

DEVELOPMENT MODELS AND WORLD SPACE

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The problem to be discussed in this section is very simple to state: given five models of development, how do they relate to each other in the world space? It is incredible how little attention has been given to this in the development literature. It is as if world space did not exist, as if all social spaces are disconnected; each country having its own development problem and its own development policy as if it were alone in the world. And yet there is an enormous literature about relations between different social systems, for instance between capitalism and socialism - only that it has not penetrated development thinking.

The task here is to explore that field at least tentatively, but in a relatively systematic manner. And that can be done according to the simple table below where the five development models are given their colour names, and the matrix spells out all 25 possibilities:

Table 1. The matrix of world development relations

	Blue	Red	Pink	Yellow	Green	<u>tries to achieve</u>
Blue	1	2	5	13	17	penetration
Red	3	4	6	14	18	subversion
Pink	7	8	9	15	19	soft penetration
Yellow	10	11	12	16	20	penetration and subversion
Green	21	22	23	24	25	self-reliance
<u>responds with:</u>	Competition	Closure	Mixture	Competition and Closure	Self-reliance	

In the table a "world", for simplicity, is seen as having two development models only. Five of these worlds are homogeneous - meaning that there is only one model around; they are all on the main diagonal of the matrix. The remaining twenty are heterogeneous, but it may be objected that there are only actually ten, that blue-red does not differ from red-blue. However, we have included both of them for the simple reason that it might be not only interesting to see what the blue does to the red, but also what red does to blue. The sum total of these relations (which may be more than the sum of the parts) is what we are looking for. Analytically they may be somewhat different, in some cases even very different.

One can now proceed in two different ways, empirically and theoretically. Empirically, one could choose for each development model the country or countries that fit(s) the model best and look at how they have related in recent history. Theoretically, one could proceed from the definition of these models and simply try to deduce their international behaviour, in world space. What will be done in this section is the latter rather than the former, leaving the former to another context. The reason for that is simply that I am here dealing with "concepts and theories of development", sticking to the fundamentals. And the fundamentals are important : how much can be said, with some plausibility, about the relations between the developmental models simply knowing their definitions in socio-economic terms.

I shall now try to follow the numbers in the table that to some extent also reflect historical processes of some importance today. Nothing could be more natural than starting with the relation between Blue and Blue. What Blue tries to achieve is penetration, getting into the economy of another country by marketing products and/or by controlling production factors, particularly capital, through investment. The reaction of a Blue country would be counter-penetration, competing both in the marketing of products and in the control of production factors. Thus, the competition would be both in the world space and inside the two social spaces. That both parties try to get the upper hand is what is emphasised in Marxist theory. That both parties have a common interest in abiding by the rules of competition and would prefer to save the other party from bankruptcy to seeing it turn into any one of the four alternative models is what is emphasised, although perhaps more implicitly, in liberal theory. The net result is competition, with some element of regulation. However, world history has a sufficient amount of cases where relations between Blue countries have ended with a war, presumably also over economic issues, to warrant the conclusion that the regulation of the competition is far from foolproof. In short, there may be more competition than regulation, because penetration so easily leads to domination.

When we now turn to the relations between Blue and Red it has to be remembered how recent this relation is: only 1917 onwards and even so with tremendous oscillations, such as the NEP (the New

Economic Policy) in the 1920's. Blue will continue its game, penetration. Blue is cosmopolitan, world space oriented. The capitalist market knows no borders, willing buyers and willing sellers may find each other anywhere, in the most remote corner of the world, on the moon, on Venus, wherever. The profit motive is conducive to a cosmopolitan attitude. And cosmopolitan attitudes may also lead to a profit motive, if not in economic terms, then in cultural and/or military terms, or politically in general, simply by knowing world space. Not so with Red. Here the dominant perspective is national planning, and since planning presupposes a relatively unified executive (at least held by itself to be omniscient, omnipotent and benevolent), the perspective narrows down to social space. I will hasten to add: it does not necessarily have to be that way. There could be regional arrangements as there already are: CMEA (COMECON). Ultimately, it could become, if not cosmopolitan, at least very world space encompassing: planning for the whole world. But as it is today the simple fact is that through the logic of the Red system there is no direct hold on the Blue system. Of course, goods can be marketed but since these do not suffer a tough competitive filtering process at home, chances are that they will not be high enough in quality even at low prices - often referred to as "subsidised" in Blue logic - as if there is a law of nature to the effect that prices have to be calculated by the logic of enterprise and not countries.

At the same time, Red wants to change Blue just as much as Blue wants to change Red. But whereas Blue can do this through the market mechanism, Red has to limit itself to the power of ideas and the power of coercion ("revolution" or the threat of revolution), rather than the power of exchange. At the same time Red tends to become nationally introspective rather than cosmopolitan, however much the philosophy is international and the ultimate outlook is a socialist world - just as the goal for Blue is the capitalist world. Occidentals they are both, monotheistic in their secularism, universalist, feeling strongly that their system should rule alone, and that the other one is not only unnecessary but harmful.

The asymmetry between cosmopolitan capitalists and more national, provincial socialists is conspicuous today. Of course, in terms of ideas, it very often comes out the other way. But in terms of what

they can do, what the socioeconomic instruments in their hands not only permit them to do, but force them to do, the capitalist bourgeoisie is far more world space oriented than the socialist one. And two hypotheses that come almost automatically would be as follows: Blue could easily become politically/militarily aggressive, also go in for regulated competition in this field, known as balance of power; Red would tend to retract into itself, into some type of nationalism and/or become aggressive in world space in order to conquer with a big discontinuity, building a planning mechanism in formerly Blue countries where so far there is none rather than using the continuity of market penetration, with increasing turnover and market share. Both of them could easily become de-stabilising for the other, both of them hope they will. But Blue can penetrate economically from the bottom to the extent a market mechanism is operating, Red only through the minds of men and women, through ideas and may then, as a last resort, try to back it up with the type of power that comes out of the barrel of a gun.

How does Red relate to Red? According to what has been said here, this is decided by the choice of power: more normative power and coercive power, less contractual (exchange) power as the market mechanism is less developed. On the other hand, not being cosmopolitan, not having much of a world space orientation, one would expect this to be doubly true for Red neighbours. In saying so the market mechanism, peaceful competition for market shares, is then seen as one way of channelling aggressive behaviour also between neighbours under the assumption that they are about equally strong. If that assumption is not valid, economic aggressiveness becomes one-sided and the result becomes as will be developed below. But the Red-Red combination would play up to ideas, such as nationalism/irredentism, possibly with military overtones.

Let us then introduce the compromise between Blue and Red, the Pink, the Social Democrats. Their marketing is social, in other words, the exchange pattern is strongly coloured by normative considerations. For that reason, one would expect penetration to be softer, less one-sidedly geared to profit considerations. One would also expect a mixture between the competitive / counter-penetrative approach and the closure approach. In short, one would expect

the Pink country to let Blue partly in, but not completely, while at the same time developing its own market approaches both in Blue and Red directions. Relations between Pink and Pink would tend to be considerate, a mixture of shared ideas and market exchanges. From the theory implicit in this section, the result then follows: there should be less need for coercive power. If out of the three types of power two are already used, one might be superfluous. But, conversely: if one is blocked, like exchange relations from a Red country, then the other two become even more likely.

Let us then introduce Yellow countries. According to the theory, they have built into them both the Blue and the Red approaches. But this is done in a synergistic manner so that they strengthen each other. On the one hand they try to penetrate using the market mechanism and - as has become very clear with recent Japanese approaches to the United States economy - they try to subvert but perhaps more through structural changes than through ideas, and certainly not necessarily through force (although Japan 1894-1945 was a clear exercise in the administration of pure force in East and South-East Asia). As objects of somebody else's approach they will both resort to competition (through counter-penetration) and closures. They will not be cosmopolitan. Rather, they will be introspective, nationalist as engendered by their planning horizon but at the same time highly cosmopolitan in their market behaviour, putting the governmental machinery at the disposal of business for a common goal, regardless of whether the partner who penetrates, is penetrated or both, is Blue, Red, or Pink.

The Yellow combination is seen here as so strong that it will, tend to - when getting a hold, some leverage at all - outcompete the Blue, subvert the Red and have a relatively easy job with the Pink. But what about two Yellow countries with each other? So far we know only one full-fledged Yellow country, Japan, and much of Japanese policy is based on the assumption that there is only one Japan and there will never be any other - an assumption unlikely to remain valid in the longer run. One would assume the relation to be so strong on exchange power from the Blue component and coercive power from the Red component that unless there is a strong normative element uniting two Yellow countries (common history, common culture, common language, common enemies, etc.) this will be

a struggle between giants, of life and death. The one who has the greatest coercive and exchange power wins. But one could also imagine a strong community of Yellow countries strong enough to make the step from Yellow country to Yellow region. The Fourth world of the world's South-East, Asia and South East Asia, has not yet come to that stage but may one day do so with normative power as the cohesive link within and contractual and coercive power without. Qui vivra verra. If it should happen the world would be uncentric again, for some time to come.

Let us then go to the margin of the table which is also the margin of the world: the Green development model. Neither national market nor national planning, a collection of local communities, more or less articulated with their own, self-reliant market and planning mechanisms. Easily penetrated by the Blue, easily subverted by the Red, the object of soft-penetration from the Pink, easily both penetrated and subverted by the Yellow. There is one exception: that the Green social formation has sufficiently strong normative power to put up against the invasion of goods and services, force and threats of force. Of course, it is not enough to be an idealist and have good ideas. The pattern also calls for a sufficient amount of economic self-sufficiency in essentials for the satisfaction of basic needs, not to be black-mailed into submission, and a sufficient amount of fearlessness and effective forms of defense not to be cowed into surrender. It is this combination of self-respect, economic self-reliance and fearlessness that constitutes self-reliance. Without normative power this type of power-over-oneself will hardly be sufficient to stem the tide of power-over-others coming from the outside. Nowhere is this so clearly seen in the archipelago of monasteries that has survived centuries, even more than a thousand years in Blue and Red and Pink and Yellow seas with the waves lapping on their walls, yet never breaking them down.

What about the Green countries as an actor, not only as a re-actor? What do they do to others? Not much, their slogan being "Vivre et laissez vivre", "we'll not try to make you depend on us, we expect you to act the same way as we want to remain independent of you". Self-reliance presupposes not only the search for own independence and interdependence with others, but also that others play the

same game. Green countries would not be against exchange and modest exercise of market forces, but that would never constitute a major part of their economic activities.

If an overall, short summary of the picture developed in the text based on Table 1 is called for, it is certainly very mixed. Concentrating on the main diagonal for the moment, presupposing a homogeneous world where only one development model is practised: which world would be preferable from the point of view of the dominant value in world space, peace? No doubt the Green world would be the most peaceful one, again just riding on the implications of the definitions, not looking at concrete cases. The Pink world should also be a relatively peaceful one, borne about by the remarkable circumstance that no country has ever gone to war in Europe under a Social Democratic government (but certainly has been attacked). One might say that there is less of a built-in guarantee in the Pink world since the Blue and the Red forces are both there, although in a more embryonic form. That is, of course, true. On the other hand, the Green world might also be held to be less viable since it is based on such a heavy dose of normative power.

The Blue, Red and Yellow worlds will here be held to be intrinsically non-peaceful, with a threat of war constantly hanging over the heads of the inhabitants. It is considered unlikely that competition can remain peaceful in the longer run, and that pressure to subvert will not sooner or later lead to as aggressive responses as the subversion itself. And, it is considered particularly unlikely that a combination of the two could remain peaceful. Counteracting this tendency would be a strong normative compunction not to compete or threaten thy neighbour (or thy partner, regardless where in the world he is found) until he cries "uncle" or has become so unconscious that he is not even able to say that much. But could one not have a Blue community, a Red community and a Yellow community - the latter having been hinted at above? The Blue community is, of course, what the European Community and to a lesser extent OECD (and a much lesser extent the Trilateral Commission) is supposed to be about; the Red Community being what CMEA is supposed to be about.



There is a question, however: What is the normative basis strong enough to **unify** without an external threat? Is the Blue community predicated on the existence of the Red and vice versa; will they both fall apart if the other should disappear from the surface of the earth? Is there a **solid** basis at all for a community at that level of magnitude, into not only the millions and tens of millions, but hundreds of millions, billions? There is no longer direct interaction, let alone direct democracy. Relations are based on membership in some common group. But is an **ideologically oriented** community **really** meaningful unless there are counter-communities around? In other words, are the Blue and the Red and the Yellow communities predominantly inter-active, even reactive, not simply active for their own sake?

The contrast would be the extreme in the Green band of the development spectrum, the dark Green, the monasteries alluded to above. One would imagine, and probably rightly so, that most of them would continue just the way they are if the rest of the world should disappear. To this it may be objected that they are not representative of the Green model as such, which of course is correct. So they are chosen here only for the sake of illustration of an important point. Softer Green models will depend more on the national context.

Let us then **return** to the mixed worlds. From what has been said so far, it stands to reason that if the five are let loose (which to some extent, they are in today's world), **predictions** can be made about the outcome in the longer run, with the totally unrealistic assumption that no new models should arise. I would assume the Green in the classical sense of tribal/feudal/traditional societies, with a strong focus on local self-reliance, to be ever penetrated or subverted or pressed against the wall (or all three), leaving **only** the monasteries washed up on the high mountains and the dark green communes in the deep valleys and forests. In the struggle between the Blue and the Red, one **might** assume, in the longer run, the Pink to win, and the Red to succumb relatively soon because of its inability to satisfy basic human needs, to be followed by the Blue because of its too high ability to satisfy even non-basic human needs, creating an enormous gap between

wealth and misery. In the struggle to follow between the Pink and the Yellow, I would then assume the Yellow to win, having all that Pink has, but in stronger doses. One might then assume intra-Yellow struggles to ensue, as it is very difficult to see that there is a world normative basis for a Yellow world community. In the crevices of the collapse of that construction Green plants may then start sprouting, to be followed by the Blue, the Red and the Pink. And so on, and so forth, ad infinitum. A blueprint for some decades, generations even, of History?

That this is speculative will probably not have escaped the reader, nor that being speculative is no objection from the author's point of view. The basic point about such speculations is whether they lead to fruitful theorising or not. In my mind they lead to one particular problem: on the basis of this type of reasoning is there a world that is reasonably stable? Reasonably peaceful?

In terms of power analysis, that would seem to boil down to the following question: Given the three types of power (normative, contractual, coercive) what would be the basic condition? In simple terms: That power is exercised in a non-aggressive manner. Aggressive normative power is called missionarism, aggressive contractual power is called (market) penetration, aggressive coercive power is called exactly that, aggression. Hence, the basic condition for stability in the world space seems to be to turn the power the other way, developing oneself normatively, creating one's own economic basis and being prepared to defend, coercively, what has been created through the exercise of normative and exchange power. I do not think that is an unreasonable programme, and it is essentially what the Green model is about. But then come all the arguments against the Green model: too weak, too easily penetrated and subverted, too unproductive, too unable to stand up in defense of itself, and above all, too unwilling to interact with others. Of these objections I would take the last one very seriously assuming that the dialectic of interaction with others, even if only marginally different from oneself, is at the very heart of human history.

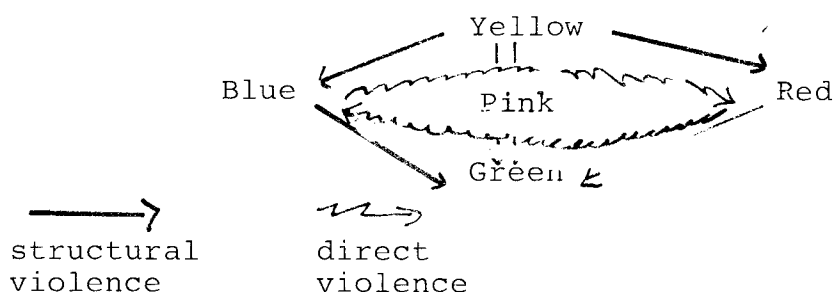
But not all interaction is equally germane from this point of view. If all countries try to get increased market shares there is still not more than one hundred percent to go around; if all

countries try to get positive trade balances they are obviously trying to square the circle. Red countries seem not to have sufficient amounts of products to throw into the bargain if a conflict should arise, and conflicts do arise also among Red countries, for instance around doctrinal issues, not to mention issues concerned with the exercise of force such as the precise location of international borders. Yellow countries, in principle, should be exposed to both sources of unrest.

Conclusion: Of the 25 combinations, I find only one which points in the direction of really high-level compatibility: combination no 25. This was Gandhi's world, the Sarvodaya villages connected by a system of "oceanic circles", the Green world. There is also a second homogeneous model with a relatively high level of compatibility: combination no 9, the Pink world. In both cases the long term stability can be doubted. All the others look unstable, also in the short run, in the sense of one absorbing the other, so that the world becomes homogeneous, but in that case either Blue, Red or Yellow, these three being the most aggressive ones. Or in the sense of using direct rather than structural violence, one eliminating the other. The Green are more likely to be exposed to structural violence, than to much direct violence from the potential aggressors, the Blue, the Red and the Yellow, who are then, in turn, more likely to apply direct violence against each other. But, when Yellow has come sufficiently high up to satisfy itself with the slower and more subtle workings of structural violence, it may treat Blue and Red more or less the same way as they have treated and continue to treat Green. The Pink will serve as the conscience of the world, attaching nobody, trying to be friends with everybody.

In other words, we assume basically the violent relations in a heterogeneous world to be as indicated in figure 1.

Figure 1. Development models and types of violence



Structural violence is from high to low, direct violence is more among equals - by no means indicating that structural violence cannot also be backed up with considerable amounts of direct violence, and counteracted with direct counter-violence. Today that particular dialectic is known as the relationship between torturism and terrorism, at present not engaged in by Yellow (Japan) - but that is not an intrinsic characteristic as the recent past informs us. Pink tries to stay outside the game, and may succeed provided it is not too closely attached to Blue or Red. At the same time Pink is both the object and subject of structural violence, but in more moderate doses.

Figure 1 is an effort to capture the major relations in the world today (if for a moment we disregard the Pink) although the real world is of course a more confusing place, filled with "empirical noise". Thus, the first and second, Blue and Red worlds are at loggerheads, caught in a deadly embrace of threats of colossal exercise of direct violence, a nuclear holocaust. The first and the third world, the Blue and the Green, are parties to the greatest large-scale exercise in structural violence the world has ever seen, neo-colonialism by and large making colonialism pale in comparison, certainly fading into the dialectic between torturism from above and terrorism from below alluded to above. And between the first and the fourth worlds, the Yellow and the Blue, a structural relation is developing very similar to the relation known for a long time between the first and the third worlds: penetration, exploitation, flagrant inequalities - in short Yellow treating Blue much like Blue has been treating Green, and still does.

Between the second and the third worlds, between Red and Green, another type of structural violence is tentatively being exercised: that of enrolling weaker countries into a pattern known by the Chinese as "social imperialism" although "socialist imperialism" might be a better term. Again structural violence is certainly accompanied by direct violence, both in the form of subversive activity to wrench the Green away from the Blue and in the form of "superversive" activity to keep the Green under the domination of the Red.

Then, between the second and the fourth worlds, the Red and the Yellow, there is at present very little ~~happened~~. But the prediction implicit in Figure 1 is clear: Yellow dominates Red structurally because of its superiority combining capital power and state power - in the longer run. And what remains, then, is the relation between the third and the fourth worlds, the Yellow and the Green: a colossal exercise of structural power, both directly and indirectly through the joint exercise of Yellow capital and Yellow state power. There will be counter-forces. But the outcome seems rather clear and can already be observed in South East Asia.

Obviously, this pattern cannot continue exactly like that for a very long period without leading to basic reactions. Basically the pressure is on the Green, so this is where the reaction presumably will come from, both in the sense of third world countries revolting against first, second and fourth world pressure and in the sense of Green waves within the Blue, the Red, the Pink and the Yellow. Since the Green parties to this world drama do not possess much in terms of wealth and force, contractual and coercive power, their response will above all have to be with the power of ideas. So far, the most powerful ideas are tied to religious convictions, meaning that religious fundamentalism will have to be the basic tool of the Green actors under the most heavy pressure, for instance those exposed both to Blue penetration and Red subversion (vide the case of Iran). But that leads us too far into the concreteness of politics, a subject to be dealt with elsewhere, using this as a basic scheme of reference.

The conclusion is in favour of the Green, the Pink and Green/Pink worlds. But, will the Blue, Red and Yellow abdicate? Will they see themselves as harmful elements in the world space, for systemic reasons? Does it not stand to reason that they will just continue and try to expand, at the expense of all others, as far as possible? And that the result will be an ever increasing tide of the power of the weak, religious fundamentalism normatively and micro war/terrorism coercively, with the hope of building economically self-reliant societies? A sad agenda. But a logical conclusion of a development theory and practice neglecting world space.