accepted as an axiom that life is self-explanatory. The goal and purpose of life are to be found in life itself' (1934: 49). For a full review of biocentrism in the 1930s and beyond, with a focus on biocentrism in South Africa, see Anker 2001.

was identical with the exploitative Christian attitude White described, while biocentrism entailed a numinous experience of nature as the Lord's Creation. Seeing nature as a whole through the science of ecology entailed for her not only respect for all living creatures' inherent value, but also an opportunity for renewal of theological ontology that could unite humans with the natural world (Kaul 1973). This ontological project was taken quite seriously in alternative Christian circles, such as the Rudolf Steiner School (Christoffersen 1973), and much later when Kaul became the first ecofeminist in Norway (Kaul 1994).

Taking Cues from the World Council

The diverging opinions on the importance of ecology to Christians signaled a more fundamental change within the Church (Kearns 2004). To understand this change, one has to take a short detour abroad to a key meeting of a study group within the World Council of the Churches in Geneva in May 1971, whose conclusions became important to the Norwegian debate.

The meeting was about how Churches were to respond to the growing environmental movement and resulted in the statement 'The Global Environment, Responsible Choice, and Social Justice'. The statement was approved by the Council's Executive Committee and submitted in June 1972 to the United Nation's Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm. The document was the main contribution from the World Council to the Conference and it aimed at stimulating a religiously informed environmental debate. It stated that 'the world around us...has value in itself' and called for better 'stewardship for the Creator' through 'a responsible global environmental policy' (Executive Committee of the World Council of the Churches 1971: 438). Most importantly, the statement encouraged the world's Christians to engage in the environmental movement. The World Student Christian Federation, for example, invited Thomas Sieger Derr, a professor at Smith College in the United States, to expand on the issue, and the result was the widely read *Ecology and Human Liberation* (1973). In his review of various Christian responses to the environmental crisis, he argued that humans were the guardians of a natural world that should not be exploited but cherished as a divine creation. There was a need to limit population growth, he recognized, but it should be limited in a cautious way and not at the expense of people's birthright. Indeed, for years to come Derr would be an astute critic of religious biocentrism (Taylor 2010: 203-5).

Per Voksø, who had participated at various Council meetings as early as 1948, followed closely the activities of the World Council. As a lay

churchgoer in 1970, he was democratically elected as the leader of the National Council of the Church of Norway with the power to oversee all its activities. Inspired by the conclusions of the World Council's study group and Derr's book, he saw that the environmental movement raised vital topics for the Church of Norway. 'We have been given an Earth to manage; we are not allowed to destroy it', he claimed (1975: 7). He asked the National Council's Research Department along with the Council for Church Collaboration and the Church Academy to organize a conference on the topic, which took place at the end of September 1973. This top-down institutional effort to address environmentalism represented a turning point in the history of ecotheology in Norway; it moved ecology from the periphery to the center stage of Church debate. Though the individual papers at the conference did not represent the views of the Church, the conference sent a clear message from the Church's executive body about the need to address environmental issues.

The conference began with papers by scholars from outside the Church who, in effect, were invited to set the agenda. The ecologist Oddvar Skre, for example, reviewed his latest research on acid rain, and concluded that 'the ideology of economic growth should be replaced by a society in ecological equilibrium' (Skre 1975: 29). Likewise, Harald Olsen suggested an inclusive 'eco-political minimum program' for the Church based on ecological equilibrium principles that could be acceptable for believers who were sympathetic to but not followers of deep ecology (1975: 78). Others pointed to the international legal and political ramifications of the eco-crisis (Nord 1975).

The theologians responded with papers about the culture of materialism in industrial society and the need to respect the integrity of the Lord's Creation. The lecturer at The School of Theology, Torleiv Austad (b. 1937), for example, was a stern opponent of capitalism and favored greater social responsibility among Christians, especially towards the poor. He did not believe eco-centered faith to be the way forward. 'Don't let the Church's preachers become [natural] resource and environmental parsons!' he warned the Council; it would only lead to a 're-mystification of nature which is in dispute with the biblical doctrine of Creation' (1975: 43, 47). The lay-Christian intellectual Jens Wisløff (b. 1927) raised similar concerns in his 'eco-political' plea for human managerial responsibility for an 'Earth belonging to the Lord' (1975: 75). Lecturer in the history of religion at the University of Bergen, Gaute Gunleiksrud (b. 1936), took a stand against White's thesis. One could not blame theology for the abuse of nature, he argued. Consequently the solution to the eco-crisis should not come from the Church: 'The belief that the Kingdom of God has become near through Christ is something totally different than working

to protect and improve the old world... One could benefit from being careful with placing ecology and Christian belief together' (1975: 98). Nevertheless, Gunleiksrud thought the Church on pragmatic grounds should embrace environmentalism. That deep ecologists embraced 'ecological models in pantheistic (especially Indian) religiosity [and] myths about Mother Earth' was of concern in an increasingly secularized society, and the Church should 'in this situation of urgency' be willing 'to talk about God when we normally would talk about humans and their ethical responsibility' towards the Creation (1975: 101).

These comments illustrate a dilemma: the belief in salvation and the coming of Christ had nothing to do with the environmental state of the material world. Yet the pietistic Church had always been critical of the consumerism of industrial society. Caring for God's Creation could, perhaps, curb materialism and prepare the soul. Besides, it was clear to all by 1973 that environmentalism was of major moral force within society, especially among the young. The Church would have to respond by emphasizing human managerial responsibility. This, at least, was the argument of Jens Gabriel Hauge (b. 1927), who was a professor of biochemistry at the Norwegian Veterinary School and leader of the Council's Research Department. We must be 'society's watchdog', he argued, and make sure 'political decisions are made according to the Bible's managerial thinking' (1975: 116).

Ecotheology on the Syllabus

The debates around ecotheology were largely an internal affair among theologians until the winter of 1974. At this point, a reform of the University of Oslo's core courses, Examen Philosophicum, led Gunner Breivik (b. 1943) to write an article about the emerging new ecotheology. Placed on the syllabus, it became mandatory reading for a substantial number of students. It is worth discussing this item in some detail, as it indicates an important shift to a proselytizing trend on behalf of ecotheology.

All students entering the University were required to take a preliminary set of courses designed to introduce them to the academic culture and methodology, which meant studying philosophy of science, logic, and the history of philosophy for one semester. As higher education was cost-free and open to all in Norway, the chief social function of these courses, which required passing difficult exams, was to filter out unsuitable candidates. For such candidates, the courses would be their first—and last—academic experience. Serving as a key for inclusion or

exclusion, the courses would cause a continuous stream of public debates and student anxiety.

The courses were organized by the Department of Philosophy, which put much energy into maintaining its position within a growing University. That meant offering employment opportunities to graduate students and proposing a syllabus that would provide the professors with healthy textbook royalties. Næss was in the midst of this, having primary responsibility for the course at the University of Oslo until 1970. His textbooks in the history of philosophy, philosophy of science, and logic were required readings well into the late 1970s, not only in Oslo but at most institutions of higher education in Norway (Næss 1941–85, 1942–61, 1961–2001). His lectures and books made him a public persona, as most scholars and students in Norway at one point in life would have heard of him or read his texts.

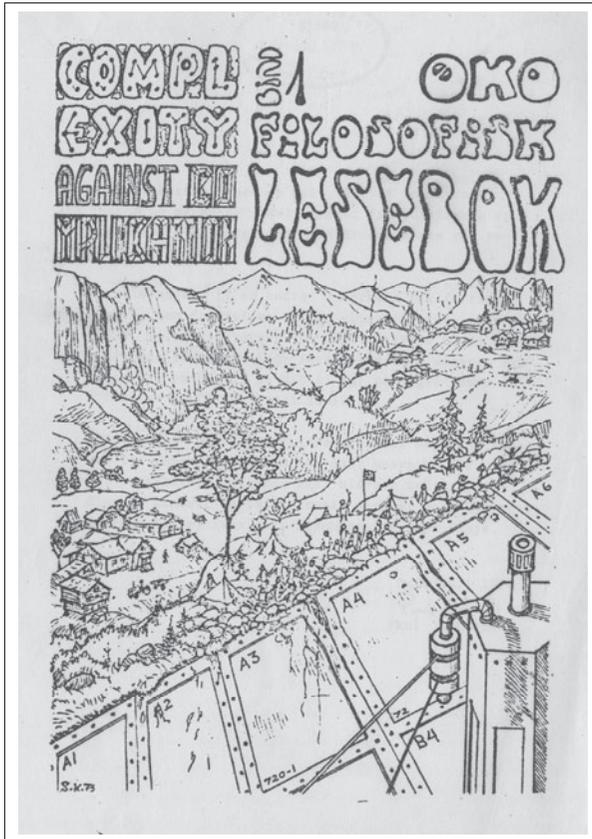


Figure 1. Front page of a deep ecology reader from 1974, with a drawing by Kvaløy from 1973. Courtesy of the University of Oslo Archives.

Many young students aspiring to become scientists felt that philosophy was irrelevant. In an attempt to answer these critiques, the exams were modified in 1973 so that students could opt out of some of the philosophy courses and instead take a course called 'Nature and Humans', which was geared towards the displeased science students (Rørvik 1999: 235). It was first taught during the winter semester of 1974 and became so popular that the University would struggle to find large enough teaching facilities and enough staff (Anonymous 1974).

Described vaguely as a course in human relations to nature, Nature and Humans was actually a course in deep ecology. Its reader, *Ecophilosophical Textbook*, was adorned with a drawing by Kvaløy from the Mardøla demonstration and included the motto 'Complexity against Complication' on the cover (see fig. 1). As Kvaløy saw it, the 'complexity' of the living world was resisting the one-dimensional 'complication' of the industrial world (1974). The reader contained a series of 'eco-' prefix articles by academic environmentalists from Norway, including an essay by Breivik on eco-religion. This was the first time not only ecotheology but also deep ecology became the topic of tricky exam questions students had to answer in order to continue their studies at the University.

Breivik had a background from the lay pietistic movement (*leksmanns-bevegelsen*), which had conversion and mission at its core. The movement had a traditional stronghold among farmers and fishermen on the Western coast of Norway where Lutheran faith went hand in hand with community activism and skepticism towards centralized politics, alcohol, and materialism (Gundersen 1971). Breivik graduated from The Norwegian School of Theology in 1969 after which he went to the University of Tübingen where he explored the work of Martin Heidegger. He saw in Heidegger's philosophy a potential to reengage a unified and consistent theology harking back to medieval theology (Breivik 1970a, 1970b). It was this longing for theological unity that reemerged in Breivik's ecotheological writings about pre-industrial Christianity and the purity of nature as a source of religious reflection.

Upon his return from Tübingen, Breivik enrolled at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences where Faarlund gave courses in ecophilosophy and the value of outdoor life. Breivik must have been impressed by Faarlund's thinking, the emerging environmental movement, and the Mardøla demonstrations, as he would abandon the idea of becoming a vicar. Outdoor life represented instead the way forward for a new society reconciled with nature. 'Outdoor life is politics today', he would say, as it was on issues related to this lifestyle and its 'fights for nature' that principles of ecology would be realized (Breivik 1973: 23, 39).

A head-on attack against the Protestant theology of Peter Wilhelm Bøckman (1970) and Per Øverland (1970) for their exclusion of nature was at the core of Breivik's article on the syllabus of the Nature and Humans seminar. 'Nature as a category does not exist' in the theological disciplines, he argued (Breivik 1974: 1). Christian ethics was only concerned with humans and society, he claimed, and if nature appeared in moral discussions it was only as a resource for human welfare. Based on this criticism, which echoed White's paper, Breivik launched his own alternative ecological interpretation of Genesis with a focus on humans as gardeners of God's Creation. To Breivik, 'eco-philosophy, eco-life, eco-politics' signified a radical turn towards trying to 'master' nature 'in His honor' as Adam and Eve once did as gardeners in Paradise (1974: 6). It is naive to expect a return to Paradise by our own will:

Yet it is not naivety trying to adopt the basic attitude of the gardener. It is not naivety to begin to collaborate with nature, built on the insights of the ecological laws. It is not naivety to try to restrict the Earth's population. It is we who began the fight against nature. It is we that have to change (1974: 13).

Breivik pointed to a series of passages from the Bible to support his claims. When it is stated in Genesis that humans should 'replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth' (1.28), Breivik argued that this should be read in view of passages which emphasized human humility towards Creation: 'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained; What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?' (Ps. 8.3-4). Thus, the article was an exegesis of quotes from the Bible that could be interpreted as supporting humility towards nature and an ethics of gardening God's estate in His honor. Those who did not get the point would risk failing their exams and, as a consequence, leave campus. Thus, for example, a student dreaming of becoming a chemist was to conclude in answering his or her exam questions that the current industrial exploitation of Creation was not in honor of God, and that true Christians therefore had to change their lifestyle so that the original ecological harmony of nature could be restored.

Breivik's article and its prominent status on the syllabus of the Examen Philosophicum did not please conservative theologians. Chief among them was Inge Lønning (b. 1938). He was a professor of theology, chief editor of the leading journal *Kirke og Kultur* (*Church and Culture*) and an active member of the Conservative Party. Should 'theology be the

maid of ecosophy?’ he wondered, noting that ‘the tendency to offer the service of theology within the ecophilosophical discipline [was] advancing rapidly’ (1975: 237). Lønning could accept Næss’s ‘arbitrary’ use of the Bible to ‘support an ecophilosophical/political program’ as he was not religious. Breivik, on the other hand, was ‘a theologian by profession’ and his article was ‘partly official’, as it was the only theological text on the entire Examen Philosophicum syllabus. His article was thus, in effect, the first encounter potential students would have with the discipline, though freshmen with a religious bent could opt out of the ‘Nature and Humans’ seminar and replace it with one of the other courses. Lønning believed Breivik gave ‘a coarsely misleading picture of the history of theology’ in arguing that nature as a category was excluded and that he had projected his ‘social gospel’ of saving the environment onto the ‘natural gospel’ of the Bible. The article was ‘not acceptable’ as a foundation upon which students were supposed to build their academic career, Lønning argued (1975: 238).

Lønning did not succeed in revising the syllabus. Indeed, Breivik in subsequent readers for the ‘Nature and Humans’ course maintained his ecotheological views. ‘The lifestyle today of the industrial human being is not in God’s honor’, he argued, placing his hopes in any religion that recognized ‘equality in the biosphere’ (1975a: 85, 90). Putting ecotheology on the syllabus and thus in the minds of young students became an important task in Breivik’s subsequent missionary texts for high school students (1975b).

The Greening of the Norwegian Church

The new ecotheological perspective caused concern as well as optimism among believers, and tensions would persist for years. Yet subsequent events indicate that the Church as a whole gradually moved toward a greener theology. A sign of this shift came in 1978 when the Council of the Church of Norway’s Research Department arranged a conference to address the ecological crisis. At the time a major new hydro-power development of the Alta-Kautokeino River was in the news, and environmentalism was on the political agenda.

The conference was organized by the biologist and Church activist Harald Olsen, who argued that Christians should take a stand against economic growth and in other ways promote ‘changes in basic attitudes’ to nature (Olsen 1978: 8). It was important for the Church to expose ‘idols of the syndrome of growth and false paradise’, another conference participant argued (Jonson 1978: 135). Environmentalism framed as protection of Creation could offer a way out of materialism for congrega-

tions. The Church should take its share of the blame for the 'Babylon' of capitalism and modern society's exploitation of nature and should instead nurture an ecological way of thinking (Gunleiksrud 1978: 140).

At the heart of the discussion was a paper by Breivik, which may have been his first appearance within a sanctioned research conference by the Church. He had since 1975 been appointed as the first professor of outdoor life at the School of Sport Sciences, where he taught the art according to the teaching of Faarlund, Kvaløy, and Næss (Breivik 1979). At the conference he began with a head-on attack against Lutheran ecclesia: it had been 'sleeping and a hanger-on, as...in Germany during the last war', with respect to exploitation of nature (Breivik 1978: 108). As a remedy he repeated his earlier argument about managing the Earth in honor of God as gardeners of his Creation. What was new was Breivik's emphasis on the necessity of an ecocentric ethic, and he suggested several reinterpretations of key scriptural passages to make his case: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth', said the Bible (Gen. 1.1). For Breivik that meant that '[e]very species and the whole nature have value in themselves. They are thus not only valuable as food or tools for humans. Nature has inherent value' (1978: 120). If the Earth were created by God, then He is its owner, Breivik argued, and humans should consider themselves as guests or visitors. These and similar statements were radical, even revolutionary, but not socialist. If anything, they represented traditional lay-pietism in new environmental clothing. The Church sought to nurture support from both sides of the Cold War divide. The eco-crisis represented an opportunity to be radical and progressive within acceptable socio-political boundaries.

Breivik made an impact. The conclusion of the conference was inspired by him and came in the form of an 'ecclesiastical plan of action' to mobilize the Bishops through the Church National Council to research, organize, and implement an eco-ethic within the entire Church (Takle 1978). The first step was to assign the anthology from the conference as a textbook. It was used well into the early 1980s by the chief organizer of non-academic religious training, the Norwegian Council for Christian Studies, which provided funding for any study group willing to read and discuss the anthology.

Young students of theology would not uncritically adopt the ecotheology of Breivik and his deep ecology partisans. Yet, their challenge led to new readings of Scripture that emphasized human modesty and respect for Creation (Strømme 1979). The subsequent events have been fully reviewed in Tarjei Rønnow's important book, *Saving Nature* (2011), which tracks the greening of the Norwegian Church from the late 1980s to the present time. There is not sufficient space here for a full

recapitulation of his findings, but the tensions and debates outlined above would continue, resulting in a gradual acceptance among Church leaders as well as in the congregations of the importance of ecology to faith. It was, according to Rønnow, a process in which religiously informed ecology evolved 'from being an issue on the absolute periphery of the Church to become a major expression of the Church activities today' (2011: 111).

The call for a new ecotheology in Norway began with environmentally concerned students and remained with students as Church officials and intellectuals saw ecotheology as an effective way of engaging the young. The ecological debate promised not only a renewal of Lutheran pietism, and thereby the Church itself, but also a renewed focus on caring for the Creation.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank John Peter Collett, Lisa Sideris, Bron Taylor, and two anonymous reviewers for thoughtful comments. I have also benefited from presenting this paper at The Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis, December 2012, and from talking to Nils Faarlund, Arne Næss, David Klein, and Sigmund Kvaløy Setereng, who do not necessarily agree with my reading of all the events.

References²

- Anker, P. 2001. *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1894–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- . 2007. 'Science as a Vacation: A History of Ecology in Norway', *History of Science* 45.4: 455-79.
- Anonymous. 1974. 'Miljøfagundervisning ved universitetet i Oslo', *Nytt fra Universitetet i Oslo* 13: 1-2.
- Austad, T. 1975. 'Kirkens medansvar for den rådende sosiale praksis', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 36-49.
- Aarek, H.E. 1978. *Kristendom og økologi* (Ås, Norway: Kvekerforlaget).
- Berg Eriksen, T. 1974. 'Naturen som appellinstans', *Kirke og kultur* 79: 293-96.
- Bjørnstad, Å. 1975. 'Økologi, etikk og religion—ein samtale med Rolf Edbergs forfatterskap', *Kirke og kultur* 88: 206-15.
- Black, J.N. 1970. *The Dominion of Man: The Search for Ecological Responsibility* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Borchgrevink, N. 1968. 'Naturfølelse og naturvern', *Samtiden* 77: 360-66.

2. All translations from Norwegian of cited articles, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

- Breivik, G. 1970a. 'Om teologiens opprinnelse', *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 1: 176-91.
- . 1970b. 'Heidegger og teologien', *Ung Teologi* 3: 81-92.
- . 1973. 'Friluftsliv: en vei til et nytt samfunn', *Mester Fjellet* 6: 23, 39.
- . 1974. 'Læren om gud og det store huset: (teo-logi og øko-logi)', in Paul Hofseth (ed.), *Økofilosofisk Lesebok*, vol. 2 (Oslo: 'Samarbeidsgruppene for natur- og miljøvern'): 1-17.
- . 1975a. 'Religion, livsform og natur', in Paul Hofseth and Arne Vinje (eds.), *Økologi: økofilosofi* (Oslo: Gyldendal): 82-95.
- . 1975b. 'Forurensning og Naturvern', in Lars Østnor (ed.), *Nestekjærlighet i samfunnet: sosialetisk spørsmål i kristent lys* (Oslo: Luther Forlag): 120-32.
- . 1978. 'Likevektssamfunnet—et teologisk vurdering', in Olsen (ed.) 1978: 108-23.
- . 1979. *Friluftsliv: noen filosofiske og pedagogiske aspekter* (Oslo: Norges Idrettshøgskole).
- Böckman, P.W. 1970. *Liv, fellesskap, tjeneste: en kristen etikk* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget).
- Christoffersen, S.A. 1973. 'Biologi og kristendom', *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 74: 182.
- Derr, T.S. 1973. *Ecology and Human Liberation: A Theological Critique of the Use and Abuse of Our Birthright* (Geneva: World Council of the Churches).
- Edberg, R. 1966. *Spillran av ett moln* (Stockholm: Norstedt).
- . 1967a. 'Jordens resurser och den tekniska människan', *Kirke og Kultur* 72: 195-211.
- . 1967b. *Et støvgrann som glimter: ødelegger vi mulighetene for fortsatt liv på Jorden?* (trans. Hans Heiberg; Oslo: Aschehoug).
- . 1971. *Vid trädets fot: lekmanafunderingar mot höstlig bakgrund* (Stockholm: Norstedt).
- . 1974. *Brev till Columbus* (Stockholm: Norstedt).
- . 1976. *The Dream of Kilimanjaro* (New York: Pantheon Books).
- . 1989. *Tomorrow Will Be Too Late: Dialogue on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Moscow: Progress Publishers).
- Elder, F. 1969. 'Two Modern Doctrines of Nature', in Donald R. Cutler (ed.), *The World Year Book of Religion: The Religious Situation*, vol. 2 (London: Evans Brothers): 367-94.
- . 1970. *Crisis in Eden: A Religious Study of Man and Environment* (Nashville: Abingdon Press).
- Executive Committee of the World Council of the Churches. 1971. 'The Global Environment, Responsible Choice and Social Justice', *The Ecumenical Review* 23: 438-42. Doi: 10.1111/j.1758-6623.1971.tb01131.x.
- Faarlund, N. 1972. 'Glimt fra klatringen på eggen', *Mestre Fjellet* 13: 9-10.
- . 1973. 'Om Økoliv', *Mestre Fjellet* 15: 7-9.
- Galtung, J. 1973. "'The Limits to Growth" and Class Politics', *Journal of Peace Research* 10: 101-14. Doi: 10.1177/002234337301000107.
- Galtung J., and A. Næss. 1955. *Gandhis politiske etikk* (Oslo: Tanum).
- Gjessing, G. 1967. 'Ecology and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research* 4: 125-39. Doi: 10.1177/002234336700400203.
- Glacken, C.J. 1967. *Traces on the Rhodian Shore* (Berkeley: California University Press).
- Godal, J. 1971. 'Mardøla-aksjonen og Norske bønders vandring til kongen i København', *Kirke og Kultur* 76: 494-98.
- . 1972. 'Om Hardingfele og naturvern', *Kirke og Kultur* 77: 406-8.

- Gundersen, G. 1971. 'Lekmannsrørsla og klassekampen', *Ung Teologi* 5: 47-61.
- Gunleiksrud, G. 1975. 'Kristne perspektiver på økologi: om skaperetro, menneskesyn og forvalteransvar', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 97-111.
- . 1978. 'Vektsamfunnets krise og kirkens evangelium', in Olsen 1978: 138-54.
- Hauge, J.G. 1975. 'Kirkens engasjement i økokrisen: oljeuttalelsen som vedlegg', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 113-20.
- Holm, B.G. 1971. 'Ikkevold—teori og praksis', *Kirke og Kultur* 76: 411-29.
- Hovre, F. 1934. *Catholicism in Education* (New York: Benziger).
- Jensen, O. 1972. 'Teologisk argumentasjon for tesen: forurensning er blasfemi', *Kirke og Kultur* 77: 385-96.
- . 1976. *I Vækstens vold: økologi og religion* (Copenhagen: Fremda).
- Jonson, J.O. 1978. 'Skapelsen: frelsens sakrament', in Olsen 1978: 124-37.
- Kaul, D. 1973. 'Dilemmaet i moderne naturopfatning', *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 74: 163-81.
- . 1994. 'Ecofeminism in the Nordic Countries', *Journal of the European Society of Women in Theological Research* 2: 102-109. Doi: 10.2143/ESWTR.2.0.2017329.
- Kearns, L. 2004. 'The Context of Eco-Theology', in Gareth Jones (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Modern Theology* (New York: Blackwell): 466-84.
- Klein, D.R. 1972. 'The Emerging Ecophilosophy', unpublished paper.³
- Kvaløy, S. 1974. 'Økofilosofi som forståelsesnøkkel', in Paul Hofseth (ed.), *Økofilosofisk lesebok*, vol. 1 (Oslo: snm): 1-16.
- . 1985. 'Tseringma-hymnen og det hellige fjell tseringma', in Sven Erik Skønberg (ed.), *Grønn pepper i turbinene* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget): 81-84.
- . 1987. 'Norwegian Ecophilosophy and Ecopolitics and their Influence from Buddhism', in Klas Sandell (ed.), *Buddhist Perspectives on the Ecocrisis* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society): 49-72.
- . 1995. 'Mother Earth's Treasures and their Revealers', in Padma Tshewang, Phuntsok Tashi, Chris Butters, and Sigmund Kvaløy Sætreng (eds.), *The Treasure Revealers of Bhutan* (Kathmandu: Bibliotheca Himalayica): 139-58.
- . 1978. 'Gjenforening med de ene som gjennomstrømmer all natur' (drawing), in Gunnar Breivik and Haakon Løyemo (eds.), *Friluftsliv fra friditjof nansen til våre dager* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget): 193.
- Lyngnes, R. 1972. 'Kan biologisk kunnskap gjeve dei unge mål og meining med livet', *Naturen* 96: 392-98.
- Lønning, I. 1975. 'Teologien som økofilosofiens tjenestepike?', *Kirke og Kultur* 80: 237-38.
- Nord, E. 1975. 'Økokrisens internasjonale perspektiver', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 50-55.
- Næss, A. 1941-85. *En del elementære logiske emner* (Oslo: Universitetets studentkontor/Universitetsforlaget, multiple edn).
- . 1942-61. *Oppgavesamling i logikk* (Oslo: Universitetets studentkontor/Universitetsforlaget, multiple edn).
- . 1961-2001. *Filosofiens historie* (2 vols.; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, multiple edn).
- . 1965. *Gandhi and the Nuclear Age* (trans. Alistair Hannay; Somerville, NJ: Bedminster Press).
- . 1972a. *Økologi og filosofi: et økosofisk arbeidsutkast* (Oslo: Department of Philosophy, 3rd edn).

3. I am grateful to Klein for making the manuscript available.

- . 1972b. 'Skytsgudinnen Gauri Shankar: appell om fredning', *Mestre Fjellet* 13: 15.
- . 1973. 'The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary', *Inquiry* 16: 95-100. Doi: 10.1080/00201747308601682.
- . 1974. *Økologi, samfunn og livsstil* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 4th edn).
- . 1975. 'Klatrefilosofiske og biografiske betraktninger', *Mestre Fjellet* 17: 16.
- . 1976. *Økologi, samfunn og livsstil* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 5th edn).
- Næss, A., P. Ariansen, T. Krogh, and H.E. Aarek. 1973. *Vitenskapsfilosofi: en innføring* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2nd edn).
- Olsen, H. 1972. 'Mot en økopolitisk enhetsfront?', *Kirke og Kultur* 77: 397-405.
- . 1975. 'Utkast til et økopolitisk program', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 78-96.
- . 1978. 'Forord', in Olsen (ed.) 1978: 7-9.
- Olsen, H. (ed.). 1978. *Mot et samfunn i likevekt: fra de nordiske kirkers arbeid med ressurs- og miljøspørsmål* (Oslo: Land og Kirke).
- Øverland, P. 1970. *Kristen etikk* (Oslo: Lunde).
- Reimers, E., D.R. Klein, and R. Sørungård. 1983. 'Calving Time, Growth Rate, and Body Size of Norwegian Reindeer on Different Ranges', *Arctic and Alpine Research* 15: 107-18. Doi: 10.2307/1550986.
- Repstad P. 1970. *Kirken og samfunnet* (Stavanger, Norway: Nomi Forlag).
- Rønnild, A. 1977. 'Gud og naturvitenskapen', *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 48: 193-203.
- Rønnow, T. 2002. 'Den økologiske vekkingen; skyld og soning i vår tid', in Peder Anker and Tarjei Rønnow (eds.), *Miljø og menneske* (Oslo: Gyldendal): 119-39.
- . 2011. *Saving Nature: Religion as Environmentalism, Environmentalism as Religion* (Berlin: Lit Verlag).
- Rørvik, T.I. 1999. *Historien om examen philosophicum 1675–1983* (Oslo: Forum for Universitetshistorie).
- Skre, O. 1975. 'Mennesket og naturmiljøet: ressursfordeling og ressursbehov i dag og i morgen', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 11-35.
- Strømme, R. 1979. 'Teologien i møte med øko-krisa', *Ung Teologi* 12: 1-11.
- Takle, S. 1978. 'Momenter for et kirkelig handlingsprogram', in Olsen (ed.): 155-63.
- Taylor, B. 2010. *Dark Green Religion: Nature Spirituality and the Planetary Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Try, J. 1968. 'Befolkningsproblem, matvaresituasjon og kortsynthet', *Kirke og Kultur* 73: 326-38.
- Unneberg, B. 1971. *Grønn sosialisme for utkantproletarer* (Oslo: Cultura Forlag).
- Voksø, P. 1975. 'Innledning', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 7-10.
- Voksø, P. (ed.). 1975. *Mennesket og miljøet* (Oslo: Kirkerådets Utvalg for Forskning og Utredning).
- White, L.T. 1967. 'The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis', *Science* 155.3767: 1203-7. Doi: 10.1126/science.155.3767.1203.
- . 1971. 'Den økologiske krisens historiske røtter', *Naturen* 95: 77-92.
- Wisløff, J. 1975. 'Utkast til et økopolitisk program', in Voksø (ed.) 1975: 71-77.