Whilst the role and function, and hence the content, of the newsletter is by no means fixed with this issue we have taken some steps to clarify the format. Thus we have established a number of sections for the newsletter which we hope will appear regularly - although not necessarily in every issue. Furthermore we have attempted to specify the role or purpose of these various sections, with a view towards making our intentions clear and encouraging contributions. At the same time, this should not be taken as restricting the development of the newsletter to its present form. We welcome suggestions and contributions which will further the evolution of the newsletter.

We have also taken steps to standardise the print format of the newsletter, which we hope will improve its clarity in terms of ease of reading, and thereby its utility. This step towards standardisation has been made possible by the help, even if begrudgingly on occasions, of WYLBUR.

This will be the last newsletter before the forthcoming A.G.M., and we would like to take this opportunity to draw members' attention to these meetings, details are included on p. 3, and hope that as many as possible will endeavour to attend. Also with reference to the A.G.M., we are printing the annual financial statement of the U.S.G.
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U.S.G. - SECOND ANNUAL MEETINGS

Time: Sunday April 11th. at 10.00 am.

Place: Steve Schwartz (Apt.)
1 Crosby St.
Lower East Side,
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Directions: Take the subway to Canal Street Station, walk up to Broadway, turn right one block to Crosby. (Plenty of parking nearby for those driving)

PARTY

Time: Sunday night at 8.00 pm.

Place: Roger Hart (Apt.)
357 W. 84th St.
NEW YORK, N.Y. Phone (212) 374-5739

For further details write:

Kirsten Haring
Department of Geography,
Clark University,

We will try to provide places for people to stay.
U.S.G. FINANCIAL STATEMENT MARCH 1976

Income

Donations 450.00
Memberships 200.00

Total income 650.00

Expenditure

Duplicating for newsletter and printing 133.96
Envelopes, postage etc. 27.81

Total expenditure 161.77

BALANCE $488.23

Signed: Colm Regan
Elan Rosenquist
THE PROCESS OF EXCHANGE AND CIRCULATION OVER SPACE

This is section two of a four part series on Marx's theory of circulation and its implications for transport geography. Although the project is not yet complete, we felt that this preliminary paper by the Simon Fraser Working Group on Circulation might be of use as a general introduction to some of the basic Marxian concepts. Part one, which appeared in Vol. 1 #2 of the USG newsletter defined such concepts as the commodity, use-value, value, exchange-value, concrete labour, abstract labour, commodity fetishism and money. Part three, which will appear in Vol. 1 #4 of the newsletter, looks at the three circuits of capital. Part four concludes the series with an examination of the time of circulation, the costs of circulation, and the time of turnover of capital. Problems which capital encounters in the two acts of circulation are analysed as well as the expedients which capital has devised to both abbreviate the time of circulation and widen its sphere.

The following is Part 2 which looks at the process of exchange of commodities. Three types of exchange will be examined:

(a) Barter; i.e. the system of exchanging commodity for commodity when performed by the direct producers of each commodity. This type of exchange is denoted by C-C.

(b) The simple exchange of commodities in which commodities are exchanged for money. Money when performing this mediating role separates the act of selling from the act of buying with significant implications. This type of exchange is denoted by C-M-C.

(c) The third type of exchange is denoted by M-C-M'. It represents the purchase of commodities with money (M) in order that the buyer may sell them for a greater amount of money (M'). This will require a brief examination of the origins of dM, the amount by which the initial investment M is increased when it expands to become M'.

The implications of each type of exchange will be suggested with particular reference to spatial consequences. The first type to be examined is the barter system.

2:1 BARTER; C-C

Direct barter is the first form of exchange to be considered. Marx notes that:

"Direct barter, the spontaneous form of exchange, signifies the beginning of the transformation of use-values into commodities rather than the transformation of commodities into money."
(Marx, 1970, p. 50)
Direct barter, then, represents the first step in the transformation of the product into a commodity. The producer no longer consumes his own product, but exchanges it for another. Marx maintains that the exchange of commodities does not originate within communities, but between communities. He writes:

"... the exchange of products springs up at the points where different families, tribes, communities, come in contact; for, in the beginning of civilisation, it is not private individuals but families, tribes, etc., that meet on an individual footing. Different communities find different means of production, and different means of subsistence in their natural environment. Hence, their modes of production, and of living, and their products are different (A). It is this spontaneously developed difference which, when different communities come in contact, calls forth the mutual exchange of products, and the consequent gradual conversion of those products into commodities."
(Marx, 1972, p. 332)

However, as the process of external exchange develops, it reacts on the internal organisation of the communities so that commodity exchange relations take root within the communities themselves. He remarks that:

"The constant repetition of exchange makes it a normal social act. In the course of time, therefore, some portion at least of the products of labour must be produced with a special view to exchange. From that moment the distinction becomes firmly established between the utility of an object for the purposes of consumption, and its utility for the purposes of exchange."
(Marx, 1972, p. 91)

Mandel contends that such exchanges are "casual and occasional" and that they "may result either from the chance appearance of surplus or from a sudden crisis in the primitive economy (famine)" (1968, p. 49). It is important to note that for these "primitive" societies, the primary aim of production is consumption. That they should barter their total social product would be a notion totally alien to both their mode of production and their mode of thinking (consciousness). Only in capitalist societies has production for exchange acquired the fixity of a "law of nature".

Some features of barter exchange are of direct geographic import as temporal, spatial and individual limitations operate to severely constrain both the extent and intensity of barter exchange. The consequences for a transportation system in such a situation are somewhat obvious.
Generally the transportation network will be minimal, often sporadic. In barter exchanges, the different commodity-owners (producers) come face-to-face, and neither money nor merchants are interposed between the direct producers. The different commodity-producers have to exchange their commodities at the same location. The acts of exchange occur at the same time.

Turning now to examine the circulation of commodities mediated by money, we will see that none of these conditions (identity of time, place, and individuals) need necessarily obtain.

2:2 SIMPLE COMMODITY EXCHANGE

The transition from an analysis of the commodity (see Part 1) to an analysis of exchange constitutes a logical transition since:

"All commodities are non-use values for their owners, and use-values for their non-owners. Consequently, they must all change hands. But this change of hands is what constitutes their exchange, and the latter puts them in relation with each other as values, and realises them as values. Hence commodities must be realised as values before they can be realised as use-values."
(Marx, 1972, p. 89)

The "mutual consent" of the private owners of commodities to alienate their different commodities is the sine qua non for simple commodity circulation. Commodity owners:

"must ... mutually recognise in each other the rights of private proprietors."
(Marx, 1972, p. 88).

Hence piracy, forced exchange (plunder) or the exaction of a tribute from a conquered people do not fall within the domain of simple commodity circulation. In relation to the feudal mode of production, Engels observed:

"The medieval peasant produced quit-rent-corn for his feudal lord and tithe-corn for his parson. But neither the quit-rent-corn nor the tithe-corn ... became commodities by reason of the fact that they had been produced for others. To become a commodity a product must be transferred to another, whom it will serve as a use-value by means of an exchange."
(Marx, 1972, p. 48, commentary by Engels, added to Fourth German Edition)

As the exchange of commodities expanded, barter became a barrier to increasing trade. Even before feudalism, certain commodities were used as standard measures of value to facilitate trade. This gradually resulted in the transformation from direct exchange of commodities to exchange mediated by money in the form of gold.
(A) THE C-M-C CIRCUIT

Marx represents the simple exchange of commodities by the notation C-M-C or commodity-money-commodity. He assumes for the sake of simplicity that gold is the money commodity (Marx, 1972, p. 97). Two important features of this circuit should be noted. Firstly:

"In so far as exchange is a process, by which commodities are transferred from hands in which they are non-use-values, to hands in which they become use-values, it is a social circulation of matter."
(Marx, 1972, p. 106)

Thus if we use subscripts, the circuit becomes C(1)-M-C(2). The owner of C(1), has exchanged his commodity which for him was a non-use-value into money and with the money he has bought from the owner of C(2), a commodity which for the latter was also a non-use-value. This movement represents the complete metamorphosis of C(1) as value.

The second important feature of the circuit is that it represents a metamorphosis of value (B). In the first act of exchange, C1-M, the commodity, C1, is exchanged for money (gold) which is the (commodity's) value-form. This is a metamorphosis or change of form of the same quantity of value. Then the seller of C1 takes the money and exchanges it for another commodity (C2). This second act completes the metamorphosis of C(1). Therefore, the circuit as a whole consists of two acts of exchange: C1-M, the sale or first metamorphosis of the commodity and M-C2 the purchase, the second and concluding metamorphosis of the commodity.

The circuit C1-M-C2 splits into two antithetical acts, C1-M, a sale, and M-C2, a purchase. The owner of C1, thus, plays two roles in this circuit. First he acts as a seller (C1-M) and then he acts as a buyer (M-C2). What is a sale for the owner of C1 is a purchase for its buyer (M-C1) and conversely what is a purchase for that same owner of C1 is a sale for some other commodity producer (C2-M). Hence no matter what role a participant plays in the circuit, he encounters someone else playing the opposite role. Marx notes that:

"The two phases, each inverse to the other, that make up the metamorphosis of a commodity constitute together a circular movement, a circuit: commodity-form, stripping off of this form (C1-M), and return to the commodity-form."
(Marx, 1972, p. 113)

It is obvious that the full complexity of simple commodity circulation is not apparent from an examination of a single circuit. Consider C1-M-C2 again. The M received for C1 does not originate in the C1-M-C2 circuit. It came from some other circuit. Likewise the C2 which completes the metamorphosis of C1 had its origin in some other circuit. For instance, Marx cites the example of the circuit C (linen)- M (money)- C (bible). The seller of the linen obtains money and with that money purchases a bible. The M-C act which completes
the metamorphosis of linen becomes "C-M", the first phase of C-M-C (bible - money - brandy). Marx notes that:

"The two metamorphoses [C1-M and M-C2] constituting the circuit are at the same time two inverse partial metamorphoses of two other commodities."

(Marx, 1972, p. 113)

Three circuits are necessary to demonstrate the complete metamorphosis of circuit two in the following illustration: follows:

C1 - M - C2
C2 - M - C3
C3 - M - C4

C2-M which opens the metamorphosis of circuit 2 concludes the metamorphosis, M-C2, of circuit 1; and the M-C3 which concludes the metamorphosis of circuit 2 constitutes, for circuit 3, C3-M, its opening metamorphosis.

Marx observes that:

"... the circuit made by one commodity in the course of its metamorphoses is inextricably mixed up with the circuits of other commodities. The total of all the different circuits constitutes the circulation of commodities."

(Marx, 1972, p. 113)

Thus the mediation of money expands the number of transactions necessary to complete the metamorphosis of the commodities as value. This also means a large number of physical transactions. Hence a more developed system of transportation because:

"in order really to circulate commodities, what is required is 'instruments of transport',... that requires wagons, horses, roads, etc. The real circulation of commodities through time and space is not accomplished by money."

(Marx, 1973, p. 194)

(B) The Differences between C-C and C-M-C

What are some of the key differences between barter (C-C) and simple commodity exchange (C-M-C)? In the C-C exchange, the owners of each commodity (C) sell and buy at the same time; hence the acts of "buying" and "selling" are never separated for either of the two partners in the exchange. However, in the C-M-C circuit, the owner of the commodity who has converted his commodity into money is not "bound to purchase, because he has just sold" (Marx, 1972, p. 115). He can hold on to his money and buy at a later time. Whether is he obliged to buy a commodity from the person to whom he has sold his commodity. Whether is he obliged to buy commodities in the place where he sold his commodities. Simple commodity circulation requires the activities
of three individuals before a commodity or set of commodities is completely metamorphosed. In the circuit C1-M-C2, the owner of C1 appears once as a seller and once as a buyer; the original owner of M only buys and the owner of C2 only sells. A complexity has developed that was completely absent from barter exchange. For these reasons Marx comments that:

"Circulation bursts through all restrictions as to time, place, and individuals, imposed by direct barter, and this it effects by splitting up, into the antithesis of a sale and purchase, the direct identity that in barter does exist between the alienation of one's own and the acquisition of some other man's product." (Marx, 1972, p. 115)

As he notes elsewhere, when money mediates the exchange of commodities, the acts of sale and purchase:

"... have now achieved a spatially and temporally separate and mutually indifferent form of existence, [and] their immediate identity ceases." (Marx, 1973, p. 148)

The increase in areal differentiation and its associated regional interdependence has two major consequences: the potential for economic crisis and the rise of merchant capital. First the equilibrium of sales and purchases which characterises direct barter can easily become a disequilibrium if:

"... the interval in time between the two complementary phases of the complete metamorphosis of a commodity become too great, if the split between the sale and purchase become too pronounced, the intimate connexion between them, their oneness, asserts itself by producing a crisis." (Marx, 1972, p. 115)

In other words, the separation between sale and purchase occasioned by the very existence of money as the universal equivalent creates the possibility of crisis.

Second, the spatial and temporal separation of sale and purchase creates the conditions for the development of merchant capital. As Marx puts it:

"The separation of sale and purchase makes possible not only commerce proper, but also pro forma transactions, before the final exchange of commodities between producer and consumer takes place. It thus enables large numbers of parasites to invade the process of production and to take advantage of this separation." (Marx, 1970, p. 98)
Of course it is money that facilitates the spatial and temporal separation between purchase and sale.

2:3 Expanded Commodity Exchange (M-C-M)

The formula, C-M-C represents the simple circulation of commodities. "Selling in order to buy" is the logic of this circuit. This is the same logic which is inherent in direct barter exchange. However, with the mediation of money, it becomes possible to view a series of exchanges from the perspective of M-C-M. This also represents a circuit since money is transformed into commodities and the commodities are transformed back into money. "Buying in order to sell is the logic of this circuit.

There are some important similarities between M-C-M and C-M-C:

1) The C-M-C circuit consists of two antithetical phases, C-M a sale and M-C a purchase; The circuit M-C-M consists of two antithetical phases, M-C a purchase and C-M, a sale.

2) "Each circuit is the unity of the same two antithetical phases" (Marx, 1972, p. 147) i.e. the acts of sale and purchase are necessary to complete the unity of both circuits.

3) "... in each case this unity is brought about by the intervention of three contracting parties, of whom one only sells, another only buys, while the third both buys and sells." (Marx, 1972, p. 147).

However, there are also important differences between the two circuits. These stem from the fact that as it stands, the circuit M-C-M makes little sense since the the participant is no better off at its termination than he or she was at its beginning. The real objective of those who advance money is to increase the amount of money resulting from the transaction. The form M-C-M denotes that there has been no increase in the amount of money, over money advanced. Hence, the rational form of this circuit becomes M-C-M' where M' is greater than M. This circuit is quite different from C-M-C. First, more value is realized at the end of M-C-M' than was originally advanced. This is not true for C-M-C, where C represents the same quantity of value at both stages of the circuit. And second, whereas the result of C-M-C becomes C-C, the exchange of a use-value for a different use-value, the result of M-C-M' is M-M', the exchange of money for more money.

The role that money plays in the two circuits is also quite different. In the C-M-C circuit, the seller alienates his commodity for money so that he can buy a different commodity. Marx writes:

"In the circulation C-M-C, the money is in the end converted into a commodity, that serves as a use-value; it is spent once and for all." (Marx, 1972, p. 147)
Consumption is the ultimate aim of this circuit. The C-M-C circuit, "begins with a sale and ends with a purchase" (Marx, 1972, p. 147). In the M-C-M' circuit, the opposite processes occur. The buyer advances money to buy commodities that he will sell later for more money.

"He lets the money go, but only with the sly intention of getting it back again. The money, therefore, is not spent, it is merely advanced." (Marx, 1972, p. 147)

To repeat, more money is the ultimate purpose of this circuit. This expansion distinguishes money's role as mere money from its function as capital. In the C-M-C circuit, money circulates as mere money: in the M-C-M' circuit money circulates as capital. The 'increment' dM that accrues to the capitalist at the end of the circulation process Marx calls 'surplus-value' (Marx, 1972, p. 149).

"The value originally advanced ... not only remains intact while in circulation, but adds to itself a surplus-value or expands itself. It is this movement that converts it into capital." (Marx, 1972, p. 149)

Surplus value makes rational the exchange of money for money. It is not logically inherent in the exchange of use values as represented by C-M-C. There is therefore, "a palpable difference between the circulation of money as capital, and its circulation as mere money" (Marx, 1972, p. 147). Hence an inversion of the C-M-C circuit gives us a "mere difference of form", M-C-M, but it has been shown that a "real difference underlies the mere difference of form" (Marx, 1972, p. 146). The purpose behind one circuit is use value. Behind the other is exchange value, and more importantly, surplus-value. Marx writes:

"The simple circulation of commodities (C-M-C) - selling in order to buy - is a means of carrying out a purpose unconnected with circulation, namely, the appropriation of use-values, the satisfaction of wants. The circulation of money as capital is, on the contrary, an end in itself, for the expansion of value takes place only within this constantly renewed movement. (Marx, 1972, p. 150)

In other words, in the case of the C-M-C circuit, the commodity drops out of circulation once it has been bought; it enters the sphere of consumption. If the circuit is to be renewed new commodities have to be injected into it. Thus, if we continue this circuit beyond the circulation of one commodity, we will obtain this series:

C(a)-M-C(b)-M-C(c)-M-C(d)-M-C(e) and so on,

where the subscripts denote different commodities.
"Consumption, the satisfaction of wants, in one word, use-value, is its end and aim" (Marx, 1972, p. 148). Throughout the series equivalent is exchanged for equivalent.

"The circuit M-C-M', on the contrary, commences with money and ends with money. Its leading motive, and the goal that attracts it, is therefore mere exchange-value (money)."
(Marx, 1972, p. 148)

Consumption is not the end and goal of the circuit; its goal is more money. Hence, if this circuit is continued beyond one circuit it becomes:

M-C-M'-C-M'"-C-M'"'-C-M'"" and so on.

Therefore, "[The] circulation of capital has ... no limits" (Marx, 1972 p. 150). The circuit M-C-M' represents the circulation of merchant's capital; the merchant buys commodities below value and sells them at their value. Hence, in the case of merchant's capital it is easy to account for dM. Merchants are able to realize this form of surplus-value because of the areal differentiation of supply and demand for many commodities. Merchants, as merchants, are not concerned with how commodities are produced. Their profit is based on maintaining regional disparities in supply and demand. At the same time, there is an increasingly limitless opportunity for capital to expand based on increased production. This is the function of industrial capital.

M-C-M' also represents the circuit of industrial capital. The industrial capitalist buys commodities (labour-power and means of production) at their value (M-C), and sells the commodities that emerge from the production process at their value (C"-M''). If he buys at value and sells at value, whence arises dM? Marx maintains that although dM (surplus-value) is realised in the process of circulation, it does not originate there. Surplus-value is created in the production process. The origin of surplus-value is discussed in the next section where the circuit of money-capital is examined in more detail.

NOTES

(A) One of the most important abstractions in Marx's work is the concept of mode of production, which describes the manner in which the means of production and labour-power are combined in the production process. This unity of labour-power with the means of production assumes different forms under different modes of production. Marx identified the following modes; communal, slave, feudal, asiatic, and capitalist. In each of these modes there is a significantly different relationship established between those who own and/or control the means of production and those who don't. Other elements in each mode of production (see Althusser and Balibar, 1970, pp. 209-253) assume varying levels of importance depending upon their historical specificity.
(B) It will be recalled that according to Marx's labour theory of value, the value of a commodity is the quantity of socially necessary labour that went into its production.

NO MASTER

SAITH man to man, We've heard and known
That we no master need.
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed.
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us hath forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of Pain.

And we, shall we too crouch and quail,
Ashamed, afraid of strife,
And lest our lives untimely fail
Embrace the Death in Life?
May, cry aloud, and have no fear,
We few against the world;
Awake, arise! the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurled.

It grows and grows - are we the same,
The feeble hand, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame,
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word,
NO MASTER HIGH OR LOW -
A lightning flame, a shearing sword,
A storm to overthrow.

William Morris (1834 - 1896)
This section is intended to present extracts from geographical writings - books, journals etc., which illustrate clearly the various aspects of the ideological dimension of the discipline: both past and present.

BUSINESS MEN RECOGNIZE ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

The importance of Economic Geography is recognized by many commercial and industrial leaders. Mr. R.W. Burgess of the Western Electric Company says that a knowledge of various topics in Economic Geography is helpful in analyzing a considerable number of business problems. In the consideration of the value of this knowledge, Mr. Burgess cites the following examples: supply and demand factors bearing on the availability and price of the various raw materials which the company uses; possible markets for the company's products; effects of tariffs, quotas, and other restrictions on international trade; forecasts of industrial activity as affected by world business and political conditions; and geographical factors in this country.

Mr. J.E. Hill, assistant to the president of the United States Steel Export Company says, "We feel that the importance of a thorough knowledge of this subject cannot be stressed enough as basic knowledge in a company such as ours."

Mr. A.L. Janson of the American Tobacco Company says, "I am sure that anyone engaged in business would be sadly handicapped if he did not have some knowledge of Economic Geography. A well-developed knowledge of the subject would undoubtedly be of great help, particularly to the executive in business."

The Du Pont Company states that it is certainly desirable for any business administrator to be well grounded in Economic Geography.

The Aluminum Company of America submits, thru one of its representatives, the following assertion: "An affirmative answer to your question is quite obvious to us: economic factors of geographic significance are definitely important in the aluminum industry."

From the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company comes the following comment: "I am sure it will be obvious to you that the economic success of many companies is completely dependent upon their geographical locations in regard to transportation, tax, labor and power costs."

Mr. George Vidal, publicity director of Sears, Roebuck and Company, states, "Because of the fact that our concern is a distribution agency operating in all parts of the nation, we have for many years watched closely the growth and development of different areas. There are many instances where we have foreseen business opportunities based on favourable factors having to do with the geographical location of certain areas, and we have capitalized on them in a very important way."
The General Foods Corporation draws its many materials from all over the world, and their markets are spread over an exceedingly wide area. For these reasons they believe that a knowledge of economics and geography— and particularly integrated— would be of definite value to anyone considering entering their field.

Taken from:
Waterland, L.M. (Centenary College of Louisiana)
Geography is vital to the business student.
See pp. 245-246.

---

Hérodote

Ces géographes, mais aussi ces philosophes, urbanistes, ethnologues, psychanalystes, journalistes, ingénieurs, sur bien des questions n’ont pas la même opinion, mais ils ont accepté de donner leur avis sur les textes qui seront régulièrement mis en discussion par Hérodote. Leur responsabilité n’est pas engagée par les textes signés Hérodote.

Il ne s’agit donc pas d’un comité de rédaction, constitué une fois pour toutes, mais de l’amorce d’un groupe de discussion, qui s’élargira par la suite et s’enrichira de spécialistes, de syndicalistes, de militants.

Pour aider au développement de la discussion, Hérodote publiera des textes de provenances les plus diverses, en respectant, si besoin est, l’anonymat de leurs auteurs.

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1, place Paul-Painlevé, 75005 PARIS
BIBLIOGRAPHY ON IMPERIALISM: PART 2

This is the second installment of the bibliography on Imperialism. We wish to make this bibliography an ongoing process involving updating and expansion in further issues of the Newsletter. Other people working on this subject (or any other for that matter!) are invited to send contributions. We would also like to hear from people as to whether or not the publication of bibliographies is a useful function of the newsletter.


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"It is not the fact of areal differentiation that geographers should be concerned with, but rather the form that it takes under and because of the capitalist mode of production."
RADICAL JOURNALS BIBLIOGRAPHY

The newsletter intends to provide coverage of material published in a variety of radical journals of related disciplines. The coverage in this issue consists of bibliographies - author and title listings of seven journals for the past year, i.e., 1975. This will be continued in the next issue when a further seven journals will be listed, including Telos, Latin American Perspectives and Southern Exposure. The coverage of such journals does not pretend to be complete and we welcome suggestions and contributions. Whilst the present format is restricted to simple bibliographic entries it is hoped that in the future this will be extended into an annotated form, including some critical assessment, of current issues of these and/or other journals. Geographic journals have not been included as it was felt that most geographers would already be aware of such literature.

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY.

The journal "...is committed to a theoretical approach which is holistic and which concentrates on systems of production and the division of labour, and on the created systems of domination and control, as the primary or core sectors of society." The concentration on such area provides a means of challenging current "ideological modes of defining reality...because it is precisely in these areas that the density of ideological distortions is at its highest. In this sense, the approach advocated is a radical critical one." (Taken from editorial in first issue.)

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INSURGENT SOCIOLOGIST.
Committed to the liberation of social science from bourgeois hegemony, and the advancement of the contribution of social scientists to the transformation of capitalist society and the building of socialism.

The Journal is published quarterly. Subscription rates are, $4.00 low income, $8.00 sustaining, $14.00 overseas. Individual issues $2.00. Send enquiries to: Dept. of Sociology, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. 97403.

Block, P.
Contradictions of capitalism as a world system.
Habermas, J.
The place of philosophy in Marxism.
Peek, S.
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The new conservatives: ethnomethodologists, phenomenologists, and symbolic interactionists, pp. 49 - 65.

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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF SOCIAL HISTORY.

This is published three times annually; subscription is 60 Dutch Florins per year. Address: Van Gorcum, Assen, The Netherlands. A variety of articles is contained, detailed and substantive as well as more theoretical and general. Emphasis is on European affairs but other areas are also covered. Each issue contains a bibliography under the following headings. General Issues: Religious and philosophy, Social Theory and Social Science, History, Contemporary Issues. Continents and Countries: Africa, America, Asia, Europe.

Vol. 20. No. 1, 1975

Desmarais, Ralph.

Garvey, George.

Todd, Nigel.

Cullen, M.J.

Storch, Robert D.
MONTHLY REVIEW (An Independent Socialist Magazine)

Statement of aims and orientation, from Vol. 1, No. 1, (May 1949)

The Editors state that interest in socialism has declined alarmingly in the United States, and this in the context of much of the world moving rapidly toward socialism. They observe that there are still many Americans who believe, as they do, that socialism will prove to be the only solution to serious economic and social problems in the United States. "It is because we hold firmly to this belief that we are founding MONTHLY REVIEW, an independent magazine devoted to analyzing, from a socialist point of view, the most significant trends in domestic and foreign affairs". (Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, first editors.) They plan a critical, but not destructive, examination of socialism abroad (especially the Soviet Union), but another major focus will be socialism at home.
Vol. 1, No. 1 (May 1949)
Review of the Month: The Atlantic Pact: China and Socialism
(The editors)
Einstein, Albert
Why Socialism
Sweezy, Paul
Recent Developments in American Capitalism
Huberman, Leo
Socialism and American Labor
Nathan, Otto
Transition to Socialism in Eastern Europe

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Present editors: Paul M. Sweezy, Harry Magdoff,
(Leo Huberman, d.1968), Assoc. Ed.: Bobbye Ortiz.

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New Left Review

This journal is published six times a year. The price in Great Britain is 75p. Overseas it is $1.00 or $2.90 per issue. The subscription rates are 4.00 in Great Britain and overseas 6.00 or $16.00 annually. The address is New Left Review, 7 Carlisle Street, London WIV 6NL. The American distributor is E. de Boer, 188 High Street, Nutley, New Jersey 07110.

The New Left Review has done much to introduce recent theoretical developments in European Marxism into the English language over the last ten years. Although containing a strong theoretical emphasis, it also contains a wide range of articles on current economic, political, and cultural affairs.
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OUR GENERATION

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RACE AND CLASS

RACE AND CLASS, formerly RACE, is the journal of the Institute of
Race Relations at London. It is prevented by the articles of its
incorporation from expressing a corporate view. Consequently, people
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should be sent to the same address. The most recent four issues of
RACE and CLASS contain among others, the following articles.

Vol. XVI. No. 2. Oct. 74 (The first issue of RACE and CLASS
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DEBATE

SOCIALIST PRACTICE: GRANDVIEW REVISITED

Greetings -- I read a self-criticism in the USG newsletter that I feel is a bit harsh ... and incorrect.

The second reason (given in the article on the VGE, last newsletter) for the lack of contribution to the Grandview area's class struggle is: 'we as students (correctly) felt that we could not initiate community organisation'.

If this meant that we as students didn't have the necessary political experience and organisational skills to pull together a community organisation then I agree. However, I find myself disagreeing with the notion that students, because of their class position, cannot initiate community organisation.

While it is true that we were outsiders with a dispersed membership it is also true that we were committed (however naively) to the neighbourhood. We also had some very useful skills and experiences to contribute to the people in the community.

I feel that the positive characteristics of the people that formed the Expedition outweighed their lack of experience or class position. As the last page of the comment on Socialist Practice says, the information and skills developed in the past two years have proved to be very helpful to the community.

But the real point here is the role of 'outsiders' -- particularly organisers -- in the development of any struggle. In this case, I think both the community and the VGE would have benefited from some contact and feedback. I also think that this relationship could have been developed best in a community organisation. We could have been more directed in our research -- thus saving ourselves valuable time and energy -- if we had been in touch with the constituency we were trying to serve. Can you imagine building a house for someone without consulting them -- without showing them your initial plan and then discussing the development of the house at important stages? In essence that is what the VGE did. And this shortcoming was often painfully represented by lack of direction within the group.

But how could we have developed contact in the community? There are a number of ways -- each with its drawbacks and strongpoints:

(1) By studying the recent political history of the neighbourhood we could have gotten in contact with recognised community leaders -- church, social service, political -- and discussed the possibility of forming a community organisation or just got some idea of the issues people in the community felt strongest about.
(2) Random door-knocking with some specific questions in mind to get a fix on people's needs and fears.

(3) We should have included community people in our research sooner (in a way mentioned in the last page of the article). We could have found these people in either of the ways mentioned above.

Both methods were well within the resources of the VGE as it existed two years ago. Having a more concrete, rooted, organisation (or network of contacts in the community) would have made it easier to expand in the community AND the campus.

Students and profs have to get over this 'academic guilt complex' and get serious about the skills they have and how they should put them into practice. One of the reasons students can initiate (in certain conditions), but not dominate, or continue to lead, community organisations is that they have time to do it if they can get themselves organised. At times students may also have a better idea of the dangers a neighbourhood is in -- if so, there should be even more willingness to act. And finally, many of the people in the VGE were politically sophisticated and dedicated enough to pull some sort of community group together.

However, we lost sight of the long-range goals of our research and our reasons for existing as an Expedition. For example, if we had said, "Two years from now we'll have a dues-paying community organisation with 100 members and a volunteer staff" and had worked towards that or a similar goal, then we could have achieved it. As it was, we lacked even the most general long-range program and consequently bounced from one research program to another -- realising at a later date the value and applicability of the information we'd stockpiled. It's good to hear that community organisations have developed and that they are using the info. The last two paragraphs of the article were really fine and I think the article in general shows how much the VGE-USG has matured in the past two years.

But once again I would like to say that students shouldn't be so cautious in getting involved in community affairs. If that involvement is coupled with a certain political education, commitment, and general sensitivity to the community's needs then students can play a very important, and often leadership, role in the community.

Bob Arnold.

REPLY (1)

Bob Arnold raises several points which are consistent with the intention of the article on Socialist Practice in Vancouver. Certainly a discussion of the need for close interaction between community researchers and community organisations is very similar to that put forward in the original article. As Bob states, the failure to achieve such interaction led to a lack of direction within VGE.
The question thus becomes: what kind of community organisation, and what should the role of students be within it? Members of the VGE made an implicit assumption that the only legitimate arena for their political activity was at the neighbourhood level. This was an inappropriate assumption for a variety of reasons.

Firstly, the major concern of the VGE lay in community organisation and since the 'community' could be defined in many ways (i.e. it contained many diverse and divergent social groups – petty bourgeois, workers, managers, professionals, bureaucrats etc.) it was virtually impossible to take sides without alienating some group. As time went on we became convinced that through an overconcentration on issues of consumption (housing, lighting, facilities, etc.) we often avoided dealing with the place of exploitation in the production process itself. Hence much of our work, despite our intentions, never really successfully integrated the place and functions of a given community within the larger context of a city under capitalism.

Secondly, there is the fact that there were no active community groups in the neighbourhood selected. Without an existing organisation, it takes a great deal of time to meet local leaders and become aware of the issues people are concerned with at the neighbourhood level. Given the following conditions which obtained when the VGE was formed:

(a) The members of the expedition were politically inexperienced – in both theory and practice;

(b) alternative community and city-wide groups existed in the Vancouver area,

We believe that this time could have be better spent by students studying. Being a student – being a Marxist student – is serious political activity, it requires a good deal of time and energy. The flexibility of an academic schedule gives an illusion, but not the reality of a great deal of 'free time'. Some time can and should be given over to direct community/labour political activity.

At certain historical periods it is vital that most progressives be directly involved in such activity. Clearly at such times many organisations should exist; in their absence, however, a FULL-TIME effort becomes necessary to create them. During quiescent periods work can and should be done by students within the community. But most of the "battles" over specific issues will be lost. The main political impact of such activity will be ideological – showing the participants in the struggle how the "system" opposes their interests. Therefore the amount of time set aside for direct community activity must be balanced within an overall set of objectives concerning the education of both students and members of the community. Good intentions alone will not suffice.

This discussion begs the question of exactly what kinds of community organisations students should become involved within. The neighbourhood level expedition approach seems inevitably to lead to the conclusion that a united front of progressive people will
automatically occur, and that geographers with good intentions can lead the way. The reality is that there are a number of political organisations - both right or left wing - that must be dealt with at all levels of community organisation. At the neighbourhood level political differences may be overshadowed by subtle and sometimes petty personality conflicts. As one ascends the political hierarchy from the neighbourhood, to constituency, to provincial, to federal level, the issue of political party affiliation becomes increasingly significant. Expeditionary practice seems to imply that coalitions are always both possible and desirable. This is an assumption worthy of serious discussion, the results of which should condition the form and content of future activity by geographers in the community.

Nathan Edelson
Colm Regan
Vancouver, B.C.

REPLY (2)

I agree with the substance of Nathan and Colm's reply. However I have problems with the analysis of our failure to integrate the community within the city. Our problem was not simply that we avoided dealing with the "place of exploitation, the production process itself", but that we failed to see the "issues of consumption" with which we did deal in their relation to the production process. Our work, on both a theoretical and practical level, was guilty of an all too common failure of inexperienced, left leaning community workers - a failure to see capitalism as an integrated social system - one which encompasses both "community" and "work place" issues.

Suzanne McKenzie,
Vancouver, B.C.

WHITHER THE U.S.G.?

Dear U.S.G.,

It seems to me that socialist geographers are faced with a number of tasks: a) to explain the inadequacy of bourgeois social science as a whole, and the part that geography plays within it - here the role of geography in schools is very important, i.e. the way it acts as a vehicle for reproduction of capitalist ideology in relation to, for example, perception of environmental problems, and patterns of underdeveloped countries; b) to develop alternative Marxist analyses which can explain spatial structure with a view to changing it, and here it seems to me vitally important to link up with other Marxist groups in economics, sociology etc. We need to avoid atomized 'Marxism' - a Marxist geography, Marxist political science, Marxist anthropology and so on. We have to fight against the academic incorporation of 'Marxist' analyses into the existent structures of bourgeois social science. This is not an easy task, and involves various tactical manoeuvres on occasions, but is crucial for long term development; c) to relate theoretical work to the problems facing the oppressed classes, and here the geographer must try and link up with a political movement and apply his/her knowledge in helping to construct theoretical analyses of concrete situations which can be useful in developing strategy and tactics. Again this can be very difficult but
in the long-term very significant, and d) must continuously try and influence and change his/her fellow students, perhaps starting from the restricted area of geography and moving into much wider discussions of capitalism and socialism,

Best wishes, fraternally,
Dave Slater,
Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation,
Amsterdam.

RESPONSE OF THE INDIANS OF THE SIX NATIONS
to a suggestion that they send boys to an American college Pennsylvania, 1744.

But you who are wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern Provinces: they were instructed in all your Sciences but, when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods...neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.

We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons we will take Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.
BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PETER KROPOTKIN

Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) was both a geographer and an anarchist. The following bibliography covers only that part of his work published in book form, and is thus far from comprehensive. A second bibliography covering material published in pamphlets and in journals may be included in a subsequent issue of the newsletter. The present bibliography has been annotated to provide a brief introduction to his social philosophy for those unfamiliar with his writings. Kropotkin's books have generally appeared in a considerable number of different editions. The publication data included here refers, where possible, to the first edition and to the most recent and therefore readily available editions.

IN RUSSIAN AND FRENCH PRISONS

London, Ward and Downey, 1887.

Kropotkin, of course, had first-hand contact with the subject matter under consideration in this book, having been imprisoned in Moscow from 1874 to 1876, and in Clairveaux from 1882 to 1886. As with other of his works, it represents an integration of his own personal experience within the framework of an anarchist philosophy. Thus he saw prisons destroying both the mind and body of the prisoners, and having a dehumanizing effect upon the jailers as well. Prisons neither improved the prisoners nor prevented crime: their avowed intentions. Kropotkin regarded crime as a social disease and saw the prison system as a reflection of the social system. Therefore the solution lay in the complete reorganisation of society.

CONQUEST OF BREAD


Appearing initially as a series of articles in the anarchist journals Le Revolle and La Revolle, they were collected and published in book form in 1892, including a preface by Kropotkin's fellow Geographer and anarchist Elisee Reclus. The work represents an outline or blueprint of the possibilities for the organisation of a future anarcho-communist society, as well as a criticism of existing society. Kropotkin advances beyond Proudhon and Bakunin, where individual returns (wages) were based on performance, to advocate a basis of individual needs. The new society should be decentralised, thereby resolving the town/country dichotomy, and rooted in cooperative effort. This would entail the elimination of the deleterious social effects of the division of labour; thus work instead of being odious would become a pleasure, with the return of its social content. At the same time Kropotkin also recognised the "need for luxury" and the creative use of leisure. Education would
similarly be transformed in order to facilitate the integration of "manual and brain work". The future society should be attained by libertarian means—i.e., linking means with ends, and the vehicle for this should be expropriation: "The well being of all the end; expropriation the means."

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS

London, Hutchinson, 1899.

Fields, Factories and Workshops acts as a sequel to to the earlier work Conquest of Bread, in that Kropotkin pursues, in more detail, some of the themes previously sketched only in broad outline. Prominent among these, and of direct geographic concern, are those of de-centralisation and the town country split. Kropotkin examines the possibilities involved in the de-centralisation of industry utilising the developments of recent technology. In a similar vein he considers the possibilities inherent in the development of intensive agriculture. All of this is directed towards countering the social and geographic consequences of the division of labour. After division comes integration—of labour, society and town and country. The book concludes by returning to the role of education and its true integrative functioning, breaking down the compartmentalisation of mental and manual work.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST

Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1899.

Although written in 1899, Kropotkin's autobiography only brings the detailed account of his life up to 1896, the time of his arrival in England. His subsequent activities in England are dealt with only in a cursory manner. The book recounts his passage from Russian aristocrat, to geographic explorer, to social revolutionary, to anarchist prisoner in both Russia and France. In so doing, he not only traces the development of his own intellectual awareness but illuminates the context of the various societies and social movements of which he was a participant. All this is in his usual clear and lucid style.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM

London, 1901.
New York, Mother Earth Press, 1908.

In this brief study (less than 100 pages) Kropotkin endeavours to place Anarchist political and social theory in the context of the intellectual developments of the nineteenth century. He touches on
some of the major accomplishments in both natural and social sciences, but pays particular attention to the work of Comte and Spencer. These, he claims, attempted but failed, to erect a synthetic philosophy – one of the aims of Anarchism. Kropotkin rejects all metaphysics and suggests philosophy must be based on a materialist basis, but not a dialectical one. There follows a brief outline of the growth of anarchist theory from Godwin on, and a discussion of the means of action for the attainment of an anarchist society.

**MUTUAL AID: A FACTOR IN EVOLUTION**

London, Heinemann, 1902.

Boston, Porter Sargent, 1971. Introduction by Ashley Montagu. This is a reprint of the 1914 edition. Paperback.


Probably the best known of Kropotkin's books, it originally appeared as a series of articles in the journal Nineteenth Century. It was written as a direct response to T.H. Huxley and the credo of the "survival of the fittest". Kropotkin claims that Darwin, partly for ideological reasons, was misinterpreted by his followers, resulting in a lack of consideration of the role of co-operation in the evolution of life. He illustrates the role of mutual aid in the animal world initially and then extends his argument into the field of human society. The latter is treated in terms of a series of stages, primitive, barbarian medieval and modern. Kropotkin stresses the role of the masses as opposed to leaders in the progressive development of society and links this to the multiplicity of mutual aid or co-operative institutions. He notes "the immense influence which these early (co-operative) institutions have exercised on the subsequent development of mankind, down to the present times". The book clearly exemplifies Kropotkin's holistic and historical approach.

**IDEALS AND REALITIES IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE**

London, 1905.


Originally a series of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institution in Boston in 1901, these were subsequently revised in book form. Kropotkin was naturally interested in the literature of his native land, the more so as it fulfilled a very important social role. Owing to the Tsarist censorship it was to Russian literature that one turned in order to "understand the political, economical and social ideals of the country". Kropotkin examines the work of all the major nineteenth century Russian novelists and briefly many of the minor ones as well. In addition, he also considers drama, folk novelists, political literature, insofar as it existed, and art criticism; all of these, apart from their purely literary merits are placed in the social and intellectual context of nineteenth century Russia.
THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION


Long interested in the French Revolution, and disenchanted with existing accounts, Kropotkin eventually embarked on an historical account of the period and its events, seeking to "reveal the intimate connection and interdependence of the various events (that) produce(d) the climax of the eighteenth century's epic". Whilst the form of the book is a more or less consecutive narrative of events the Revolution is interpreted as being primarily of economic causation. Kropotkin saw the struggle of the common people for the necessities of life as the fundamental progressive force, and one which was often held back by its leaders. Included in this assessment was the recognition of the class content of the Revolution and the differential aims of the classes. Furthermore Kropotkin links the French Revolution back in time to the English Revolution, and forwards in terms of the legacy it bequeathed. The latter was, primarily, that it established the "principles of communism" and so was the source of "all the present communist, anarchist and socialist conceptions."

ETHICS: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

New York, McVeagh, 1924.

This was the last of Kropotkin's works, and unfortunately he died before completing the first of a projected two volume study. The volume which does exist, however, is lacking only the conclusions and is therefore substantially complete. In many respects it can be seen as a sequel to Mutual Aid, in that Kropotkin moves from asserting the role of mutual aid in human evolution, to the position that sociality is the source of morality. In so doing he wished on the one hand, to make ethics "scientific", and on the other, to establish a moral basis for present and future society. As in Mutual Aid he begins with an examination of the animal world, including a further discussion of Darwin's work, as a basis for the subsequent discussion of ethics in human society. The bulk of the book consists of a chronological analysis and criticism of the major ethical theories that were developed by European thinkers. It is the process of this criticism that Kropotkin's views on morality emerge, for as noted, his untimely death prevented the completion of the work.

THE ANARCHIST PRINCE: George Woodcock & Ivan Avacumovic


This represents the most thorough study of Kropotkin's life and provides a useful complement to Kropotkin's own partial autobiography (see above). It is written in a sympathetic vein, as should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the work of George Woodcock.
Woodcock was himself involved in the anarchist movement and has written one of the best general accounts of anarchism (G. Woodcock, ANARCHISM, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1963). The interpretation of Kropotkin by the authors perhaps overemphasizes Kropotkin's pacific side, as evidenced in the characterisation of the "White Jesus". Also the text does not provide sources for the numerous quotations from Kropotkin's work, which is a considerable limitation in terms of any scholarly usage. Nonetheless, the book provides the best source of information on Kropotkin's activities from 1886 until his death in Russia in 1921. Also it provides an analysis and assessment of Kropotkin's thought and intellectual endeavours.
A libertarian Marxist critique contains comments on Gramsci, Pannekoek, Reich, Sweezy, Gorz, Aronowitz and others.

Levison, Andrew.

Concerned with the lot of working class people today — refutation of racism and conservatism — traits of working class — emphasis on full employment, job enrichment, etc.

Aronowitz, Stanley.

Very readable, broad in scope.

Our thanks are due to Larry Wolf in compiling the above list.

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RUDE ACTS

A resolution recognizing Puerto Rico's "inalienable right to be free" was narrowly defeated in the United Nations Decolonization Committee this year. The U.S. threatened economic sanctions — including withdrawal of foreign aid — against countries which voted for the motion.

A newspaper in Tanzania described a U.S. diplomatic note pressuring Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere as a "rude and intimidating act." U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Daniel Patrick Moynihan asked whether this note was an example of his proposed tough strategy toward the Third World, responded: "It most assuredly is. We did not intend it as a rude act. We intended it to have consequences. It did."

When the vote came down, Tanzania voted for Puerto Rico, and against the U.S. government.
FROM THE BOOKSHELVES......

This section is intended to provide brief notices of books which have recently been published.

Brody, Hugh.

An excellent assessment of the effects the introduction of a market economy had upon the Canadian Eskimos.

Marcus, Steven.

A literary, social and historical examination of Frederick Engels' classic work The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.

Cliff, L., P. Lawrence, W. Luttrel, S. Mignot-Adholla and J. Saul.

An extensive collection of essays related to the theory and practise of rural development in Tanzania today.

Petras, J. and M. Morley.

Gittings, John.

Both of the above concerned with the efforts and successes of U.S. imperialism in overthrowing Allende.

Shaw, Martin.

An analysis of the nature of social knowledge and its organisation under the capitalist mode of production.

Koshimura, Shinizaburo.

The use of modern analytic methods (i.e. linear algebra) in a Marxist framework. We are assured by those among us who have expertise (!) in this field, that it is not too difficult.

Albert, Michael.
What is to be undone; A modern Revolutionary discussion of classical Left Ideologies. 1974
NOTICES AND CORRESPONDENCE

CALL FOR MATERIALS ON SOCIAL STUDIES

We have had a request from a high school teacher for materials adapted or adaptable to a high school social studies programme to include students grades 9 to 12. The particular kind of material requested is

(1) 1st or 2nd year course outlines
(2) Practical lesson units or suggestions
(3) Bibliographies of books that are easy to read and preferably well illustrated.

Subjects of particular interest are

(1) Traditional and contemporary native cultures
(2) Imperialism—particularly related to Canada
(3) Industrialisation—environmental effects, effects on society etc.

If you have any information please share it with
Yvonne Zarowny
3735 Eton St. Burnaby, B.C., Canada.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON GEOGRAPHY OF WOMEN & RADICAL URBAN GEOGRAPHY

In the last edition of the newsletter we mentioned the fact that future editions would include bibliographies on various subjects. At the moment we are compiling ones on the geography of women and radical perspectives on urban geography. We therefore earnestly and urgently request CONTRIBUTIONS in any way, shape or form. Please send all those goodies you've come across as we hope to put the various editions together in one separate publication. Please send contributions to USG/SFU.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Friends:

On behalf of the Association, I am writing to thank you for the very real contribution which the Union of Socialist Geographers made during the recent meetings in Vancouver during the Plenary Session and other sessions, and the field trips which were planned and undertaken by you. Your efforts brought to our meeting new approaches and ideas which were provocative and refreshing. We thank you and offer best wishes for the future development of your union.

Sincerely,
Brian Slack
Secretary-Treasurer C.A.G.
SECOND-LAST WORD.....

FROM: GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL VOL. 1 1893 pp. 53/55

TREATY MAKING IN AFRICA

by CAPT. F.D. LUGARD

Geography has lately, I understand, been defined as the description of all that relates to the earth's surface, and so it includes to some extent ethnology and the customs and habits of tribes and nations.

We hold a written bond "in black and white" to be a sacred thing, binding in a peculiar way on those who deliberately sign it. But this is a civilised idea, foreign to and in no way understood by the savage. There exists in Africa, however, a parallel institution, and when I learnt its significance it seemed to me that I had found the nearest equivalent possible to our idea of a contract. This is the ceremony of blood brotherhood, and it is held in Africa among the most savage and uncivilised tribes as the most solemn and binding of contracts. The rite is performed in various ways, always with the utmost solemnity and emperessement.

Treaty-making occupies a large place in most modern works of African travel, and since there are different methods of treaty-making, I have known a valuable concession purchased by the present of an old pair of boots, I am anxious to explain to Geographers the proper procedure followed by responsible and duly-accredited diplomats in that continent. I must pass over the description of the various modes in which blood brotherhood is concluded, and speak only of the general idea which pervades the contract. Seated crossed-legged on a mat opposite to each other on the ground, you should picture a savage chief in his best turn-out, which consists probably of his weapons of war, different chalk colourings on his face, a piece of the skin of a leopard, wild cat, or sheep or ox - et preterea nihil; and facing him myself in a costume which at times would make the fortune of a crossing-sweeper. The chief's brothers or principal men stand forth, and taking his spears, his shields and his swords hold them above his head and swear upon them in his name friendship eternal with the white man. "My hut is yours by day or by night; my country shall welcome you as a son of the soil. If you are in trouble I and my warriors are at your command to fight for you to the death; my wives are yours; the food of my land is yours." So runs the invocation with many laudatory terms of his own and his blood brother's prowess as warriors, our power and our invincibility when combined against all comers.

To a savage the most precious thing in this world or the next are his spear and his arms of war; more precious than his own skin. They are his heirlooms, his sole possession more thought of than, more cared for than his wives - they are never out of his hands by day, they lie beside him at night. His oath is sworn on these, the gods of his existence. I fancy the inference is that if he turns traitor his own arms shall turn against him.
Then my pet rifle is held aloft over my head and my interpreter stands forward and repeats my pledge. That I will be a friend to these people; that my men will not molest them; that if crops are stolen, or wrong done I will make it good; that if enemies attack him near to my camp I will help him; that he shall look on the British Company "as his big brother" whom he has to obey, but who have not come to eat up his land, or oust him from his place; and so on according to the special stipulations I may wish to make with the individual chief. Then he produces his primest sheep or goat or ox. Part is eaten by him, part by me; the blood from my arm or chest has ceased to flow, and we rise as blood brothers. Then I put down on paper what was the pith of the contract between us; that is a treaty as I consider it.

This is the ceremony in a savage land but in Uganda the procedure is quite different. There the king and chiefs already have an infant civilisation. They most thoroughly understand the nature of a written contract, and consider nothing definitely binding till it is written down. Most of them write. Every clause is discussed in all its bearings, sometimes for days; words are altered, and the foresight and discrimination which the natives show in forecasting the bearing in the future of every stipulation is as keen almost as would be that of Europeans; then the document is translated into their language, Kiganda, and read in silence and with intense attention before the assembled chiefs in State Barza at the king's large assembly house; then the king makes his mark and every individual chief signs his name. The treaties thus made by the representative of a company acting under Royal Charter are submitted at once for approval to Her Majesty's Government through the Foreign Office. It is obvious that it is only by an abuse of language that such action can be described as filibustering.

"President Ford and the Congress have worked out a compromise on spending priorities — we don't get lunch but every day at noon they pass out pictures of Trident submarines and B-1 bombers."