

THE BLUE AND THE RED;  
THE GREEN AND THE BROWN:  
A Guide to Movements  
And Countermovements

By Johan Galtung  
Goals, Processes and Indicators  
of Development Project;  
Institut Universitaire  
d'Etudes du Développement, Genève

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1. The West is Blue

The West is blue - like the color of the key symbols of its most important organizations: NATO, OECD, the European Community and the Council of Europe. By the "West", then, we mean roughly speaking the part of the world member of the OECD, with the exception of Japan. And by "blue" we mean a social formation with capitalist corporations, predominantly private, as the force motrice. That puts capital accumulation, capital turn-over and profit and market share - not to mention the growth rates of all of these, in the center of any analysis. Market forces dominate.

However, to identify the Western social formation with corporate capitalism only would be historically incorrect, empirically false and theoretically unfruitful. Historically the state developed if not before at least together with capitalism, after the demise of the medieval system<sup>[1]</sup>; empirically there were precursors of capitalism, a capitalist spirit so to speak, and the state has played a role of its own in shaping the West at home and abroad, through conquest and war and "nation-building". Moreover - with some few exceptions, the true intellectuals - the intelligentsia, has been the willing helper of both. For this reason we shall put state and capital, or more precisely the bureaucratic-corporate-intelligentsia complex (BCI-complex) central in the picture. It is the leading role of the C part, the corporations, capital that makes the West blue - and correspondingly the leading role of the B part, the state, the bureaucracy, that makes the East [actually the Eastern part of the Occident<sup>[2]</sup>] "red"- state-directed, ministerial. But in spite of these variations the BCI-complex, or complex of technocracy, is the dominating force in both.

The method used by the BCI-complex for its growth is clear enough and has been obvious all the time, even before the end of the Middle Ages: expansion and exploitation<sup>[3]</sup>. Exploitation, then, is seen as squeezing something as far as possible, even beyond its capacity of reproduction<sup>[4]</sup> What can be squeezed is nature and

people; people can be divided into bourgeoisie and proletariat. But then there is also a distinction between an internal and an external sector of the world - the external being treated ruthlessly, the internal sector being treated in a softer way. In principle this leads to eight types of exploitation, but we shall simplify this typology into exploitation of the external sector (all of it; nature, bourgeoisie and proletariat), and then exploitation of nature, of self and of internal proletariat. To push beyond the capacity of reproduction means something very concrete in all four cases. It means pushing a country in the external sector - meaning, for all practical purposes, a Third world country - into hopeless dependency; depleting/polluting nature; exhausting oneself and sinking the internal proletariat into a swamp of morbidity and mortality. Self-reliant regeneration is impossible. All four forms of exploitation are not necessarily administered at the same time, but we leave that aside.<sup>(5)</sup> Exploitation then, leads to dependencies through assistance: the external sector gets development assistance, nature gets environment assistance, and proletariat/bourgeoisie gets panem et circenses. Why, what is the purpose? There are many answers to that question, and one of them, not necessarily the worst one, is simply: because this is what the BCI-complex is capable of doing. Through exploitation it grows; by growing it becomes capable of exploiting more. But why they want to do exactly this rather than something else needs some clarification; both in terms of deeper driving forces, and in terms of rationale.

We assume the deeper driving forces to be located in the cosmology, the deep structure and deep ideology of the Western civilization. One way of characterizing it would be as follows:

- (1) SPACE: Center-Periphery gradients, with the West in the Center
- (2) TIME: Ideas of Progress and Growth, with Crisis and Catharsis
- (3) EPISTEMOLOGY: Dichotomous, atomistic and deductive
- (4) PERSON-NATURE: Herrschaft over Nature, including animals
- (5) PERSON-PERSON: Vertical and individualistic; competitive
- (6) PERSON-TRANSPERSONAL: Religions/ideologies claiming universality

If this is anywhere near a correct characterization of Western civilization in its so-called "modern period" (after the Middle Ages), then expansion/exploitation comes easily, at the expense of an external Periphery ~~and over~~ Nature and People ([1], [4] and [5] above) - in order to get at progress and growth, with the methods given by Western science and technology, and legitimized by Western religions and ideologies ([2], [3] and [6] above). Suffice it only to add that to me cosmology is much more than merely deep ideology; it is also ideology built into structures and structures expressed as ideology - all of this reinforcing each other - as long as it works. When it no longer works it starts becoming more problematic. There is a breakdown and/or change of cosmology. The thesis of the paper is that we are in a period of that kind.

But there is also a rationale for all this relentless activity: securing a certain standard of living; here referred to as the Bourgeois Way of Life (BWL - bourgeois in the sense of burgher, Bürger, those living inside the Burg - city people):

- (1) Non-manual work - nothing dirty or heavy; including walking
- (2) Material comfort - no exposure to climatic fluctuations
- (3) Privatism - withdrawal into family and peer groups
- (4) Security - that it will all last, rising entitlements

The more pronounced the fluctuations of nature are, in terms of temperature, humidity, light and dark, wind, hazards, animals, the more does it cost to counteract them - including in energetic terms. And if more and more people are to do non-manual work, then somebody else have to do the manual work needed, including that which is dirty, heavy and dangerous. This is where exploitation of the external sector, of nature and of the internal proletariat all enter the picture; as administered by the BCI complex. For this total job the corporations are not sufficient; the power of the state and the forms of understanding produced by the intelligentisa are also indispensable.<sup>[6]</sup> And the BCI has to transnationali:

But there is also an exploitation of self in all of this. With the material comfort going up and up, and the manual working force dwindling, productivity also has to go up - unless one has an enormous external sector to draw upon (many Third world countries have that inside their own border). The higher the productivity, the higher the alienation from the work product, in general terms. This increasingly affects everybody in the internal sector, bourgeoisie and proletariat - particularly if BWL is to be extended to everybody - like in social democratic countries, and attempted done in the socialist countries (by "liberating the productive forces" through collective (meaning state) ownership of the means of production and STR - the scientific-technical revolution) The life of the exploiters starts becoming less pleasant.

The stress produced by this type of exploitation and the BCI-dominated social structure, combined with the pollution produced by exploiting nature beyond its capacity - through ecological balance mechanisms - to absorb pollutants, then work on the human body, resulting in cancers and cardio-vascular diseases - particularly when combined with lack of exercise and wrong nutrition. Privatism leads to a certain observerism, and security to a certain clientelism - both of them compatible with withdrawal and lack of care for oneself and for others. Mental diseases, suicide increase, chronic diseases too. The gains of the BCI-complex: the abolition of dangerous, dirty and heavy work, and the ability to counteract extreme fluctuations of nature, the success combating infant mortality, fighting infectious diseases and in general increasing life expectancy soon fade into the background.

To alleviate some of these stresses and strains a certain "Chemical/Circus Way of Life", CWL, emerges, based on ever increasing consumption of alcohol, tranquilizers and drugs; tobacco and sugar; overeating of food. In addition to food is polluted

with preservatives and denaturalized, without fibers. There is mass entertainment in the form of sport, TV and sport on TV; panem et circenses two millennia later - - [7] Spectatorism and observerism go well together. At the same time the local level as relatively autonomous or self-reliant breaks down. Families break down through divorce and separation of husband from wife, grandparents from parents and children from parents. In short, the social formation has . problems. But the BCI complex keeps growing.

Before that the exploitation of the internal proletariat led to protests and revolts, and eventually to trade unions and labor parties that reduced the material exploitation of the working class, but only after fighting, also against the police used by the BCI-complex. In parallel fashion there was native protest and revolt in the external sector against (neo-)colonial exploitation, eventually leading to decolonization and the work for a New International Economic Order, NIEO, to reduce the material exploitation, but only after fighting, also against the military used by the BCI-complex. Just as the internal proletariat fought for better terms of work, the external sector fought and fights for better terms of trade.

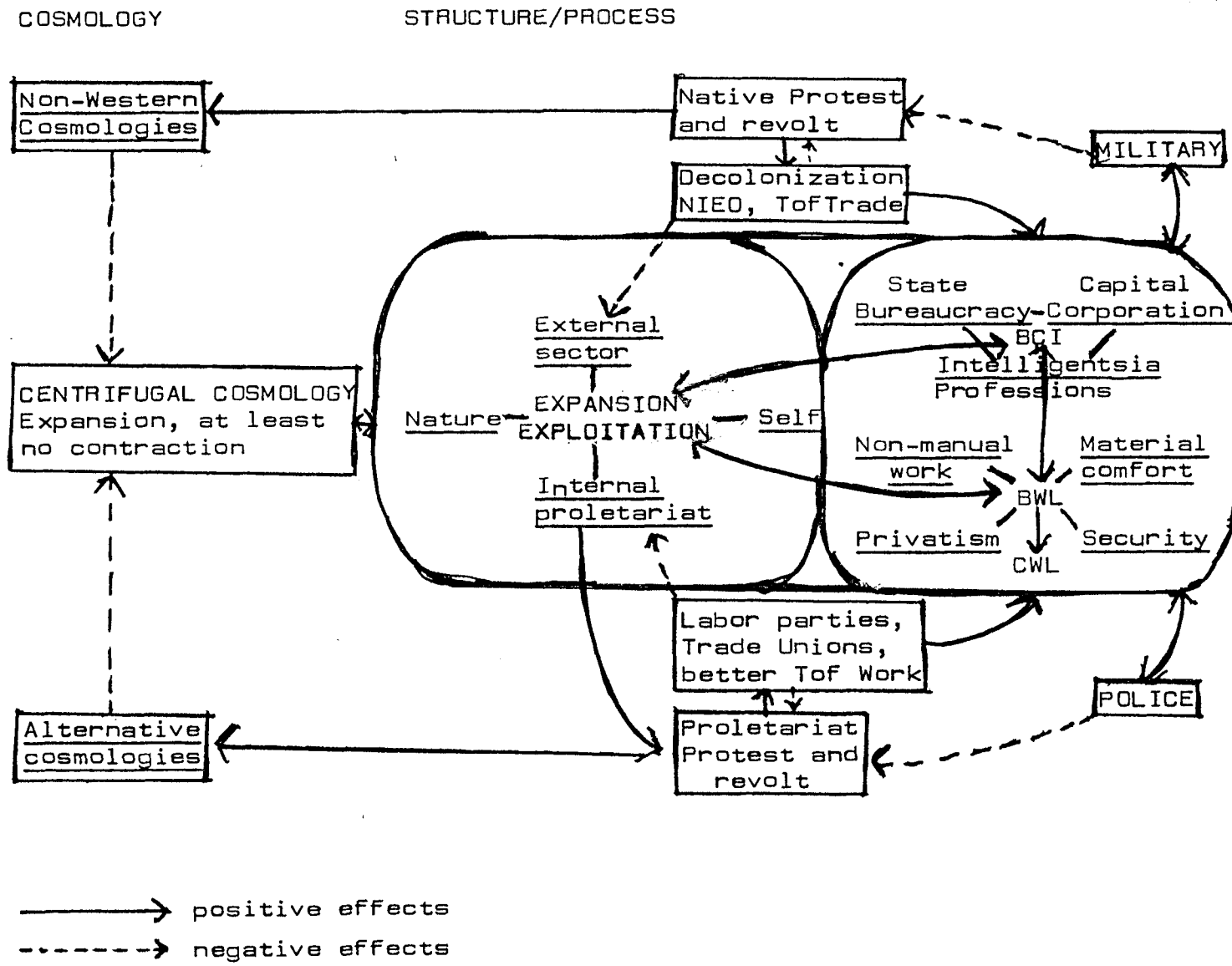
However, and this is a rather major point: the working class movement in practice accepted almost everything in the total formation except the exploitation of the internal proletariat (thus, they by and large accepted the exploitation of the external sector) and the Third world movement accepted and accepts, in practice, almost everything in the social formation except the exploitation of the external sector (thus, they by and large accept the exploitation of the internal proletariat anywhere). How come? Possibly because of the strength of the cosmology and an underestimation of how similar state capitalism would be to private capitalism - in practice if not in theory. And because the key concern was not to change the formation but to improve one's own position: of the industrial worker, of Third world elites.

On the next page there is an effort to summarize what has been said so far as a flow chart with some key factors in it - based on some earlier efforts in the same direction.<sup>[8]</sup> This can be done in many ways. A basic requirement is that the model should pay attention not only to economic variables but also to nature, culture and structure, to processes of more long term, historical character, and to both material and non-material aspects of the human condition. The model, or éskuisse of a model, on the next page is an effort in that direction.

The model puts a triangle constituted by processes of expansion/exploitation, BCI-complex formation and BWL(+CWL) patterns in the center. They all reinforce each other, at least up to a certain point - up to the point where the maldevelopment column to the right becomes too overwhelming. The triangle is informed by, and itself a reinforcement of, basic Western ideas and structures, (left hand column) the cosmology which serves as an inertia wheel, absorbing impacts and changes so that the net result, after some time, is about the same as before. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

The Western social formation has received two basic challenges in recent times: the revolt of the working classes from the inside, and the revolt of the peoples of the external sector, from the outside. The first effort to crush them was with the police (and military) internally, with the military (and police) externally. Then institutionalization of the revolts took place, and the demands, in addition to right to vote and independence, became crystallized as better terms of work, or improved buying power and working conditions for the internal revolt, and better terms of trade or improved buying power for commodities for the external revolt. For buying what? The amenities of BWL in the first case, and ~~the~~ what was needed to build BCI - and its support structure in the form of the Police and the Military - in the second case. And, of course, BWL for the members of BCI, Police and Military.

Figure 1 THE WESTERN SOCIAL FORMATION: SOME KEY FACTORS





Thereby the impact was softened, the revolts actually leading to the reinforcement of the structure as such. However, the top BCI positions are no longer the monopoly of the old families, and BWL has to be shared with many. And correspondingly: expansion/exploitation of an external sector no longer is the monopoly of the West: that position also had/has to be shared with others; some of the Third world countries, above all with Japan and countries in [the "fourth world"] the Japanese orbit. A major victory was won, however: alternative cosmologies that could start eroding the centerpiece of the Western formation - its expansionist cosmology - from the inner proletariat (and where we include women and peasants) and from indigenous cultures were marginalized, by co-opting the revolts. The germs of basic change were eliminated, both from the Russian, Second world revolt, and from the Third world revolt.

The column to the right is a survey of signs of maldevelopment, seen as produced by this structure, in its process. There is, of course, a value-judgment somewhere in referring to something as "maldevelopment". However, for much, perhaps most of what is in that column there is probably a relatively high level of consensus. This refers particularly to the signs of human maldevelopment, but actually also to the others, especially insofar as they can be seen as conditions of human maldevelopment. It should be noted that the column refers to signs of maldevelopment. What is maldeveloped, and in a process of <sup>increasing</sup> maldevelopment, is the Western social formation itself.

The overproduction crisis can best be seen as located in the interface between stepping up the production capacity to meet the demands created by the rising entitlement to BWL (which in turn is created in order to create that demand) and, on the other hand, having problems with the exploitation of the external sector, partly because some countries refuse to be exploited, partly because <sup>some</sup> others become significant market competitors. Unemployment and enforced free time (leisure) by reducing the working hours over the whole life cycle are obvious ways of stepping down

the production; the supply; aggressive marketing and war and the threat of war equally obvious ways of stepping up the demand. A war promises reconstruction proportionate to the destruction, this will make the production machinery run for full again, until there is a new overproduction crisis - - -. No doubt this is one very important aspect of the maldevelopment explored here. But it is not the only aspect; there are others.

Destroyed nature, alienation from own culture, a deformed society, and a population with little "physical, mental and social well-being" are heavy prices to pay for the achievements of BWL - particularly when there is a threat of war on top of it all. This will make the political fights more intense: in periods of growth it becomes a struggle over how to share the benefits, in periods of decline a struggle over how to share the costs; in period of fall a struggle over life and death - we are not there yet. Basically this becomes a struggle for the control of the state, the bureaucracy, including the military and the police - in other words for power over that [the state] which is defined as the organization that has power over other forms of power, in society. Ultimo ratio regis. A society with a weak state becomes blue if the corporations follow their Kapitallogik, but that does not mean that a society with a stronger state necessarily becomes less blue. It all depends on who control it. It can facilitate the operation of capital in addition to, but generally not at cross-purposes with, pursuing its own Staatslogik, expanding shares of territory and world power in general - not only expanding <sup>the</sup> shares of markets that the corporations are working for. But it can also "nationalize" (meaning 'étatiser') the corporations, and exercise a state capitalism for the benefit of the privileged or the underprivileged - the latter being the red option. But the basic problem with that red option is that it may only postpone some of the signs of crisis - the roots of maldevelopment being basically the same.

## 2. The Red option.

What, then, are these roots? Looking at the model, is there any one factor one can point to and say: here it is, eccolo! It cannot possibly be the degree of state control over capital alone, for if corporations are turned into bureaucracies they will still have to produce a surplus in order to ensure BWL for a substantial portion of the population. It is difficult to see how they can do that without engaging in much of the same exploitation. However, if the state is red or pink they ~~should~~ reduce material exploitation of the internal proletariat and shift the costs of decline upwards in society. But it is probably true that efforts to finance a welfare state in periods of economic decline by taxing the rich more will not succeed. From that, however, it does not follow that, <sup>blue politics,</sup> to tax them less, will succeed either. The rich may invest more in private corporations that in principle will bring increased revenue into the country through trade. But the problem will still remain: will there be customers? Maybe the competition from other has already come too far? Will US or British cars sell better again, because the rich are taxed more, or less? Or does it depend on factors beyond the control of US and British governments? The most difficult situation will come to the red state in ~~the West~~ that at the same time tries to reduce exploitation - of nature through environmental management, of the external sector by agreeing to NIEO type demands, of the internal proletariat by being run by trade unions, and of self by working for a more relaxed mode of production - at the same time as it tries to cope with economic crisis <sup>inner</sup> A heavy BCI complex has a certain logic - much of it incompatible with such soft policies. The whole construction is the natural outcome of the way expansion/exploitation, BCI and BWL are interlocked with each other, in a process of mutual reinforcement. There is no single point that can be removed or changed. More profound change is needed if one wants to get out of maldevelopment. And the red option is not profound enough: it fails to come to grips with exploitation as a general category.

To see this more clearly, let us spell out the red option, the socialdemocrat/socialist/communist party type option, in more detail, following the logic of the scheme in Figure 1. Thus, the red option accepts the general framework of the blue option, but basic would work for some changes, not only for piecemeal, ameliorative changes of the type to be described below. More particularly, the production should be more geared towards basic needs satisfaction, and a key structural difference would be, and has always been, the focus on terms of work, on reducing the exploitation of the internal proletariat. This will take the form not only of higher salaries, but also of vastly improved working conditions, including co-gestion, auto-gestion, self-management. However, given the lack of critique of size as a factor, enterprises - private and/or state - will tend to remain big and with that internal division of labor between managers and workers is almost inevitable, whether ownership is private or public.

When it comes to the external sector the red option will, in principle, go in for equity, but in practice easily engage in international inequitable division of labor if workers' standard of living is threatened. The red critique of inequity in foreign trade is very limited. The same applies to the relation to nature; as ecological reasoning of any depth is not in the core part of socialist thought such considerations will tend to take the second seat when there is a crisis. And there is no critique of high productivity if there is sufficient share in wage increases and no rise in unemployment, regardless of human and social costs and costs to the environment.

The red option has produced little original thinking in the field of military matters, as witnessed by the willingness of socialdemocrat/socialist/communist parties to engage in conventional bloc politics, only with somewhat more emphasis on negotiations. A key factor here has been the red party conviction that to build the welfare state alliance politics is useful because it leads to sharing and hence lower costs than a neutralist line would entail. Moreover,

the superpowers would carry a major part of the burden, the strategic deterrent. In other words, in the West the idea has to a large extent been to have the US subsidize the welfare state by subsidizing the costs of defense. That this whole thinking may have been not only fallacious because of ~~increasing insecurity~~, but also because the defense in fact has become more, not less, expensive, is another matter; probably to emerge high on the political agenda for the '80s when the red parties engage in sufficient self-criticism at this point.

The red option favors the state and the bureaucracy. They are "good" when they control capital, the enemy of the worker. They will hardly be cut down but possibly spread more evenly over the country [devolution, decentralization], become more "municipal and red in conviction, more focussing on basic needs for the most needy. The freedom of the corporations to manage capital, however, will be severely curtailed along a scale ranging from nationalization to control in exchange for access to public capital in times of crisis. And the intelligentsia will be mobilized to run this B-C machinery, but according to plans, rather than markets - something that in general will suit the intelligentsia very well since they will make the plans and supervise their implementation - not just watch that "invisible hand" steering the market. In order to have a reliable intelligentsia there will be efforts to change the recruitment pattern, but more focussing on [worker or intelligentsia] the class background than on age, gender and efforts to bring non-university people in.

As to way of life: there is little doubt that the basic red orientation is BWL for everybody, but with more focus on the dignity of manual labor (and efforts to make it less alienating), on egalitarianism in the enjoyment of material comfort, with solidarity with the underprivileged compensating for privatism and security guaranteed by the state. And in addition to this: a number of ameliorative items.

It is not a bad option, but it carries the seeds of its

### 3. Is the Future Green?

This is where the green option enters, different from blue and red. But the green option, of course, is by no means clear. If the blue option draws on liberalism/conservatism for ideological and theoretical inspiration, and the red option on marxism, there is no doubt that the green option has a rich anarchist tradition to draw upon, **All these three Western ideologies** are essentially of the nineteenth century and we live in a very dangerous part of the twentieth century, profoundly in need of some fresh approaches. Gandhism and maoism are important reinforcements of anarchism. But we simply have to construct the green approach, and the following is one suggestion, for discussion, starting with two basic considerations.

First, the green option has to avoid the key pitfalls of the other two: it has to be much more holistic. Of course, the other two also have views on everything. But their total views derive from a basic premise:

private ownership of the means of production and free market competition (blue premise)

collective ownership of the means of production with priority to the satisfaction of basic needs for those most in need (red premise)

Both of them see a lot of good things as following with a certain automaticity once these axioms are really satisfied, and very few, or no, bad things. But this is, at best, some kind of deductive holism, defined by the key ~~premise~~ and the extremely optimistic assumption that things follow as easily empirically, in practice, as they do logically, by deduction, within some framework of thought.<sup>(9)</sup> The green perspective should opt for a dialectical holism whereby things are seen as parts of a whole, as parts of a family of things, where the parts are by and large reinforcing each other, in a dynamic pattern of interaction, sometimes one factor leading, sometimes another. There is no single pivot element through which the whole pattern can be controlled. Some work has to be done on all components at the same time if any basic change is to come about.

And that leads us straight to a key problem. Would not totalizing views tend to lead to totalitarian ideologies and practices? The blue and the red both very easily become repressive. One reason ~~is~~ that theoretically it should work, so if it does not work there must be enemies somewhere that should be rotted out; and/or the basic premise has not been put into practice with sufficient purity, meaning that any <sup>remaining</sup> public sector/private sector (depending on whether the totalitarianism is blue or red) has to be curtailed/eliminated.<sup>[10]</sup> When so much is hinging on so little, would it not be close to a historical crime not to do a thorough job at that point?

But if the green option is focussed on no such key point, but instead on nothing less than a whole "family of things"; does that not mean that it would be even more totalitarian, working all over ~~the~~ Figure 1 ~~above~~, trying to change everything at the same time? There is no doubt that this danger exists, as does also another danger: that of trying to find ~~the~~ key point from which all other changes are supposed to follow. One such key point is already known in Occidental anarchist theory: the abolition of the state, recentralization - meaning real autonomy to the local levels - with the hope that from this simpistic version of "small is beautiful" the rest will follow suit.<sup>[11]</sup>

Fortunately, however, there is a third possibility: that of pursuing many policies at the same time but ~~not~~ in ~~an~~ absolutist, dogmatic manner. Many changes, but all of them in the correct direction should bring about results even if none of them is "to the bitter end". Perhaps a comparison from the medical field could be useful here. Imagine a person living in one of our mal-developed societies feels ill, dis-ease, with some acute illness on top of a shifting pattern of chronic malfunctioning, some of it also of a "nervous" character.<sup>[12]</sup> In short, a typical product of Western

social formations, and one possibility would be to try to change that formation. But in the meantime the individual can do something, and the advice in the US Surgeon General's Report on Health Promotion and Disease Prevention is probably as good as any. [13]

- elimination of cigarette smoking
- reduction of alcohol ~~mis~~use
- moderate dietary changes to reduce intake of excess calories, fat, salt and sugar
- periodic screening for major disorders such as high blood pressure and certain cancers
- adherence to speed laws and use of seat belts
- moderate exercise

Here are six points, and the point we are making is this: they belong together, to a certain "family of things". Five of them are already formulated with moderation. Maybe the sixth one (cigarette smoking) also could be, eg from "elimination" to "one cigar a month" or something like that - there is probably also something good in tobacco. Practise all six points, in a moderate fashion, and one is probably already on an upward turn in health. Practise only one of them fanatically, to the very end, with the hope that total health may follow (eg absolutely no smoking; or being a teetotaler; or total change to health food; or running to the doctor for checks for the slightest symptom of something; or giving up driving completely; or jogging ~~very much~~) and the remaining five malpractices will probably more than compensate for whatever good might be brought about by the one positive practice. In addition, if that one is exaggerated it may alone do more harm than good, as is the case for exaggerated exercise, <sup>easily</sup> leading to heart malfunctioning.

One important point here is that Occidental cosmology favors this focus on one key factor, having a very sharp distinction between good and evil, true and fals; a neat separation of factors and variables as if they were independent of each other; and a search for the key factor from which the others can be "derived". [14]

The green option, hence, simply has to adopt another basic position



at this crucial point. That should also be done with some moderation,<sup>(1)</sup> not denying, however, that in a given situation, in a concrete setting, some variables or contradictions may be more important than others. It is when one deviates from that simple statement to elevating one factor forever, under all circumstances, to the very top of the conceptual universe and to the core of the historical process that there is danger. One may simply start believing it!

Second, although green social cosmology should not be pyramidal there is, of course, no denial that social problems have a core and a surface. There are core phenomena and there are surface phenomena. In the model above "cosmology" and "structure/process" constitute the former, "maldevelopment signs" the latter. And that leads in our view, to some simple conclusions:

- [1] to attack only the surface problems, ameliorism, offers no solution; the problems will be reproduced continuously
- [2] to attack only the core problems, social transformation, is the only approach to a more lasting solution. But in the meantime many people will suffer from the surface problems
- [3] to attack both core and surface problems is good policy, both alleviating pain and building a better society.

Let us spell this out by considering, more concretely, what here, somewhat scornfully, is called "ameliorism" <sup>might</sup> consist of, using the list of maldevelopment signs presented above. Reading the right hand column of policies the reader will have no difficulty recognizing the policies of particularly Northern European governments. Just as foolhardy as it would be to believe that they represent solutions to the basic problems would be to throw them out for that very reason. To stop all those things would be to offer people no hope at all, except the dream of a better future - eg for their grandchildren, when (or if) core measures start biting. But that is some kind of fascism in time, sacrificing the present generation for future ones. It is <sup>not</sup> that different from fascism in space sacrificing, killing even, people elsewhere for one's own interests or Lebensraum, not to mention social fascism, eliminating ethnic

A SURVEY OF AMELIORATIVE POLICIES	AGAINST MALDEVELOPMENT SIGNS
cardio-vascular diseases	reduce smoking etc., less stress more exercise, healthy diet
cancer	no smoking, less stress
chronic diseases, accidents	more therapy, more tertiary care work safety, safety belts in cars
mental disorder	tranquilizers, ataraxica; more mental therapists, social workers
suicide	more care with prescriptions, fences preventing people jumping
anomie, meaninglessness	new religions, new social move- ments promising solutions
overproduction	using it for military build-up
unemployment	reducing work hours to employ mor
reduced working hours, leisurism	stepping up entertainment; more channels and programs, spor
inequality	progressive taxation regressive taxation, "trickle-down
injustice by age and gender	opening for middle-aged women
loss of faith in institutions	more public access to documents
local level disintegration	"decentralization" by making loca level a mini-state, with BCI compl
family disintegration	living with friends, cohabitatio
young people isolated, "gangs"	leisure time clubs
old people isolated, "homes"	leisure time clubs
global exploitation	see it as "terms of trade" only
domestic exploitation	see it as "terms of work" only
dependence on global trade	working for national level self- reliance; forgetting local level
dependence on BCI complex	dependence on local BCI complex
alienation from folk culture	money for festivals, museums
reduction of eco-maturity	efforts to counter depletion and pollution; environment managemem
depletion	recycling industries
pollution	cleaning-up industries
aggressive marketing	only towards rich Third world countries (OPEC, NIC); not poor
wars and threats of war	"arms control" and "disarmament" conferences

groups and/or social classes.

The all-out rejection of such policies <sup>as "cosmetics"</sup> often stems from a failure to think and act dialectically in connection with social processes. Thus, it is true that disarmament talks and nuclear free zones do not remove underlying conflicts or constitute an alternative defense. But they may move the debate and positions in the debate in a much more fruitful direction. Entertainment is no solution when in practice it means spectatorism. But no entertainment makes the situation much worse for many people. To reproduce the national structure at the local level still keeps that structure. But localization of it may make it more subject to popular control, less remote, more open to experiments at a local level that could make, for instance, municipalities more different from each other, etc. Stop smoking, "stress less" should reduce the danger of cancer - but if the social formation remains unchanged other types of pollution will be produced, other types of stress and addiction. And so on, and so forth.

There is also another reason why these measures should not be rejected, but this approach <sup>would</sup> by many be seen as more macchiavelian: precisely to show that they are insufficient, however necessary they may appear to be. If they are not proven insufficient empirically only the strong <sup>dis-</sup>believers will believe in their insufficiency - and they are perhaps not always the best people on whom to build a better future. Theory is good, values are good - but some empirical evidence is also good -- fortunately the three do not exclude each other. <sup>[16]</sup> In Northern Europe this is quite important. The red [or pink] tend to favor ameliorative policies and to use their leverage on the state bureaucracy to bring about such policies nationally. The blue tend to assert that things will improve once economic growth reappears, which, in turn, depends on the extent to which private capital and the market mechanisms can operate freely. When

the blue fail and are brought down politically, through voting in parliament and/or the population, the red are often held to be the carriers of the solution - at least for some time. If red (social democrat ameliorative policies fail sufficiently soon after the blue have failed (or vice versa), then the stage is perhaps set for a discussion of the green option. We say "perhaps" for two reasons: one century of political thinking and practice only along the blue-red spectrum, oscillating in allegiance and emphasis from one of those two premises to the other, has still a certain brainwashing effect on people and has also sedimented into the deep structure of the society as big enterprises, private and/or state, nation-wide bargaining, etc. And the second reason is ~~that there~~ has to be ~~clear answers~~ to the precise question: what is the green option about, at the core level?

I think the answer is relatively clear, and it is given not by some social theoretician working in a library, but by the people themselves in all the issue-oriented, grassroots-based movements in the overdeveloped countries. Below I shall try to show that for the core dimensions or contradictions there are such movements, people will readily recognize them. There is also the beginning of overarching movements, of "green parties", and the beginning of overarching thinking. But this, of course, is precisely the sticky point.

On the one hand: with no "coordination" of social theories into a theory, and of issue-movements into a political movement one risks dissipation of political energy into US type "one-issue-at-the-time" politics. The problem is that societies are not that simple: one cannot bring about some change in one place, then leave it alone and hope that it will stick when full attention is given to the next matter. Moreover, there is a need for meaning, and the meaning does not easily derive from one issue alone but from seeing many issues in a context.

On the other hand: the strength of the green movement is its grassroots basis, its pluralism and imagination, even unpredictability. If a political party takes the usual form, <sup>hierarchically</sup> being modeled after the structure of the formal sector of a "modern" country, like bureaucracy and corporations, then it will tend to become like them, structure being more important than **ideology**. There will be a national executive board, there will be the tendency to talk with one voice, to demand loyalty or at least not too much divergence from the party line, etc. And there will be the tendency for the central level to deal with central dogma, and for the local level to look more at local applications; ~~division of labor~~

To avoid this, the structure can be loosened up in two ways, organizationally and conceptually. Since the green movement, in general, believes more in smaller units and sees countries more as federations of such units, then the green movement <sup>itself</sup> should take on the same form, as a federation of local movements (meaning by "local" not necessarily municipality and province - the borders <sup>often</sup> can be drawn best by people themselves). That way the structure already carries a message, and the participants get training in their own political theory. Conceptually one can proceed exactly the same way; seeing the green movement as a federation of issue-movements that work out <sup>among themselves</sup> the level of integration they find justifiable, supporting each other in many things, perhaps not in all. No issue, then, is permitted to be the issue, forever.

But, can such a thing work at all? Will it not become too weak to have any impact? As judged by the criteria of the blue and the red it may look highly unimpressive, particularly as the greens **do not** conquer the key point, and fail to gain a high percentage of votes cast. But then this is precisely the point: to bring about change through the cumulative impact of small changes in many factors at the same time, and that can **best** be done by loosely coordinated issue-movements, each one working in one corner of society. But who?

A SURVEY OF GREEN POLICIES

MAINSTREAM CHARACTERISTICS

GREEN POLICIES, MOVEMENTS

E  
C  
O  
N  
O  
M  
I  
C

1. Exploitation of internal proletariat
2. Exploitation of external sector
3. Exploitation of nature
4. Exploitation of self

cooperative enterprises, movements  
labor buyer/seller difference abolished, customers directly involved  
co-existence with the Third world;  
only equitable exchange relations  
liberation movements  
ecological balance Person-Nature;  
building diversity, symbiosis;  
complete or partial vegetarianism  
more labor- and creativity-intensive  
decreasing productivity some field  
alternative technologies

M  
I  
L  
I  
T  
A  
R  
Y

1. Dependency on foreign trade
2. Dependency on formal sector, BCI-complex
3. Offensive defense policies, very destructive defense technology
4. Alignment with superpowers

self-reliance; self-sufficiency in  
food, health, energy and defense  
local self-reliance, decreasing  
urbanization, intermediate technology  
defensive defense policies, with  
less destructive technology, also  
non-military, nonviolent defense  
non-alignment; even neutralism;  
decoupling from superpowers

S  
T  
R  
U  
C  
T  
U  
R  
A  
L

1. Bureaucracy, state [plan] strong and centralized
2. Corporation, capital [market] strong and centralized
3. Intelligentsia, research strong and centralized
4. MAMU factor; BCI peopled by middle-aged males with university education (and dominant race/ethnic group)

recentralization of local level,  
building federations of local unit  
building informal, green economy;  
- production for self-consumption  
- production for non-monet. exchange  
- production for local cycles  
high level non-formal education,  
building own forms of understanding  
feminist movements, justice/equality  
and for new culture and structure;  
movements of the young and the old  
movements for racial/ethnic equality

Bourgeois  
Way of  
Life

1. Non-manual work, eliminating heavy, dirty, dangerous work
2. Material comfort, dampening fluctuations of nature
3. Privatism, withdrawal into family and peer groups
4. Security, the probability that this will last

keeping the gains when healthy,  
mixing manual and non-manual  
keeping the gains when healthy,  
living closer to nature  
communal life in bigger units,  
collective production/consumption  
keeping security when healthy,  
making life style less predictable

Chemical  
Circus  
Way of  
Life

1. Alcohol, tranquilizers, drugs
2. Tobacco, sugar, salt, tea/coffee
3. Chemically treated food, panem natural fibers removed
4. Circenses, TV, sport, spectatorism

moderation, experiments with non-addictive, life-enhancing things  
moderation, enhancing the body's capacity for joy, eg through sex  
bio-organic cultivation, health food, balanced food, moderation  
generating own entertainment, moderate exercise, particularly as manual work, walking, bicycling

Needless to say, papers, books, libraries can be and have been written about every single point. But the focus here is on the totality, and on linkages. They are numerous.

Following the logic of Figure 1 we have tried to spell out the characteristics of mainstream Western society; its highly blue essence, with those red options that actually are more visible in the survey of ameliorative policies. The characteristics come in five sets with four in each (an obvious example of the author's exposure to Buddhist thought); the first three being more structural (and the first two also including elements of global, not only domestic structure), the last two dealing directly with ways of life. What is spelt out to the right of the last two sets, then, is roughly speaking the alternative ways of life movement, as a part of general green politics and as seen by the present author. Others may certainly have other ways of subdividing all of this. It should also be pointed out that the scheme does not enter what could be called inner man/woman, the deeper aspects of human growth and development - it stays structural and behavioral.<sup>(17)</sup> - not spiritual. For some remarks on that, see ~~below~~

The first three sets deal with the macro level, with politics in the more classical sense; the last two more with the micro [the groups around the individual] and the meso [the local] levels. It is characteristic of the green movement that it takes in all these levels. It is certainly more than life style movements and ecologism. The cooperative movement, rejuvenated, belongs in the picture as an old part of the anarchist and socialist tradition, with small enough enterprises to permit direct self-management without the emergence of a worker-manager elite beyond effective control. And it takes in the efforts to build new relations with the Third world, often on a people to-people, enterprise-to-enterprise, community to community basis [volunteers, Africafé, Sarvodaya Shramadana International, to quote some examples]. That the movement is critical

of centralized, technocratic society is certainly nothing new, and in this there is also an obvious feminist contribution of prime significance, as well as the incipient impact from movements of the young and the old.

But the peace movement also belongs in this picture as an important, integral part - and that has to be spelt out a little more. Crucial in this connection is the idea that mainstream Western society, in addition to all its other characteristics, also is extremely vulnerable, to any kind of aggression, from inside and outside. There are two major factors in this: dependence on foreign trade, and dependence on the BCI-complex, with all its centralization and urbanization, "high" (so-called sophisticated) technology. The thesis is, then, very simply that the more vulnerable a society is, the more will it tend to adopt an offensive defense posture, for the simple reason that it cannot risk any war on its own territory. Military policy will be based on mutual destruction, retribution and offensive capacity rather than the capacity to defend, on one's own ground, the social structure and way of life one cherishes. The military land long range technology, then, tends to become very destructive, highly violent - in order to deter through a credible capacity to retribute (Vergeltung rather than Verteidigung), and to attack. Thus, the two things are related, they constitute a package often overlooked. And in order to have more of this capacity highly vulnerable Western countries form an alliance, NATO, with a superpower seen as capable of meeting the bill provided there is some sharing of costs and risks. And Eastern countries do the same, or try to do so.

The peace movement has tended to focus more on the purely military side, arguing for lower destructive capacity (through disarmament, quantitative and qualitative and non-alignment, even neutrality, meaning leaving the blocs or dismantling them. The pacifists among them have argued in favor of nonmilitary defense. To this should now be added two typical elements of green politics: less dependence on



foreign trade by becoming more self-reliant, and particularly by becoming more self-sufficient in producing that which is needed for satisfaction of basic needs: food, health inputs, energy sources for conversion in various directions, defense inputs - so as to be immune to the pressures from those who use food as a weapon, health as a weapon, energy as a weapon and weapons (in a broad sense) as a weapon. And: by making society less dependent on a centralized BCI-complex. That brings in the whole range of green policies out of which we have only focussed on three - more local autonomy, less urbanization, more intermediate technology or at least the possibility of developing such technology. To this could be added ecological self-reliance by making the country a balanced eco-system.

Read vertically the columns of the 10 are relatively consistent. There is a certain inner coherence, a socio-logic to them. And that is precisely what is meant above when we say that the thinking should be in terms of families of things rather than in terms of searching for the key element from which the rest is supposed to follow. Of course, that "family of things" (or "scheme of things") can be given a name if one wants - like any family can be named. We have preferred to use colors as labels simply to avoid any deductionism from the name - even "private capitalist", "state socialist" and "communal" may be too suggestive. Sometimes these labels should be changed. There is no reason to stick to the same labels forever, particularly not since the social formations are also themselves undergoing changes.

So much for the green option. It has now been spelt out as a loose pattern of movements and policies aiming at basic social transformation of what is seen as a profoundly maldeveloped social formation. But there are heavy vested interests in that formation, they will not stand by watching their construction attacked, sapped of energy, twisted and bent in other directions by thousands of people in dozens of movements. Beyond the blue and the red there is <sup>also</sup> a brown option.

Before we turn to that, however, there is another point to be explored. The West is blue, because its basic cosmology is blue, even dark blue. Would that not mean that changes are also needed in the cosmology itself? Cosmology = deep structure + deep ideology. The green changes would change the deep structure and hence go to the level of the cosmology itself. Would this not have both as a condition and a consequence a change in the deep ideology?

I think the answer would have to be yes, affirmative, but again with the same qualifications as mentioned above so many times. Much more significant than a very profound change in conviction along one of the six cosmological dimensions hypothesized here would be some change along all six. It may even well be that some change along five of them keeping one intact would not be of much help. Example: keeping the idea of Western supremacy in sticking to Western ideologies and/or religions, eg Marxism and/or Christianity, without openings for non-Western thought, might be counter-productive. And yet that happens many places in people who have to show that Western civilization has in it all that is needed and does not have to search elsewhere for anything. They always have to develop the rest of the world.

Concretely, then, this means a search for a new ethos, if that is the name under which "deep ideology" is generally known. Referring to the section 1 ~~list~~ the basic requirements would be something like this:

- [-1] SPACE: Instead of placing the West as a center of control for the world, seeing the West as a center of concern, for West
- [-2] TIME: Instead of believing that catharsis, a perfect Endzustand is around the corner, seeing the eternal dynamic flow
- [-3] EPISTEMOLOGY: Seeing things more holistically and dialectically
- [-4] PERSON-NATURE: Experiencing deep union with Nature, with animals
- [-5] PERSON-PERSON: Experiencing deep union with other people.
- [-6] PERSON-TRANSPERSONAL: Give up universality, relating with curiosity to the truths of others

This is the form of an ethos, not the content - for the content there can be very many answers. But none of them in the brown option!

4.. Is the Future Brown?

The brown option is actually relatively clear, and, like the green one, <sup>now</sup> is taking shape in the Western countries every day, as the crisis deepens. It can be rather simply defined: the brown movement seeks, with all means, to preserve the status quo ante (the crisis, that is) of the Western social formation, eg as depicted in

Figure 1. In terms of the preceding analysis this means, essentially, the following points of attack:

Brown option;  
hard core

COSMOLOGY; EXPANSIONIST  
THE STRUCTURE/PROCESS NUCLEUS:  
EXPANSION/EXPLOITATION; BCI; BWL  
STRENGTHENING POLICE, MILITARY;  
FUSING THEM WITH ONE POLITICAL PARTY

Brown option;  
optional

DOING SOMETHING ABOUT MALDEVELOPMENT  
DOING SOMETHING ABOUT THE RED OPTION  
DOING SOMETHING ABOUT THE GREEN OPTION

I have divided these six points into two sets of three points each. Let us first have a look at the hard core set, the sine qua non, in a sense, of brown politics.

Starting with the cosmology: all it takes is to stick to the six basic positions of centrifugal, expansionist, Western cosmology, with the West solidly placed in the Center (and one's own country as the Center of the West, the leader of "the free world", for instance); seeing the future in stark terms of crisis/catharsis, us or them; a very simplistic world view; strong emphasis on social darwinism and the survival of the fittest; unrestrained rule over nature; and the proclamation of own religion/ideology as universal, thereby making all the peoples one's disciples, and underlings. Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union had ideologies of this type; Nixon's and Reagan's United States come very, very close - even superceding them in terms of destructive capability, including motivation to use it. Homo americanus, in this special sense, is homo occiden-

talis, in extremis - with two clear predecessors. Expansionist Western cosmology has already a clearly fascist bias.

As to the structure/process nucleus: it flows from what has already been said about cosmology. Let it work as it was designed to work, and unimpeded! It should be noted that the brown option does not have to take a stand on whether bureaucracy or corporation should have the upper hand. It could depend on local circumstances, on who is better to run the total structure/process under concrete conditions. The brown could use the state to <sup>en</sup>force extremist policies. Or the state could make the corporations use fully the opportunities opened by the state, the strong state that is, controlling people through the fear of unemployment, or both. Much depends on with whom the unemployed will side.

More important, and also in the sine qua non part, is the third point: the development of a PMP-complex, a party-military-police complex. The tasks of the military and the police are already clearly defined: to see to it that the exploitation of the external sector and the internal proletariat can take place unimpeded by native and proletariat protest and revolt, or interference from others. The task of the party is to give expression to the cosmology, to ~~the~~ broad view of history and geography embodied in it, coordinating the work of the total structure with that view. For this to happen there is no need, strictly speaking, for one party only: there could even be a multiplicity of parties if they only span a sufficiently narrow sector of the political spectrum. At any rate, more basic opposition at home or abroad would be clamped down upon, there would be repression and threats of repression, there would be torture not so much to get at secrets as to frighten the population, there would be threats of intervention, support to <sup>friendly</sup> brown regimes, etc.

All this is fairly obvious and even common-place twentieth century politics. More problematic, analytically and also politically for brown politicians, is what to do with the next three points. The simplest would be to disregard all the maldevelopment signs, pretending that they will go away with the return of econo

growth as mentioned above. Or - more honestly, by saying that these are the problems of the weak, that they have to find their own solutions without impeding the progress of the strong, cut down their social wages (welfare state), legitimizing it all by saying that society should not be too soft but should have a selection system, a filtering mechanism. As for weak people, so also for weak countries, the world is a jungle, survival of the fittest; triage.

This is very clearly <sup>1</sup>fascism. Brown politics with a human face would actually be more clever, insist on hard core policies, but then combine that with many of the ameliorative policies in order to gain the support of a maximum of the population. This would be entirely possible as it would not really touch the basic structure/process of the system. That type of society would have a soft, human face; but with the PMP-complex right under that surface the moment the hard core is threatened.

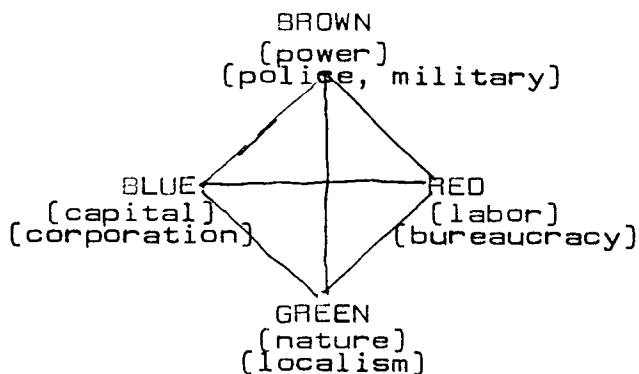
And correspondingly relative to the red and green options. With the blue people there is little problem: The dark blue will go along with the brown if it is seen as indispensable for blue politics to survive. The light blue will go along with the brown with a human face - that would satisfy their liberal inclinations. With the red people there may not be that much of a problem either: they may get a strong state <sup>with</sup> control of corporations, and BWL. The problem would be whether brown politicians side with workers or capitalists when it comes to sharing the surplus - and that is not necessarily a derivative of whether brown politics bases itself or both - as Hitler and Mussolini did. primarily on the state or primarily on the corporation. There are many possibilities here from the point of view of the politics of interest. If values come into the game, then the brown will encounter more difficulties. Fascist values are not very beautiful to look at

And that is a reason, of course, why they will have mos:

value-loaded problems with the green people. One may even go so far as to say that on all dimensions on the list of green policies the brown policies would be exactly the contrary, except, perhaps, for a certain puritanism and sports-orientation, as a contrast to the chemical/circus way of life. There would be very few points of contact between the green and the brown. But a clever brown movement could build on the few there are: a certain attachment to Nature; a faith in self-reliance, even self-sufficiency; and the sports/health orientation mentioned. It is well known how nazism, that alliance between Prussian authoritarianism and Bavarian mysticism, was playing on exactly this - and there are certain points of similarity today. [19]

similarities

But these exist mainly in the eyes of the competitors, the blue and the red, who should watch more carefully their own links to brown ideologies and policies. By and large there is no doubt that the greatest political distance in the quadrangle would be between brown and green; violent and nonviolent respectively:



So, what we are saying is essentially that the struggle of the 1980s, in the West, will perhaps be much more in terms of the Green-Brown than in terms of the, now rather old hat, Blue-Red axis. But how that struggle will shape up is too early to tell, except for one thing: the better prepared the green forces will be with a real alternative, the better chances that green, rather than brown, politics will prevail. And much of this will depend on the ability of the green to find acceptable solutions for the two big losers in green politics: the BCI complex itself, and the industrial working class.

For all these reasons, the green cannot seek its political alliance in industrial

The <sup>dark</sup> blue and the brown have the strongest institutions, of remunerative and coercive power. The dark red have the state planning bureaucracy when a labor party is in power and has not been co-opted towards the blue end of the spectrum. The green and the light red have people and ideas, idea power - and for that reason tend to win debates, partly because the other side does not have to; they have something more substantial to fall back upon, <sup>power</sup>. Moreover, as has been pointed out repeatedly: the blue and the brown are the true implementations of expansionist Western cosmology, the real carriers - the green and the red, with their ideas of "small is beautiful" and "solidarity" are subversives within that frame of reference although they may be said to stand for the other Occident, more modest, even contractionist, centripetal, inner-oriented. And that orientation is also found among the light blue. They often favor small enterprises; no [dark] red is ever known to favor a small state bureaucracy.

But this means, concretely, that for the green and the humane parts of red and blue, not those that accept unquestioningly the Western pattern of development, a cosmology transformation is, in the longer run, a distinct possibility. If the deep structure and the deep ideology both remain the same, ameliorative policies alleviate the pains of the maldevelopment somewhat. If green forces are at work from many sides simultaneously, as indicated above, then one out of two will easily happen. First, there is the strong possibility of co-optation. Women, for instance, are listed here as parts of the green forces, but can also easily be co-opted into, for instance, BCI-complex positions and serve blue or red systems more than green. Which points to the importance, for women, of forging patterns of cooperation between the "Fifty percenters", those who want 50% of all positions in blue [or red] society, and those who go in for a green society, or greener society, presumably more in line with feminist values. This, of course, presupposes that women, like all non-MAMU (the old and the young, the non-university educated, the racially/ethnically dominated) tend to be carriers of the alternative Western cosmology rather than the, until now, dominant one.

Second, in the transition phase - in which we already are now - the subversive character of the green approaches will be very evident, against the background of the unarticulated but terribly ~~deep-rooted~~ cosmology of the Western social formation. It should be born in mind that from a blue-brown point of view the green are even more subversive than the red. The red try to conquer the same institutions [the corporations, and the state - to control the corporation if they cannot be conquered directly]. The green withdraw from them and try to do without these institutions. It is not that they want other alpha-structures [big and vertical], or to be on top of the same; they want beta structures [small and horizontal] instead - to put it in clearly structural terms. <sup>[18]</sup> With the red the blue have a conflict of interest, it is you or me on top. With the green they have a conflict of value. And here the red are somewhere in the middle, with that conflict of interest with the blue, but also - indeed - a conflict of value with the green.

Is the future brown? Possibly, yes. It may be that such a shock is needed for the deep change implied by the expression "cosmology transformation" to take place - like the end of the Roman Empire or the end of the Middle Ages. But at least the small democracies in the North of the West, from Canada to Finland, still are sufficiently participatory to withstand brown onslaughts before they grow too strong and take roots in the ever darker blue that now seems to be emerging. It should also be noted that these are countries with strong light blue (small scale business, local, almost green) and light red (social democrat, also locally oriented, also green) orientations and movements. The drive for ideological purity is not so strong either: a red/green ideology with some light blue spots would not be alien to the national ethos of these countries. For the same reason both the blue and the brown may come far in the direction of adapting ameliorative policies and for that reason pertrate into the green - showing that there may also be dangers to eclecticism.



5. Conclusion: towards a green strategy.

Key points in a green strategy have been given above:

- a federation of movements, loose but cooperative
  - a federation of policies, a family of ideas, of issues
  - consciousness of the need for a new basic orientation, but also of the danger of hammering it out in too precise terms
  - cooperation with the key victims of the maldevelopment of blue society, the industrial workers
  - forging alliances with the light red and the light blue, wherever possible
- Beyond that, what can one see?

At this point a contradiction shows up between green approaches and the traditional role of the intellectual. It is a key aspect of the green movement that people build their own forms of understanding. There are limits to prescription lest they become repressive, like brown policies. But some vague images may be useful.

I see the green movements in these countries as having ~~one~~ to stay. The ecological/economic movements of the 1970s will be reinforced by the political and peace movements of the 1980s. More and more people gain experiences with collectives and with green economies, alternative technologies - and with networks of such organizations. Most of them are very informal, as they should be. From an organizational point of view it may look fragile. But what it will mean, and increasingly so, is that more and more people not only question increasing levels of exploitation (structural violence) and war preparation (direct violence), but also are less available, in the beginning mentally, spiritually, later on perhaps with their bodies. The peace movement is a good example here: it makes an alliance like NATO look pretty much like an empty shell, dangerous but sapped of vitality because so many people turn their attention in other directions. - It already starts looking like remnants of feudalism after 1789, but with no assumption of violent revolution. For the green transformation would be the nonviolent sum of a score or so concrete policies, leading to - and being led by - a deep transformation structurally and ideologically. already going

## N O T E S

x The present paper emerged out of discussions in Gothenburg on the occasion of the Nordic Alternative Movements Seminar March 1981 and the meeting on the World Economic Crisis and the Alternative Future of the West, organized by the University of Gothenburg team of the Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development Project, May 1981. I am very much indebted to discussants, particularly to Mats Friberg and Patrick Healey, and to the working group organized by Mats Friberg in Gothenburg as a follow-up of the seminar. Part of the travel expenses for the May 1981 meeting was financed by a contribution from Mr J. A. Babson, Maine, USA.

[1] See Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State, NLB, London, 1974, particularly chapter I,2 - "Class and State: Problems of Periodization".

[2] For an introduction to this author's notion of cosmology, see "Five Cosmologies: An Impressionistic Presentation", Proceedings of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, 1980, Oslo, pp. 130-53; also in Alternatives, pp. 145-169.

[3] One is thinking of the last Crusades, the Hansa system, the networks of North Italian and Low Countries-German cities, etc.

[4] This is the line of definition chosen here for "exploitation", both the other and also valid line, in terms of "unequal exchange" [where neither party may be beyond limits of reproduction].

[5] See by this author, The GPID(L) Model: Some Basic Aspects, paper for the IIASA Global Modeling Forum, Laxenburg, 1981.

[6] See note [2] above. This type of perspective is, of course, one of the several economists would have great difficulties incorporating in their form of understanding of the crisis. Mainstream forms of understanding will have to be compatible with the cosmology. Economists, hence, will tend to underestimate the importance of nature, of people (except as labor and consumers), of social and global structure (because it is just assumed to be competitive), of history and culture (because economics is assumed to be valid at all times and places). By producing such forms of understanding (or non-understanding) economists become the useful idiots of the system, not capable of issuing warning signals - dangerous because they have much power.

[7] See Johan Galtung, Tore Heiestad and Erik Rudeng, "On the Decline and Fall of Empires; The Roman Empire and Western Imperialism Compared", Review, 1980.

[8] See the references in [5] and [7] above.

[9] For an analysis of this type of thinking as contrasted to more holistic styles, see Johan Galtung, "Structure, Culture and Intellectual Style: An Essay Comparing Saxon, Teutonic, Gallic and Nipponic Approaches", Social Sciences Information, 1981, pp. 817-856.

[10] This is analyzed in some detail in Johan Galtung, "On the <sup>European</sup> Eastern Social Formation and Its Future", Geneva, 1980.

[11] See Leopold Kohr, The Breakdown of Nations; a classic in this field.

[12] See Galtung, Poleszynski: Health and Development; A Norwegian Case Study, Geneva, WHO, 1981.

[13] Washington, 1978.

[14] This intellectual centralism is just a part of the basic centralism in space, time, society and cosmos underlying the expansionist or centrifugal Western cosmology, as elaborated in the article referred to in [2] above.

[15] "The jewel has facets!" said the Chinese, "and it is possible that many religions are moderately true".

- "I agree with that" said Barnard [the American] heartily. "I never did believe in sectarian jealousies. Chang, you're a philosopher - I must remember that remarks of yours. 'Many religions are moderately true' - I reckon you fellows up on the mountain are a lot of wise guys to have thought that out. You're right, too - I'm dead certain of it!"

- "But we!" responded Chang dreamily, "are only moderately certain!" From James Hilton, Lost Horizon, Pan Books, p. 89. Morale: moderation also has to be taken with moderation, much like relativism should be taken with relativism.

[16] This is the basic thesis of Johan Galtung, Methodology and Ideology, Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1977, particularly chapter 2, "Empiricism, Criticism, Constructivism: Three Aspects of Scientific Activity", pp. 41-71.

[17] But the GPID Project as seen by the present author is very much an effort to correct for this by seeing human, social and world development as three aspects of development, each to be given sufficient attention, to be treated in their own right - but with a certain primacy given to the human space. And that, basically, is the rationale of the green movement: it pretends to serve the human aspect of human beings better - meaning not only satisfaction of material needs and dominance/violence syndromes.

[19] See Johan Galtung, "Sobre alfa y beta y sus muchas combinaciones", in Masini, E. ed., Visiones de sociedades deseables, CEESTEM, Mexico, 1979.

[18] See Johan Galtung, "Who are the Successors of Nazism - Some Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary", Berlin, 1983.