

*Der Arbeitsprozess in der Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaft nach der Methode des Absteigens vom Konkreten zum Abstrakten*, The General Science Journal, August 31, 2020,  
<http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Essays/View/8376>

is translated by Google and slightly corrected by Halil Güveniř:

**The Labour-Process in the Society of Hunters and Gatherers  
According to the Method of Descending from the Concrete to the Abstract**

**Halil Güveniř, Istanbul**

**E-mail: [guevenis@rocketmail.com](mailto:guevenis@rocketmail.com)**

## **Abstract**

In the present work the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers is analysed according to the method of descending from the concrete to the abstract, and the result of the analysis is represented in an abstract scheme of the labour-process. According to this scheme, the society of hunters and gatherers consists of two areas of life, the sphere of production and the sphere of consumption, which join together to form a self-sustaining (= reproducing) circular process. Use-Values are produced in the sphere of production, and labour-power is produced in the sphere of consumption. In order to be able to produce use-values, the forces of production "labour-power and means of production" are required, which must be in very specific, concrete and abstract relations of production during the production activity. For the production of the labour-power, on the other hand, one needs the forces of production "father and mother as producers, providers and educators of the children and means of consumption", which must be in very specific, concrete and abstract relations of consumption (= family, kinship and ethnic relations) during the consumption activity. The totality of the concrete and abstract relations of production in the sphere of production constitutes the economic structure (= the real foundation) of the society of hunters and gatherers, on which arises a social, legal and political superstructure in the sphere of consumption and to which correspond certain forms of social identity. The mode of production of material life in the sphere of production conditions the general process of social, political and spiritual life in the sphere of consumption. It is not the identity of hunters and gatherers that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their identity.

## Introduction

In a previous work we investigated the historical development of human production and consumption activity with the help of the theoretical method of descending from the concrete to the abstract and obtained through temporal vertical abstraction the following concrete development stages of production (= of human society)<sup>1</sup>: 1. The labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers, 2. the exchange-process in the society of artisans, dealers, service providers and slave owners, 3. the accumulation-process in the society of workers and capitalists. The research program of political economy therefore consists of analysing the three stages of development of human production and consumption activity listed above through spatially horizontal abstraction specifically in the historical epoch in which they arised.

In the present work we would like to begin this analysis with the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers. The aim of the work is to correctly abstract the historical sequence and the mutual dependency of the laws and regularities valid in this research area from the existing historical-empirical material of the society of hunters and gatherers. This topic has already been dealt with twice within the framework of the method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete – as the labour-process in general<sup>2</sup> and as the labour-process in particular<sup>3</sup>. The present work is the third investigation in this direction and has the concrete labour-process – the society of hunters and gatherers as subject of research. As in the first two investigations, this time too Karl Marx's theoretical pioneering work, which points far beyond his time, serves as a constant companion and guide for research activities.

---

<sup>1</sup> Güveniş, Halil: *The historical-empirical research method to descend from the concrete to the abstract*; The General Science Journal, 2020; [http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research Papers/View/8279](http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research%20Papers/View/8279)

<sup>2</sup> Güveniş, Halil: *Kritische Aufarbeitung der Marxschen Darstellung der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise mit Hilfe der Methode des Aufstiegens vom Abstrakten zum Konkreten*; The General Science Journal, 2017; [http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research Papers/View/6804](http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research%20Papers/View/6804)

<sup>3</sup> Güveniş, Halil: *Darstellung der historischen Entwicklung der Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaft*; The General Science Journal, 2017; [http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research Papers/View/6882](http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research%20Papers/View/6882)

The work is structured as follows: In the first section the correctness of the theoretical method of descending from the concrete to the abstract is investigated. In the second section the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers is analysed. The third section deals with the dependence of the relations of production on the forces of production. In the fourth section, the conditional relation between foundation and superstructure is determined.

## **1 The correctness of the method of descending from the concrete to the abstract**

The labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers can be analysed in three ways – as a labour-process in general, as a labour-process in particular, or as a concrete labour-process. According to the method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete, we get the labour-process in general when we start from the concrete, capitalist present and look for the deepest level of abstraction. The labour-process in particular is then the concretized form of the labour-process in general, so as one observes it from the capitalist present. If we look for the historically given, actual beginning of human society according to the theoretical method of descending from the concrete to the abstract, then we get the concrete labour-process, i.e., the historical-empirical material of the society of hunters and gatherers.

According to the method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete, the historical development of human society is described as a process of concretization from the abstract labour-process to the concrete accumulation-process, and conversely, the historical development of human society according to the method of descending from the concrete to the abstract is described as a process of abstraction from the historically given, concrete labour-process to the abstract accumulation-process. – Which of these methods is correct cannot be decided in advance. Only after the research activity has been completed can it be shown whether the resulting structure of the research object has exactly the hierarchy that was initially assumed (= anticipated) by the theoretical method. If this check results in an exact match, then the method is to consider as verified. In order to get closer to this verification goal, in the following analysis of the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers we would like to show that every abstraction step we carry out has the structure required by the theoretical method of

descending from the concrete to the abstract. We also show that a naturally given term that was not constructed (= invented) by the theoretical researcher can be assigned to each abstraction step.

## 2 The labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers

In order to analyse the concrete labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers, we first determine the abstract moments of the labour-process in general and then in a second step we concretize the obtained moments for the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers.

### 2.1 The labour-process in general

At the lowest level of temporal abstraction, human society can be defined as a labour-process in general:

*"So far therefore as labour is a creator of use-value, is useful labour, it is a necessary condition, independent of all forms of society, for the existence of the human race; it is an eternal nature-imposed necessity, without which there can be no material exchanges between man and Nature, and therefore no life."<sup>4</sup> "We shall, therefore, in the first place, have to consider the labour-process independently of the particular form it assumes under given social conditions."<sup>5</sup>*

The abstract moments of the labour-process are producers, production, consumers, consumption (Fig.1):

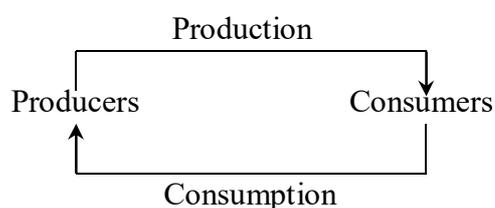


Figure 1: The labour-process in general

---

<sup>4</sup> Marx, Karl: *Das Kapital*, Bd. 1, MEW 23, p. 57

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* p. 192

The precondition for production is the existence of producers. Production starts out from producers and arrives at consumers. And vice versa, consumption starts out from consumers and arrives at producers. Producers and consumers are state variables of the labour-process; between these two poles the flow variables production and consumption mediate, which join together to form a self-sustaining (= reproducing) circular process.

## **2.2 Concretization of production and producers**

Our analysis of the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers begins with the concretization of the abstract moment “production”. Production in the society of hunters and gatherers includes three areas of activity: hunting, gathering and making of means of production. Consequently, the producers of the society of hunters and gatherers can be concretized by the activity subjects: hunters, gatherers, makers of means of production. All these activity subjects have in common, with the help of their special means of production, to expend labour-power in any form in order to produce use-values (= means of consumption and production, services). Labour-power and means of production (= forces of production) are preconditions for production. Our analysis therefore begins with the concretization of the preconditions for production in the society of hunters and gatherers.

### **2.2.1 Labour-Power**

The first and most important precondition of production is labour-power:

*"By labour-power or capacity for labour is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description."*<sup>6</sup>

Depending on which area of activity of the society of hunters and gatherers we consider, we are concerned with the specific, physical and mental capabilities of the activity subjects: hunters, gatherers, makers of means of production, whereas hunters and gatherers occur in their own area of activity at the same time always as makers of means of production, i.e., the physical and mental capabilities of the hunters and gatherers include

---

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* p. 181

not only the knowledge and skills of hunting and gathering, but also the knowledge and skills of the associated making of means of production. These all-round, compact knowledge and skills are transferred from the older generations to the younger ones with beginning of the childhood, i.e., it is a special service of the older generations to pass the cultural knowledge and skills of the society of hunters and gatherers on the younger generations.

### **2.2.2 The means of production**

The second precondition for production are the means of production, which we define, based on Marx's definition, as the inanimated opposite pole to animated labour-power: By means of production we understand all material means existing outside of a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description. – According to this definition, means of production and material means are synonymous terms for the same object.

The means of production can be divided into the following subcategories:

#### **2.2.2.1 The subject of labour**

*“All those things which labour merely separates from immediate connexion with their environment, are subjects of labour spontaneously provided by Nature. Such are fish which we catch and take from their element, water, timber which we fell in the virgin forest, and ores which we extract from their veins. If, on the other hand, the subject of labour has, so to say, been filtered through previous labour, we call it raw material; such is ore already extracted and ready for washing. All raw material is the subject of labour, but not every subject of labour is raw material: it can only become so, after it has undergone some alteration by means of labour.”<sup>7</sup>*

Concrete subjects of labour (= prey) of the hunters and gatherers are wild-growing animals and plants. The makers of means of production in the society of hunters and gatherers use the following subjects of labour or raw materials: wood, stone, bones, hides, skins or other body parts from captured animals and plants.

---

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* p. 193

### 2.2.2.2 The instrument of labour

*"An instrument of labour is a thing, or a complex of things, which the labourer interposes between himself and the subject of his labour, and which serves as the conductor of his activity."<sup>8</sup>*

*"Among the instruments of labour, those of a mechanical nature, which, taken as a whole, we may call the bone and muscles of production, offer much more decided characteristics of a given epoch of production, than those which, like pipes, tubs, baskets, jars, &c., serve only to hold the materials for labour, which latter class, we may in a general way, call the vascular system of production."<sup>9</sup>*

Concrete instruments of labour (= tools = weapons) in the society of hunters and gatherers are spears, lances, harpoons, spear throwers, bows and arrows, nets, snares and all kinds of wild animal traps. The producers of means of production in the society of hunters and gatherers use as instruments of labour: tools made of wood, stone and bone.

### 2.2.2.3 Services

*"In a wider sense we may include among the instruments of labour, in addition to those things that are used for directly transferring labour to its subject, and which therefore, in one way or another, serve as conductors of activity, all such objects as are necessary for carrying on the labour-process. These do not enter directly into the process, but without them it is either impossible for it to take place at all, or possible only to a partial extent. Once more we find the earth to be a universal instrument of this sort, for it furnishes a locus standi to the labourer and a field of employment for his activity. Among instruments that are the result of previous labour and also belong to this class, we find workshops, canals, roads, and so forth."<sup>10</sup>*

*"Certain services or use-values, (...) leave no tangible result that is different from the person himself; or the result is not a sellable product. For example, the service that a singer does to me satisfies my aesthetic needs, but what I enjoy exists only in an action that cannot be separated from the singer himself, and as soon as his work, the singing, is finished, my enjoyment is finished too: I enjoy the activity itself – its reverberation to my ear. These services themselves, like the goods I buy, may be or only seems to be necessary, e.g. the service of a soldier or doctor or lawyer, or they can be services that give me pleasure. This changes nothing in terms of their economic determination. If I am healthy and do not need the doctor or if I am lucky enough not to have to litigate, I avoid, like the plague, spending money on medical or legal services."<sup>11</sup>*

Services are branch-independent; they can be used in both the production and consumption spheres. Public services are an independent third category of services. Concrete services that belong to the means of production of the hunters and gatherers are the following:

---

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p. 194

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* p. 195

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* p. 195

<sup>11</sup> Marx, Karl: *Theorien über den Mehrwert, MEW 26.1*, p. 380

1. *Transport and communication*: In order to make hunting or gathering possible, the hunter or the gatherer must move (= transport) himself and his special means of production from the sphere of consumption to the sphere of production; and vice versa, after the hunting or gathering activity, the prey must be transported from the sphere of production to the sphere of consumption. As means of transport for themselves the hunters and gatherers only have their naturally given feet at their disposal; means of transport for their means of production can be baskets or other containers braided from plants for this purpose. – Another essential service, not only important for hunting or gathering, is the communication. Almost every human activity is indispensably accompanied by the natural mean of communication (= tool) "language" for understanding and transferring messages and feelings. Other symbolic means of communication in the society of hunters and gatherers are smoke signals, reflections of the sun on smooth surfaces, drums, shamanic journeys in the spirit world, music, dance, totems and fetishes of all kinds.

2. *Keeping and storage*: In order to be used in successive hunting or gathering activities, the durable means of production must be kept until the next use. This service is a specifically human property acquired "shortly" before Homo sapiens became human. In even earlier times of the evolutionary history, the members of the genus Homo could not keep their durable means of production; their mental capabilities did not allow that. The means of production were either taken from the environment at the moment of production (e.g. boulders or pieces of wood) or they were made immediately before production (e.g. removing leaves from a branch) and then thrown away. – Keeping for a longer period of time is storage (= saving). An essential survival strategy (= service) of the hunters and gatherers is the storage of food by drying out or smoking. This means that periods of scarce prey and famine can be bridged over.

#### **2.2.2.4 Relations of production and consumption**

Relations of production and consumption are preconditions (= material means) for production and consumption in all epochs of human society:

*"In the production, men have not only an effect on nature, but also on one another. They only produce by working together in a certain way and exchanging their activities against each other. In order to produce, they enter into certain relations and conditions to one another, and*

*only within these social relations and conditions, their influence on nature and the production take place."*<sup>12</sup>

The society of hunters and gatherers can be concretely described in terms of relations of production and consumption that have been constant throughout the entire historical epoch (40,000 BC to 12,000 BC) using the following criteria:

1. *Division of labour during the production-process*: At first glance one would be inclined to claim that what makes human particular is that the production-process is fundamentally carried out in division of labour. However, the objection would be that humans are not the only living beings that produce in division of labour; the ants, for example, are no less labour-dividing than humans. However, their division of labour is based on instinctive acts, in contrast to human society which is based on fundamental moral values. Indeed, the dominance of morally conditioned feelings over the almost stunted instincts is the basic characteristic of human society compared to all other pre-human societies. Therefore, it must always be taken into account that the division of labour during the production-process is accompanied by fundamental moral values.

2. *Natural, social division of labour according to gender, age and ability*: The society of hunters and gatherers only knows the natural, social division of labour according to gender, age and ability, but has no further division of labour on product basis, i.e., every producer and every consumer of the society of hunters and gatherers produces and consumes exactly the same use-values, so that no exchange of products is required.<sup>13</sup>

The natural, social division of labour according to gender, age and ability can be observed in every society of hunters and gatherers. Depending on their ability, men are predominantly occupied with collectively hunting for large land and aquatic animals and with the defence of the tribal territory, while women are more concentrated on gathering vegetable food, on household chores and on child care. There are no full-time specialists for individual activities; only certain people with special abilities are temporarily tasked with socially important public services (e.g. medicine people, shamans,

---

<sup>12</sup> Marx, Karl: *Lohnarbeit und Kapital*, MEW 6, p. 407

<sup>13</sup> Güveniş, Halil: *Kritische Aufarbeitung der Marxschen Darstellung der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise mit Hilfe der Methode des Aufsteigens vom Abstrakten zum Konkreten*; The General Science Journal, 2017; <http://gsjournal.net/Science-Journals/Research-Papers/View/6804>

war chiefs, clan elders). While the medicine people and the shamans maintain and “manage” the belief of the society of hunters and gatherers, the war chiefs and the clan elders make their historical experience and knowledge available for all socially important consultations and decisions.

\* \* \*

The natural, social division of labour did not occur until 40,000 BC. Extensive archaeological findings show that, prior to this date, members of pre-human societies performed relatively similar tasks; the Neanderthals, for example, knew no social division of labour. First, the evolution to the Cro-Magnon man gave modern man (*Homo sapiens*) the genetic predisposition to develop fundamental moral values and, within the framework of these fundamental values, to develop, among other things, a social division of labour according to gender, age and ability. Hence the beginning of human history can be equated with the emergence of natural, social division of labour in the society of hunters and gatherers. The end of the society of hunters and gatherers was then around 12,000 BC initiated by the introduction of the division of labour on product basis (= "Neolithic Revolution" = agriculture and livestock breeding).

3. *Property and possession rights*: Research today assumes that there are graduated property and possession rights in the society of hunters and gatherers. The natural legal persons “hunters and gatherers” have direct and individual disposal of their own labour-power, of their personal possessions and of the hand tools they use for hunting and gathering. The hunted game and the gathered vegetable food, on the other hand, belong to the hunters and gatherers together, provided that they were obtained through a cooperative act. Natural resources and stored supplies are used in solidarity. Over land (= territory), water, places of worship and historical knowledge only the entire tribe (= the faith community with its ancestors and grandchildren) has collective power of disposal.

4. *Family, kinship and ethnic relations*: The society of hunters and gatherers is divided into groups (= "hordes") of small families that are linked by related clan lines. Depending on the environmental conditions, several groups can temporarily join forces to form larger units; the strength of such groups, however, is always less than 100 heads. The choice of partner takes place outside of one's own group, but mostly within one's own

tribe; in the vast majority of cases, married women move to the man's group. The groups linked to one another through kinship relations form a tribe or a faith community that can comprise several thousand heads.

*5. Territorial affiliation:* The demarcated area (= the territory = the homeland) on which the tribe in question lives is inseparably linked to the family, kinship and ethnic relations. Mostly tabooed by the myths of the faith community, the tribal territory is defended against external enemies by all means – if necessary by the phratry (= brotherhood) of the related tribes. If we consider that the society of hunters and gatherers can mobilize several thousand tribesmen against external enemies in this way, then it becomes clear what an evolutionary advantage the tribal association based on kinship relations offers. The Neanderthals, for example, were in all likelihood unable to mobilize several dozen warriors due to the lack of kinship relations. Organized in the tribal association, the Cro-Magnon man was far superior to the Neanderthal man, although in terms of physique a single Neanderthal had a clear advantage over a single Cro-Magnon man. From this it follows that even a single Cro-Magnon tribe could have, from the annihilation potential it contained, successively exterminated not only the entire Neanderthal populations of the world, but all the remaining Hominini (= the closest relatives of the genus Homo). However, there are still no conclusive archaeological findings for such a total extermination.

*6. Moral legitimation of the society of hunters and gatherers:* The basic characteristic of human society compared to all other pre-human societies is the dominance of morally conditioned feelings over the almost stunted instincts.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the society of hunters and gatherers cannot fall back on phylogenetically determined instinctual acts in the search for motivation for its actions; it is forced to develop fundamental moral values and behavioural norms in order to legitimize its social order through historical experience, knowledge and belief.<sup>15</sup>

\* \* \*

---

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* p. 11

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* p. 10

The beliefs of *all* societies of hunters and gatherers scattered around the world have far-reaching similarities. If the clan elders and the shamans of the society of hunters and gatherers are asked why they actually believe that their tribe is following the right path of life and not getting lost in the labyrinth of life, their answer is essentially the same:

It is the will of the Great Spirit that we live according to the myth of the truth revealed at the beginning. This secret truth is passed on from generation to generation so that the centre of the people is not lost and the new generations can obey the truth revealed at the beginning.

All peoples in the universe, from star peoples to two-legged ones, are related to one another, because their mother and father are one spirit – the Great Spirit. The human body belongs to Mother Earth, the soul to the Great Spirit. At birth these two substances are given to a person and after death they are returned to their origin.

The power of the world always works in circles. The centre of the circle belongs to the Great Spirit as the centre of power. In order to draw force in life, the tribe must therefore move into the circle of life formed by related peoples and feel the Great Spirit in the centre of the circle as the creator of this holy order deep in the heart. When man – the last creation of the Great Spirit – becomes one with the truth revealed at the beginning, the circle closes and man makes it known to all creation that he is the only one among all peoples who is able to let the souls of the world flow in a circle in order to draw force from it.

*7. The sensual mode of cognition:* So that the society of hunters and gatherers can legitimize itself through historical experience, knowledge and belief, the sensual mode of cognition must be fully developed. We understand under sensual mode of cognition the acquisition of knowledge in which only the natural means of cognition given by biological evolution are available. In detail, these are the following means of cognition:

a) In order to be able to gain experience in nature and in society and to act accordingly, man primarily needs his sense organs as means of cognition. Furthermore, he must have an intact memory with various access options for the stored information. Finally, he must have a motor system that has been trained in early childhood and socialization in order to be able

to carry out the diverse behavioural instructions that occur in human society. – The human being has the enumerated means of cognition (= *the first stage of development of the sensual mode of cognition*) in common with many mammals (e.g. with lions, wolves, etc.).

b) *The second stage of development of the sensual mode of cognition* is initiated with making and using of tools. In order to extract the tool from the environment and to give it an independent role in an overall plan, the human being needs as means of cognition especially his ability for abstraction and imagination. – Man has these two means of cognition in common with the most advanced species of the genus *Homo* (= *Homo Erectus* and *Neanderthals*).

c) *The third stage of development of the sensual mode of cognition* is initiated with production and use of cult or art objects (= services). In order to produce cult or art objects, the human being needs as means of cognition especially his ability to identify and his organ of perception for the spirit world. Through his ability to identify himself with a world and human conception, man create the emotional basis to develop fundamental moral values and behavioural norms as a substitute for the almost stunted instincts and to act accordingly. His organ of perception for the spirit world serves him to legitimize his fundamental moral values and behavioural norms through spiritual experiences and to symbolically give to these experiences the unshakable claim to truth and justice of a cult or art object. – The human being does not have these two means of cognition in common with any species of the genus *Homo*; consequently, these two means of cognition are constitutive for human existence.

### **2.3 Owners of labour-power and means of production**

After we have described and defined in detail the hunters, gatherers and makers of means of production as the concrete producers of the society of hunters and gatherers *at the highest level of temporal and spatial abstraction*, we now descend one level deeper on the spatial abstraction axis in order to define the relations of possession.

Karl Marx defines labour-power as the aggregate of mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being. The physical capabilities of humans include all bodily functions except the functions of the action and behaviour control organ “brain”. All mental capabilities of humans emanate from the brain and control the physical capabilities of

humans via nerve pathways, i.e., the mental capabilities of humans exist detached (= abstracted) from physical capabilities as their control and guidance centre in the brain (= in the depth of the human body). The brain works in such a way that the events in the outside world are perceived by the sensory organs and thus individual objects are assigned to human individuals in the sense of an objectively determinable cause-effect chain as their possession. The owners of the means of production are then those people who created (= produced or found in finished form) the object in question for the first time in history. The real owner of the labour-power, however, is a supernatural Creator who, through his act of creation, has left the worldly possession of labour-power inalienable to the immediate and individual control of every single person. – This means that the legal persons “owners of labour-power and means of production” are defined as *naturally given terms*, descending from the concrete to the abstract. It is essential with this term formation that the abstraction step carried out here was not constructed (= invented) by the theoretical researcher himself, but was discovered as a real existing structure in the middle of the physical and mental events.

## **2.4 The producers**

When the owners of labour-power and means of production are brought together for the purpose of production and put into action within the framework of an overall plan, then very specific owners must be responsible for this process. We call these owners responsible for production “producers” (= owners of forces of production) within the framework of an overall plan and place them as an abstract moment descending from the concrete to the abstract (= in the depth of the human brain) under the owners of labour-power and means of production. If the relations of production of a certain epoch are given, it is also established which type of owners of the forces of production bear the historical responsibility for production.

It is therefore sufficient to extract (= to abstract) the morality of the owners of the forces of production from the definition of the owners of labour-power and means of production, so that the society of hunters and gatherers has a historically responsible, moral authority for production within the framework of an overall plan. The creation of a person who has this moral authority as a mental capability is no easy task when we consider that this person has simultaneously to be in one and the same person hunter-

warrior-producer of means of production-father or gatherer-housekeeper-mother-producer of means of production. The concentration of all these social roles on individual persons is the special achievement of the society of hunters and gatherers and generates in terms of self-confidence, pride and happiness such holistic people that are not to be found in the further course of human history.

## **2.5 Concretization of consumption and consumers**

Until now we considered the production on the basis of its preconditions (= producers). We now consider it on the basis of its result (= consumers and consumption) (Fig. 1). Consumption comprises three areas of activity: consumption of means of consumption, consumption of means of production and consumption of public services. Consequently, the consumers of the society of hunters and gatherers can be concretized through the subjects of activity: consumers of means of consumption, consumers of means of production and consumers of public services. Our analysis is therefore to be continued with the concretization of the consumers in the society of hunters and gatherers.

### **2.5.1 Consumers of means of consumption**

Means of consumption are demand products that are used by the labour-power for consumption (= for reproduction); they are divided into the categories: object, means, and services of consumption. Meat and vegetable food e.g. are objects of consumption, while knife, spoon, fork, etc. are means of consumption. Examples of services of consumption are household chores or shamanic journeys to the spirit world. During the reproduction of the labour-power, it is always to ensure that the two components of the labour-power – physical and mental capabilities – receive the services intended for them for consumption. Services that are consumed to reproduce the mental capabilities of the labour-power are:

1. *Teaching activity*: As already mentioned, the way of life in almost all areas of the society of hunters and gatherers requires such extensive cultural knowledge and ability that a special service (= teaching activity) of the older generations on the younger ones is necessary. The entire cultural knowledge and ability of the society of hunters and

gatherers is passed on to the younger generations in a learning process extended across the entire youth.

2. *Medical treatment*: If the physical and mental capabilities of hunters and gatherers become ill, a special service (= medical treatment) is required, which is carried out by a medicine man or a shaman who are “specialized” for this purpose. The knowledge and ability of medicine men and shamans are so special that they have to receive a traditional training from an experienced medicine man or shaman; usually, a special talent is required for this purpose, which is ensured by an initialization (= vocation = call of the spirits).

\* \* \*

Positively formulated, the consumers of means of consumption (= consumers of demand products) are nothing other than the producers of the labour-power. Accordingly, use-values are produced in the sphere of production and labour forces in the sphere of consumption. Conversely, labour-power is consumed in the sphere of production and use-values in the sphere of consumption. Producers of the labour-power in the society of hunters and gatherers are the hunter-gatherer-one-family-households with father and mother as producers, providers and educators of the children. In addition to her role as gatherer, housekeeper, child care provider and maker of means of production, the mother also has the role of tribe keeper; in high age, when she is great-grandmother of a hundred and more sons, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, her role as tribe keeper is glorified and moved closer to Mother Earth, from which everything bodily comes from.

### **2.5.2 Consumers of means of production**

Consumers of means of production are the maker of means of production from the production sphere. Since the society of hunters and gatherers has no division of labour on product basis, the products of the maker of means of production go directly into production, i.e., for many means of production their keeping or storage in the sphere of consumption is only temporary; they are immediately used as productive consumption to reproduce the consumed means of production in the production sphere. Services that

belong to the consumption of the means of consumption are produced directly in the sphere of consumption. For many public services there is no division into the spheres of production and consumption; for them the production process is at the same time their consumption process.

### 2.5.3 Consumers of public services

All material means that are produced in the service of the generality (= for all tribesmen) belong to public services. In other words: All measures (= material means) that are taken in the service of the generality to maintain the relations of production and consumption are public services. The maintenance of the following relations of production and consumption requires a special public service:

1. The *division of labour during the production process* does not require any public service; it is spontaneously maintained by hunters and gatherers through their direct production activities.
2. The maintenance of the *natural, social division of labour according to gender, age and ability* requires social care (= child, sick and elderly care). However, these are not public, but social services that are carried out in the private sector (= in the one-family-households).
3. The maintenance of *property and possession rights* do not require public services in the productive and social spheres; they are spontaneously maintained by the tribesmen. In questions of the entire tribe and the faith community, however, it can happen that the advice of the ancestors and spirits must be obtained within the framework of the collective power of the tribe. In these cases, the shamans are available with a special public service (= with their visions).
4. The maintenance of *family, kinship and ethnic relations* require a considerable amount of social (= consumptive) services; however, they are not carried out in the interest of generality, but in the personal interest; consequently, they are not public services. – If, however, one of the tribesmen is killed by a member of a foreign tribe,

this results in the public service of "blood revenge", because this is required by the maintenance of kinship and ethnic relations.

5. The *territorial affiliation* of the tribe obliges the tribesmen to perform the most important public service (= to defend the tribal territory against external enemies). To do this, the hunter transforms himself into a warrior and the maker of means of production into a weapons specialist. Only through this public service the hunters and gatherers get a safe location and a sphere of employment for their production activities and the mothers and fathers a safe household (= homeland) to raise their children. – The security interests of the tribe are not limited to the territorial affiliation; environmental disasters of all kinds bring the safety of the tribe to the order of the day and require, as public service, the unrestricted support (= solidarity) of the tribesmen.

6. The *moral legitimation* is the basic characteristic of *the society of hunters and gatherers*. To establish and maintain it, the most extensive public services are carried out in the spiritual life of the faith community. At the top of these services is the search for truth and justice in the myths and revelations of the tribe. The search for truth and justice is continued by the search for beauty in the artistic design of symbolic cult and art objects (= fetishes, totems, music, song, etc.). All this search for truth, justice and beauty finally turns into action when the tribesmen carry out together their ritual acts (= dancing, praying, pilgrimage, burial, etc.).

7. At the centre of all relations of production and consumption in the society of hunters and gatherers is *the sensual mode of cognition*, which, according to the society of hunters and gatherers, is a creation (= a public service) of the Great Spirit. The religious acts of the tribesmen are in turn public services that are provided in recognition and thanks for this original act of creation.

## **2.6 The tribe**

After we have described and defined in detail the hunter-gatherer-one-family-households with father and mother as producers, providers and educators of the children as the concrete consumers of the society of hunters and gatherers at the highest level of

temporal and spatial abstraction, we now descend one level deeper on the spatial abstraction axis in order to define the tribe with the help of blood kinship relations.

The hunter-gatherer-one-family-households are linked to one another by the tribe-keeper-function of the mothers; the blood kinship relations can be traced back to a great-great-grandmother. We call these present, past and future generations of hunter-gatherer-one-family-households connected by blood kinship relations an (ethnic) tribe. It should be noted that the tribe is not defined as the sum of the concretely given, present, past and future hunter-gatherer-one-family-households, but as the sum of the abstract blood kinship relations. Tribesmen are then that persons who, within the framework of a belief, identify their selves with these abstract blood kinship relations assigning them the meaning of a norm-setting moral authority and acting accordingly. – This means that the legal person “tribe” is defined as a *naturally given term* descending from the concrete to the abstract. The abstraction step "blood kinship relations" carried out here was not constructed (= invented) by the theoretical researcher himself, but was discovered as a real existing structure in the middle of the physical and mental events.

## **2.7 The faith community**

The human being consists of body and mind (= soul). While blood kinship relations have the meaning of a bodily connectedness between the tribesmen, soul kinship relations presuppose a spiritual bond among the ethnic tribes in the universe. We call these ethnic tribes connected together by soul kinship relations a faith community, because only in the belief of the society of hunters and gatherers, all peoples in the universe – from star peoples to two-legged people – are imagined as provided with a soul. According to this imagination, under ensouling of peoples in the universe is to be understood a unique act of creation that was carried out *at the beginning* of the historical development by the Great Spirit (= by the homeland of all souls in the universe).

It is therefore sufficient to extract (= abstract) the morality of the faith community from the definition of the tribe so that the society of hunters and gatherers gets a moral authority historically responsible for the unified ensouling of the universe. From this definition of the faith community as a moral authority, however, it doesn't follow clearly

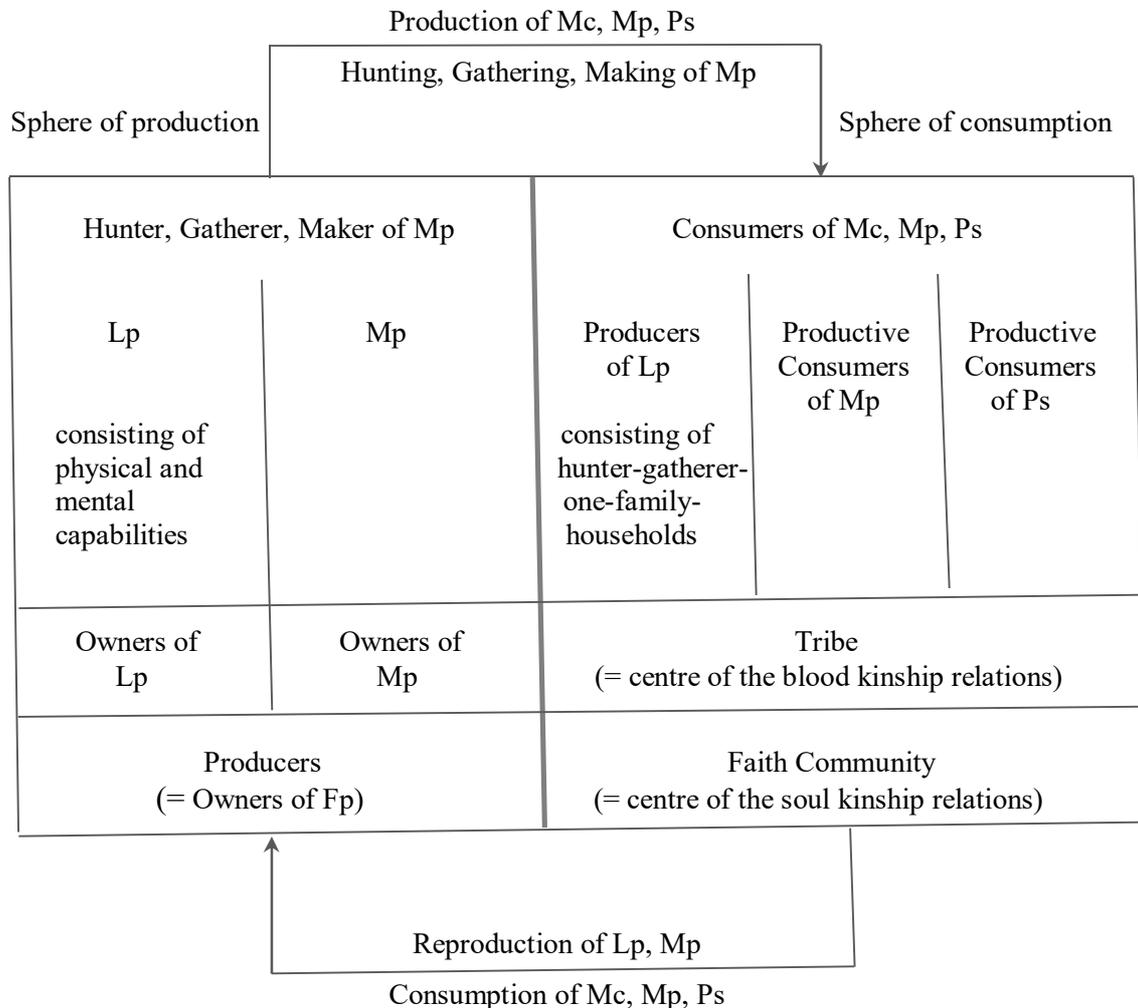
what evolutionary purpose this new constellation after the formation of the tribal association fulfils. The evolutionary purpose of the tribe can be easily understood: The tribal association protects the tribesmen from external enemies (= from foreign tribesmen) and so, it means a clear evolutionary advantage. But from whom or from what does the faith community protect the members of the faith community? There is no clear answer to this question; at first glance, it is not clear on which evolutionary advantage this constellation is based. Thinking about this question more closely, however, it becomes clear that the verb "protect" is not entirely correct and the question should rather be asked as follows: What drives the will of defense of the tribesmen to such heights that the need for protection from external enemies turns into an unrestrained aggressiveness against unbelievers or differently thinking people?

If the basic question is reformulated in this way, it becomes immediately clear that the faith community as a moral authority offers an enormous evolutionary advantage: In this way, the society of hunters and gatherers can declare its natural, human or pre-human enemies into hunting animals (= into prey) and freely dispose over their bodies and lives, over their belongings and property. For the human enemies this unrestrained aggressiveness would only mean that they in turn increase their aggressiveness or their will of defence in an evolutionary way. For the pre-human enemies, however, this unrestrained aggressiveness would mean the total extermination of the remaining Hominini (= the closest relatives of the genus Homo).

So, the formation of the faith community as a moral authority would explain the malevolence contained in humans against unbelievers or differently thinking people. Faith and religion would not only be the origin of all sublime feelings of people towards their tribesmen or co-believers, but also the cause of the deep malevolence and xenophobia against unbelievers or differently thinking people. In addition, the formation of the faith community as a moral authority would explain why this last stage of evolution happened so quickly (from about 400,000 BC to 40,000 BC), while much smaller evolutionary adaptations to the environment took millions of years to complete; the selection pressure that emanated from the armed conflict between the human societies of hunters and gatherers (= from the self-competition of Homo sapiens as an evolutionary factor) was probably so great that man "quickly" evolved to an of good and evil consisting polar being.

## 2.8 The abstract scheme of the labour-process

We now represent the results of our analysis obtained until now in an abstract scheme of the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers (Fig. 2):



Lp = Labour-power  
 Mp = Means of production  
 Mc = Means of consumption  
 Fp = Forces of production  
 Ps = Public services

Figure 2: Scheme of the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers

In detail, this abstract scheme should represent the following: The production (= hunting, gathering, making means of production) takes place under the control of the concrete producers "hunters, gatherers and makers of means of production". It is common

to all these concrete producers to consist of labour-power and means of production (= forces of production). If we abstract the term “owner” from the concretely given labour-power and means of production as their control and guidance centre, then we get the owners of labour-power and means of production first as independent legal persons on the next deeper level of abstraction. The abstract producers are then those legal persons who bring together the owners of labour-power and means of production for the purpose of production and set them into action within the framework of an overall plan. After completion of the production process, the produced use-values (= means of consumption and production, public services) are in the possession of the concrete consumers for the purpose of consumption. For the society of hunters and gatherers it is fundamental that producers and consumers are identical legal persons, i.e., there is no division of labour on product basis and thus no exchange of produced use-values. Consumers of means of production and public services are productive consumers who use their products directly to reproduce the consumed means of production in the sphere of production. Actual physical consumers are only those consumers of the means of consumption who – positively formulated – are nothing other than the producers of labour-power. Concrete producers of labour-power in the society of hunters and gatherers are the hunter-gatherer-one-family-households with father and mother as producers, providers and educators of the children. The (ethnic) tribe is then defined on the next deeper level of abstraction as the norm-setting moral authority that follows from the abstract blood kinship relations of the hunter-gatherer-one-family-households. Finally, the faith community is defined on the deepest level of abstraction as the moral authority historically responsible for the unified ensouling of the universe.

After completion of the consumption of means of consumption and production and public services, the abstract producers are in the possession of the reproduced forces of production, which is why they are also called "owners of forces of production". This means that the labour-process can start again and continue as a self-sustaining (= reproducing) circular process into all "eternity". – This is the circle of life formed by related peoples, which is reported in detail in the myths and revelations of the society of hunters and gatherers.

## 2.9 Quantitative description of the labour-process

After setting up and describing the abstract scheme of the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers, we now arrive at the quantitative description of the problem. Since the abstract scheme of the labour-process in Fig. 2 can be interpreted as the original form of the economic circulation in modern societies, the terms in Fig. 2 could be understood as the book keeping accounts of national accounts and described quantitatively by corresponding statistics. Although this idea seems plausible at first glance, there are significant obstacles in the way of its implementation: The main obstacle is that the statistical recording of the total activity of archaic peoples appears technically impossible. In addition, in the society of hunters and gatherers, the quantitative description of social and natural processes plays no role at all. Concerning the mathematical knowledge, the society of hunters and gatherers only knows to count from one to three; everything that goes beyond three is qualitatively described as “many”.

The main reason for the lack of any quantitative description in the historical-empirical material of the society of hunters and gatherers is the fact that measurements based on a fixed unit of measurement are completely unknown; consequently, the production and consumption processes in the society of hunters and gatherers contain no quantitative statements. – In view of this situation, we will forego in the following the quantitative description of the society of hunters and gatherers and try to derive the historical sequence and the mutual interdependence of the laws and regularities in this research area solely on the basis of the qualitatively described, abstract scheme in Fig. 2. To do this, we take as example two sets of laws that were formulated by Karl Marx in the foreword of “*Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*” as generally applicable laws for all possible social formations; we try to reformulate these two sets of laws for the society of hunters and gatherers.

## 3 Dependence of the relations of production on the forces of production

*"In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production."*<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Marx, Karl: *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, MEW 13, p. 8

The social production of life in the society of hunters and gatherers comprises two areas of life: the sphere of production and the sphere of consumption. According to Fig. 2, use-values are produced in the sphere of production and labour-power in the sphere of consumption. So that the production of use-values can take place, the forces of production “labour-power and means of production” are required, which must be in very specific, concrete and abstract relations of production during the production activity. For the production of labour-power, on the other hand, one needs the forces of production “father and mother as producers, providers and educators of the children and means of consumption”, which must be in very specific, concrete and abstract relations of consumption during the consumption activity. So, we can reformulate the above Marx-citation for the society of hunters and gatherers as follows: In the social production of their life, the hunters and gatherers enter into certain necessary, concrete and abstract relations independent of their will, namely relations of production and consumption that correspond to a certain stage of development of their material forces of production for labour-power and use-values.

#### **4 The conditional relation between foundation and superstructure**

*“The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.”<sup>17</sup>*

According to Fig. 2, the totality of the concrete and abstract relations of production in the production sphere constitutes the economic structure (= the real foundation) of the society of hunters and gatherers, on which arises a social, legal and political superstructure in the sphere of consumption and to which correspond certain forms of social identity. The mode of production of material life in the sphere of production conditions the general process of social, political and spiritual life in the sphere of consumption. It is not the identity of hunters and gatherers that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their identity. – In this reformulation of the above Marx-citation, on the one hand, the division of the society of hunters and gatherers into the sphere

---

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* p. 8

of production and consumption was taken into account and, on the other hand, the human being was postulated not as a being of consciousness, but as a being of identity. This last assumption goes beyond the scope of the labour-process in the society of hunters and gatherers and should be pursued further in the historical-empirical research of the biological evolution towards *Homo sapiens*.