

ON EXPANSION/EXPLOITATION →  
ON AUTONOMY /LIBERATION:

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## 1. Two Concepts Of Exploitation

Some people have much, some people have little - some people have more, some people have less. Economics, politics, contradiction, conflict are made out of that kind of stuff. But this does not mean that the term "exploitation" should be used whenever the distribution of something considered worth having in a set of people (a population) or a set of nations (an international system) has a dispersion different from zero - that situation will be referred to as "inequality" rather than as "inequity" (exploitation). Nor does it follow that when the distribution is zero and there is equality - everybody has equally much or little, nobody has more, nobody has less - a situation of harmony will automatically ensue. Nor does harmony obtain as a consequence of the weaker condition that can be referred to as "social justice": subsets have equally much or equally little on the average; there is no difference between men and women, between First world and Third world nations although there may still be considerable differences within such sets. And - nor does it follow from the condition often referred to as "equality of opportunity ": subsets of people or of nations are given the same chances to participate in the market, in some kind of social game so that whatever social injustice or inequality might come out in the end at least cannot be ascribed to the differences at the point of departure.<sup>(1)</sup>

But all of this refers to distribution, not to structure. By exploitation we mean structure-induced inequality, usually also showing up as social injustice and inequality of opportunity. This immediately points to one way of counteracting exploitation: if it shows up as inegalitarian, unjust distribution then thorough social mapping of the distribution, and institutions to bring about redistribution if there is a social surplus to redistribute, should set the matters straight again. Typically this may be said to be the social democratic approach today known as the welfare state; in the visions of some people, at the level of nations, also as a welfare world.<sup>(2)</sup>

Less elaborate elements of that system might be found in liberal approaches. The conservative approach would leave the matters as they stand, let the structure generate inequalities and injustices as the structure is seen as essentially correct or at least as natural/normal. And the reactionary approach would protect such structures against any efforts at changing them, including non-deliberate, evolutionary changes that take place "by themselves" in the direction of increasing equality and justice (and protected by the liberals).

As is well known many people, many nations do not remain satisfied with liberal and social democratic solutions. There is this search, throughout history, for structures that do not generate inequality, structures not in need of compensatory redistribution mechanisms. Equality, or at least the weaker condition of social justice, should be built into the structure from the very beginning, making these desirable states of affairs automatic outcomes of social interaction, not something that has to be looked into, evaluated, reassessed at equal or unequal intervals : subject to political action that either will be based on political struggle and upheavals or on some element of volition, volunteerism, rooted in benevolent individuals or institutions with all the arbitrariness that this implies.

But what is the nature of an equitable, non-exploitative structure ? - leading immediately to the question, what is the nature of exploitation? At this point two directions of precization seem to crystallize, both of them problematic. We shall refer to them as the "exchange injustice" and "beyond limits" interpretations respectively.

For either interpretation the following reflections would be relevant. Basic in any structural analysis is the analysis of interaction, unfortunately usually reduced to an analysis of bilateral interaction. When there is interaction there is exchange: goods, but also bads, services, but also disservices flow from A to B and B to A. As a result of that there is also what can be referred to as "in-change"<sup>(3)</sup>: processes taking place inside A and inside B as a result of

participation in the A,B interaction. Thus, England and the low countries received gold from Spain in the 16th century in exchange for manufactures. Whether the terms of exchange were exploitative or not is one problem, the other and considerably less analysed problem is whether the "terms of in-change" were right. Money or gold passed from Spain to England; somehow the English were more able at putting it to work internally. What the English put to work was not gold as such but the orders they got to manufacture for the Spanish, orders that the Spanish theoretically could have placed inside their own country producing if not the same at least some of the "in-change" that took place in the Northwestern part of Europe - ultimately contributing to the solidification of the capitalist formation.<sup>(4)</sup>

What we are aiming at is the idea that any system of interaction leads to an enormously complex web of consequences between and within the actors and that it is the differential consequence of all of this, showing up as distributions of what people and nations have and do not have, that constitutes exploitation. The example is chosen to point to two factors in that connection: actors may not be equally capable at making use of interaction, and they may even do things that are stupid, at least in retrospect, thereby in fact exploiting themselves. For that reason it is the structure-induced part of the differential distributions one would refer to as exploitation, not just any differential. When some nations are rich and some poor it is not necessarily the outcome of interaction between them (or, less bilaterally expressed: of belongingness to different parts of a world system that is exploitative); it may also be due to differential resource endowment.<sup>(5)</sup> And as to "self-exploitation": it should not necessarily be assumed that where there are rich and poor one can use the metaphor "the rich exploits the poor" or "the poor is exploited by the rich". It is correct to say the rich are rich because the poor are poor and vice versa, but that is an assessment of how the structure works. The step from there to saying "the rich exploits the poor" is a leap, a jump from a structure-oriented to an actor-oriented perspective uncomfortably close to

automatically attributing motivation to the rich. A more fruitful approach would be to talk in terms of exploitative structures in which rich and poor both participate, both contributing to the exploitative nature of the structure through their participation. Admittedly the structure may be so exploitative that it impoverishes the poor to the point of depriving them of capability and even motivation to withdraw, individually and above all collectively, from participation in the structure. In that case, particularly when this is deliberate, one may really start talking about the rich exploiting the poor and of the rich being exploiters, the poor being exploited. In general, however, a structure-oriented perspective should be maintained, at least as a point of departure.

A second perspective that can be shared by the two interpretations has to do with the answer to the question: exactly what are these things that one can have more of or less of, concretely what does one talk about when saying "differential distribution"? The first answer might be "anything worth having or being." A second answer might be more precise, in the direction of categories of basic needs, assuming that what we are interested in is not how structures may be set up whereby the rich exploit each other as this could more properly be referred to as "cheating". What we are interested in are structures threatening the very basis of human existence, the satisfaction of basic needs; threatening them in such a way that human and social pathologies emerge as a consequence. Concretely this would take the form of a highly differential distribution of the satisfiers and dissatisfiers of basic needs, leading to flagrant asymmetries in the distribution of survival chances due to differential violence, well-being or welfare due to differential misery, identity due to differential alienation and freedom to differential repression. We would certainly not limit the exploitation concept to dimensions of misery alone, showing up as differences in nutrition, in clothing and housing, in medical services and schooling, in access to transportation and communication and in access to "comfort" - labour-saving devices, material protection from the hazards of nature in general. All of these would be

key aspects in any analysis of exploitation but it would limit the concept to more material, somatic dimensions. If a structure is organized in such a way that violence hits certain people rather than others then that is also an important aspect of exploitation. And the same can certainly be said about alienation and repression - both of them more non-material, psychological aspects of the basis of human existence. What can be argued, however, is that violence and repression tend to have actors behind them, they are less structural as concepts, whereas misery and alienation are more clearly structure-induced - all of these categories that obviously are less dichotomous than they are presented here.<sup>(7)</sup> Hence, there is substantial justification within this line of reasoning to do what Marx seems to have done: focus the analysis on misery and alienation more than on violence and repression, leaving them to more liberal, actor-oriented analysis.

One might now cut through the whole debate on exploitation and simply stipulate the following: the equitable, non-exploitative society is a society which produces the same levels of survival chances, welfare, identity and freedom to everybody. Having this as a point of departure one would then work what to many would seem backwards: if there are exchanges between persons, at the micro- meso, macro levels and between nations at the regional and global levels<sup>(8)</sup> then the terms of exchange should be stipulated in such a way that living conditions become equal among the participants in the exchange. The terms of exchange between tractors and maize should be such that the industrial workers producing the tractor should have the same quality of life as the farmers producing the maize. Quality of life should be defined by the two groups in dialogue and subject to one important test: whether about equally many want to move from worker to farmer as from farmer to worker. Correspondingly with the terms of exchange between manager and worker/farmer: again the living conditions should be the same but as their work is so different this can probably best be obtained either through rotation of jobs or through diminishing the distance between the two types of jobs where content is concerned. Obviously, the Chinese during the tremendous period of structural revolution inappropriately referred to as the "Cultural Revolution" were aiming exactly in this direction<sup>(9)</sup> among other things.

Interestingly enough many would not be satisfied with this kind of solution but argue that the living conditions, the "output" at the level of people and level of nations should be at least to some extent related to the "input" that people and nations make to the total structure. Exchange justice, as opposed to distribution justice tends to be seen exactly in terms of some kind of proportionality thesis: it is not "just" that those who put in twice, three times as much should get the same in return. Behind this is the incentive thesis: if they get only the same in return they will not be motivated to put in twice or three times or more as much, and the collectivity of people or nations will suffer because there will be less value of any kind flowing into the structure making the structure work, producing outputs of any kind. No doubt there is something to these arguments provided one is able to think in terms of not only economic remuneration (material goods and/or the money needed to acquire them) but also in terms of differential levels of identity and freedom. If professors, for instance, argue that they do not need to keep a distance to qualified industrial workers where salary is concerned then there is something hypocritical in the argument, for they would never be willing to accept the same levels of alienation and repression built into the structural positions at which industrial workers are located and at which professors are certainly not located. In other words, the total spectrum of incentives will have to be taken into account to assess the situation, not only the material ones. If socialist societies tend to go too far in thinking in terms of moral incentives, capitalist societies also tend to go too far in rooting their analysis and action only in terms of material incentives.<sup>(10)</sup>

Thus, the notion of "exchange justice" seems to be torn between two opposing tendencies: one towards equality and more particularly an equality that guarantees the satisfaction of basic needs for all, and an other towards some kind of proportionality, relating living conditions in a total, comprehensive sense to the

inputs in an equally total, comprehensive sense. There is nothing anomalous in this, it is merely a reflection of the complexity of social life, and perhaps also of the poverty of our analytical tools. Pressing just this too far in the direction of equality will probably lead to struggles for proportionality; pressing too far in the direction of proportionality will certainly lead to struggles for equality. No ideology and no social practice have so far come up with a stable resting point in between, some kind of theory for the adequate compromise. For that reason the best social structure is probably one that permits not only debate but also confrontation and struggle over these issues, within rules of the game broad enough for a rich social dialectic to unfold, narrow enough for the struggle itself not to generate excesses of violence, misery, alienation and repression. The best answer is probably proportionality within equality defined by minimum (floor) and maximum (ceiling) levels of basic needs satisfaction - not too far apart.

What, then, is to be understood by "proportionality"? Proportionate to what? Again there are no simple answers. The capitalist will enjoy the proportionality idea because he wants to get returns at least proportionate to the capital he is investing; "I provide capital difficult to obtain on today's market, the worker only his labour force which is certainly less difficult to obtain". Consequently, it will be in the interest of the capitalist in particular, and the capitalist class in general, to organize the society in such a way that labour is abundant and capital is scarce, propagating a proportionality thesis, and derived from this not only capitalist society, but also a justification of capitalist society as non-exploitative!

The critique of this type of reasoning is obvious: it perpetuates exploitation by building the result of exploitation in the past into exploitation in the future. If there should be proportionality then it has to be relative to an input which is less dependent on the past patterns of accumulation and more equally available to all. The answer in terms of time <sup>(11)</sup> is probably the most important: all human beings, all nations live in time and in a certain shared sense have time - they can all put time into participation in the structure. The output in terms of living conditions could then be proportionate to the input in terms of working hours. The number of hours of work needed to buy certain necessities, then, becomes a key indicator, particularly when compared across classes and countries in interaction.



There are certainly problems with this approach, as with all approaches in this field.

First, people wanting better living conditions would then be tempted to put in more working hours, in fact to work to the very limit and beyond, even working themselves to death in the effort to obtain improved living conditions. Collectively organized efforts to put an upper limit, at least on working time inputs that are economically rewarded in terms of living conditions, become a necessity and they take the form of regulation of working hours. In this there is also an obvious class perspective: upper classes protecting their privileges against the eager beaver in the working classes converting time into money, thereby working himself up the social ladder,<sup>(12)</sup> not only solidarity.

Second, groups such as bureaucrats, capitalists and intelligentsia will tend to like this concept and try to define it in a direction suiting their interests.<sup>(13)</sup> Bureaucrats and capitalists will claim, not necessarily wrongly, that their working hours are less well defined, that problems are with them all the time, that they never rest but incessantly work for the collectivity and that at least half of their officially defined leisure time should be seen as working time. The intelligentsia would say the same, but in addition invoke the time spent on their own education, pointing out that this was working time in order later to be able to engage in working time as professionals. Thus, the total working time input should be calculated so as to include education on a life-time basis and a life-time salary should be adjusted to that basis.<sup>(14)</sup>

Third, there is the perennial problem of differential productivity. If there should be a proportionality pillar on which to build equitable structures then what about the idea of relating output to output? Why should not he who produces more in the same period of time also get more in terms of living conditions? Leaving aside the problem of increased productivity due to the way in which science and technology have been frozen into capital goods (of which the intelligentsia behind the science and technology would claim their part) one

is left with differential productivity due to differential skills etc. of workers using the same means of production. In other words, the problem of piece rate , and the obvious result: again workers working themselves to death in order to fight for their living conditions, and the collectively organized effort to put some upper limits on the extent of piece rate work. And: workers in high productivity sectors/factories earning more than those low productivity sectors.

In short, once more we are led to the conclusion that there is no easy answer, at least not in a complex society. Precisely for that reason many might argue in favour of less complex societies, in favour of agricultural communes with a relatively small secondary and tertiary sector, rotation of everybody among the sectors so that the working experience becomes about the same, sharing of living conditions with a very low level of dispersion, no social injustice. It might almost look as if the concept of equity requires for its implementation, at least if it is to be according to a relatively simple formula, a relatively simple society. The moment the concept is taken into the complex or perhaps rather complicated societies<sup>(15)</sup> or social formations known today as "modern", "industrial", one seems almost automatically to come to inescapable dilemmas with trade-offs unprotected by stable equilibria, formulas unacceptable across the board, etc.

And this does not improve when one switches to the second major interpretation of the concept of exploitation. The basis for this concept becomes particularly clear if one looks at a distinction made in Germanic but not in Roman languages. The English verb exploit (French: exploiter) translates into German as ausnützen, but also as ausbeuten (Norwegian: utnytte and utbytte). The first picks up the usage of "exploit" in such expressions as "to exploit the natural resources on the ocean floor"; the second goes beyond this and is not adequately rendered in English (nor in French). This may have something to do with the circumstance that it seems so much more easy to discuss exploitation in Germany than in England and the United States - in the latter it is so often confused with inequality and social injustice.<sup>(16)</sup>

So, what is this sense of "exploit" beyond "making use of"? It is to make too much use of, and one expression that might serve as a basis for a definition would be to say: "to make use of beyond its capacity for reproduction or regeneration or renewal."

It is immediately seen that this meaning given to exploitation is a much more conservative one; it would draw the border line in general at a lower level. As long as the capitalist pays to the worker what is needed for reproduction of the worker and of workers - for instance in the form of a salary sufficient to provide a setting for his somatic and mental restoration after the hazards of work so that he turns up every morning fit to do his part and in addition is capable of raising a progeny that can replenish the working class - one would not talk about exploitation. The idea that there is exploitation because the capitalist keeps the surplus and decides over its use would not enter. It is only when this reproductive capacity is threatened that one would talk about Ausbeutung, not only Ausnützung; not because the capitalist pays below any norm of equality or proportionality.

Nevertheless there are some advantages to this concept. Thus, it becomes possible to talk about exploitation not only of human beings, individually or collectively, but also of the other "production factors": nature (land, raw materials including energy sources), capital (both liquid and fixed), possibly also research and organization. And the other advantage is that the concept of exploitation beyond reproduction/regeneration can serve as a basis for a rock-bottom objective definition of exploitation.

Thus, it makes sense to talk about worn out people and worn out nations or countries. For people it shows up as morbidity, both that of the body and that of the mind and the spirit; for countries it might show up as apathy, withdrawal, lack of participation and creativity and so on. <sup>(17)</sup> Human and social pathologies there will always be; the question is whether they have come to the point where the human and social "bodies" are no longer capable of self-healing, but are launched on a vicious cycle of accumulating degeneration (possibly with some intermittent lapses of regeneration).

For human beings this leads back to thinking in terms of basic human needs. By definition, when basic human needs are no longer satisfied disintegration/pathologies will ensue. A characteristic of disintegration is exactly its chronic nature: it does not disappear after a bout of medication. It can be made to look as if it disappears through medication, through a continuous flow of medical input that props up the exploited person and makes him/her look normal, at least to the unguided eye. And the same applies to nations: injections of technical assistance, military aid and support to artificial regimes, interventions and so on may conceal for some time some of the more clear symptoms of disintegration, but will not in the longer run serve to mystify the real nature of the situation.

Characteristically, it is in the field of nature that the criteria are most clearly developed - natural science being considerably stronger than human and social sciences. The concept of renewal is a key concept in current ecological thinking and refers exactly to nature's own capacity for regeneration.<sup>(19)</sup> It is if that capacity is threatened that one can talk about "exploitation of nature" in the second sense, going beyond limits. The United Nations Environment Programme has made use of this kind of thinking in the metaphor of "transgressing outer limits" the "inner limits" being located inside human beings themselves, roughly corresponding to the basic needs referred to above. The task of development is to steer a course where inner limits are not transgressed (meaning that basic needs are satisfied) while at the same time outer limits are not transgressed either (meaning that nature's renewal capacity is maintained). And just as for humans and nations exploitation can be concealed through "medication", removal of pollutants, recycling via man-made agents seemingly replenishing the stores of nature, concealing that such key aspects as diversity and homeostatic mechanisms in nature are being destroyed, in some cases irreparably.<sup>(19)</sup> Normatively, the concept ensures at least minimum (floor) level satisfaction of basic needs, if not more.

Correspondingly, one may exploit capital beyond its regeneration capacity : liquid capital no longer renders a surplus, fixed capital gets worn out. But what meanings should be given to

disrespect for the carrying capacity of the last two production factors, research and organization, will not be discussed here.

How does one know that the carrying capacity has not been respected? One answer is very clear: when it no longer works, when workers or slaves die, when internal and external proletariats revolt and refuse to carry on their jobs, when nature pollutes and poisons and no longer yields raw materials. In short, what is exploited hits back. But this is unsatisfactory as a criterion, a criterion an sich and not only für mich would be needed. This is precisely the exploitative attitude, to define as acceptable anything as long as "it works". Put differently: there is no exploitation (in the sense of Ausbeutung) as long as there still is something left to exploit (in the sense of Ausnützung). In short, to the limits and beyond!

If one now should try to summarize one might perhaps say that both directions of precization, both the "exchange injustice" and "beyond limits" precizations, come, so to speak, with a left and a right wing interpretation. Thus, there is no doubt what interpretation those with vested interest in the continuation of a pattern of exploitation would pick up: a proportionality thesis relating remuneration to the type of inputs over which they have a monopoly - capital, power and/or knowledge - and an "it works until they hit back" interpretation of the "beyond limits" direction of precization. Moreover: they would leave out of the calculation the extent to which the work is rewarding for them in and by itself because it is less alienated than for working classes. They would talk loudly about the quality of their inputs, but not of the quality of their work experience, thus hoping to get double rewarded (and they do not hope in vain). like professors who get both high salaries and highly interesting work.

Correspondingly, those with an interest in changing the status quo would pick up the equality interpretation and base their arguments on official hours of input, possibly over the life span. And they would back it up with objective criteria as to what constitutes minimum remuneration, and work upwards from there. In short: there is politics around every corner in this field, and it is a sad reflection on the social sciences that so little progress has been made in the general area of exploitation exploration.

## 2. Exploitation: A Multidimensional View

Two concepts of exploitation have now been explored, at least a little. Whether based on exchange injustice or even on pushing others beyond limits of reproduction the result is the same: the structure generates positions, vertically separated, for those who have more and for those who have less, even much less. How do we come to grips with this not only conceptually, but theoretically?

Before a theory is formulated, some meta-theory, some theory about the type of theory we need should be indicated. My own position is one that might be referred to as "generalized marxism", certainly not to be recognized as marxism by marxists, nor to be recognized as liberalism by liberals. Any good social theory should in my opinion satisfy the following conditions:

- (1) there should be a theory of verticality, of exploitation, of what it is, how it is generated and maintained;
- (2) there should be a theory of fights against verticality, how they are generated, how they can be maintained;
- (3) there should be a methodology for ideology, meaning by that a short distance between research procedures in general, critical analyses of empirical social formations and constructive analyses of potential social formations; - in other words both critical evaluations of the present and constructive utopias for the future;
- (4) the general approach to social affairs should be dialectic, meaning by that
  - nothing is perfectly good or perfectly bad; that in the yin there is always the elements of yang and in the yang always an element of yin, etc.

- contradictions crystallize, mature, there is a transcendence into something new, and within that new contradictions also build up;
- this process goes on for ever, there is no beginning and no end, but at any given point in time and space it may make sense to order the contradictions in terms of descending importance.

(5) a holistic approach, meaning by that

- a recognition that social things may be related not only causally, but also meaningfully, as belonging to the same "family of things", "scheme";
- every member of this family, material or ideal, has a certain structure; the common elements of all these structures being the cosmology of that civilization, the culture of that society, the personality of that person;
- the transition from one family of things to another, a change of program or code, is a major transformation in history and happens only rarely.

As to theory, dialectics and holism: Some comments on this. Without a theory, sufficiently practice-indicative, of exploitation I do not see why we should have social science. Exploitation is deprivation built into man-made structures; it is our task to understand this and contribute to the fight against them. The same can be said about large-scale violence, raising the perennial problem of its place in connection with the fight against exploitation. On paper the dilemma is resolved with the formula "nonviolent revolution", the question is how far that formula carries us - a question which of course must also be raised in connection with violent revolutions. If neither of them ushers in the good, or at least acceptable, society it may have something to do with the third point above: lack of attention to the alternative, the next society. The dialectic between the actual and the potential is then seen as a major force. When nevertheless basic social change does not seem to occur often it is because things hang together, in

more or less consistent schemes - and the more consistent the scheme, and more resistant against change (one reason why Eastern European societies are so undynamic). Incidentally, the word "dialectic" is taken to mean that more mechanistic and deductive approaches are not ruled out but are seen as one approach among several, and the word "holistic" is only meaningful if more atomistic, analytical approaches are also included.

As to verticality: It is assumed that the major expansion/exploitation process in the world is still the Western/capitalist, private or state, and that it is based on a state-corporation or bureaucrat-capitalist alliance at local, national and international (intergovernmental, trans-national) levels to which intelligentsia/researchers contribute and are even indispensable because of the size of the enterprise, and which, in turn, is protected by machineries of coercion internally and externally, the police and the military, and ideologically by the party. Wherever these Westerners come they set up patterns of interaction so that the net benefits, when both material and non-material dimensions are taken into consideration, are highly asymmetrically distributed, the points of accumulation being the centers, the rest being the periphery. Which comes first of these forms of penetration is only interesting from the point of view of linear, causality-oriented Western cosmology; the point of view taken here is that they belong to the same "scheme of things", expansionism, center-periphery formation with the center in West -- both center and periphery being in constant process, in a flux, adapting to new circumstances (out of which innovation of new means of production is one), but keeping the basic relationship. The system is impossible without sub-centers, centers in the Periphery, and in the longer run probably also impossible unless the periphery in the Center cooperates more with the center in the Center than with the periphery in the Periphery. Result: the history of Western imperialism, five centuries.



... as well. We now have two concepts of exploitation and also theory of what a theory of exploitation should look like. The next step, obviously, is to try to make a theory of exploitation. Theoretical history from different corners of the world, not only the history of the United States, now in decline, it would have to be general theory, and dealing with general conditions. Theory could also proceed from the historical to concrete history - but one approach leads to the other, so they are not, they should inform and inspire each other.

Here are the building blocks for a theory of exploitation:

(1) A motive of expression, if having more. This motive goes toward the satisfaction of the most basic needs for food (air, water), for shelter, for health, for an education in a broad sense. Two specific motives stand out:

- "non-annual labor", liberation from heavy, heavy, heavy labor
- "material comfort", liberation from the heavy side of surplus

Since all hierarchical systems we know of seem to have in common that there are the two sectors in non-annual labor and enjoy material comfort there must be something very basic to these two points.

(2) A pattern of exploitation as a sense of expression. In the first instance is "exploitation" in the sense of quantum, out, among other things because of its use to the exploited is because "exploitation" in the sense of suspension, insensitive to the larger signals. Two types of differentiation go hand in hand with this:

- class, between exploiters and exploited, elite and people
- sector, between internal and external sector of the economy

By definition those getting up having most will be the elites in the internal sector, having less will be the people in the external sector, with the other two categories in-between. If we use the terms center and periphery for the class differentiation and Center and Periphery for the sector differentiation, then we end up with the four corners (or, if, if, if, if) - it is two-class, two-sector, four-

(3) A classical production function for goods and services.

could have these five factors:

Nature - meaning raw materials, including energy

Labor - meaning human labor-force, manual and non-manual

Capital - liquid or fixed (concrete goods)

Research - meaning the application of science to create technology

Organization - meaning the ways of putting the other four together

The production function is, of course, a tautology, but a useful one. However, the way economists proceed from this point on, in terms of intensive/extensive, misleads or obscures what it calls attention to different profiles and to factor substitution, but diverts attention away from intensity beyond reproduction/reparation/renewal: in other words exploitation (in the second sense). Their thinking has been based on illusions of inexhaustible supplies of factors, and for that reason has failed to discover signs of exhaustion. The irreparability of (macro-level) economic systems to cope to cope with problems of ecology, of domestic and international politics as derived from structures of exploitation, and of the exhaustion of human beings in general stems from this point.

Let us now start combining these simple building stones. Let us first note that there are conditions under which basic needs, including a need for liberation from heavy and dirty work and from the often brutal oscillations of nature (heat and cold, storms, floods and droughts, earthquakes and tsunamis) much beyond tolerance limits of us humans <sup>can be satisfied</sup> without creating classes and sectors, and without taxing nature beyond renewal capacity. These are the types of conditions often associated with Pacific and Caribbean islands before the Western onslaught, Amerindian America, much of Africa before colonialism - less associated with Asia. This is important because it has point to macro-culture, ie. civilization, as a major factor in defining patterns of expansion/exploitation.

And one of the very things defined by a civilization is precisely the level of distance/proximity from oneself to others and other things. Distinctions like those between elites and people and between internal and external sectors of the total economy are distinctions of distance whereby people are treated very differently from elites, the external sector of the economy very differently from the internal sector, and nature very differently from people or humans in general. In saying so we are not saying that ideas of distance precede structures of exploitation, nor that such structures are in search of legitimation through ideas of distance. We would rather see these as two aspects of the same thing, growing together and working together, with leads and lags with no clear, linear pattern of causality. The relation is a two-way one as in a very important special case, in the relation between prejudice and discrimination in racial/ethnic relations. Distance is related to the type of inequality that not only makes exploitation barely possible and makes the exploiters so insensitive to the consequences and the warning signals that ultimately there is either nothing more to exploit or what is exploited revolts, hits back, and a new system (of non-exploitation or transformed exploitation) is ushered in.

Let us therefore in the third building-stage in order to answer a simple question: what types of exploitation are there? If exploitation is related to the production of goods, then a simple production function should give the answer as it lists the inputs needed for the production of goods/services. This formula also holds for the internal sector, or inside the family, only that this form of production is usually very nature-, capital- and research-intensive, but that the family is a structure leaning for labor-intensive production of goods/services, using mainly female labor. And it is important to know where the factors are drawn from, whether from the internal or external sectors. Whence elites and peoples are socially defined as members of the same society the sectors are

hierarchical; defined, to name military, political, economic, any kind of conquest of other territory, that may or may not be incorporated into the society/country of the conqueror. The conquest is in order to exploit, hence, by definition, what is conquered is treated with ever more increasing brutality to the consequences. The model or exemplar would, of course, be the colonial or neo-colonial systems established by the west during the last five centuries: but history abounds with other examples from past and present - and the future is likely to produce many more if present trends continue. The external sector is a place from which everything is taken, leaving it behind as a waste-land, and as a place where all the wastes (including human) from the internal sector can be dumped, and the internal sector has to be re-organized in order for its production and distribution to be able to support the needs of the external sector by itself.

With five sectors and two sectors would represent types of exploitation, meaning points where the exploitation could occur. As they are not exclusive to either one or the other can be defined to all, or to a part of the total, or to a part of the types of exploitation, or to all (and there there is the one system with an exploitation of all). Through time, however, the system would not necessarily remain static. A social formation might have one or two sectors of the other class, or a range of exploitation to which it is not a proper or exploitation or a type of exploitation where only one of the classes is the primary skinner of the tax, to divide the work of it. It should be of use directly because if there was any, or there was some other type of exploitation is inherent in the work of it, one easily. In other words, a theory of arrangement of types of areas of exploitation including all the major social systems or processes of exploitation. And because there is but had for different options to all about

But this system of exploitation is not necessarily, in itself, or directly it, to maintain the class of taxes from ten down to four. This can be done with the use of losing right of some important distinctions, but for the present purpose that is less important. The main thing is to have a theory and to have the means,

... and in the other three since they belong together to the  
basis underlying high productivity in substitution for labor and ma-  
chine control, research and development. Will we ever be able to  
exploit all three? Of course, capital can be substituted  
labor. The manual control of people living off investments (in  
land or fixed capital) can work well. Research can also be  
linked as far that it has a counter-act - a search into  
nuclear energy and research on artificial intelligence systems. And  
research can be put into operation as far the extent of some  
of the work.

Research thinking can, however, of an indirect type of  
exploitation of self, in the sense of a search, through this type of  
control substitution. This is the case, even if the general re-  
sult of every kind from nature, other humans, manual or non-manual,  
and from the product (goods/services) brought about by man's activi-  
ties, automation/mechanization, energy or movement etc. The exploi-  
tation has to be of the kind hitting the material kind hitting the  
help as of the non-material kind hitting the spirit, the spirit,  
usually referred to as a decision, and hitting both elites and people.

... while it has four ten types to three, ... but as  
we have to keep the internal/external distinction we have to look  
at four types of exploitation:

- (A) Exploitation of the internal people (proletariat)
- (B) Exploitation of the external sector (nature, all)
- (C) Exploitation of nature
- (D) Exploitation of self

and with this we can get back to the point of departure: an elite  
wants to establish itself as materially non-productive in the  
inner sense of covering its manual labor, in addition living in  
material comfort. The simple listing above gives four points on  
which the pressure can be exercised, four types. But these four  
types combine into 16 patterns manageable enough to explore:

Table 1. Patterns and processes of exploitation

	<u>I</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>S</u>
	<u>Internal</u>		<u>External</u>			<u>Nature</u>	<u>self</u>	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>China</u>				
	<u>proletariat</u>		<u>sector</u>					<u>world</u>	<u>world</u>	<u>world</u>					
(1)	0		0			0	0								0
(2)	*		0			0	0								0
(3)	0		*			0	0								0
(4)			*			0	0								0
(5)	0		0			*	0								0
(6)	*		0			*	0								0
(7)	0		*			*	0								0
(8)	*		*			*	0								0
(9)	0		0			0	*								0
(10)	*		0			0	*								0
(11)	0		*			0	*								0
(12)	*		*			0	*								0
(13)	0		0			*	*								0
(14)	*		0			*	*								0
(15)	0		*			*	*								0
(16)	*		*			*	*								0

The patterns are obtained through simple combinatorics, \* meaning that the type of exploitation is present, 0 that it is absent, that the factor is used ~~softly~~. Two patterns that differ on only one type may be called neighbors. A process is a trajectory connecting neighbors, reflecting one change (the reduction or increase in one type of exploitation) at the time only. The processes should be seen <sup>as</sup> indicative or illustrative only.

The way the story is attempted told in the right hand side of the table it is one of first world exploitation becoming more and more complete, and then being forced back. Why? Essentially because the Second and Third worlds are also moving towards more complete ~~patterns~~ of exploitation and they cannot all be exploiting at full speed at the same time. The old one is "First world" because it

was first in this type of exercise, <sup>and</sup> has to yield first. It is seen here as starting <sup>with a</sup> pattern profoundly exploitative of people in general at the beginning of the modern era, then adding an external sector through colonialism, then adding the rapacious onslaught on nature, then the type of "modern" society which through deep patterns of self-exploitation completes the configuration. But having possibly in the 1970s, the upswing starts: elite-people distinctions are reduced, relative to what they were, through increasing similarity in way of life - brought about by trade union/labor party struggle. The exploitation of the external sector is diminished through national and people's war of liberation from colonialism and neo-colonialism and then through NIEO. That is where we are now, more or less, **T**hen there is the future perspective of the pressure on nature diminishing through increased ecological awareness and ultimately the pressure on everybody in a "modern" society diminishing through alternative ways of life in the broader sense, leading to a non-exploitative society. ~~See article in the book, it could not be struck--~~

The **S**econd world is seen as starting after a socialist revolution as exploitative of nature only - being weak on ecological awareness. After a short while new structures for the exploitation of manual labor, workers and peasants, are established through party-controlled, trade union-free factories and kolkhoz/sovkhoz systems. Exploitation of the external sector is brought in through empire-building in the case of the Soviet Union and vertical division of labor, essentially with the Soviet Union, for the Eastern European countries. Through this combination the Eastern European countries have Soviet Union as a market for industrial goods to the extent they are able to supply, whereas the Soviet Union can engage in "raw material imperialism", meaning entering into long term contracts with commodity suppliers, reselling on the world market when prices go up. As the total system "modernizes" exploitation of self is added to the pattern and that is more or less where it is today although less explicitly so than the First world.

For the Third world both an OPEC type and a non-Opec type process is indicated. In the OPEC type one starts exploiting nature and then adds the external sector through increasing prices. The exploitative nature of the activities lies in the fact that oil is non-renewable, and that the external sector, particularly the poor Third world countries, are taxed beyond their regeneration capacity. Exploitation of self then follows through "modernization". Of course, there are also very poor people in these countries but they are not strictly speaking necessary for this type of formation so they are not included in this process for "some" (like Kuwait and the UAE countries) OPEC countries. For other Third world countries the point of departure is seen as a pattern of exploiting the internal proletariat whether built into an age-old civilization (eg Hindi, Chinese, Japanese) or created in the encounter with Western civilization by keeping the colonial structure, only changing the skin color and some of the modus operandi of the top echelons, the new elites. Exploitation of nature is then easily added with modern technology, and from that would come exploitation of self and exploitation of an external sector if they are able to. The latter may be a (weakened) part of the First world, reversing the roles.

Then, there is China, for which we have indicated a combination of the second and third world scenarios. Starting after the revolution essentially living on its own nature, and to start with probably with a high level of age-old Chinese ecological consciousness, the next step, in the cultural revolution, was to add a very special, high-pitched, exploitation of everybody to which is then, at present, added internal exploitation, gradually (possibly with some relaxation of the self-exploitation). The next step would be to generate an external sector through world trade, possibly in cooperation with Japan (which is not included in the concept of First world used here).

It should be noted that in this review some types of exploitation have not been made use of, types 3 and 10, 11 and 12.



Type 9 is not at all impossible; it would be a class-less society living in harmony with nature and itself, only exploiting the outside. Actually, one might say that there are societies where the elites treat their "own" people the same way they treat the external sector, drawing the internal/external distinction much closer to the elite. In order to do this clear lines of demarcation are needed inside society and nothing comes so handy for this as a racial border. The "merciless" living enjoyed by whites in a sea of blacks in the arch brought about by slavery from Washington DC to Rio de Janeiro is one example; the plantation/industrialized labor economies of colonial Africa being another. An example might be Rhodesia in **barely** the fifteen years between UDI and full autonomy, particularly because the race factor washed out the difference between the African used as internal proletariat and the African countries surrounding them (to which they did not have such access for exploitation, though).

Types 10, 11 and 12 are all self-exploitation with exploitation of internal and/or external proletariat, but in soft or nature. This has not yet become an empirical pattern but it should come about: one no longer faces tough nature but all kinds of productivity are increased to the maximum, with very high levels of vertical division of labor within <sup>and</sup> between countries. One reason why these forms may be just around the corner (and become landing points for the upward swing of the processes) is precisely that we seem to be more sensitive to the signals from nature than to the signals from the exploited inside and outside our own society, even more sensitive than to the signals from ourselves!

Seen in this perspective capitalism, private or state, is only one way <sup>of</sup> exercising exploitation. Socialism, as opposed to state capitalism, is seen as a formation that would abolish internal exploitation of its own people, but less sensitive to the exploitation of nature and self precisely because of its concern, even cult of the further development of productive forces, <sup>productionism.</sup> Through distance to the outside it might even exploit the external sector, unless

with type 14. Thus, capitalism may be very efficient in arriving at a complete exploitation configuration, but socialism is not far behind; its barrier against exploitation being essentially against internal exploitation of manual workers. It is at this point that exploitation in the sense of exchange injustice enters, demanding just terms of exchange, not only protection against exploitation of type 1, of labor worn out beyond regeneration (super-exploitation).

The basic point in all this is to see exploitation as a deeper category than, for instance, capitalism - seeing capitalism only as one, among many, ways of organizing exploitation. Where does it come from? What is at its roots? Above we have indicated two factors:

- a rejection in terms of liberation from manual labor and discomfort
- a distance to people, to the exterior, to nature, and ultimately even to oneself.

This distance is then seen in a double perspective, both as something created by a structure of exploitation and as a **set** of basic attitudes/beliefs. One reinforces the other: as exploitation sets in other people, the exterior, nature and ultimately oneself become increasingly less lovely and hence more easy to exploit (although with diminishing returns). And the more pronounced that distance, viewing nature, other peoples are other people, and ultimately oneself as something remote, the more easy to start the exploitation; right inside one's own family for that matter. This structure-culture inter-face, at that relatively deep level, is - of course - exactly what cosmology is about, so the root of exploitation is seen as being the civilization itself.

But that does not only point to occidental civilization, and for occidental civilization only to occidental history in the expansionist phase where external exploitation is concerned. Hindu, Sinic and Nipponic, and occidental-medieval civilizations are also

seen as profoundly exploitative internally as evidenced by the European-feudal, Hindu-brahmanic, sinic-premodern and nipronic-Tokugawa caste systems. The European-feudal is also seen as very exploitative of nature, perhaps the major reason why it proved not to be so low level as the other three. But when it comes to the orientation towards the external world, as built into their space perspective, all four were relatively similar with the possible exception of the nipronic already starting seeing the external world as a resource. Feudal European, Hindu and Sinic perspectives on the rest of the world as vague, relatively uninteresting or right out barbarian are not conducive to exploitation of the external sector. Bringing out the point that the distance may be too big, to the point of making the factor irrelevant, unseen.

What then about the first factor, the motivation to have others, including machines, work for one, producing comforts of all kinds? Is this there is already an element of distance from nature, both as it affects work and leisure. But there is also an element of chance, even of "growth"- of wanting more. "Development"? The idea of exploitation, the concern of this paper, makes it quite clear that it cannot be growth at the expense of something. But it could also be kept within bonds. It could also be a group together raising its level of material living, in a pattern of social organization known in primitive societies and not at the expense of no members of the groups in particular through division of labor and differential power/privilege, not abusing the outsider, and maintaining themselves as human beings. In that case one could talk of development, so so-called "all" factors that they are not exhausted/exhausted.

But imagine now that we start with a system characterized by internal exploitation. A materially non-productive elite emerges, with power and privilege; vi. 2 in our list of patterns. Is it possible to remain at this stage? Possibly, but the conditions would probably have to be that

- the elite has a maximum, ceiling, on its size
- the elite has a maximum, ceiling, on its wants

Such elites are known from history, and the two factors may, in fact, have been decisive in explaining why the Western Roman Empire, the bas empire, went under, and the Eastern not. But present day social formations do not seem to be of that type, inspired as they are by expansionist occidentalism. The net result is that there will be a process of exploitation towards more complete patterns, when the internal proletariat has been exploited to the maximum. Incidentally, it actually follows from this that most dangerous to the outside may be the formations wanting a high standard of living for everybody, in fact wanting everybody to be part of the elite in the global sense - the welfare state, social democratic, socialist formations - for they have certainly not put any ceiling on the elite size. One type of exploitation, the internal one, being blocked they may have to add other types, more intensively, instead.

In general there are two ways to proceed; by exploiting the external sector through expansion, or by attacking nature. The post-Roman empire, medieval regimes, when they left the mercurial and entered the feudal phase generally opted for exploitation of nature to satisfy the appetites of an expanding <sup>(albeit small)</sup> elite with expanding appetites. The result was eco-catastrophe and the end of the medieval system. After that expansionism and exploitation of the external sector were the basic themes of the "modern period", Western imperialism - with the Hindu, sinic and micronic formations not using this option and also being, on the average, softer on nature. The net result of this was, of course, that the West gradually relaxed its caste structure and transformed it into an increasingly open class structure that could accommodate expanding elites with expanding appetites whereas the other three could have kept the caste structure, thereby compensating internally, with small elites and terrible misery at the bottom (of India and China, Japan gradually got some kind of welfare state at the expense of external exploitation). Exploitation becomes a little like communicating vessels: if you reduce the level in one, the level increases in the other! A phenomenon very much to be accounted against.

... and the basic among them are the bourgeoisie since the state, by definition, has power over power, ultimate power, and, thus, it is the bourgeoisie that controls the state.

... but also the researcher/intellectuals and the organization of labor, and the capitalist owners special in the theory of exploitation is built into the wages. That makes the labor-owners, the state as slaves, not be kept in bondage like slaves - but the exploit-

... it cannot be ... has much more of a choice, it cannot be ... a majority of the slaves, or else die from starvation. The possibility of people given the "choice" between supplying labor on the condi-

... to obtain control over the factors of production so that the slaves, to my mind, can be found in one sentence: the slaves - the great ... Marx's great ... the social structure of exploitation and the

... the expense of killing someone/something. But the social anti- ... of getting more, at the expense of someone and/or something, even if become a very key concept, would be correct. It is a question of the view of exploitation, then, exploitation itself

... have to retreat. ... and personal level. From that point on, with no other ... (eases), crime, alienation, etc., dissolution of social

... (cardinal-owners), however, mental dis- ... exploitation themselves without growing it - becoming victims of "total ... when they have exhausted all other possibilities and still

... process for centuries, yet remain essentially the same. One pro- ... It is a very real thing. If we are really talking about the ... dimension, only to state the emphasis on another dimension, as in ... They say "know your own mind" - they say "know your own mind" - they

... and more, are here seen as "exploiters", as opposed to "exploited" - ... of, either, and the other side of the coin is the "exploited" in the

... should be a fundamental principle. Evidently we are dealing with a class that is usually exploitative, they should exhaust the members of society, satisfy the usual rules for a class (the classes should

since it comprises exploiters and exploited. The dimensions should be a contradiction, or more precisely as a vertical contradiction. Let us now refer to each such dimension of exploitation.

Some also become parts of the general structure of exploitation. with their opposites on the other side, as dominated and those who dominate. These people become parts of a structure of exploitation

of by historical incidence by some people rather than by others and maintain their position of power and privilege, stratified, do not exist in a vacuum; they need a lot of institutions to support

a phenomenon of exploitation benefiting "elites". But elites do party, military and the police. The point is already there: there is reaction are the classless and of surplus of the bourgeoisie, the

but as levers they own full. Particularity is that in this context they all carry some of the exploitation, not on their shoulders, and so are the elite-are, but not necessarily the white. And yet

people, they are found in different places: wages are found everywhere elites, bureaucrats and intellectuals are not exactly the same social relation, however, is more complex. Land-owners, anti-

may the bourgeois (the type); but the phenomenon is one. The of the phenomenon may of course be locally divided, and so

a phenomenon, that is one of the positions of this paper - the roots of autonomy/liberation. There is a reality to exploitation as only in the theory of exploitation/expansion, but also in the theory


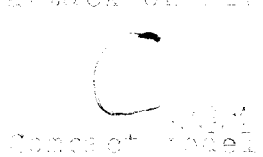

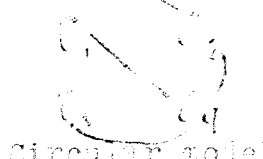
This, however, brings up a rather important point, not and bureaucrats-elites. Land-owners-peasants, capitalists-workers, intellectuals-intellectuals

the three dimensions of age, sex and race should be added to male, university-educated and in racially mixed societies white aspects of the elite. Since they tend, today, to be white-are,

ing with a set of such contradictions, C (we have actually mentioned seven above, and in addition a contradiction in the set of countries, internal vs. external). Is there any general way of conceiving of such a set of contradictions?

There certainly are, but whether they are fruitful is another matter; all that can be said is that there is a strong relation between how such a set is structured in one's mind, implicitly or explicitly, and highly practical politics. In general, four approaches can be distinguished, depending on whether the contradictions are seen as strongly or weakly coupled to each other, and on whether one should start with one or attack all at the same time:

Table 2. Four ways of looking at a set of contradictions

	Start with attack on one	Start with attack on all
Contradictions strongly coupled	 <u>Principal model</u>	 <u>Compact model</u>
Contradictions weakly coupled	 <u>Linear model</u>	 <u>Circular model</u>

Some comments.

In the principal model one contradiction is seen as the crucial one, the one causally responsible for all the other. (in marxist thinking this would be capital/work, or capitalist/worker). This is the place to attack; if that one crumbles the others follow with a certain automaticity - or, at the very least, they will do weakened that small pushed are all that is needed. This model is very pronounced in Western thinking, particularly in teutonic intellectual style.

In the compact model analytical separability of the dimensions of contradiction is denied; the phenomenon is seen as unitary also in its social articulation. The dominant class may be

named after what is seen as the principal contradiction, eg "capitalist"; the contradiction may also be seen, simply, in generic terms as between elites and people. This model is also well known in Western thinking, but would apply particularly to less articulated social formations.

In the circular model contradictions are seen as weakly coupled and there is no central contradiction. They are seen as actually reinforcing each other (actually, we have excluded as uninteresting a fifth way of looking at the set in terms of totally unrelated contradictions; social formations simply are not made like that); if one should be eliminated the others would remain and would still reinforce each other. This model would be typical of Buddhist thinking (the Buddhist wheel), and the action consequence would be to attack them all, at the same time.

In the linear model a compromise is struck between the pyramidal and circular models. There is no notion of automaticity; on the contrary, removing one contradiction from the social scene may even strengthen other contradictions as their turn is then coming up. It shares with the circular model the idea that exploitation has something epidemic about it: if you remove the source of contagion it may still have spread to the others (eg whites may have attained certain levels and practices in exploitative behavior toward non-whites, men toward women, etc.). On the other hand, you cannot fight them all at the same time, so you have to start somewhere. From a purely strategic point of view, the starting point could derive from an analysis of where you might be successful; but also from a practical analysis of which contradiction is worst in its consequences. Thus, one may seek allies among capitalists (national bourgeoisie) against land-owners; then among bureaucrats (state take-over) against capitalists; then among all kinds of people against the state, etc. This model would be typical of Chinese thinking, but is also found in less dogmatic modes of Eastern thought.



Which one is correct? That, of course, depends on the concrete case. Which model one has, however, does not only depend on the concrete situation, but on that particular part of sociology called axiology. It depends on how, in general, one thinks things are related to each other, and at this point civilizations differ very much from each other. There needs a predilection for one model rather than others, possibly leading to very wrong results. Thus, for instance, it would very well be that the pyramidal model is today prevalent in societies where it fits least because they have become so complex in their articulation with all kinds of dimensions of excitation orienting each other. Consequently, the circular model may be very pronounced in societies where the pyramidal model might have been more adequate, because of a much lower level of articulation. Consequently there is no general answer to the question, only the invitation to look at the problem itself in terms of its evidence with concrete reality and in terms of how one comes with different models to that social reality.

\* \* \*

The question of what is a social theory a bit. A social theory, and a political theory, that cannot say anything about what is, is worthless. The social theory however would be in speaking about what are particular social phenomena. But what is, in my view, has also one of its many virtues, its historical concreteness, into a fetish, relatively unable to discuss excitation and class in more general terms. There is something at the core of excitation, but also domestic and social politics, ecology and demography not only of survival chances and well-being, but also of freedom and identity as the category of self-excitation that makes particularly clear. Moreover, the many special aspects of excitation are not ordered in any simple, ideological way. There are also for a long time been - in other words for what has been referred to as the "normalization project".

### 3. Liberation: A Multidimensional View

Returning now to the general theme of the type of theory that is needed in order to discuss exploitation we can now go one step further, beyond general requirement and the definition of verticality:

As to fight against verticality: This is more problematic. Social science has, characteristically, produced much more about the nature of the expansion/exploitation process than about the liberation/autonomy process. Also, the bureaucrat-capitalist-intelligentsia alliance, supported by the police-military-party system looks so formidable; how is it possible even on paper to stand up against that? Who would have the motivation, who the capability - and above all, who would have both? All who are exploited may have the motivation but precisely because they have been exploited not the capability. And those who have the capability, would they not have benefitted so much from the structure of exploitation that they would not have the motivation for more than minor changes, perhaps mainly at the expense of competitive elites?

Building now, to some extent, on the preceding section, the following is a survey of some of the possibilities where struggle for liberation and autonomy is concerned, with some ideas about the strength and weakness of the approaches:

#### 1. Processes generated by the people.

We assume that these processes come about because people feel exploited; that what should be theirs has been taken away from them, even to the point of threatening their very existence. A major distinction should now be made between narrow and broad approaches; the narrow approach is one-dimensional, the broad approach is multi-dimensional.

IA. Narrow approaches. Depending on what is defined as the enemy or as the essential, principal, aspect of the expansion/exploitation process one may get:

anarchism - the fight against bureaucracy/police/military/party

socialism - the fight against capitalism

land reform - the fight against landowners

populism - the fight against intelligentsia/researchers, experts, technocrats

Third world-ism - the fight against the metropolitan countries

Noticing that the elites, staffing bureaucracies, corporations, universities etc. tend to be MAMUs (middle-aged males, university-trained) and in many contexts also whites ('MAMU' is a more internationally valid term than WASP - white Anglo-Saxon Protestants - also based on the tendency to build societies around ascribed characteristics):

the fight against agism

the fight against sexism

the fight against racism

All these approaches carry a built-in message of who is the carrier of the new society: the down-trodden in this society. They are the clients; the workers; the peasants; the uneducated; the persecuted, repressed and colonized and enslaved in general; the underprivileged, underdeveloped, exploited countries; the old and the young; the women; the non-whites. Any vertical dimensions that is either in the core of the expansion/exploitation process or can be hitched onto it, and used by that process by using the topdogs as bridgeheads, in principle enters the picture.

Each dimension defines a topdog center and an underdog periphery. But one of the dimensions is at another level, defining countries rather than people,

as Center and Periphery countries. And this raises the perennial problem: how will the conflict formation be when there are two levels of analysis because there are two levels of exploitation both country level and class level? The most important possibilities:

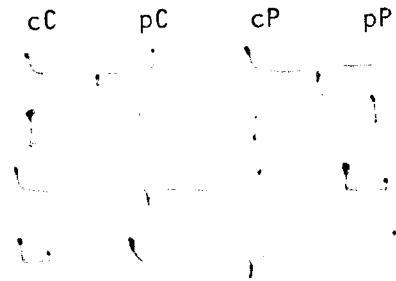
Table 3. Four possible conflict formations

National conflict formation:

Class conflict formation (Marx):

Imperialist conflict formation:

World village against world city (Lin Biao):



The first one dominates liberal conflict theory, the second marxist conflict theory ("Proletarians in all countries, unite!"). The third is probably a realistic expression of the typical post Second world war "Local War". And the fourth is Lin Biao's formation, uniting all forces against the world city, the hard core in the superpowers (Lin Biao would probably have said the North Atlantic area). This scheme can now be used for any one of the seven dimensions, not only for workers.

IB. Broad approaches. Roughly speaking these consist in uniting not only proletarians, but all kinds of underdogs - seeing their fights as particular aspects of the same general fight for a more equitable society. If for a moment we disregard the country-dimension these would be the dimensions:

Table 4. The seven struggles

TOPDOG CENTER	Bureaucrats Police Military Party	Capitalists ^	Landowners ^	Intelligentsia Experts ^	Middle- aged ^	Men ^	White ^
UNDERDOG PERIPHERY	Clients	Workers ↓	Peasants ↓	Uneducated ↓	Young Old ↓	Women ↓	Non-white ↓

A little combinatorics is now useful, for there are many different interpretations of the "broad approach". Clearly, the basic idea is to build social theory and action around not only on one of these dimensions, or one at the time, or coupled in series or in parallel but to arrive at some type of integration, rather than segmentation, of conflict. Individual human beings would be mobilized not only as workers, but as that and clients, and uneducated, and woman, etc.; involving the total human being. The major question, then, is whether one should apply the union approach or the intersection approach, regarding all the categories above as sets. In the union approach one would add up all the groups; in the intersection approach one would only consider the overlaps. The difference is tremendous: of course there are many people who are both subjects, workers (selling their labour-force), peasants (working somebody else's land), uneducated, young or old, women and non-white. But if instead of both-and above we simply say or the number becomes enormous. And correspondingly for the topdogs.

Hence, we get these possibilities:

Table 5. Some ways of integrating topdog-underdog conflicts

		TOPDOGS	
		Union, <u>or</u>	Intersection, <u>both-and</u>
UNDERDOGS	Union, <u>or</u>	(1)	(2)
	Intersection, <u>both-and</u>	(3)	(4)

The second case is the conflict-formation that might be most in the underdog interest if the goal is an enormous amount of underdogs pitted against a small, although possibly very hard, core of topdogs. The problem is that

one often gets the opposite conflict formation: a small core of underdogs with complete underdog configurations (like many of the people who end up as criminals, one possible response to oppressive societies) fighting against people who may have only one topdog characteristic in their status-set (the third case above). The fourth case is one of very clear polarization, involving only two small groups in society. And the first case is actually impossible: the union approach for either topdogs or underdogs excludes the same approach for the other group - people will have to end up somewhere. May be that is the reason why clear conflict formations occur so rarely - that people have mixed profiles and hence do not clearly belong anywhere?

This is important. Reflections like these, also bringing in the conflict formations taking countries into consideration, help in the formation of ideology, theory and practice. Thus, marxism tends to be much too narrow building so much around the capitalist/worker contradiction that the whole burden of liberation will ultimately rest on the shoulders of the industrial proletariat. Of course, there is much talk about liberating all others, and also practice. But Western, and more particularly teutonic intellectual style, drives the theory-building towards a focus on one dimension that can serve as the key dimension, the other dimensions following deductively, empirically, praxeologically. On the other hand: it is difficult enough to get the workers to cooperate if one should not also try to bring all underdog groups together. If it happened, however, the impact might be tremendous. It is enough to contemplate black riots, student revolt, workers' strikes, women's lib, Chicano strikes, Amerindian upheaval in the US the same week, rather than scattered in an uncoordinated way, to appreciate the point.

II. Processes generated by the elites.

Why should elites be motivated for any change at all, - given that they probably to some extent are capable of maintaining exploitative structures, given their elite status? We can distinguish between two cases: elites fighting for higher positions, and elites who have lost faith in their own system for one reason or another.

IIA. Elites fighting for higher positions. Historically this has of course been of major importance. Consider these classical caste or near-caste systems in what is often referred to as feudal formations:

<u>Feudal Europe</u>	<u>Classical India</u>	<u>Feudal China</u>	<u>Tokugawa Japan</u>
(1) Nobility, landowners, military	<u>brahmins</u> (priests, religious teachers)	<u>shih</u> (nobility, scholars) 士	<u>shi</u> (samurai, military, low nobility)
(2) Clergy	<u>kshatriyas</u> (aristocrats, warriors)	<u>nung</u> (farmers) 農	<u>nō</u> (farmers)
(3) <u>burghers</u> (traders and merchants)	<u>vaishyas</u> (traders and merchants)	<u>kung</u> (artisans) 工	<u>kō</u> (artisans)
(4) peasants, workers	<u>shudras</u> (farmers, workers)	<u>shang</u> (merchants) 商	<u>shō</u> (merchants)
(5) Jews, Arabs, gypsies	pariahs	nomads, etc.	etc.

It should be noted that the Chinese and Japanese hierarchies are almost identical, not only linguistically, and that the merchants are at the bottom of both at the same time as farmers have a high position. The Meiji Restoration had as a basis certain mechanisms by which the samurai got indebted to the despised merchants and were able to convert money into power when

the Western challenge pushed more capital-intensive ways of doing things into forefront of political activity. The Chinese revolutions (1911, 1949, particularly the latter) may be seen more as directed against the merchants - Mao Zedong being the genius who united intellectuals, farmers (not land-owners) and artisans/workers against the despised merchants, particularly those working for foreign powers. Thus, he was working with rather than against the classical code of the society, actually uniting the top three against the bottom fourth class/caste. It should be noted, incidentally, that there is a difference between the two: where Japan puts the military on top, the Chinese put the scholar - - -; a rather significant difference full of implications.

Correspondingly, the European and Indian formations are relatively similar (after all, it is not by chance that there is such a thing as an Indo-European family of languages), with the significant difference that Europe like Japan had the military on top, India like China the scholars -- again a rather significant difference. Both for Europe and India "modernisation", ie. adjustment to capitalism and nationalism, became a question of putting the tiers-état, the burghers and vaishyas, into higher positions. It should be noted that the three top castes in these two systems, with some changes in the names, are exactly the bureaucrats, capitalists and intelligentsia, supported by police and military and the party (the ideological as opposed to intellectual aspect of the clergy) that we see as essential in the total expansion/exploitation enterprise. In short, one would expect India to fall easily into the Western model, China and Japan to develop somewhat different responses. In both of them the merchants had to submit more to the bureaucrats and the intelligentsia.



The point is, of course, that all these movements are ways of reshuffling elites, not ways of bringing about more basic change - thinking now of Europe and India, the other two being so different. In both Europe and India workers and peasant had to pay the bill through their hard and poorly remunerated work, usually through the most blatant exploitation to put it less euphemistically. This should sensitize us to the extent to which elites may make use of social movements generated further down to catapult themselves into higher levels of power. Marxism, for instance, can be used that way: as a clever ideology developed by and for intellectuals but about workers, leaving to workers to do the dirty work of revolution, whereupon the intellectuals can come back as planners, eg., of workers, and become intelligentsia. We then assume that the intellectuals in general have developed from and fitted into the position of the clergy, as somewhat inferior to the bureaucrat/capitalist alliance on top, itself the outcome of the process of cooperation between these two groups from the sixteenth century onwards, formalized through the French revolution.

All these points can now be brought to bear on the elites in the Third world countries. With the increasing interdependence and mutual visibility brought about through intergovernmental (state) and transnational (corporation) interaction and organization there is now a relatively homogeneous world elite. Much of what passes for Third world development should be seen as Third world elite development, as ways of catapulting them into higher positions in the world elite structure. Today they are often the tiers-élite, following the First world nobility and the Second world marxist clergy! They are probably by and large relatively uninterested in the latter and highly interested in sharing power with the former.

The often almost total lack of concern, even spite, for their own masses is compatible with this kind of analysis.

IIB. Elites who have lost faith in their own system. It is our general thesis that this is what may happen towards the end of the life cycle of a major formation, eg. with the Roman elites towards the end of the Roman Empire; the aristocracy who did not know how to tie in with the burghers way into the Modern period; many of the intellectual elites today, eg. in "socialist" countries. In all cases one should be careful and not confuse genuine loss of faith in the system with loss of faith in own ability to make further personal progress in the system. But regardless of why the elites are disillusioned they are important because they may be the only ones really searching for a new social formation. By and large it is not to be assumed that the exploited themselves would easily develop visions beyond more justice and security for themselves, eg. less difference between high and low. And, if the fight is over ascribed categories (age, sex, race): recruitment into topdog positions with no discrimination. This narrow perspective will be even more prominent if the approach is narrow, one-dimensional, for in that case the rest of the social structure may even be left unanalyzed, unquestioned; and one can be sure that the elites in those other parts will make use of that. The elites fighting for better positions will be even less interested in major change. They may, for instance, try to increase the power of the state relative to the corporation or vice versa, or go back to a landowner-based society, but that is something different. What we are thinking of are elites that give up the total formation and simply leave it, like Roman elites at the end of the bas empire, or nobility at the end of the Middle Ages, or - perhaps - (the sons and daughters) of Western elites today. What we are saying is

simply that a social formation can also be drained or sapped from the top, although possibly as a response to pressure from the outside or revolt from the bottom.

\* \* \*

So, where does all this lead us? I have tried to discuss people-generated and elite-generated processes against the status quo of exploitative systems, and divided the former into narrow and broad, and the latter into elites fighting for higher positions and elites who have lost faith in their system. What would be the more promising possibilities?

The answer must have two different parts:

- promising in the sense of toppling the existing system
- promising in the sense of leading to a less exploitative society.

The same conflict formation does not necessarily give rise to both, but I shall try to show that there may be one formation that answers both.

Of the four processes of change indicated above I hold little faith in the narrow approach or in elite reshuffling (except that it may weaken the total structure for a while) so the most promising would be a combination of nos. 2 and 4, of a broad underdog revolt with the elites losing faith in the system, particularly if the elites are losing faith for some other reason than the underdog revolt. One such reason, to take the cases of the decline of the Roman Empire and of Western imperialism, would be revolt in the Periphery, in the external sector, with rivaling power from the outside. Another reason might be less precise, simply a premonition that this cannot last, that the end is coming, so why waste all the energy

in a fight not worth while? And still another reason : that elite life is not that good, that there are internal problems - - -

In other words, again we might like to see elite softening and underdog revolt not necessarily as causally related one way or the other, but as two aspects of the same kind, a whole configuration in decline. In very, very many cases the underdogs simply do not fully appreciate how weak the elites are and how little might be needed to topple the system. The best defense of the elites probably comes from the underdogs themselves when they split up, apply the narrow approach, become sectarian and segmented. The broad approach is the really threatening one, whether in parallel (the circular model), in series (the linear model) or integrated (the compact model). The only thing ruled out, comparing the general theory of Table 2 with the theory under IB above, the broad approaches, would be the pyramid model with its assumption of automaticity and focus on one contradiction only. Which of these three models is chosen is less important, that will depend very much on the concrete circumstances.

This is not the place to discuss the details of strategy; what has been said about the appropriate conflict formation is already a step in the direction of a theory of fights against verticality. What is needed, however, is a 'methodology for ideology', with some image of the alternative society. And this is considerably more problematic than the theory of verticality and the theory of fights against it. It raises not only the question of what an alternative social formation should look like, but also of who should be its carriers, who would harbor such dreams, and so strongly that they simply might do something about it?

As to the concrete utopia: it is, of course, the exploitation-free society, Type 1 of Table 1, engaging in none of the four (or the total array of ten) exploitations. It is a societal formation that threads softly on nature, people, capital and does not let research and organization run away with the human beings they are supposed to serve. Probably a condition for something like that to happen is that the basic unit is not too big. And equally probably, a condition for the small to be really beautiful is that it is woven into something bigger for protection and interdependence. This concrete utopia played a substantial role in the human past, still does in many corners of the world, and if our general hunch about the exploitation process (Table 1) is correct, then the more rapacious the exploitation, the sooner will present day social formations have to move away from complete exploitation and towards softer forms. As the First world was the first in the exercise of complete exploitation, followed by the Second and by the Third, they may arrive in the range of the softer forms also in that order, opening for the possibility that future history intersects with less exploitative social formations.

As to the carriers of a less exploitative society: very problematic. First, if the roots of exploitation are in the cosmology, as indicated, then it is from the cosmology they must be uprooted, meaning that the demise of a social formation is not enough. The exploitative project may still linger on in many other ways, which is probably all right as long as there is enough consciousness about it to counteract it. Second, both the fight for an exploitation-free society and the protection of it in its fledgling years easily leads to very vertical formations that are then implanted on the new social body. Third, to many members of the old formation the

struggle was mainly an effort at reshuffle that would open the avenues for power and privilege to themselves, of the same kind as the elites in the Center had enjoyed. There are two obvious groups fitting this description well; **capably** of toppling elites but not of changing society:

- the people in the Center (pC); the metropolitan proletariat, whose goals almost invariably will be the elite positions in that society - they are not through with that yet, but yearning for it.
- the elites in the Periphery (cP); the satellite bourgeoisie, whose goals equally invariably will tend to be the elite positions in the Centre whether by migrating to the Center countries, or by making their own Periphery country a new Center country (eg., through NIEO).

That leaves us with what might seem the most unlike combination for the renewal of a society: the elites in the Centre (cC) with the people in the Periphery (pP)! Nobody could be further apart, yet they may be similar in the sense that the complete exploitative formation holds no promise for them - cC is through with it, pP may still be more interested in protecting and developing further their own social forms. In fact, this is what we seem to find today: the sons and daughters of First world elites, often well educated, working together with popular movements in the Periphery, counterposed against the social democratic trade union man working with the new bourgeoisie in Third world countries to "develop" them further through technical assistance. In other words, a cC/pP alliance pitted against a pC/cP alliance, to be added to the scheme of possible conflict formations in a two-class two-sector model - see Table 3,

We let that do as an example of how theory can lead to some new possibilities, making one see empirical phenomena in a new light. But in no way

should that make us lose sight of the extreme seriousness of the present situation. We are very far from any utopia. What is happening today is nothing less than a war on poor people. To implement the Western expansion/exploitation model on the local Third world level, partly for own gains, partly to serve Western masters, with a capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive technology, people are to a large extent expendable. Even worse than being exploitable and exploited they are marginalized, put outside society. In a bureaucrat/capitalist/intelligentsia run society, protected by the police/military/party, people who do not produce with modern technology do not belong, and as they do not make money they cannot demand what the market supplies either - hence they become dependent on "traditional" support structures. But as these are diminished because they are incorporated into the "modern" sector - particularly by using land for other purposes - the support basis shrinks, making them even less able to participate, at the same time as they constitute a threat because of their numbers. Of the three possibilities, killing them, letting them starve (Malthusian), and reducing their off-spring through family planning (also Malthusian) the latter is today the only openly acceptable approach - with some doubts after the Bucuresti conference.

Most of them would be in the worker/peasant category by the scheme above - particularly both, landless and laborless in practice. The most famous defense strategies are probably the Chinese People's Communes and the sarvodaya movement found in India and particularly in Sri Lanka, and the ujamaa in Tanzania - all of them examples of Type 1 exploitation-free society, which is not to be confused with abstractions like total equality. Typical of all these are that they are total movements - all seven fights, and in fact also the fight against First world penetration, are rolled

into one. And yet they are threatened by absorption, although not so easily as any movement based on only one or two of these factors seems to be. What they have in common is autonomy built on the local level, local self-reliance: strong local communities, able to resist. The working classes in more developed countries might do well looking for something similar as they **are** also threatened with extinction, being transformed into welfare state clients, or with some luck, into computer clerks in a society drilling itself into self-exploitation through ever higher levels of productivity.

The other approach is based on national self-reliance, building a strong state against the pressure from the outside. But here the difficulty is that one is only bringing in struggle no. 8, against First world penetration. By building that strong state one may very easily buy external equity at the expense of tremendous increases in internal inequities. And here it should be remembered that whereas it took Europe long time to forge efficient state-corporation-intelligentsia cooperation, among other reasons because the three were differently recruited, in the Third world today (except for societies with very strong endogenous structures) the cooperation comes easy because they are all graduates of the same universities, even of First world universities, think and act the same way, communicate easily. There is nothing they would like more than build strong states, whether the accent will be on the state ("leftist") or the corporation ("rightist"). The formula of cooperation will be about the same: corporation will pay taxes to the states, the state will build infrastructure, place orders when other business is slack, and try to repair some of the corporation-induced damage (depletion, pollution, mental diseases, new somatic diseases, etc.). And regional self-reliance does not help solve this problem. It may help create



a more just world when regions are compared; usually favoring the stronger within the region, though, using national elites as bridgeheads for new regional powers.

Conclusion: time for action is now. It is urgent, far from unproblematic, but also far from hopeless.

## NOTES

Paper also prepared for the Exploitation and Expansion processes workshop of the Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development Project of the United Nations University, Starnberg, Max Planck Institut, June 1980.

1. For a more complete discussion of these terms, see Johan Galtung, The True Worlds, The Free Press/Macmillan, New York, 1980, chapter 2.2 and Appendix A.2.
2. See the analysis by Volker Rittberger of the social democratic approach to world politics in the UN system, in "Processes in the UN System", Volker Rittberger editor, GPID Project, Geneva, 1981.
3. For a definition, see Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", in Essays in Peace Research, Vol. 1V, ch. 13, also The True Worlds, p. 110.
4. Cipolla's point about Spain four centuries ago may be true for the OPEC countries in some years or decades.
5. And this refers not only to non-human resources, such as those described in economic geography, but also to human resources.
6. For more about this basic needs perspective, see a number of articles in Katrin Lederer ed., Basic Needs, A Contribution to the Current Debate, Anton Hain, Königstein, 1980.
7. See Johan Galtung, "The Basic Needs Approach", in Lederer, op. cit., pp. 55-125, particularly pp. 62-67. It should be noted that what is here referred to as "survival" is referred to as "security" in that article.
8. A good example of terms of exchange was given in Le Figaro 9 September 1980, quoting Helmut Schmidt at an energy conference in München: before 1973 Costa Rica had to pay for one barrel of oil 28 kilos of bananas, now they have to pay 420 kilos, or fifteen times as much. But it is hard to believe that this means that exploitation has been reduced - it might have increased for that matter, between banana-producers and oil-producers, "producer" meaning worker.
9. See Johan Galtung and Fumiko Nishimura, Learning From the Chinese People, Oslo, 1975, chapter 5 (published in Norwegian, Swedish and German).
10. A rather dramatic demonstration of this is found in the exodus of Cubans, 126.000 it seems, from Cuba to the United States in 1980 and then to some extent back again.
11. Carlos Mallmann of the Fundacion Bariloche is making important progress in the field of social time, and of time exploitation.
12. The best known example socially today is probably the case of opening and closing hours for shops: it is in the interest of one shop to stay open when all the others close, and in their interest to see to it that no shop remains open - hence the case for strict enforcement.
13. These three groups are then seen as the key elites in modern societies.
14. Thus, they would get it both ways: both an enjoyable education and interesting work, and a calculation of time spent justifying high rewards. Both in quality and in quantity of reward they would get the upper hand by this reasoning!
15. I am indebted to Sigmund Kvaløy for this good distinction between "complex", an ecological concept hinting at diversity and symbiosis, and

"complicated", which may not be simple, but not ecological either.

16. It would be foolhardy, however, to assume that there is a simple relation between failure to express a conception in a language and failure to think in those terms, but some relation there must be, somewhere.

17. See Galtung, in Lederer, op. cit., pp. 58-61.

18. It is enough to think of the expression "renewable resources" to appreciate the tremendous interest taken by contemporary industrial capitalism in making better use of nature's own factories.

19. Thus, the printing of this very page is a part of the human onslaught on forests, much beyond the carrying capacity of the present system of forests.