The Ecumenical Institute: Chicago Sweet '72 Planning Unit June 21, 1371

THE ECONOMIC TRIANGLES

Though there are other lines out of "Little Big Man" that I remember more, I guess there will be one which will be there forever and ever. The one which haunted me, and it didn't really haunt me until the second time I saw the movie, is one which just gets sneaked in there. I forget everything that leads up to it now, but the Indians are in the cold in the Indian settlement in the northwest and the elder Jack Crabb makes the comment, "I was just about to get settled in with these folks." (That's a paraphrase.) And then something happens about that point--the ponics get restless and the camp is attacked again. That line keeps coming back to me in terms of just the pure tension of doing anything like this. And this is not directly related to the triangles but is related to the problem of living, in the kind of way that we do. It came back to me particularly this morning. I'm tempted on one hand to settle in with the establishment, and find myself continually wanting to do that when I get to the office in the morning. I sit down for a few minutes to talk to the boss and tend to pick up the problems of the company, or whatever, and get immeddiately sucked in to his context. Especially this morning, I would just as soon have sat there and had another cup of coffee and talked even longer and just settled in with the establishment for the rest of my life. Then, in the midst of literally pulling the wool over his eyes in terms of my plans for today, so that I could just set my thermos on my desk to tell everyone that I'm there, and then leave again, rehearsed for myself the story about how great it is to be able to pull the wool over his eyes. I tell myself that there's really nothing significant going on with the company anyhow and it's a pile, and I settle in with the disestablishment. You vascilate between the two, I think, I probably settled in with the disestablishment as I walked out the door just sort of chuckling at how in a company as sophisticated as Western Electric, one could walk in and set a symbol on his desk and leave. It's the chuckling at that that's the settling in with the disestablishment. Well, that line in the movie, in spite of all the themes that have been picked out, is the only one that really has addressed me and held the kind of anxiety that is almost always in my stomach. And, I don't think you have to work out to be continually in that kind of anxiety - maybe less tempted to settle in with the establishment. That still, I'm sure, is always there.

I'm supposed to talk about the Economic this morning. We've already said in many different situations that what the Economic is dealing with is the foundation or that-without-which you don't even bother to raise the question of life. Or, to put it in the most abstract, the Economic is dealing with the given situation in whatever you're talking about. You're not just, in other words, talking about bread and water there or something else, but are dealing with the given situation as the Economic question.

I think that it's interesting that in the movie "2001" the way in which they chose to symbolize the dawn of consciousness, was with an economic activity, that is with the invention of the club. Then the killing of another ape so that they could eat him, which is a purely economic activity, symbolized or portrayedthe dawn of consciousness. That is foundational in terms of talking about social goingonness.

There have traditionally been three ways of coming at economic policy or economic theory, and I suppose we could have chosen these three as the three around the economic triangle, though we didn't. We can talk about economic policy as

traditional or as command or as market, all three of which are present in any given society and are ways of coming at the polity dimension of the economic activity. Tradition is pointing to simply doing it in the way it has been done for the last several generations. You see that continously going on in the boy who grows up and does exactly the same thing that his father did, which is probably the most carly or fundamental form of economic organization or polity. Then the command, which is almost self explanatory, that is to simply look at what is needed in a given society and then organize your economics around that in a pure command kind of fashion, where the king demands that everything that is produced be given to him and then he redistributes it. Taxation would be a form of command economy. The third, which is more recent in terms of the history of the globe, is the market economy. Here, if you allow everyone to do as he wants and produce what he will, things will work out. That may be a little bit simplistic. It is that kind of an approach to economics and the freedom to even carry out economics in that way that has produced economic analysis as a discipline or produced economics as an order. It was that kind of thing that allowed Adam Smith, who is the real father, I think, of economic order, to ever begin his brooding.

Maybe to get hold of the kind of stew that you're thrown into when you begin to talk about economics as a discipline, and begin to grasp the kind of questions that are there, as long as you don't do it the way it's always been done, or just assign someone to decide everything and control the whole situation by command, is held in a story by a man by the name of Heilbroner, who is worth reading. He's written a number of different books, and he's very readable. He's able to take the abstract algebra of Keynes and get it said in such a way that if you don't understand algebra you still get the gist of what Keynes is talking about. He's that kind of a man, and captures, probably the kind of stew that you're thrown into when you begin to unravel the abyss of economics. He's talking about what he calls the underdeveloped nations. They are sending a delegation over to find out from us how it is that they ought to be able to run their economy, and we're giving advice relative to the market system, which is in a sense how we approach the economy. He says, we could imagine the leaders of such a nation saying:

"We have always experienced a highly tradition-bound way of life. Our men hunt and cultivate the fields and perform their tasks as they are brought up to do by the force of example and the instruction of their elders. We know, too, something of what can be cone by economic command. We are prepared, if necessary, to sign an edict making it compulsory for many of our men to work on community projects for our national development. Tell us, is there any other way we can organize our society so that it will function successfully-or better yet more successfully?"

Suppose we answered, "Yes, there is another way. Organize your society along the lines of a market economy."

"Very well," say the leaders. "What do we then tell people to do? How do we assign them to their various tasks?"

"That's the very point," we would answer. "In a market economy no one is assigned to any task. The very idea of a market society is that each person is allowed to decide for himself what to do."

There is consternation among the leaders. "You mean there is <u>no</u> assignment of some men to mining and others to cattle raising? No manner of selecting some for transportation and others for cloth weaving? You leave this to people to decide for themselves? But what happens if they do not decide correctly? What happens if no one volunteers to go into the mines, or if no one offers himself as a railway engineer?"

"You may rest assured," we tell the leaders, "none of that will happen. In a market society, all the jobs will be filled because it will be to people's advantage to fill them."

Our respondents accept this with uncertain expressions. "Now look," one of them finally says, "let us suppose that we take your advice and let our people do as they please. Now let's talk about something important, like cloth production. Just how do we fix the right level of cloth output in this 'market society' of yours?"

"But you don't," we reply.

"We don't! Then how do we know there will be enough cloth produced?"

"There will be," we tell him. "The market will see to that."

"Then how do we know there won't be too much cloth produced?" he asks triumphantly.

"Ah, but the market will see to that too!"

"But what is this market that will do all these wonderful things? Who runs it?"

"Oh, nobody runs the market," we answer. "It runs itself. In fact there really isn't any such thing as 'the market.' It's just a word we use to describe the way people behave."

"But I thought people behaved the way they wanted to!"

"And so they do," we say. "Eut never fear. They will want to behave the way you want them to behave."

"I am afraid," says the chief of the delegation, "that we are wasting our time. We thought you had in mind a serious proposal. But what you suggest is madness. It is inconceivable. Good day, sir." And with great dignity the delegation takes its leave.

(From THE MAKING OF ECONOMIC SOCIETY by Robert L. Heilbroner Pp. 15-16), Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962)

I don't know if you have ever thought about that. I suppose you have — everyone. How is it that it works out that way? Once you've decided that you'll allow people to, more or less do as they please, and operate according to presumably the most profitable method, which is the way in which you got the framework into society to begin with—once you've got that in operation, how does it keep going? What is it that does keep the right amount of cloth produced, and so on? Well, that was the kind of thing that plagued Adam Smith, initially, and caused him to sit down and do some kind of analysis of what it was that was going on in the economic dimension of any society. Not that that had not been going on since the dawn of consciousness, but he finally sat down and attempted to get said how it is that man operates with other men in terms of his economic dimension.

Maybe it's helpful to talk about historically the three men that I think have already been named as being the key figures in terms of any study of economics, or getting hold of economic analysis. In the 18th Century it was Adam Smith, it was roughly 1750 when his book, WEALTH OF NATIONS, came out. It's interesting to read his life history, It says he was a genious basically, and they say, "given to fits of abstraction," which is like some of the rest of us from time to time in terms of triangle building. He came up with the theory of the hidden hand, which is very interesting. If you cannot solve it in any other way, you simply say that there is some kind of a guiding force that is going to make sure that the right amount of automobiles and cloth and everything else gets put together in such a way that it will all work out. Or, he picked up the French term "laisse faire" as a way of coming at economic theory and coined such words as the "free" market" and "supply and demand" and "competition" as his key terms for getting hold of what it was that made economics within a society operate. He simply said that on a free market, supply and demand will somehow or other regulate one another. You will always get people to go to the mines because there is a demand for them and you will always get people to do this or that if you allow the free market to operate under hidden hand, - "the market" - as Heilbroner talks about it.

Marx came along and moved beyond that in the 19th Century. His great passion, as was Smith's, was in terms of the business of production. He talked about the tools of production as weapons, or something like that. His whole emphasis was in terms of who it is that controls what he calls the means of production or the tools of production. Through his DAS CAPITAL OR COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, he laid out an analysis especially on the pole of production or on the pole of what he called the tools or the means of production. He did a great deal of analysis in that whole area.

In the 20th Century we would point to Keynes, though there are many men. Boulding is another man who came along much more recently and did a great deal of pulling together in books as BEYOND ECONOMICS and so on. Keynes moved beyond and got articulated economics of scarcity. He said that what we're operating with is an economics of abundance, that you can plan how it is that you're going to do your producing so that you do not have to be victimized by a scarcity of resources. You can build a plan relative to how you're going to deal with, and operate out of, an economics of abundance. The problem is not that things are scarce, the problem is how you build some kind of plan in order to deal with what you have. That may not be exactly an appropriate way of saying that, but somehow it was his articulation that got it said to us that we have moved into a situation of talk about economics as an economics of abundance rather than as an economics of scarcity.

These are the men upon whom we have drawn, especially Smith and Marx, in terms of the triangles. In particular here in terms of some kind of a planthe pole of distribution in terms of the economic triangle. Keynes has been, I think, helpful there in terms of his analysis.

Well, maybe we just ought to take a look at the triangles, themselves. It's hard, when you're building triangles, not to just continually be developing axes. That's been a continual problem I think with all of us who have done these even for a weekend. There's so much insecurity, and that's always what axes are associated with, at least I find that myself. Anytime I have a short course in my pocket that I don't have to think through more than a second before I give it I know that the reason why I've had to get it out and give it, was because someone has tromped in on an area in which I was basically very insecure. I get the explanation out quickly before my insecurity got burdensome, which is for me what an ax is about. Once you begin to work on any particular pole and get yourself involved in the pole where you've read two or three men's analysis of what's going on there and begin to try to pull that together, all kinds of short courses about your rationale begin to develop and any time anyone begins to encroach on that particular pole, you pull out your short courses. What I'm saying is when you begin to work with this, you've got to find ways of getting distance continuously on your work. After a weekend you have to lay it aside, either use time, which we really don't have very much of, or some other way of getting distance on this whole process, because there's that kind of pure insecurity there.

It's pretty safe to put around here Resources, Production and Distribution, though we had a great debate Friday night. Resources is not mentioned in most economic textbooks, even if you look, at least early economic textbooks, if you look in the index for resources, if they have it listed, there's one page shown for it. And if you look at their fundamental list with which they begin the chapter in terms of talking about economics, they talk about production, distribution, and consumption more often than not. So this is a new kind of gestalt to give resources that kind of weight relative to the other two. It's been with us for a long time, but that question continually comes up in terms of holding it over against the language of economic writers. In a sense I suppose that's all we're doing here, just taking piles and piles of data and doing some kind of a fresh gestalting. I don't know exactly how to talk about that, but somehow it's in the arena of developing some sort of a fresh gestalt of very old wisdom. You can't just copy terms out of a book without some kind of a fresh gestalt there.

Around the pole of resources, or resources of material goods, we've talked about the Material Resources. That's just the given, the identifiable, usable, given, I guess is the way we've most recently talked about that, on the space-ship Earth, or wherever else you happen to show up. Then, the Human Resources, which again is the identifiable, usable, organized given in terms of the human. You're talking really about just raw being itself, but some kind of raw being which is useful or the one day old baby. There is some question about whether you can talk about that as resource. While that has potential for being a resource, why you can see that it is possible to develop that into a resource, at that moment that is probably not what you would mean by human resource. Then, the Technical Resource, or that which really rationalizes the material

or the human resources, or makes sense out of them or allows either of them to get together or to be useful.

In terms of the production, we have talked about the Instruments of Production, that without—which you don't even bother to raise the question of production, the capital, tools, etc., that are necessary in order to get production off the ground. And then again, the human factor there, or just the question of Production Forces is finally the word that we used there, which holds that fairly well. Then some way, again, of rationalizing your instruments and forces, or what we call the Production Systems, at the top, third pole of the elements of production.

On the pole of distribution, we have finally settled on the term of Property. You don't even bother to raise the question of distribution save you've got some kind of a way of talking about ownership, or some kind of a way of talking about property. Everything on the face of the globe in one way or another is property to someone, and the question of distribution is not a question until you've got some kind of a discussion relative to just how that ownership exists, or it's the question of property.

The way in which that is exchanged or the Exchange Mechanism or System is on the communal pole. Then the rationalizer of that, or what we've called Consumption, which in one sense, I guess you could say, is the whole point of the economic, which is logical if that is where you choose to put the pole of consumption. The other word that we've used there, which I think is helpful, is Consumption Planning. Consumption is the key word, but plan is also helpful there in terms of rationalizing your property and exchange system.

In terms of the dynamics that operate between resources and production, as we have already said, resources has not been a big problem of discussion in the economic textbooks. Probably it comes out of the assumption that's been made over the last centuries, in terms of the capitalist economy, that basically resources are unlimited, or you don't have to worry about resources. You just assume that you've got something there to work with in terms of the production system would maybe be one explanation for the fact that outside of geography books you don't see this kind of discussion of resources much relative to economics. Only recently have we gotten very concerned about resources and seen that there is indeed a limit there.

Where our concern has been traditionally in society is on the pole of production. This has been the giant in terms of our particular analysis of the economic dimension of humanness. The production process is where Smith and Marx and Keynes all were really consumed—particularly Marx in terms of talking about ownership of the means of production. Production is the giant in terms of any kind of analysis of the economic. This is where the Industrial Revolution takes place. This is where all the various technological revolutions take place. If you are in business today, I would point to my own situation for example, and you want to get ahead, what you do is pull something good off here in production. The guy sitting next to me was worrying about cost reductions, which is basically a problem of resources: How is it that we're going to find a better way for recycling our copper so we don't throw so much away? He gets a fine thank you for the cost reduction that he worked out,

but the guy who is a little bit inventive in the area of production in terms of coming up with how it is that you organize our productive system is the guy who gets the promotion to the next higher job. Or it's the guy who is worried obout production who is the key man in terms of the eyes of industry today, which also puts that kind of emphasis on the pole of production. This is where the anxiety of society lies, just in terms of any worrying about the economic dimension of sociality. If you pick up any kind of economics magazine, The Harvard Business Review or whatever, every article in there in one way or another, is tied to managerial systems or to pert charts or something like that relative to how it is that you are going to organize your system of production. Occasionally there may be an article, usually out of guilt, relative to distribution system and mostly out of guilt relative to ecology, which would be pointing back to resources, but by and large the articles which are taken with any kind of seriousness fall over into production. This is where the anxiety of society lies. This is where the giant is at in terms of economics.

And distribution, I suppose, is where the pinch is felt today, and felt because of the tie which has traditionally existed between production and distribution. It is the idea or the ethic that if you want to eat, which is part of the distribution, you work, which is production, and getting those tied together which has produced a kind of bind which has not necessarily always been the case. We've already said many times the Protestant Ethic in our own time is dead, yet you see that kind of thing operating. In terms of just the context out of which all of us operate: if you're not getting something done then something is wrong, though we don't mind sitting around for a while. Finally, if you do not see something getting done here, then you're not worthy of your salt. This business of production is again the giant that has consumed probably the whole economic pole. The new edge, distribution, and especially the edge in terms of talking about how you talk about getting resources and distribution separated, might be an arena in which we want to look closely in terms of proposals, and separated in terms of just the mindset of man that life is just purely about production. This is, I think, the predominant way of thinking in our time, which again points to that kind of emphasis, which is on production.

It may be worth spending a little time on each one of the poles, particularly in pushing each one of them down just a little bit in each case. The resources, which is the foundational pole, is pointing to that-with-which you just showed up. It's just the beginning configuration of any particular situation, if you want to talk about that abstractly. We've pushed that down to other levels in terms of material, human and technical resources. In terms of the material resources we've talked about what we have called Fund esources, and here you're talking about just reserves of minerals, fuels, chemicals and so on, and Flow Reserves. Another word you could put in here for me would be something like energy. Here you'd be talking about cyclical resources—animal, vegetable, that kind of thing in terms of cyclical resources, and then Co-operant Resources, which has to do with water falling over a cliff—energy or power.

In terms of human resources you are talking about just the Basic Population, the people that you have on your hands; the Employable Skills that they have; and then the Division of those Skills, that is, the specialization of the skills

of the particular people that you have on your hands, whether you have two men that can handle hammers and fifteen that can handle screw drivers or whatever is the division of the particular skills of your human resources.

In terms of the technical resources, we have talked about the Techniques that exist—just knowing that you can dope a crystal, for example, or it's knowing that if you take a piece of leather and wet it, when it dries, it will shrink. That's what you mean by techniques. Talking about invention, or Tool Invention is a word that we've used there, when you discover that you can gain an advantage when you take a stone that you've been holding in your hand and put it on the end of a stick and use the techniques of wetting the leather and letting it dry and shrink down to hold the stone on the stick. Not only do you give the rock more momentum, but you save your knuckles. That falls in the category of useful tool invention. Then, the pole of just Know How. This is your theory, I guess, would be another way of talking about that pole, that being your technical resources.

It may be interesting to put a test to these. One of the tests that we've continually applied to the various triangles is to raise the question of thatwithout-which, which was the question which was raised yesterday in the plenary, that on any one of the poles you are talking about that-without-which you can't talk about resources. Maybe an illustration of that would lie in this particular triangle in terms of your interdependence between your material resources, your human resources, and your technological resources. If you've got your material resources and a lot of people are skilled to do it, but if you've got no way of organizing them or getting them together then you don't have resources, basically. Or, if you've got large numbers of people who are highly skilled with all kinds of technical processes, but nothing to work with, again, you don't have resources, or you could say the same thing in terms of technical material. Every society has had one way or another of controlling each one of those resources. Whether in terms of the human pole it was drowning the girl babies, or whatever, there's been some kind of a way of controlling those resources and dealing with the interdependence that lies between these economic resources.

In terms of the proposals this summer, I think resources is going to be one of the key areas. Where that became clear to me was in Servan-Schreiber. That's his whole approach in terms of coming at his plan for France, to look at just what they have and make some kind of statement, to paraphrase it something like: If we are good at making wine and making cheese, then why don't we make a whole lot of it, rather than to try to emulate Western society which is saying that making wine and cheese is sort of second rate—that we could do other things and profit better. Why not look at the particular given that we have and use that, was one of the ways that he came at his proposals. And I think that will be key in terms of looking at proposals this summer.

Look more closely at the production pole. In terms of production in abstraction, you are talking about making something usable. One time we even had utility production down here—that what you're producing is fundamentally utility, or you are organizing the given situation in which you show up in order that some kind of value or use is there.

In terms of the instruments, we've talked about the instruments in terms

of Capital, and you don't even raise the question again of doing any kind of production unless you've got some kind of investories—some pig iron, for example, that you can use, and some way of commanding some more of society's goods. If you don't have some sort of way of commanding at least a certain portion of the goods a society has, then you've got nothing to do production with or cannot again raise the question of production; and you've got to have some sort of Tools as a part of your production instruments, and then some kind of way of getting those two together or organizing those, which we call Technical Processes. Those are, I think, more or less explanatory except for the business of capital.

In terms of production forces, we've talked about the Labor Forces, the Management Forces, and then Specialists, and that's nothing new in terms of our own society, that is, specialists have always been around. There's a story in one of our anthropology books about the man who was building canoes, who basically fulfilled the role of management, who got together a group of people to work on the canoes and then—and this was the surprise to me—brought in someone who knew how to build canoes, or a specialist in order to pull that off. And again, that seemed to be rather inclusive in terms of forces that would be required for the process of production. Those are again pretty much self-explanatory; I don't need to say too much about them.

In terms of production systems, we have used the category of Design, which is pointing back basically to giving rationalization to your whole set of instruments in a way. Or in terms of the way a factory operates, you could talk about the engineering of manufacturing which is a fairly significant branch in most industries. It's the design of the manufacturing system that you're talking about here, or the design of the production system, if you want to put that on a broader scale, that you're talking about. And then the Managerial Systems or here you're just talking about the whole control of the productive system that you have. You could talk about -- if you were going to ground this in a factory--production control and quality control, or that kind of thing which combines the forces in an appropriate fashion so that production comes off. Then there is the rationalization of those in terms of what we've called Allocation Systems, which is basically dealing with the question of what to produce and how much of it, which gives some kind of rationalization to the managerial and design systems. Design is the process of designing a production system. To ground that in industry you could talk about engineered manufacture. It's the way that you pull together, fundamentally, all the instruments that you have in some kind of rational way so that they can produce what it is that you've said that you want to produce, in the numbers that you've said that you want to produce it.

In terms of the dynamics of production, you could talk for a long time, I suppose, and ground that in a variety of ways. I think one of the most interesting dynamics to talk about is the one which at this point exists between allocation and capital—that's the one which is most complicated. The relations around the production triangle are far more complex for me than they are around any of the other. It will be interesting to see whenever a group gets together to write these relations what they can come up with. You can be sort of platonic about writing relations between allocation and capital, but once you talk about how society actually functions, the relationships that operate here, especially

those that operate between systems and instruments and forces in a total society, is highly complex. Anyone who can come up with a clear set of relationships between those for this country would be hailed.

To ground that just a bit, AT&T basically builds, runs, and operates the Bell Telephone Systems, and you know that in New York City occasionally you wait half an hour or longer for a dial tone if it is a busy hour of the day, and it's probably at that point where the pinch is felt worse. Houston, Los Angeles, even Chicago at some times during the day down on the Loop, have got the same problem, and it's a very simple problem. All you have to do is build a little bit more switching equipment, get it installed, and you could overnight solve the problem of not getting a dial tone when you want it. Everyone is very clear about that, and your allocation systems would clearly tell you how much it is that you need in order to deal with the situation that's at hand. Yet, at this time AT&T is in a fantastic kind of process with cutback. As a matter of fact, about two months ago my own job was in a great deal of jeopardy relative to a cutback in the manufacturing arm of AT&T, not because there was not a clear need for what it was that they were producing, but because finally there was no capital available to produce that which needed to be produced. I sat in the office of a manager -- this is like the level of fifteen guys are managers out of 20,000 people--who said, "I can't figure out how you can look at the various phone systems we have around the country and the kind of inadequacy that is there, and then have me announce to you the cutback that I must announce to you." And then he went on to give some kind of trivial explanation, which he later admitted was trivial, about how it was that if we were to continue as a company to maintain our bluechip status, and so on, so that we could have capital in the future, we had to protect ourselves now, and so on. Something like that, but anyway he did not clearly understand the relationship that was operating between allocation and capital, and particularly at the pole of capital, the kind of relationships that are operating there, or what was going on there when you take into account the whole future of the company, and so on, in terms of its concern for its capital as a part of its production.

In terms of the distribution, you'd be talking about the contextual pole. The <u>ideal</u>, the <u>rational pole</u>, are other words that we've used. You look at the distribution system of any society, and you've got some kind of idea of the presuppositions out of which that society operates. You've got some kind of idea of the operating context of that particular society.

In terms of property we've talked about the distribution of property or the whole process of property or property claims in terms of material, or we've used the words Material Input there. You're talking about the goods that are available for use in society. Productive Instruments is another portion of property, and what we've called Planned Surplus. Maybe an example there would be from one of the villages that's been described by one of the anthropologists we've studied, where you show up with ten yams. Your family needs four, or the king decides that your family needs four for the next year. You need to keep one yam back for seed for the following year, and give the other five yams to the king in order that he can distribute them in whatever way he sees fit. This would be a way of talking around all three of the poles of property in terms of distribution of the ten yams that you had to start with. In terms of your property, maybe you'd also have to put in there the garden in which you grew

the yams that you maintain in your possession as part of your productive instruments, and the hoe that you had, and so on to fill out that example; but that is what we'd be talking about with the business of property under the category of distribution.

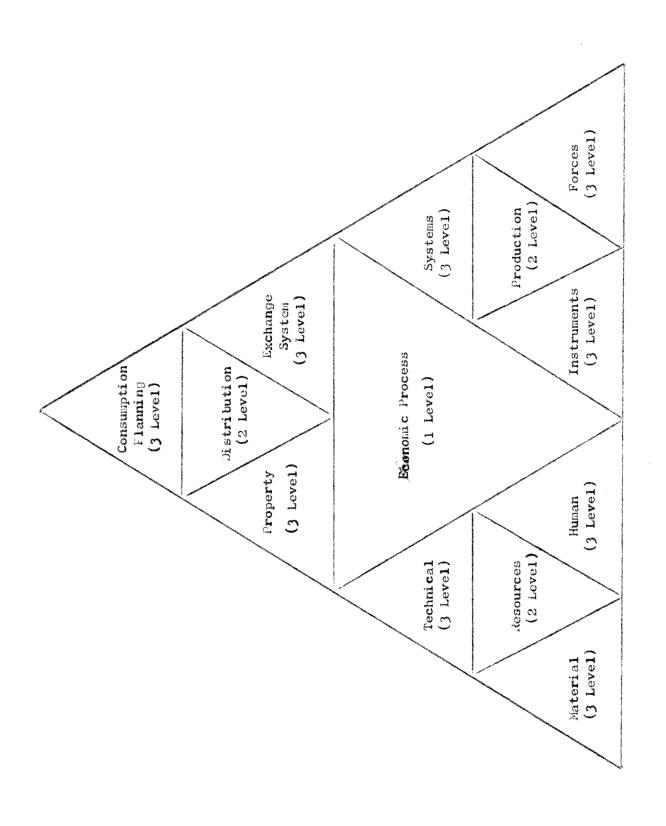
In terms of exchange or exchange systems, we've talked about Goods Exchange, Services Exchange, and then some kind of way of organizing goods and services exchange which at this point we've called Market--that's basically talking about the business of money, of credit, and the whole value system, media of exchange, and so on out of which any society operates, no matter how simple that society may appear. That's another comment that's made somewhere: that every society in some way or another has had some form of money, some way of carrying out exchange. Anytime you have more than two items, some type of exchange form is required. If you have only two items, I can agree that two of these is worth one of these and carry out that kind of exchange, but as soon as I bring in a third item and increase the complexity of the situation, then when I talk about the relationship of value between those items, I've got to have something which underlies that system of exchange. Whether it is open or hidden, it is something which underlies that which eventually comes out into the open, whether it is iron crosses or sea shells. Sea shells, I understand, in many early tribes where that sort of thing was available, were used as money, or we've talked about them in that way; but that's another kind of category, that has been very difficult to talk about, which is there in any society and which is held in the business of the process of market systems, and the business of credit, and so on. Again, credit, as something which you can ground in the Zulu tribe, or whatever, is held there as part of your process of exchange.

Under consumption you'd be talking about that which organizes or rationalizes property and exchange of property. Around that we've talked about Immediate Demands, Future Concerns, (or really in terms of the economists category this would be growth) and some kind of basic standard or Inclusive Standard. In other words some kind of decision that it takes \$3,000 or whatever to keep a family alive, some set of living standards and so on that any society openly or hidden is operating out of, and some kind of concern for the future in terms of how much you're going to hold back. If you're raising cattle, how many you're going to slaughter and how many you're going to put back into your system as breeding stock is going to be a part of your concern there for growth, and then whether or not you're going to take five of those cattle and trade them on a hoe with which you can get the grass to grow better so that you can increase the productivity of the herd that you have on your hands. Also the concern with growth would be held on that pole of consumption planning, and just your decision about that which is going to be used for the immediate demands out of some kind of priority system for needs and capabilities, and so on, to be taken into account -- that's pointed to with this whole rationalizing category out of consumption.

Now I suppose the most deep question,—and this has been most difficult, and still is, to get unraveled—the existentially most difficult question to get ahold of, is that of property. I suppose to even begin to grasp property especially with the kind of shift that is taking place... I remember last quarter in one of the PSU's in which we were just out to raise issues of the economic, the question about possessions came up as one of the issues, and

people screamed that possession was no longer a viable category, that it is no longer possible to talk about possession—although you know that finally, everything is located somewhere, or that it is in your hands, or whatever. But how you begin to talk about that has been very difficult, and I'm sure that it's going to be an area that, in terms of talking to a group of people in the movement this summer, is going to bring forth many screams just to write it on the board. Probably I would want to say that that has always existed, and presumably always will exist, in terms of your analysis of the processes of economics.

--Gary Tomlinson



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