

Editorial Comment.

In this issue we include the first of two articles by Christopher Chase-Dunn on the global consequences of capitalism. Exploitation has taken on many forms in human history, of which imperialism, that is direct exploitation and plunder, has been the most common form. But the concept of imperialism does not describe very well the process that is occurring today in regions of peripheral capitalism: Asia, Africa and Latin America. Decolonization provides political independence in an obvious manner, but it does not give rise to economic and social independence. The latter reality often leads to a loss of political independence as well. The inter-dependence and hierarchical structure of the world economy and society continues to permit exploitation through core-periphery relations that is indirect and subtle, and harnesses 'nationalistic' loyalties and pride for its own perpetuation. The instrument for exploitation is imitative capitalism and dependency.

The two papers discuss some of the arguments put forward by dependency theorists and, in addition, trace the political implications of analysing global economic structure from this perspective. The second article, which deals more explicitly with the latter of these themes, will appear in a later issue of the newsletter.

Lata Chatterjee

Carolyn Hock

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"All that individuals can do is elaborate, clarify, and propagate ideas corresponding to the popular instinct and contribute their incessant efforts to the revolutionary organisation of the natural power of the masses; ...the rest can and should be done by the masses themselves."
Michael Bakunin (1814-1876)

Statistics are weapons in the class struggle.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

U.S.G. CONFERENCE 1977

The conference organising committee has set up a tentative schedule for the U.S.G. Annual General Meeting to be held in Regina next June. The schedule is based on the limited response to our initial proposal and is obviously subject to change if more suggestions are received. Most of the sessions require more participation if they are to be successful.

The C.A.G. Conference begins on June 5. Since it was decided last April that the U.S.G. meetings should take place before the C.A.G. Conference, we suggest that our meetings begin on Saturday, June 4.

Tentative Schedule:

- Friday, June 3: Pre Conference Soiree.
- Saturday, June 4: First Session 10:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.
Simon Fraser Working Group:
Problems of Social Class. Based on
CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM,
by Niccos Poulantzas, New Left Books.
- Second Session 2:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.
McGill Working Group:
The National Question.
- Saturday Night: To be arranged.
- Sunday, June 5: The following sessions are tentative
and based on suggestions. It is hoped
that people will now offer to contribute:
1. The Development of Capitalism
 2. Socialist Historical Geography
 3. Problems in Urban Geography
 4. Open Session. Papers submitted which
do not fit into another session.

Sunday evening: 7.30.p.m.: Business meeting. Any items you wish
to see included on the agenda should be sent to the address listed
below.

NOTE: 1. Individual papers will be presented at the C.A.G. by
U.S.G. members. 2. Three special sessions at the C.A.G. have been
arranged so far: "Radical Perspectives on Northern Development",
"Development Geography: the Historical Dimension", and "Issues in
Urban Geography". It is hoped that U.S.G. sessions can be so arranged
as not to overlap with these activities. 3. It has been suggested
that concerted interventions be made by U.S.G. members at the regular
C.A.G. meetings. U.S.G. members should attend and ask critical
questions. This was quite successful in generating interest (of
various kinds) in the U.S.G. at the A.A.G. Conference at Milwaukee.
4. Those people who cannot attend can send papers to be read at
appropriate sessions. 5. Let us know if you are coming so we can
arrange accommodation.

We urgently need response and commitment. Please write
immediately to the conference organisers, care of

Manfred Malzahn or Colm Regan
Dept of Geography
Mc Gill University
805 Sherbrooke St. West
Montreal, Quebec
Canada.

THE WORLD SYSTEM AND WORLD STRATIFICATION

By CHRISTOPHER CHASE-DUNN
 Department of Social Relations
 The John Hopkins University

Whereas Marxists have traditionally conceived of capitalism as an international system, there has been more focus on the structure of national societies than on the structure of world capitalism as a whole. Neomarxists have conceived of imperialism largely in terms of relations between powerful national capitalisms and less developed nations, and the consequences of these relations for class dynamics within these national societies (An important exception is Bukharin's work, 1973).

It is important to renew efforts to understand the world capitalist system as a whole. Reformist solutions and utopian plans for the salvation of small groups or local communities are seen to be impractical in the face of the interdependence and interconnectedness of social institutions. Qualitative change comes by restructuring institutions at the societal level. It is increasingly the case that interdependence and interconnectedness are properties of world society rather than national society. This is especially true of economic institutions, but cultural and political institutions are beginning to take on this global character as well.

This is most clearly the case for small highly dependent countries like Cuba and Chile that attempt to create socialist relations within their borders while remaining located in the capitalist world economy. This is less true for large nations such as China and the U.S.S.R. that can attain economic autarky, although Trotsky predicted correctly that socialist transformation would prove difficult even in these larger nations without a world transformation.

The main focus of this paper will be on the stratificational aspects of the world system and the application of the notion of class conflict to this system. First, however, it is necessary to attempt a description of the economic, political and cultural structure of world capitalism.

1. WORLD ECONOMY

The modern world economy is a single network of exchange characterised by an increasingly institutionalised division of labour. The boundaries of nation states and regional economic groupings impose constraints on the exchange of commodities and the flow of the factors of production, but the size of these internally integrated units has increased, and the amount of unimpeded exchange between them has grown in waves since the historical origins of this type of system in sixteenth century Europe (Wallerstein, 1972). The key organisational feature of this system which distinguishes it from earlier empires is the non-correspondence between the scope of formal political power and the network of economic exchange. Sovereign and not-so-sovereign nations are linked together in a global economy.

In addition, the economic network encompasses multiple cultural systems, although these seem to be converging into a congruent overarching cultural framework.

The world market and transnational economic organisations in combination with national policy and international financial and trade agreements are the primary organisers of production. The growth of monopolisation within national economies has created an interdependent but competitive world network of national economies that not only trade their domestic production but are linked to one another by the direct investments and multinational corporations of the most developed. While competition between nations increases in periods of economic contraction of the world economy, there can be discerned a cyclical but increasing trend toward the internationalisation of capital and the creation of a capitalist class interest which transcends national boundaries (Hymer, 1972). This transnational interest in the maintenance of economic peace is indicated by the growth of multinational corporations, both American and European, and the further institutionalisation of international financial and trade agreements. This tendency has been especially evident in the post-war 'pax americana' but now seems to be undergoing a probably temporary setback. The Lenin- Kautsky debate over superimperialism vs. interimperialist rivalry is revived again in the attempt to determine the extent and lasting importance of the recent trend toward capitalist internationalism.

A world polity of nation-states encourages the use of political restrictions across national boundaries in times of severe competition. Free trade is advocated by those in a position to do well in an unrestricted world market. During periods of contraction trade wars break out as nations attempt to protect their domestic markets. Thus the nature of the world polity continually challenges transnational economic organisation and institutions as the world economy goes through its cycles of expansion and contraction.

The major dimension of the division of labour in this world economy has been the differentiation between national economies in terms of primary or secondary production for export. It has long been observed that dependent peripheral economies are specialised in the production of raw materials for export to the center nations, which produce highly processed goods. In addition some national economies are now specialising in 'tertiary' production such as banking, insurance, and the production of technology. The major proportion of growth in world trade in the last twenty years has been in the exchange of manufactures between developed nations (Rosecrance and Stein, 1973). This indicates a trend toward increasing differentiation between manufacturing nations.

The consequences of this division of labour for the economic growth, class struggle, and social organisation of peripheral societies have only recently been elucidated by dependency theorists (Cardozo, 1972). Center nations are known to be relatively more internally differentiated and to have less income inequality than

dependent peripheral nations. Peripheral nations are economically underdeveloped, have a low degree of integration between economic sectors and social groupings, (Ehrensaft, 1971) and a relatively high degree of income inequality. This lack of differentiation in peripheral nations in combination with the political and military support which center nations provide to 'liaison elites' in these nations results in the maintenance of extreme economic inequalities. Similarly the more equal distribution of economic resources in center nations is partly the result of greater internal differentiation and relatively less concentration of power due to the inability of the ruling class to appeal to a greater power for support. (This does not imply that ruling classes of center nations do not back one another up, but that the effect of these supports is less determinant in internal politics and resource distribution than when a great power backs up a liaison elite in a peripheral country).

This would seem to be a better explanation of the relative decrease in inequality which accompanies industrialisation than Lenski's invocation of the rise of democratic ideology (Lenski, 1966). Also, the amount of inequality has not decreased if the world economy is considered as the relevant unit of analysis. Inequality has only shifted from a national to an international basis.

Economic dependence of peripheral nations on center nations has been shown to have negative effects on aggregate economic growth and to be highly correlated with greater income inequality in less developed nations. These effects on economic growth are much stronger on the hinterland sectors of less developed nations than on the national economy as a whole. Cardoso, generalising from the Brazilian case, has formulated a model of 'exclusivist' development in which certain elements of the ruling class of dependent nations prosper greatly in concert with the multinational corporations while the bulk of the populace is left unaffected or further pauperised. This model implies that aggregate economic growth should be increased by this type of dependent development. This process, if it is indeed occurring, has not become general enough in the third world to modify the finding of a negative effect of economic dependence on aggregate economic growth. This conclusion is based on the preliminary results of a cross national comparison of longitudinal data on thirty-six less developed nations for the period from 1950 to 1970.

The world division of labour is composed, in its major dimension, of manufacturing nations and primary producing nations. In general the nations that export capital are the same ones that export manufactures. There are a few nations that specialise in trade and finance and there are multinational corporations, which organise production across national boundaries. These corporations are the most important organisational form in terms of the creation of planned and rationalised production which is global in scope. Previously the world economy has been organised by markets and national economic policies. Now, complex bureaucratic organisations plan and coordinate production on a world-wide scale. Hymer (1972) has traced the evolution of these giants and outlined their role in the dependent development of the third world.

Martinelli and Somaini (1973) have argued that relations between capital and nation states have been fundamentally altered by the shifting of international financial power from the great banks to the multinational corporations. They see this shift as an indication of the lower degree of integration of capital within nations and its increasing internationalisation. This, however, has not decreased the importance of the state for maintaining monopoly capitalism within center nations (1).

The modern world economy is a capitalist economy in the sense that production for profit in a global market is the key organising principle of economic exchange. As Immanuel Wallerstein has pointed out, this is true even of socialist nations which operate within the capitalist world economy. They are essentially 'capitalistic' in their international economic relations in the sense that they are seeking 'increased efficiency of production in order to realize a maximum price on sales, thus achieving a more favourable allocation of the surplus of the world-economy' (Wallerstein, 1972).

Weber was the first to argue that a world of socialist nations IS NOT A PRIORI immune to economic imperialism (Gerth and Mills, 1958). While very little systematic research has been done on 'social imperialism', the proposition that socialist nations engage in exchange on the basis of maximisation of return is supported not only with respect to their trade with capitalist nations but between socialist nations as well (Wiles, 1969).

This world economy is increasingly rationalised and facilitated by the institutionalisation of an international monetary system, although this system experiences difficulties during periods of economic contraction (Rosecrance and Stein, 1973). The idea of world economic production has found useful operationalization in the aggregation of the GNPs and NMPS of nation-states (2). This practice has become a useful and widely understood form of accounting for the world economy. U.N. statistics on world production and international trade have been improved over the last twenty years, as have the monetary statistics of the international monetary fund. These accounting systems are thought to provide the consensual basis for the increasing rationalisation of the world economy.

World trade matrices show that the percentage of exports from the third world compared to the total amount of world trade has been decreasing in recent years. The growth of international trade has primarily been composed of the increased exchange of manufactures between developed countries. These trends demonstrate a tendency toward the increasing economic peripheralisation of the less developed nations.

The national economy of the United States and its transnational operations remain the center of the world economy, despite recent downgrading in international monetary negotiations and increasing competition from Europe and Japan. Regional economic groupings such as the EEC, The European Free Trade Association, The Latin American

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Free Trade Association, The Andean Group, and The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries as well as trade between socialist nations (COMECON) tend to make any single national economy relatively less powerful. The U.S. (producing 28% of the world GNP in 1972) remains the largest single fully integrated economy and, more importantly, it is the center of the most important organizational innovation of the modern world economy, the multinational corporation.

2. WORLD POLITY

Thinking about the world polity in its totality is difficult because of the lack of sovereignty at the world level. There is little doubt that there are enough structural regularities in political interaction at the world system level to be able to characterise it as a polity, even though it is very different from political systems with which we are more familiar. The progress of political unification has been studied in other contexts and there has been a great deal of learned discussion of the prospects for the formation of a world state.

It may be suggestive in thinking about the emergence of a world state to consider the analogy of state-formation and nation-building at the national level.

The most obvious and important characteristic of the world polity is that it is composed of formally sovereign and increasingly nationalistic states. Legitimate political power and the political sentiments of citizens are attached to these nation-states. This political organisation has been rapidly adopted in the third world since decolonisation, although the determination of political boundaries by imperialist struggles for colonies has created problems of integration, especially in Africa and Asia.

Many have described the world polity as the 'anarchy of nations' or compared it to primitive political systems in which raw power is the main determinant of action. Since power is not equally distributed and its relative distribution is subject to change, especially in a period of differential economic growth, there is a great deal of room for structural analysis beyond the 'anarchy of nations' assertion. There has been much discussion of the tri-polar world of capitalist, socialist and non-aligned nations (Horowitz, 1972) and Parsons has compared this system to the model of a pluralistic two-party national polity with overlapping interest groups and a swing bloc of voters -- the non-aligned nations (Parsons, 1961).

Some fruitful analogies have been suggested by the comparison of the world polity with the segmentary organisation of some simple societies, but the structural equivalence of nation-states exists only at the formal level (one nation, one vote) in the world polity.

The tri-polar model which is often formulated in 'balance of power' language, seems overly simple, especially in times of political instability in the world system. Some analysts claim that a multipolar model, including Europe, the U.S., Japan, the U.S.S.R., China, the Arab states, and the non-aligned nations is a better approximation of reality.

International military power, in the absence of a world state to monopolise violence, is organised politically in terms of the division between capitalism and state socialism. The predominance of U.S. military power throughout most of the world is in congruence with the hegemonic economic position of the U.S. in the world economy. The Soviet union is the second largest military power but this is not congruous with its somewhat lower economic position, indicating that there is some lack of fit between political-military and economic rank in the world system. The case of China makes this even clearer. Whereas China occupies a very low position in the world economy and is not a major military power, her position in the world polity must be estimated to be much higher. This is partly due, no doubt, to the expectation that China will eventually be extremely powerful due to her large population, but this must also partly be attributed to the importance of China as a development model for the Third World.

The point of the above discussion is that political power in the world polity is not unidimensional. Military, economic and ideological dimensions overlap but are not perfectly congruent and this inconsistency is more consequential than in national polities because of the absence of monopolized violence.

Recent cross-national research on the effects of military spending on economic growth reveals a negative impact of this kind of state expenditure (Szymanski, 1973). This may be part of the explanation for the apparent "circulation of elites" in the world polity. First Britain and now the United States have suffered from bearing the costs of empire, that is, from maintaining a world-wide military presence to secure the capitalist world economy. This circulation reveals the incongruity between a world polity organized as sovereign nation states and a world economy which requires policing in the interest of international capital. It is difficult for separate nation-states to raise collective revenue and deploy collective military force, and so the burden tends to shift disproportionately to the most powerful nation. In addition the argument has been made that rapid outdateding of large capital expenditures and the high salary levels of core country workers contribute to this circulation as well.

3. World Culture

The lack of a world language, like the lack of a world state, often leads to the conclusion that there is little to be discussed at this larger level of analysis. The idea of world culture simply refers to a level of consensus with regard to the nature of objective reality and normative understandings. It is clear that the definitional

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aspects of culture are more widely shared in the world system than normative aspects. These shared definitional aspects consist primarily of the rational scientific world-view with its belief in the human ability to dominate nature. The rationalization of the measurement of distance, time-reckoning, etc., and the fact that these operations are performed in a similar way everywhere, indicate a basic consensus about the nature of the reality which is world wide. The exceptions to this prove the rule i.e., in Saudi Arabia time-reckoning was, until recently, performed with clocks but they are set to 12:00 when the sun goes down, indicating a fascinating combination of old and new methods of measuring time.

The lack of a world language as a basis for culture may be increasingly irrelevant as routinized systems of equivalences between languages are developed. The Whorfian hypothesis of fundamental disjunctures between systems of meaning becomes more and more untenable as these equivalences become institutionalized.

The normative aspects of world culture are less consistent but even these inconsistencies may be variations on a single framework. Economic development, health and the acceptance of medical science, the emphasis on mass education, the concern for the welfare of individuals, bureaucratic organization, legitimation of government from below -- whether in terms of socialism or bourgeois democratic forms -- are values which are very wide-spread and constitute the basis of an emerging world value system.

Parson's recent book on the application of his four-function paradigm to the emergence of world culture is, perhaps, ethnocentric and ideological. But the basic notion of a differentiated world culture which incorporates regional cultures is sound. The recent acceptance of Chinese acupuncture into "Western" medicine is an example of this kind of integration.

This emerging world culture is similar to a "high" culture in national societies in that it is found mostly among the elites and least among the masses. High culture is important because it is the basis of the legitimization and implementation of power. Ruling groups back one another's actions in terms of notions of legitimacy which are relatively independent of the cultural consensus of the masses.

Actually the emergence of a world culture has been thought to increase the intensity of regional and national cultures through a defensive response to "modernization" influences which are perceived as cultural imperialism. The works of Fanon, Aguirre Beltran (1967) and, more recently, Hechter (1972) suggest this process by which regional ethnic identities and cultural forms are maintained and strengthened (or even created) in response to integration into a peripheral role in a larger economy (3). This reactive nationalism is not, however, inconsistent with the notion of a single overarching cultural system. The resulting regional cultures may be marginally different from the underlying consensual framework of the world culture, in the same way that ethnic groups in the U.S. have ethnic identities built around a homogenous mass culture.

4. World Stratification

The world capitalist system is characterized by a great deal of inequality, some of which is socially and economically structured, and some of which is not. (That is, it is primordial, rather than being created and maintained by social interaction). Much of the discussion of underdevelopment has assumed that this is a primordial state which exists in backward areas. Gunder Frank (1969) has argued forcefully and provided a great deal of evidence that underdevelopment in the world capitalist system is largely a result of economic interaction in this system which has been taking place since the sixteenth century. This is not to say that geographical areas do not differ in their possibilities for economic development, but that, contrary to the diffusionist notion of the spread of industrialization, interaction in the world capitalist system has tended to perpetuate and increase these original differences rather than eliminate them.

The underdevelopment of the periphery is partly due to the drainage of resources toward the center and partly due to the kind of class structure which is created by this externally oriented development. Frank describes the sequence of events common to most Latin American nations in which the national independence revolution was followed in about thirty years by a civil war between landed producers of agricultural goods for export and small farmers and local manufacturers producing for the domestic market. The main underlying issue was free trade, although centralist vs. federalist issues were also involved. The producers of goods for export won in every case and thus the class structure and political centers of Latin America were constitutionally oriented toward outward development -- and thus their consequent underdevelopment. The U.S. had a similar history except that the small farmers and local manufacturers won the civil war -- and thus future overdevelopment.

One of the most obvious characteristics of economic development when considered in a world wide context is what has been termed the "increasing gap." This corresponds in some respects to Marx's notion of the increasing impoverishment of the proletariat, except at the world system level. The amount of economic production per person is growing much more rapidly in the center nations than in the periphery and the periphery's share of world trade is decreasing.

The stratification of the world system may be analysed multidimensionally as national societies have been. Weber's dimensions of class, status group, and political party provide a starting point. Class in the world system may be understood to mean the objective relationship between individuals and the means of production in the world economy. We have an international division of labor in the world economy (described above) and we have functional classes playing different roles in this division of labor.

The nation-state is the most important status group in world society. Nation-states have, to a large extent, replaced families, classes and ethnicities as primary organizers of solidarity. The

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recent reemergence of ascribed solidarities within center nations (ethnicity, sex, and age) is a minor exception to this generalization. This process of nation building is most complete in the highly industrialized nations, the socialist ones included. The strength of this nationalism tends to prevent class solidarity across national boundaries. This nation building may in fact be the explanation of the reemergence of some of these "primordial" solidarities. As the nation state usurps the functions of the family, for instance, the role of women in the family becomes increasingly meaningless and they organize to enter the polity and the economy as full citizens.

The political dimension of world stratification is largely coterminous with that of nationality. The tri-polar polity discussed above, contributes less to the dynamics of stratificational conflict in the world system precisely because it is pluralistic and cross-cuts other bases of potential solidarity. There are rich socialist and rich capitalist nations. Immanuel Wallerstein has argued that socialist nations in the world economy function politically as a "semi-periphery" or world middle class depolarizing the world system (Wallerstein, 1973). In addition the "subimperialist" nations such as Brazil, Mexico, Israel, Australia, and India perform important intermediary roles in the world system and tend to depolarize it. It is a general sociological proposition that continuous hierarchies are less likely to polarize vertically than discrete ones. Brazil has served as a base for multinational corporations producing manufactured goods for the Latin American market, and great power investment in Indonesia has been partially channeled through Australia (McLean, 1973).

A perspective which is derived from the political sociology of nation building has interesting implications for understanding the dynamics of the world system. It is known from the study of nation building in Europe that new groups emerged from the masses as political actors when the ruling classes were fighting amongst themselves, or when the ruling classes of different nations failed to support one another. In the world system it may also be the case that weakness in the center as the result of fighting between groups in power allows peripheral elements to assert themselves. Thus the wars of national independence in Latin America were won during the Napoleonic wars in Europe. And similarly, the Russian and Chinese revolutions occurred after major conflicts between the capitalist powers as did the Asian-African decolonization during the Cold War. In this light, the breakdown of the international monetary system and the approach of a trade war between the advanced capitalist nations may provide a new opportunity for "socialist" revolution in the semi-periphery or the periphery.

Although there seem to be few signs of internationalism based on similar class position in the world economy, the stratification of nation states themselves may constitute a dynamic contradiction in world society. This situation is comparable to a stratified caste system in which the lower castes are desirous of upward mobility. Various features of the larger system operate to frustrate their

mobility, such as the institutionalization of a division of labor which maintains them as hewers of wood, and the cooptation of their national leaders. Powerful mechanisms exist to prevent solidarity between third world nations, such as the competition for foreign capital investment and for markets for their primary products. In some cases these forces have been overcome, and collective agreements have been made. Important examples of this are the formation of the Andean group standardizing the regulation of foreign investment, and the organization of petroleum exporting countries which bargains collectively with the international oil majors.

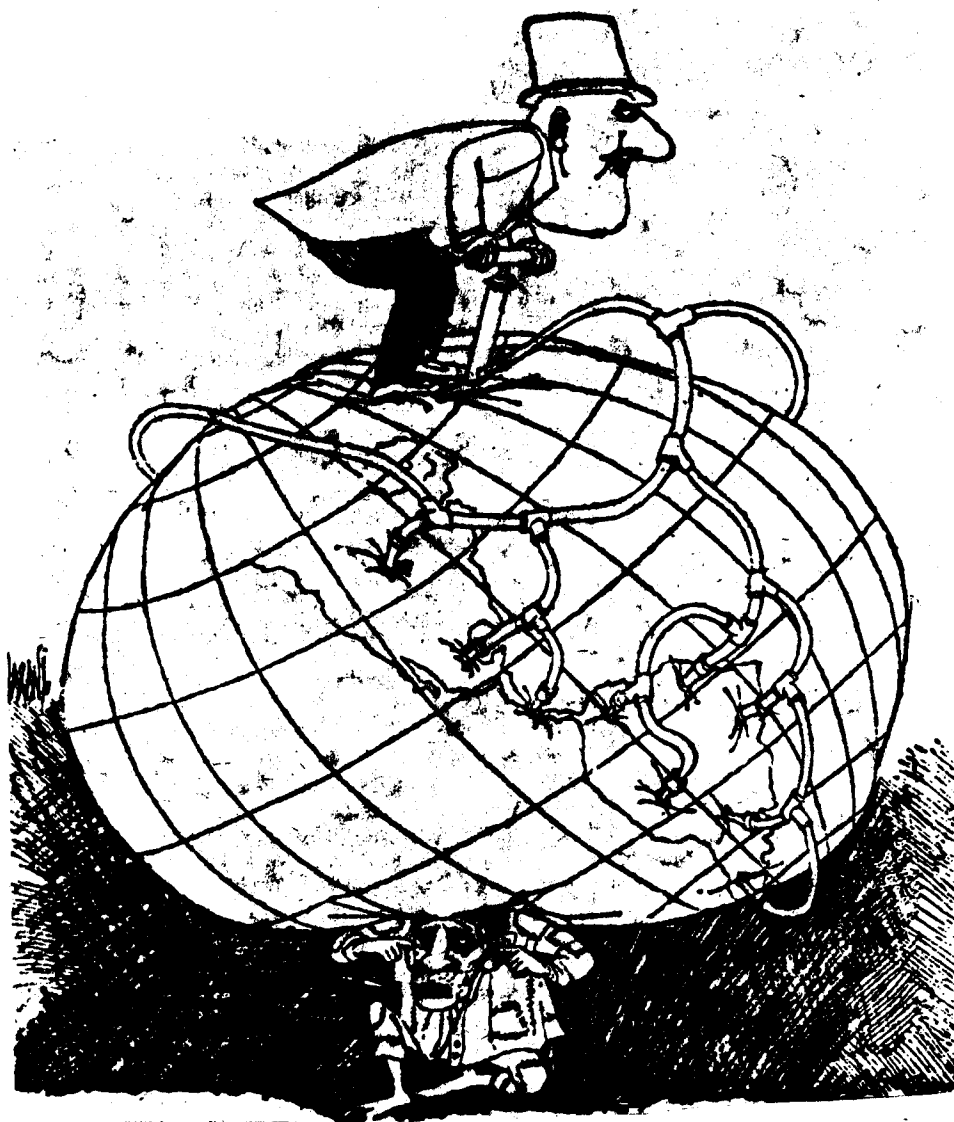
The idea of third world solidarity has been expressed in a number of important conferences such as the Bandung Conference, the Pan-African Movement, and the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. These attempts to organize international solidarity have met with as little success politically as earlier efforts at proletarian internationalism. Economic nationalism, however, which is definitely now increasing, may be enough to bring the world capitalist system to a crisis. The revolutionary nationalists of the Third World, whether capitalist or socialist in orientation, will increase the cost of economic imperialism by regulating the operations of foreign enterprises or charging more for their raw material exports.

Lenin's notion of the labor aristocracy has been applied to the working classes of center nations with respect to their alliance with imperialism. There is little doubt that nationalism and the consciousness of being a privileged group in the world society has a conservative effect on the workers of center nations. The ability of the ruling class in center nations to pay off workers at home and to "export the proletariat" to less developed nations may have served to extend the life of capitalism thus far. But the increasing economic nationalism of the Third World will create difficulties in the center nations. Indeed, events following the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam indicate that something like this is occurring. The problem here is that it is not clear in which direction the center nation workers will go. The ruling class will no doubt attempt to appeal to nationalism and racism, as it has done consistently in the past, to divert the crisis away from itself. This is also true to some extent of the movements of ethnic minorities within the center nations. The solidarity of Blacks in the U.S. with Africans and other Third World peoples has been given a great deal of attention but this solidarity is probably reduced in practice by the relatively privileged position of American Blacks relative to the oppressed of the Third World nations (4).

Internationalism may take on new importance with the rise of the multinational corporation. This form of economic organization, which is largely outside of the INTERNATIONAL system, will create groups which relate to the world economy in a non-nationalist way (5).

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In addition, the multinationals may provoke new forms of economic regulation, such as treaties between nation states to control them. The employees of multinational organizations will have interests in common which are much more concrete than traditional national proletariats. And the capitalists who control them will likewise form alliances which transcend nationalism (Martinelli and Somaini, 1973). This form of economic organization is still highly dependent on political power, which remains organized nationally, but if it survives impending interimperialist rivalry it may provide a new impetus to proletarian internationalism. Hymer (1973) has pointed out that the multinationals are creating a form of production which could serve as the economic basis of world socialism.



FOOTNOTES

(1): See "THE FISCAL CRISIS OF THE STATE" by James O'Connor; N.Y., St Martin's Press, 1973.

(2): NMP = net material product, which is the socialist nation accounting equivalent of GNP.

(3): Fanon, A DYING COLONIALISM; Aguire Beltran's, REGIONES DE REFUGI and Michael Hecter's, "Industrialization and National Development in the British Isles," in JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, April, 1972.

(4): See also J. Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH.

(5): S.P. Huntington (1973) makes a useful distinction between transnational organisations (which carry on operations in more than one nation state) and international organisations (which are controlled by more than one nation state). He argues that the dynamic qualities of multinational corporations are largely due to their ability to avoid the difficulties of compromise which international organizations face.

"A quarter-century ago, Siegfried Giedion described the transformation of the crusty, wholesome loaf of bread into a "product with the "resiliency of a rubber sponge". But the production process for the manufacture of this bread is a triumph of the factory arts. Continuous mixing, reduction of brew fermentation time, dough which is metered, extruded, divided, and panned to the accuracy of a gram in the pound, conveyerised baking and automatic depanning, cooling, slicing, wrapping, and labelling have effectively rid the bakery of the troublesome and unprofitable arts of the baker, and have replaced the baker himself with engineers on the one hand and factory operatives on the other. The speed with which the operation is conducted is a marvel of efficiency, and, apart from its effects on the worker, if only it were not necessary for the people to consume the "product" the whole thing could be considered a resounding success".

Harry Braverman, LABOUR AND MONOPOLY CAPITAL, Monthly Review Press, 1974.

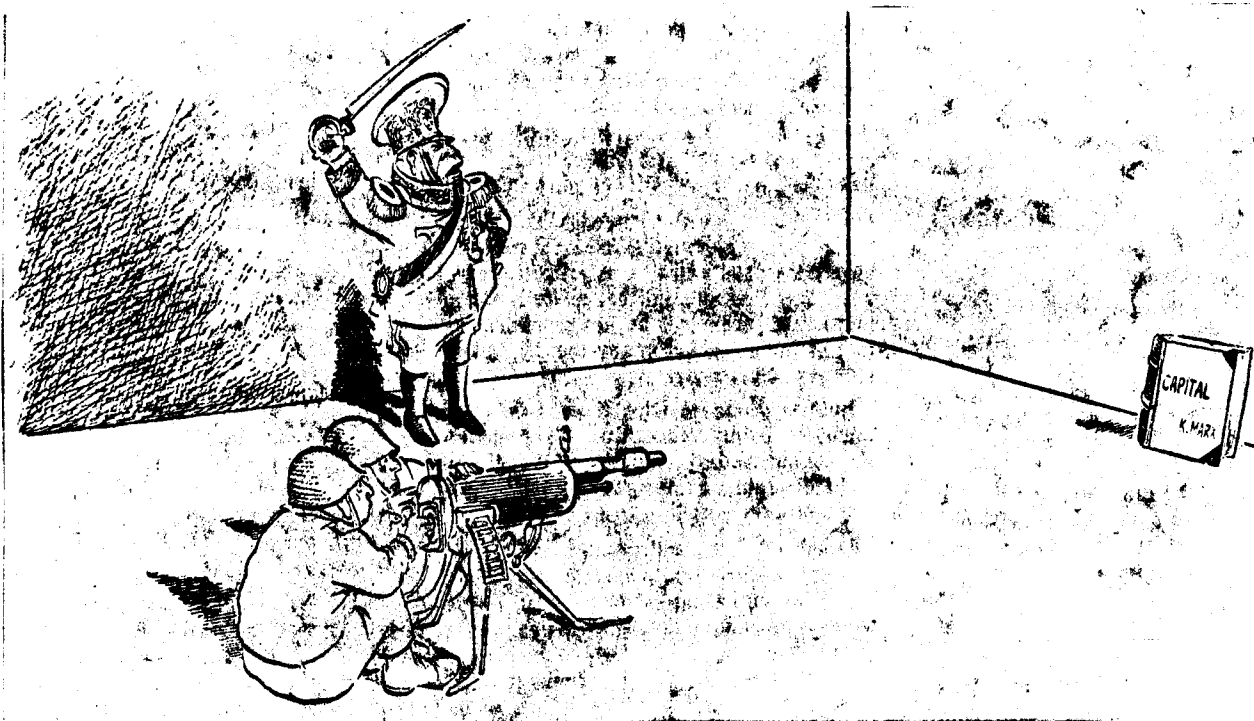
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THE OPEN ROAD is produced by a small group of politically active people based in Vancouver British Columbia, Canada, who come together to propagate news and information about anti-authoritarian, communist developments throughout the world.

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U.S.G. EAST COAST MEETING: OCTOBER 16TH & 17TH. 1977.

During the weekend of October sixteenth and seventeenth the Union of Socialist Geographers East Coast meeting was held at Clark University, in Worcester, Massachusetts. The meeting was held in conjunction with a teach-in on imperialism sponsored by the Clark Socialist Union and Holy Cross Revolutionary Student Union.

Saturday, following a keynote address by Danny Schecter of W.B.C.N. news, workshops were held by people from Clark, A.I.M., P.S.P., The African National Congress, North American Conference of Latin America and Friends of the Phillipino People. After a large dinner everyone was treated to an excellent film, "Burn" with Marlon Brando, who portrayed a British agent fomenting a slave revolt in the Caribbean.

The next day, three papers were presented by members of the U.S.G. on the geography of imperialism. Speaking first, Colm Regan (McGill) attempted to critically assess the literature on Latin American dependency. Noting that the literature has received increasing attention in the capitalist world and among some "radical" geographers, the argument was made that without a proper critical perspective the theory of dependency will provide geographers with yet another mechanical "spatial" model which adds little to our understanding of the dynamics of imperialism.

At the outset, the work of the DEPENDISTAS was reviewed, from that of Paul Prebisch and E.C.L.A. to that of Sunhel, Girvan and Furtado, Bodenheimer, Quijano and Gunder Frank. Particular attention was paid to the "space and dominance" model of Frank, as this framework has been the subject of misapplication by development geographers.

The criticisms presented related basically to a tendency by certain DEPENDISTAS and their followers in the west to utilize "space" as an independent category. It was argued that class is the basis for analysis, a point which has been made with some vigor by the critics of dependency theory. Other criticisms related to a series of definitive issues, what is capitalism, how are its historical periods categorized, what is exploitation and how does it relate to exchange relations, etc.

The primary aim of the paper was to argue that geographers have all too often adopted only in part the theories of Economics, Sociology or Anthropology and have consequently ended up with a partial explanation. This same result could arise from the use of dependency theory unless geographers are made aware of such criticisms.

Following Colm Regan, Milton Santos (Columbia) presented a paper entitled "Devil's Totality, or How Imperialism Diffuses Capital Through Forms." Using examples from both rural and urban Tanzania, Santos described how forms can be used to impair and weaken

sovereignty of any underdeveloped country. When handled by capitalism, they become tools in its strategy to stop a transitional process towards socialism.

Attacking "spacists" or "geographers", those geographers who ignore form, as empiricists, who having been conquered by the false objectivity of the sensible world, interpret the thing through the thing itself, space by space alone. Eichenbaum and Gale's article was cited as an attempt to see through the mystery in a less mechanistic way. Progress has been made when an opposition between process and form was pointed out, attributing them a cause-effect relation: the form being a result of the process.

However, for Santos, even these last approaches fail to take into account the totality of which processes and form are only instances. It is not sufficient to speak of processes, which are nothing but an expression of totality, "a manifestation of its energy in the form of movement; they are the instrument and vehicle of totality's metamorphosis from universality to uniqueness." Totality for Santos must be the base for the interpretation of all objects and forces. An essential point was made that the categories, structure, function and form as well as process (time and scale) are indissociable both as analytical and historical categories.

Santos closed by attacking the "economic space" of capital, the space defined by the theories of Hermansen, Rodwin, Berry etc., as being grounded in a sick and evil totality. Their totality, the global structure of the capitalist system, must be replaced by a totality grounded in the space of everybody, a true human space.

Running short of time, Jim Blaut (P.S.P. and University of Illinois) outlined his recent work on the development of Europe as the core of the capitalist world economy.

Blaut emphasized the relative equality of the stages of development reached by areas of Asia, Africa and Europe in the Sixteenth Century. He argued that the deciding difference in their modern development was the European exploitation of South American stocks of gold and silver. Blaut briefly discussed the volume of flows of precious metals into Southern Europe, which provided massive amounts of finance capital.

After lunch, and a few remarks by Dick Peet of Clark, discussion resumed and lasted until early evening when the meeting finally broke up.

Bill Quinn.

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INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

What follows is a summary of the outline for a course entitled 'Introduction to Economic Geography' which will be taught at Simon Fraser University in Summer 1977. This course has been developed over some time and after variations on the theme have been brought together in what appears, at present, to be their most suitable form. The instructor is Michael Eliot Hurst.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Landscape evaluation, analysis and description have long been the core of geography. Economic geography has focussed on the economic objects and symbols of landscape. The approach of this course is to abandon most of the orthodox neo-classical economic geography, including its assumptions of self-balance and equilibrium, and to adopt instead a more divergent method based on Marxism. Marx's ideas on political economy make his work cogent and compelling for some and troublesome for others. Whatever the response, however, a careful study of Marx's writings reveals an underlying concern with the spatial dimensions of landscapes. For long neglected, these spatial undercurrents show that Marx recognised, for example, that capital accumulation took place in a geographical context and that it in turn created specific types of economic landscape structures. From this Marx infers a rather different approach to location theory (in which dynamics, rather than homeostasis, is the focus) than is usually undertaken in economic geography. This Marxist approach to location theory can be linked to the general process of economic growth and landscape transformation, from which emerges an explicit understanding of the emergent structures of spatial relationships under the capitalist mode of production. These relationships will be examined in international, national and regional milieux, and will be contrasted with those found today in socialist economies.

REQUIRED READING

- (a) Ben Fine's **MARX'S CAPITAL** (1975). This 76 page booklet is a good introduction to and interpretation of Marx's three volumes of **CAPITAL** (though it is not a substitute for reading **CAPITAL!**).
- (b) A number of xeroxed articles which expand on and supplement the lecture material, mostly written by geographers.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

- (a) A selection of books on library reserve including a number of traditional economic geography texts as well as books on supplementary subjects by authors such as Baran, Sweezy, Dobb, Gurley, Hilton, Hunt and Schwartz, Kay, Hindess and Hirst, Magdoff, Mandel, Marx, Naylor and Wheelwright and MacFarlane.

(b) Two recommended books are E.K. Hunt PROPERTY AND PROPHETS (1972) which will supplement part one of the course, and H.J. Sherman's STAGFLATION (1976) which may help you in understanding some contemporary landscape features.

LECTURES

INTRODUCTION.

1. Ideology. Methods of analysis, 'where do ideas come from?', ideology and bias, the Marxist position.

PART I THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC LANDSCAPES

2. Introduction. Base/superstructure, mode of production.

3 & 4. Pre-feudal economic systems. The subsistence mode; the ancient mode.

5 & 6. Feudal economies. The feudal mode of production; the rise of merchant capital.

7 & 8. The transition period. The disintegration of the feudal mode in Western Europe, merchant capitalism, and the strengthening of the capitalist mode.

9 & 10. Early capitalism. Adam Smith and THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. The rise of industrial capital.

11. Industrial capitalism. The triumphant symphony.

12 & 13. Monopoly capitalism. The forces of concentration and centralisation and impact on landscape.

14. The landscape of monopoly capitalism. The American experience.

PART II. ANALYSES OF CAPITALIST LANDSCAPES.

15, 16 & 17. The traditional economic geographic approach. From description to location theory and regional science. A review of the models, theories and heuristic devices of Thunen, Christaller, Losch and Isard. Regional economic policy.

18, 19 & 20. An analysis of a capitalist landscape - Canada. From pre-conquest landscape through colonization, mercantilism to subordinate merchant and finance capital. American domination. Regional economies. Accumulation in the metropole and underdevelopment in the hinterland facilitated by the economic landscape. Poverty and the depressed fringes.

21, 22 & 23. Contradictions of the capitalist landscape. City, suburbanization, automobile, housing and finance capital. The crises of food supply, energy shortages, over-population and many more to come both real and imaginary.

PART I

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PART III. SOCIALIST ECONOMIC LANDSCAPES.

1972) 24 & 25. Comparative economic geography. Varieties of socialism, landscapes of the USSR and China, problems of planning, contradictions of the socialist landscape.

26. Conclusion. The economic landscape of communism. Economic geography for whom?

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GEOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

1. Rural Settlement.

Five hundred years of colonialism left a distinctive mark on Mozambique's rural areas. Reporting in 1975, the Mission of Inquiry into Mozambique's Agriculture noted that fewer than 5,000 "entrepreneurial" enterprises (0.3% of the total of more than a million and a half) worked nearly half of the land. The other half, and the poorer half to be sure, was worked by the vast majority in small non-mechanised, poorly productive subsistence farms. Only four percent of the millions of small family farms had ploughs or any other form of labour saving device. The 1970 Census of Population had further bad news: nearly half a million of these small farms were run by women on their own since the impact of decades of forced labour migration had been so strong. Nearly a third of all men active in agriculture in fact served the tiny capitalist sector as paid workers.

In September, 1975 FRELIMO organised the first National Agricultural seminar, which analysed the problem into ten points: 1. There are insufficient instruments of labour in the rural areas; 2. Agriculture is individualistic, dispersed, disorganised, and itinerant; 3. There is a vicious circle in the countryside of poor nutrition and low productivity in agriculture; 4. The majority of farmers are ignorant of technical aids; 5. There does not exist a commercial structure capable of insuring fair prices; 6. Transportation routes in the countryside are poor and poorly maintained; 7. Most farmers are dependent on the irregularities and vagaries of rainfall; 8. There does not exist a fair and standard credit system in the rural areas; 9. Illiteracy and obscurantism are widespread; 10. There are few schools, health facilities or any sort of sanitary provisions.

The national seminar summarised its feelings simply, "This productive structure and mode of life is incompatible with the new society we are trying to build." Their solution was to build communal villages, not simply as places to live, but as the creation of a totally different organisation of rural production and life. In the liberated zones during the war, FRELIMO had seen the mobilising power of collective methods of production. The decision to create ALDEIAS COMUNAIS (communal villages) is as much the logical continuity of FRELIMO'S wartime experience as it is the outcome of coolly assessing the realities of Mozambique's inherited rural structures, represented by the facts and figures given to the National Seminar.

But how do you plan, site, build, and support some two or three thousand communal villages? In February, 1976, during the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of Frelimo, this problem was delegated to various ministries such as Agriculture, Health, Education and Public Works. The Public Works and Housing Ministry was given charge of the physical planning of the villages, and they have already produced manuals and guidelines, working simultaneously at grass roots level with local teams actually engaged in siting villages, in testing

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the properties of locally available inexpensive building materials, in monitoring the actual experience of construction.

Very soon one sees the Mozambican style emerge: Guidelines are produced - on the size of houseplots, width of roads, siting of common services like health post or tool store - but are often modified, after lengthy discussion, to suit local circumstances; ambitious seminars are held - for instance, in September, 1976, 300 "responsibles" from all over the northern Province of Cabo Delgado were gathered in a tiny place inland from Mocimboa da Praia where, for five days, they not only discussed measurement and layout of houseplots and communal spaces, planting of trees avoidance of swamps, and steep slopes, etc., etc., but actually sited, measured, cut, built, and planted alongside local residents. Guidelines and seminars have become essential vehicles for spreading the skills of a small number of trained people and in centralising the experiences of the local people. While they remain flexible they serve to stimulate local initiative and to focus attention on local problems. For instance, in Cabo Delgado much time was spent on a problem unique to northern Mozambique, where the war was fought out - how does one restructure physically the villages built under Portuguese supervision for the purpose of concentrating the rural population and separating it from FRELIMO?

The result so far has been a wide variety of village types and strategies for mobilising people to build them. I visited a village site in the southern Province of Gaza where victims of last year's flooding of the Limpopo river were building homes on higher ground. They carried on cultivating in the rich flood plain, and were only slowly building their new village. In the North, at a village for returned refugees from Tanzania, not only had the people immediately begun living on the site, even before they had finished their permanent homes, but they were busy cultivating there as well - with no former home's harvest to ease the transition. In Gaza's Massingir District, far upstream from the flooded areas, where the river of Elephants meets the Limpopo, strategic considerations of military security (so near the South African border) as well as the need to organise people for future use of the irrigation waters of a large new dam meant that the village plan was quite elaborate: The District's rural population of 27,000 are to be gathered into 18 villages. "That's about 300 families per village," commented the District Administrator, "which is within the National Guidelines." Nampula District's Administrator, under different conditions, was able to plan a little at a time. He was focussing resources in one area on making viable irrigated gardens involving only one day's collective work per week by scattered residents initially, and after a year's work was able to show me the cleared houseplots where, spontaneously on seeing the success of their common irrigation experience, the scattered farmers had decided to build their village. He now plans to refocus resources on another area in the District.

The pace and manner of village formation seems to vary considerably from place to place. I did not visit, but was told about the creation of a village near the industrial centre of Chimoio, in the centre of the country in Manica Province, where workers from industry in their spare time combine efforts with villagers in collective farming. Along the coast of Inhambane Province, one hears of villages springing up in association with fishing cooperatives. Many experiments seem to be taking place, and one is pleased that so far the common danger of bureaucratisation has not often suppressed the emergence of local house types, village forms, and divisions of labour. This danger of course exists, and is one that PRELIMO cadres constantly warn against.

M'BONGE VILLAGE

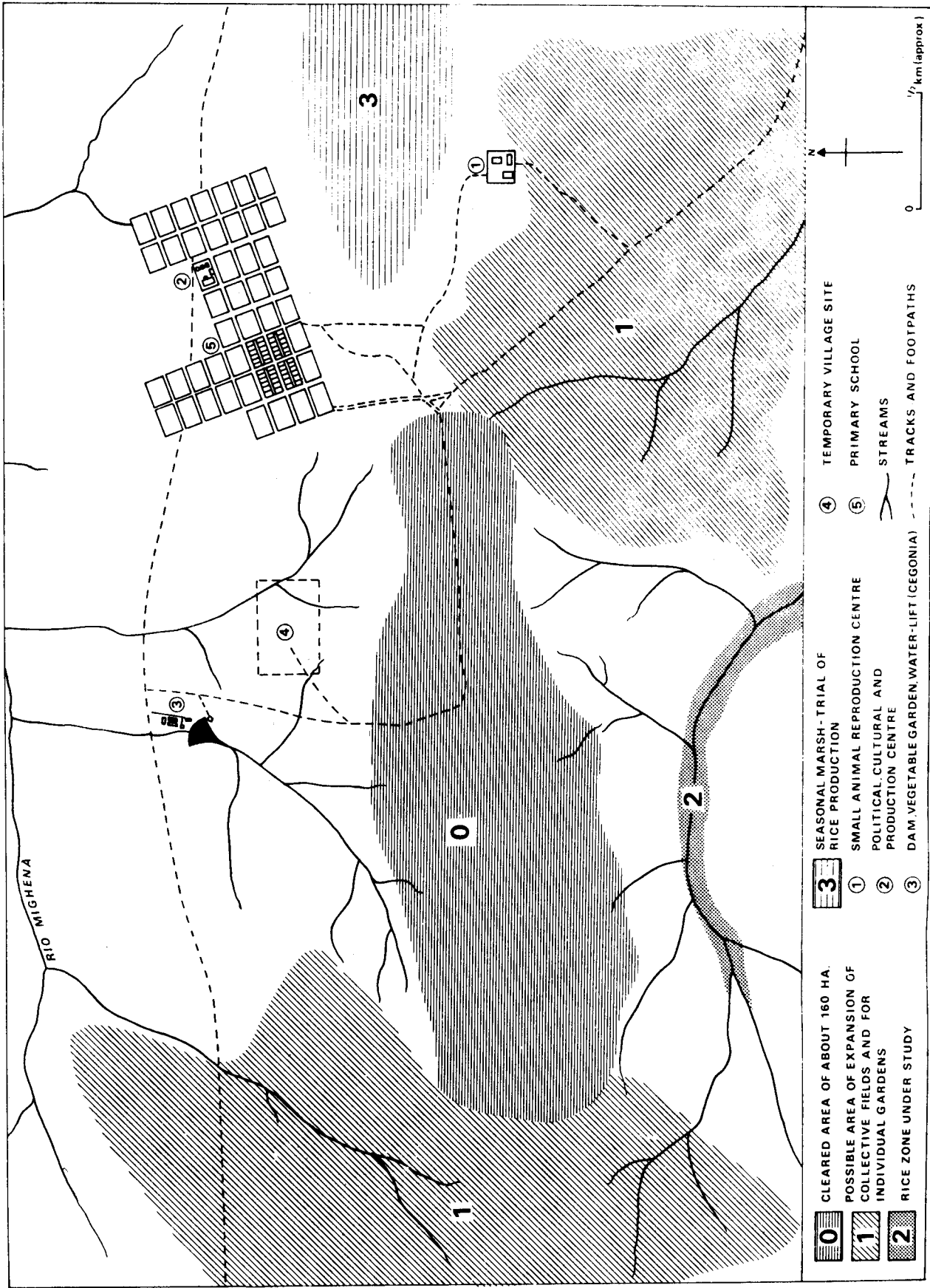
Visit a "communal village" and what do you actually SEE? Temporary houses made of grass, a dam, an irrigated garden, large open spaces cleared for farming, mounds of roofing grass and thin cut poles ready for building better homes...groups of people: groups discussing work plans, learning to read and write, waiting to be seen by the nurse, digging together. These villages are best understood as spaces where the party has led the rural people into confrontation with their past and with their future. Forgetting this, the visitor might turn away dissatisfied from a small collection of houses, fields and gardens (See Map 1).

Where a fraction of one percent of the people held for so long half - the better half - of the cultivated land, a communal farm has meaning far beyond its physical extent. At M'Bonge, near Ancuabe in the northern province of Cabo Delgado, one common field is remembered well as the former cotton field of a Portuguese farmer. Some of M'Bonge's neighbours recall labouring there for next to no wages. Others can recall bringing their home-grown cotton to be weighed, always under the eye of the administrator and his notorious police, the CEPAL.

Along the road from Ancuabe and round about M'Bonge remain the tightly clustered "villages" produced by Portuguese military fiat. These ALDEAMENTOS were meant to isolate the scattered farmers from PRELIMO organisers and troops which threatened this rich agricultural plateau from the North. Now their inhabitants plan to open out the spacing among houses, plant trees, dig latrines, and transform their former prisons into centres of growth, above all through the use of cooperative labour.

M'Bonge is seen as setting the pace in communal work. Most of M'Bonge's 1000 families had fled together to southern Tanzania many years ago to avoid forced labour and being herded into ALDEAMENTOS. While in Tanzania they cultivated and lived communally. Now they have returned together. Common life is not new to them. When M'Bonge had been established only six months, it already possessed a communal shop, craft cooperative, basket-makers' coop, large communal grain fields (maize and sorghum) as well as communal irrigated garden and separate communal field for the Women's Organization.

EXAMPLE COMMUNAL VILLAGE: M'BONGE



- 0** CLEARED AREA OF ABOUT 160 HA.
 - 1** POSSIBLE AREA OF EXPANSION OF COLLECTIVE FIELDS AND FOR INDIVIDUAL GARDENS
 - 2** RICE ZONE UNDER STUDY
 - 3** SEASONAL MARSH - TRIAL OF RICE PRODUCTION
 - 4** TEMPORARY VILLAGE SITE
 - 5** PRIMARY SCHOOL
 - STREAMS
 - TRACKS AND FOOTPATHS
- 0 1/2 km (approx.)

M'Bonge's population is organized into four barrios or major sections. Each of these is broken down into three "circles", containing about 160 adults. Members of the "circles" further break themselves down into work brigades, and work three "sessions" a week (mornings or afternoons) in these units on communal work. Men and women work in separate "brigades," although they may find themselves working together where several brigades combine, for instance in irrigating the vegetable garden. Men have the work of clearing the major fields for grain crops and the primary responsibility for building houses. Women help to clear house plots, work in the vegetable garden, and have their own field of cassava and groundnuts. In this way the dynamizing power of a mass democratic organization - the Women's Organization (OMM) - reinforces the overall village emphasis on collective production. "Circles" meet to discuss the progress of work every Saturday, and there is a village-wide meeting every Sunday. Usually such problems as failure to work is dealt with by the "circle" meeting, but occasionally the village as a whole must ask a recalcitrant individual to make an accounting of her/himself.

Such discussions do not rubber-stamp suggestions passed to the village through the party's Provincial and District structures. For instance, it had been suggested that work brigades devote four sessions a week to communal agriculture leaving one full day for communal building, and two full days free for continued "private" or family-based farming. M'Bonge decided that since it was only just establishing its farms, more reliance had to be placed on family farming, hence three full days are set aside for members of each brigade to grow her or his family's food requirements. Brigades work on only three days a week, not four.

In this way rural people confront and argue through again and again the implications of national reconstruction. Guidelines appear from the Party centre - guidelines concerning the organization of work, distribution of produce, spacing of houses, building of latrines, burning of grasslands, and raising of hens - but they are taken not as the arrogant orders of an ADMINISTRADOR or CHEFE DO POSTO, nor as gospel. They are taken as discussion points and used to throw the local situation of the village into relief.

One such guideline concerns the division of vegetable products from M'Bonge's irrigated garden. The garden itself is one of the village's obvious triumphs. A former Portuguese farmer had built a dam at this site in 1966, but the irrigation works had long since been abandoned. Now around ten hectares of intensively managed channels and rows are maintained daily and will soon yield the first tomatoes, peppers, cabbages, and aubergines. The Party suggests that such vegetables be divided among the children, pregnant women, sick and old people of the village. What will the people of M'Bonge decide to do? Soon they will be discussing the issue during a Sunday meeting. They might ask the school teachers, nurse, and public health agents who live in the village and attend the Sunday meetings if they themselves cannot grow sufficient vegetables for the children, sick etc., on special collective gardens for the school and dispensary. Such a

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question would not be unusual for the people of M'Bonge, who have seen in the past such gardens in FRELIMO military institutions in Tanzania and the "liberated zone" to the north. Whatever the outcome of such a discussion, the important point is that the people's creativity and intelligence is being challenged and involved in such a process of discussion and planning.

The common life of refugees in Tanzania, early contact with FRELIMO, hence years of practice eases the trial and error process of organizing their own labour. Much of what the Party teaches concerning collective work will be immediately obvious to M'Bonge while months of careful discussion involving party teachers is required in southern zones or where people have only recently found themselves "free" though living still within the ordered grid of strategic hamlets. At M'Bonge many carry over into family farming their understanding of common work. Spontaneous "mutual aid" teams farm even the "private" lands.

ALDEIAS COMMUNIAS, the communal villages, are not "Garden Cities of Tomorrow." Town planners' hands are seen in spatial guidelines, agronomists do tour the sites, matching crops with soils; however WHAT is being built is the more significant because of HOW it is being built. For insurance, a guideline says that husbandry of small animals lays a solid foundation for the village's nutrition. It doesn't say that every woman in the village should try to catch the chaff she winnows, daily, in preparing her family's meal, and take this to her "circles" centre, for use as rabbit food! Such economies - fruit of releasing human imagination - only emerge where social relations of production have changed, emerge slowly in the villagers' dialogue with the party.

So what is a communal village? Crude stakes marking out the highstreet, house plots, bundles of roofing grass (already containing mice!) but obviously much more. I asked a leader at M'Bonge what would happen is an old man rejects communal building, desiring to build his own house, claiming to know far better than the young just how to build a house. He answered that such an old man would be invited to teach them all, since, it was obvious, everyone at M'Bonge wanted the best possible house and the best possible life.

II. Agriculture

How will Mozambique's new agricultural landscape fit into the world agricultural picture? Will Mozambique remain tied in dependent relations with the industrial northern hemisphere of the world through unequal exchange of its agriculture products for manufactured goods? In the short run, will Mozambique be able to feed its people?

These are obviously key questions, and they are not easily answered. Dating from the early period of armed struggle and establishment of agriculture in the liberated zones, FRELIMO has emphasized the meeting of people's nutritional needs as the primary focus of production planning. In the early Seventies FRELIMO began to

export the agriculture surplus from the liberated zones via southern Tanzania. During this period hundreds of tons of cashews, beeswax, and groundnuts were exported. Those responsible for production monitored this process carefully, and actually cut back groundnut exports at at least one point because it was judged more important for the people to eat them.

Toward the end of the War when the Portuguese created many ALDEAMONTOS and seriously disrupted production in the North, FRELIMO's long involvement in production at the grass roots level meant their cadres were able to organize very effective emergency feeding and reconstruction programmes even in the earliest, chaotic days of the Transitional Government (1).

FRELIMO'S long-established emphasis on diversity in diet and focus on food production continue in the guidelines laid down for the new communal villages. Most villages begin with communal vegetable farms, and many include the production of small animals (chickens, ducks, rabbits), which is a national priority. The new government's concern for meeting the people's food needs is also revealed in the area of distribution. Much political mobilization has been focussed on the fight against price speculation. This fight is organized among consumers through their local "dynamizing groups" (GRUPOS DINAMIZARDOES). People's shops (LOGAIS DE POVO) - another inheritance from the liberated areas and the period of armed struggle - are being created throughout the country to facilitate distribution.

In short, one sees every sign that Party and government priorities and policies explicitly try to ensure adequate nutrition of the mass of the people. Of course this is not to deny that there are problems, that there is class conflict in such important areas as food production and distribution. The presence of speculation is one symptom of the conflict. One must also remember that at the moment the rural landscape of Mozambique is a patchwork of pre-existing capitalist farms, grain mills, etc. State farms and food processing industries, communal villages, cooperatives, and - of course - large numbers of still scattered, individualistic peasant producers. It will take some time and much struggle before FRELIMO's ideal of a "worker peasant alliance" is actually translated into a new and fully integrated rural-urban structure.

Meanwhile, the impact of flooding in some of the country's most productive grain producing lands and the impact of the decision to close Mozambique's border with Rhodesia provide the background for continued projections of a net food deficit in the country. This must be viewed as a short-term problem. If, in fact, there really is such a deficit, it will be met by purchases and aid. The more important issue is whether or not Mozambique will be successful in reorganizing its forces of production. Only a tiny proportion of the country's cultivatable land was used by the colonial economy. A wasteful and inefficient plantation system combined with an oppressed and underdeveloped peasant system (stripped of much of its male labour resources) together never managed to exploit more than twenty percent

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of even the most densely populated District's agricultural surface. Like the infamous LATIFUNDIA of Latin America, Portuguese and other foreign-owned plantations often owned exclusively two or three times more high quality land than they actually cultivated. Such waste will presumably be coming to an end.

Above all one must remember that Mozambique's agricultural economy inherits a distorted emphasis on cashews, cotton, groundnuts, cane sugar, and sisal - all for export (see Table 1). It will take long and careful efforts to restructure the use of human labour power in such a way that reliance declines on foreign earnings from these export crops. Such a transition away from dependence and unequal exchange cannot be divorced from efforts to develop Mozambique's industrial base. In the short run industrial development is obviously also necessary to support change in the countryside. The task is very great. In 1974 Mozambique produced hardly more than 7,000 shovels and virtually no ploughs! The party and government are clearly aware of these needs.

As the pace of change in industry and the rural areas accelerates, Mozambique continues to export its cashews, cotton, sisal. In the short run, it has no other choice, but it is attempting to do it in a way that feeds the process of mobilization of the peasants, not their continued exploitation. Hence the Ministry of Agriculture has taken over the entire cotton marketing system and quadrupled the producer price for cotton. From what I saw of the internal organization of communal villages, machinery does exist for local decisions about the proportion of food and non-food crops to be grown. One can anticipate that PRELIMO's emphasis on feeding the people first will be evident in these allocation decisions, and that the income from such a crop as cotton will be used to build up the socialist agricultural structure of a New Mozambique.



Table 1. Mozambique's major crops, 1971-1972.

Crop	Area (Ha.)	Production
Maize	833,237	564,000
Cassava	448,878	2,326,720
Sorghum	374,816	205,250
Cotton	351,284	138,668
Groundnuts	253,818	85,500
Rice	76,893	119,020
Sugar cane	47,536	2,911,689
Sisal	40,995	21,926

Source: M. Araujo, NOCOFS ELEMENTARES DA GEOGRAFIA DE MOCAMBIQUE, Publicacoes Noticias, Maputo, 1975, p. 52.

(1) "Famine relief and People's War" in REVIEW OF AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY, No. 3, 1975, pp. 77-83.

Ben Wisner, Lecturer,
Department of Geography, University of Sheffield.



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BOOK REVIEWS

SCHOOLING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF ECONOMIC LIFE by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis: Basic Books, New York, 1976

Geographers involved in academic work often find themselves working within educational institutions, but lacking an adequate critical framework for understanding their position in these institutions and the overall educational systems of advanced capitalist countries. While much of socialist activity has been directed toward organising and understanding "those other people out there some place else" (eg. minorities, Third World peoples, blue collar workers, the proletariat, etc.) there has, in general, been a failure to systematically analyze the academic's place of work in terms of the relation of education to the structure of economic life and the importance of socialist activity in this sphere of society.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in **SCHOOLING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA** present a thorough-going analysis of educational reform in the United States and also a sophisticated and comprehensive critique of the conventional wisdom which holds that education is the means for overcoming social inequality. This critique at one point focuses on the contemporary I.Q. controversy where Bowles and Gintis fight fire with fire by using sophisticated regression analysis to show that for a given level of social background and schooling, differences in adult I.Q. add very little to the ability to predict eventual economic success. Below is a brief review of their analysis of educational reform followed by a summary of their argument on the I.Q. controversy.

"'Go West, young man' advised Horace Greeley in 1851. A century later, he might have said: 'Go to college!'"

"The Marxist Theory of Educational Reform in Capitalist America"

Educational reform in the United States has a history going back to the period of two decades before the Civil War where we witness the rise of the common school and the origins of the modern-day public school system. Horace Mann, perhaps the most prominent educational reformer of the nineteenth century argued that one's station in life would be determined by one's own abilities and will to work and that it was this feature of modern industrial life which set it apart from earlier economic systems, in which incomes and social status were based on landed property, passed on through a system of inheritance. He argued that

... Nothing but universal education can counter in work this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possess all the wealth and all the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor ... the latter in fact and in truth, will be the servile dependents and subjects of the former (Horace Mann, Gintis and Bowles, p. 24).

The reformers of this era did not deny the degrading and humiliating aspects of work, but rather felt that the extension of education to incorporate the larger part of the population could serve somehow to ameliorate the tendency of capital to dominate. It is this theme of "education as opportunity" which is repeated during the progressive reform efforts at the turn of the century and again during the period of the 1960's.

The modern liberal approach to education can be divided into two intellectually coherent strands, the "democratic school" associated with John Dewey and his followers, and the "technocratic - meritocratic school" represented by functional sociology and neoclassical economics. Dewey argues that the educational system is supposed to perform three functions in society. The INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION, the first and perhaps most important function, is to provide for the social continuity of life by integrating youth into the various occupational, political, familial, and other adult roles required by an expanding economy and stable polity. The second, the EGALITARIAN function of education is that of providing individuals in society with the means by which they can compete and possibly escape from the limitations of a particular social group. The third function of education is that of promoting the psychic and moral development of the individual and can be classified as the DEVELOPMENT FUNCTION.

According to the analysis of Bowles and Gintis the egalitarian and developmental functions of education have by and large been doomed to failure because they are fundamentally at odds with the integrative function. The former presupposes the social system to be democratic when in reality, it is argued, that education functions to integrate youth into a productive system which is characterized by hierarchical authoritarian relations. Dewey argued that

...A right educational use of (science) would react upon the intelligence and interest so as to modify, in connection with legislation and administration the socially obnoxious features of the present industrial and commercial orderIt would give those who engage in industrial callings desire and ability to share in social control and ability to become masters of their industrial fate (Quoted in Gintis and Bowles, p. 26).

This approach was characteristic of many reformers of the Progressive Era, yet it is based on an inherent contradiction. Education, according to Bowles and Gintis, has failed to distribute social control more evenly. It has therefore failed in its egalitarian function to reduce the limitations of certain social groups to affect the commercial and industrial order of society. It is argued that this is a manifestation of the confinement of democracy to the narrow limits of political life and the related ineffectiveness of extending democracy, via education to work, activities in the productive sphere of society.

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The 1960's ushered in a new wave of educational reform. During this period of increasing urban violence and the rediscovery of the poor, the issue of social inequality was again brought to the forefront of public attention. The response was more similar to than different from the reformers of bygone years.

The modern liberal approach is to attribute social class differences directly to unequal opportunity. That is, while the criteria for economic success are objective and achievement-oriented, the FAILURES AND SUCCESSES OF PARENTS ARE PASSED ONTO THEIR CHILDREN VIA DISTINCT CULTURAL AND LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS. From this it follows that the achievement of a more equal society merely requires that all youth be afforded the educational and other social conditions of the best and most successful (Gintis and Bowles, p. 117). This is the basis of such programs as Headstart, those programs associated with the Manpower Training and Development Act, and a host of other programs produced by the "Great Society" during the Kennedy and Johnson years.

For Gintis and Bowles, these reforms, however well inspired and intended, have over the years failed to eliminate inequality in American society. Education has failed in its goal to eliminate the unfulfilling and meaningless nature of work in the twentieth century.

The failure to provide a more egalitarian society by eliminating social stratification and inequalities leading to the resurgence of the classical liberal* attitude which emphasises that social classes sort themselves out on the basis of innate individual capacity to cope successfully in the social environment, and hence tend to reproduce themselves from generation to generation. This brings us to the "technocratic - meritocratic perspective" mentioned earlier in this paper and the current I.Q. debates.

"The I.Q. Controversy"

It is argued, according to the "techocratic-meritocratic" view, that earnings reflect productivity. In a technologically advanced society, an individual's economic productivity depends partly on the level of cognitive skills acquired through the process of education. Thus, education increases cognitive skills which in turn increase productivity. Higher levels of productivity are rewarded by higher levels of income. If there truly is a causal relationship between education, cognitive skills and social equality, then the egalitarian function, which Dewey argued education should provide society, would no longer stand in contradiction to the integrative function of education.

The major point that Bowles and Gintis are making in their discussion of the I.Q. controversy is that I.Q., social class background, and education each contribute independently to economic success. This is in contrast to the proponents of the I.Q. argument that social background and education are related to economic success because they are associated with higher adult cognitive skills typically measured by I.Q.

In an earlier work, Bowles and Gintis remarked

The argument that differences in genetic endowments are of central and increasing importance in the stratification systems of advanced technological societies has been advanced, in similar forms, by a number of contemporary researchers.** At the heart of this argument lies the venerable thesis that I.Q., as measured by tests such as the Stanford-Binet is largely inherited via genetic transmission, rather than molded through environmental influences (Bowles and Gintis p. 66, 1973).

The results of the statistical analysis conducted by Bowles and Gintis lead them to conclude that social class background and educational background are indeed better predictors of economic success than are differences in I.Q.. This finding is contrary to the conventional wisdom of Neoclassical labor economists and functional sociologists of the technocratic-meritocratic perspective mentioned above. It is, however, in keeping with the Marxist theory of education. Bowles and Gintis view education as means by which people are integrated into the hierarchical relations of production, not as the means for attaining social equality or distributing rewards to those who justly deserve them due to innate ability or more highly developed cognitive skills.

Those engaged in the educational process and institutions of higher learning are consistently faced with questions concerning both what education is and what it ought to be. This book shows the importance of separating out the liberal ideals of what ought to be from what is in fact the case. For Bowles and Gintis educational reform can never achieve the ideals of social equality without a fundamental restructuring of the inequalities of productive life.

* Bowles and Gintis associate the classical liberal position with such people as Edward Ross (SOCIAL CONTROL, New York: MacMillan, 1924); Louis M. Terman ("The Conservation of Talent" in SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, March, 1924) and Joseph Schumpeter (IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL CLASSES, New York: Kelly, 1951).

** Examples given by Gintis and Bowles are Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q.": Carl Bereiter, "The Future of Individual Differences" in HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, Reprint Series no. 2, 1969, pp. 162-170; Richard Herrnstein, "I.Q." in ATLANTIC MONTHLY, September 1971, pp. 43-64; H.J. Eysenck, THE I.Q. ARGUMENT, New York: Library Press, 1971).

Carolyn Hock, The Johns Hopkins University.

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CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM by Nicos Poulantzas New Left Books, 7 Carlisle Street, London W I (available from Humanities Press, Inc., 303 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10010).

With internationalization of capitalist relations and the role of the state how is one to go about analysing social classes? It is this central question which occupies much of the analysis by Poulantzas in his book CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM. This book should be of particular interest to geographers concerned with development theories and imperialism since it tackles head on the problem of geographically defined Nation States and the increasingly international role of the capitalist state.

For the purpose of analysing this, Poulantzas goes beyond the simple distinction of indigenous versus foreign imperialist capital. He feels it is "clear that this conceptual pair is not suitable for analysing the bourgeoisie of the imperialist metropolis in its relation to American capital, in the present stage of imperialism" (p. 71). He argues that to distinguish simply between the national bourgeoisie and what is traditionally referred to as the comprador bourgeoisie, the intermediary for foreign imperialist capital, inevitably leads to reduction in an economist direction and to false conclusions about the present phase of imperialism.

The inadequacy of this dichotomy between foreign and national capital has led Poulantzas to establish a new concept which he calls, for want of a better word, the "internal bourgeoisie". This concept, he argues, permits the analysis of concrete situations of the bourgeoisies of the imperialist metropolises in their relationship with American capital. The internal bourgeoisie no longer has the structural characteristics of the national bourgeoisie. It is characterized by multiple ties of dependence in the international division of labor and the international concentration of capital under the domination of American capital, to which it may even transfer some of its value. The internal bourgeoisie is also differentiated from the national bourgeoisie by a dissolution of the relative political and ideological autonomy vis-a-vis American capital, which leads to increasing dependence of these social formations.

Much of this discussion on the internal bourgeoisie and for that matter, much of the entire book is directed at the current situation in Europe and especially the role of the French Communist Party (PCF). For those unfamiliar with the PCF's positions on such issues as monopoly versus non-monopoly capital (a distinction which Poulantzas feels is not a sound criterion for establishing class alliances) the book can be a bit confusing at times. But it is not too surprising to find Poulantzas both sparring with his contemporaries while at the same time attempting to establish a framework for understanding classes in contemporary capitalism, for an understanding of classes is crucial to the future of the communist parties of Western Europe at

this time. Poulantzas' work stands as an important critique of many of the positions currently held by the PCF and other communist parties.

Those who have read Poulantzas' other work, *POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL CLASSES* will find this book easier to read. *CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM* is introduced by a chapter summarizing the main points and introducing concepts already established by Poulantzas's earlier work. In general, this book is recommended reading for geographers and those interested in issues relating to development, imperialism, and the current situation in Western Europe. Some additional and supplementary readings are listed below:

Poulantzas-Miliband Debate in *NEW LEFT REVIEW*: #58, #59, #82, #95. The first is Poulantzas's criticism of Miliband's book; the second is Miliband's reply; the third is Miliband's reply to Poulantzas's book; and the fourth is Poulantzas's reply to Miliband and others.

Other critiques of Poulantzas: Laclau in *ECONOMY AND SOCIETY*, Volume 4, #1; A. Bridges in *POLITICS AND SOCIETY*, 1974, Volume 4, #2. Wright, *NEW LEFT REVIEW*, #98; Carchedi in *ECONOMY AND SOCIETY* Volume 4, #1 and #4; Freedman in *SOCIALIST REVOLUTION*, #26; Syzmanski in *SOCIALIST REVOLUTION*, #10.

By Carolyn Hock, Johns Hopkins University.

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War, Revolution and the Internationalist Tasks of the American People

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Evening Panel and Small Group Discussions

SATURDAY APRIL 2, 1977

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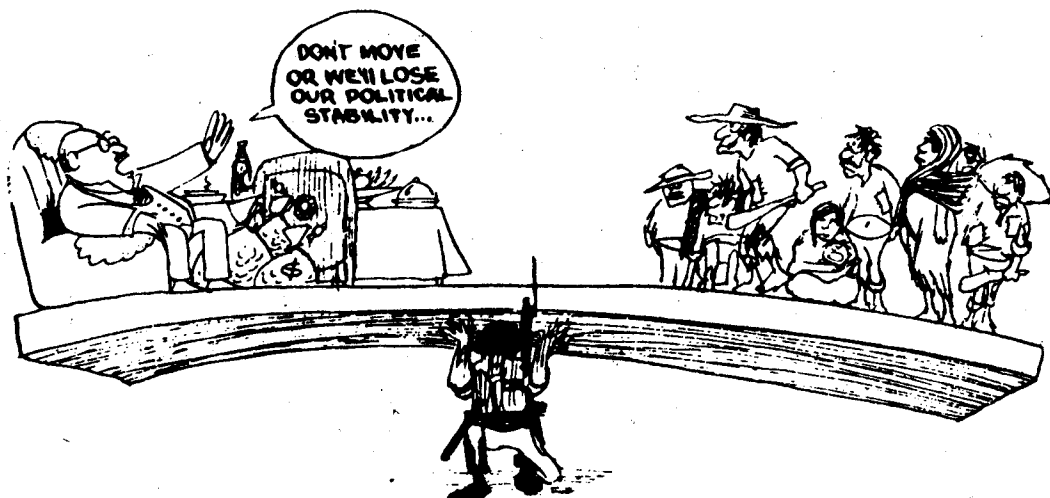
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NOTES AND CORRESPONDENCE

During the past few weeks the Newsletter staff has received some correspondence from people.

Dick Hansis (Valpariso University, Indiana) mentioned the possibility of setting up a regional seminar with Jim Blaut in Chicago. A possible topic might center on the copper discoveries in Northern Wisconsin and possible alternatives to Anaconda coming in and doing the mining. If anyone has information or knows research on this topic, please send it to Dick.

Ed Vandervelde (Kenyatta University College) notes that the September 1976 (Vol. 17, #3) issue of CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGY contains two items that might be of interest to U.S.G. members. The first is an article entitled "Action Anthropology and Transdisciplinary Perspectives" (pp. 490-491) "which notes the work of the Institut d' Action Culturelle established under the auspices of Paulo Friere. Its approach, "action research" closely parallels the original ideas & work of Geographical Expeditions. It seems sensible for those USG members still committed to this concept to cross paths with the IDAC, but they, like me, may not know of its existence. The same article also notes a coming symposium on action research and scientific research scheduled for Feb., 1977 in Cartagena, Columbia. The symposium introduction by Orland Fals Borda is quoted and it certainly has relevance for Marxist and activist geographers alike. Perhaps it would be possible for the Newsletter staff to get a copy of the symposium proceedings (if there is one), names and addresses of participants and their contributions so that interested USG members could make contact if they desire. In any event, I would urge that the contents of this item in C. A. be either reprinted or summarised in the next issue of the Newsletter.

Second is the item on pp. 541-543 titled "A Call for Help: Miguel Chase Sardi imprisoned in Paraguay." Written by Cyril Belshaw (Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology, UBC, so you could cross-check with him directly), it describes the arrest, imprisonment and torture of the Director and other staff members of the Marandu Project by the reactionary Stroessner regime in Paraguay. Surely the USG can do better than the AAG in opposing injustice and fascism, and although C.A. proposes using more formal and possibly conservative institutions to protest the Sardi case, USG individuals may well wish to join in this action demonstrating their solidarity with brothers and sisters in other disciplines and in other countries. Again, however, it is also a case of knowing first about the situation before one can begin to effectively respond, and printing or summarising this information in the Newsletter will bridge that gap. (I wonder if Jim Blaut or others of our members know about the Marandu Project and could thus add further background information).

All this suggests to me a newsletter function which could perhaps be farmed out to USG members. I doubt we all read the same journals regularly and many of us are at places where they arrive late (if at

all) or they simply are not available. Why don't various USG members volunteer to scan each issue of a single journal (other than geographical, but still in related areas) for articles/announcements of possible USG interest for a period of one or two years? Relevant bibliographic information and perhaps a precis or an abstract could then be published in the Newsletter. My guess is that it would solve part of a problem many or most of us experience VIZ. finding out about/keeping up with current articles of interest, both for research and course development or up-dating purposes. If a common format were followed and everyone submitted entries clearly typed to that format printing/publication problems might well be minimised, too.

Lastly, the Twelfth Annual Social Science Conference of the East African Universities was held at the University of Dar es Salaam, Dec 20-22, 1976; the general theme was IMPERIALISM with such sub-themes Underdevelopment: East African (General) and Tanzania, Religion and Imperialism, Cultural Imperialism, War and violence, the Peasant Question and Peasantry: Case Studies, Ideology, African Unity, Liberation, etc. I was unable to attend -- the announcement of the conference was very delayed on our campus, less than a month from the scheduled date because, everything was sent only to the University Nairobi -- but my next door neighbour did. We have a copy of the final programme and copies of most of the papers; would the USG be interested in publishing an announcement of this conference and the names and affiliations of all of the participants and their contributions? If so let me know and I'll get the gaps in our information filled-in before sending it on to you or whomever I should send it to. It might even be possible for us to get some copies of some papers xeroxed and mailed to interested USG members at cost".

Ed's address is Department of Geography, K.U.C., Box 43844, Nairobi, Kenya.

NOTE FROM JAMES ANDERSON ON THE 1978 IBG MEETING

James Anderson is planning a session for the 1978 IBG, the subject of which will probably have to do with a critique of regional policy. Anyone interested should write to the following address:

Department of Planning Architectural Association School of Architecture, 34-36 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3EG

The 1978 IBG meeting will be held (in Britain) in early January.

BILL RUNGE

For those wishing to write to Bill Bunge, his address is.
19 London Green Court,
Townhouse 86
Toronto.


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SPECIAL ISSUE OF ANTIPODE

Dick Walker is editing a special issue of Antipode on population, resources, and environment. If you have any manuscripts please send them to him at the Department of Geography, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, California.

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