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EDITORIAL COMMENT.

U.S.G. NEWSLETTER VOL.2, #2, May 1977.

This issue was compiled by the U.S.G. Local at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec - S.W.Barry, F.Beaudin, V.Drostle, M.Malzahn, C.Regan, and S.Ruddick. The issue contains two articles which discuss the "Quebec situation" - which for the information of our non-Canadian members is a matter relating to the separation of the province of Quebec from the confederation of Canada. Since this is a question concerning Socialists both in and outside Quebec we would appreciate comments from our readers. We believe that a reply to the article by Eric Waddell is in order and our group is currently preparing one. Readers should also note articles on recent events in Quebec in five Canadian periodicals - LAST POST, CANADIAN FORUM, CANADIAN DIMENSION, OUR GENERATION, and THIS MAGAZINE.

We have also included an article on the Montreal Citizens Movement, a report on a workshop at McGill University on "Accumulation and Third World Cities", a discussion on making research useful to the community (from Universitee Laval), an article on current responses to economic depression in Newfoundland a book review (LA GEOGRAPHIE, CA SERT, D'ABORD, A FAIRE LA GUERRE, Yves LACOSTE), an article by Milton Santos, a bibliography from radical French Journals, and an assortment of poetry. Any comments on the general contents of this edition of the Newsletter would also be appreciated.

Judging from feedback received about past newsletters it appears that one of our more useful functions is to keep people in touch with recent Socialist material in Geography - book reviews, article reviews, etc. - and to provide bibliographies and course outlines. We hope you will feel moved to contribute more of the above.

We think it would also be useful to have short communications, letters from people describing the situation in their country, province, region, town, nation, state, backyard, Local, etc., as well as a few words about what they are working on. The latter is especially useful for getting people of like mind together.

We hope to see you in Regina.

The Editors.
c/o. S.W.Barry,
Department of Geography,
McGill University,
805 Sherbrooke Street W.,
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

USG-AGM 1977: FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT

This announcement incorporates all responses to our suggestions that were received as of April 28, 1977. There is still some uncertainty about particular 'events', but no major changes to the following schedule are expected.

Where: Regina, Saskatchewan. Upon arrival, contact Alison Hayford, 2349 Robinson, phone (306) 523-0253. Sleeping places are being arranged.

When : Beginning Saturday, June 4.

What : Friday, June 3 : Pre-conference informal gathering in the evening.

Saturday, June 4: First session 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.
Simon Fraser Working Group -- 'Problems of Social Class', based on the works of Nicos Poulantzas.

Second session 2:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.
Discussion/field trip with local political people, presentations about Prairie history, politics.
Organized by Alison Hayford.

Evening. Party, probably at 2349 Robinson.

Sunday, June 5 : Session 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.(?)
This session will include all other papers on a variety of topics. All those interested please come prepared to present something. There have been several volunteers, but nothing has been absolutely confirmed yet. Topics for discussion in this session may also arise during the Saturday meetings. Give thought to this now.

7:30 p.m. Business meeting.

Note: People who cannot attend are still welcome to send papers -- we will arrange for them to be read and discussed.

The conference organizers.

After 8 years' existence but intense preparation and efforts by thousands of militants the Parti Québécois comes to power. Dedicated to the independence of the province, the reaction is immediate; euphoria in Québec, consternation in the rest of Canada, curiosity elsewhere. Is the new government just 'la petite bière' - a bunch of bourgeois nationalists - or are they a group of radicals dedicated to creating a 'Cuba of the North'? Is Québec still fighting the battle of the Plains of Abraham, or is it really a late-20th Century cause, and if so what kind? Sure the Québécois talk about 'internal colonialism', about the generations of ignorance and fear, of the new maturity, the desire to break the chains of dependence and to become 'masters in their own house', but the rest of Canada finds it very difficult to believe this kind of rhetoric, to grasp the essence or even the logic of the idea.

And yet this is precisely what Québec is all about. A people conquered, ridiculed because of its language, religion and beliefs and economically underprivileged in its own country has been slowly asserting itself, mastering its self-hatred and insecurity. After November 15th nothing can be the same in Québec again. When René Lévesque said on that climactic night "we are no longer a little people (destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water), we are something like a great people", the Québécois knew exactly what he meant. A nation was maturing, a people with a language, a place and values different from those of mainstream anglo-american society, so long dormant, ignored, silenced, was making itself heard in no uncertain terms. With Lévesque back in power the Quiet Revolution that he helped initiate in the early 1960's and which was temporarily silenced by Bertrand and then Bourassa, was pursuing its relentless course. And again the Québécois knew it. They didn't have to say it, they sensed it, and were proud and excited. And this goes for many of those who had voted Liberal because they were still afraid.

In a sense what is happening in Québec has some of the classic features of Third World independence movements. The Parti Québécois contains within its rank and the government within its cabinet, people of all shades, from moderates to revolutionaries, from acid freaks to immaculately dressed economists. Their conviction? A commitment to a project-independence. "First give ye the politic kingdom and all else will follow". "If we do not govern ourselves, others will govern us". The basis for the solidarity? A shared identity, an ethnic solidarity founded on an attachment to a place (Québec), and a language (French), the assuming of a certain historical experience (je me souviens), and a will to establish a certain kind of society (founded on co-operatism, kinship, decentralisation and so forth).

Through independence there is, then, the concern to create "un certain socialisme d'ici", humanistic with respect to scale, and with a configuration which is specifically québécois. The term that is increasingly used to describe this projected society is "social democracy", a concept which is not subject to rigorous analysis but which is inspired, at least in the minds of René Lévesque and Camille Laurin, by another reality, Finland. The model is considered appropriate because of the many parallels - a small Nordic nation that gained its independence from Sweden, where the majority successfully dealt with a privileged Swedish minority, took control of its economy and formulated and successfully implemented far-reaching social and cultural programmes.

This solidarity that is based on a pervading distinctiveness of culture and values is seen as transcending the divisive forces of ideology and class. And the idea of inclusiveness is an essential component of Québec nationalism. The non-francophones are constantly invited to participate in the experience, to share the patrie of the majority. Significantly the song party militants spontaneously broke into on November 15th, when they knew victory was assured was Gilles Vigneault's "Gens du pays" - "Countrymen, it's your turn to let yourselves speak of love". In the same vein there is absolutely no interest in national

aggrandisement in this nationalism. As one minister said in an election campaign speech " it's not a question of wanting to conquer Louisiana; it's that we don't want to become another Louisiana ! " .

If there are similarities between what is happening in Québec and the Third World, the closest parallels are nevertheless to be found in the developed nations, in the movements for regional autonomy in the peripheral areas and peoples - Scotland, Wales, Brittany, the Basque country, Occitanie, Corsica, Catalonia, etc.etc. All these movements have as dominant themes the preservation and revitalisation of ethnic identity, the reconstitution of nations, and they have developed in response to the same set of forces; those of the dehumanising effects of the State and of Capital. In the new super states, of which they are presently a part, government has become remote and increasingly bureaucratised and this, together with the investment of all corporate energy in the edification of the consumer society, dehumanises people and demands the elimination of all cultural differences - it is a repressive, fascistic levelling process that alienates people and turns them into passive, endlessly manipulable objects. The subversive effects of mass media (especially television and popular music), of mass transportation and mass migration are not unrelated to this new totalitarianism in that they destroy distance and privacy, break boundaries, and therefore effectively eliminate cultural differences. Peoples whose cultures are still intact (often because, as isolated and exploited peasantry they until recently lay largely outside the course of ' history ') know this, and they are reacting. They know what they have to lose.

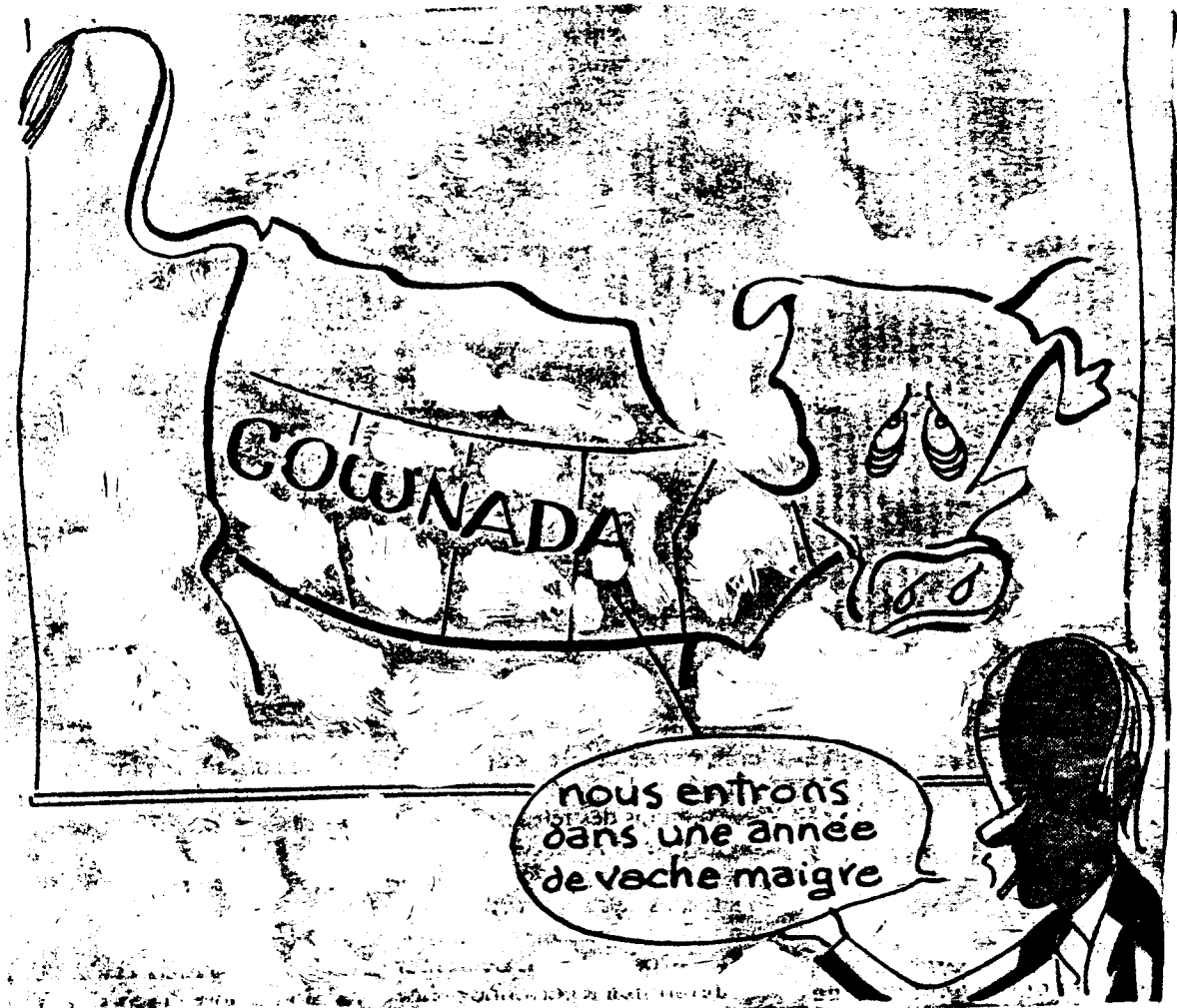
These new nationalisms are, then, to be understood as struggles against the new imperialisms (of the ' left ' and of the ' right '). They involve a rejection of the models imposed by the Centre in favour of models determined by each cultural specificity and reality, and they aim at a reduction in scale with a view to creating nations of human dimensions where there is a sense of commitment and involvement, of mutuality and willingness to invest.

But does Québec have a chance ? There are quite obviously powerful forces committed to aborting the project. Trudeau (the 'universal man ') clearly seeks to neutralise the situation by isolating the francophones ' racially ' through allusion to ' tribalism ' and the notion that Lévesque is surrounded by his ' blood brothers '. His allies (Dale Thomson of Mc Gill among others) are quick to repeat the same themes through reference to Nazi Germany (suggesting that Lévesque is inspired by German nationalism, and is manipulating information like Goebbels, etc.) making partisan use of the chronic fears of the Jewish community for example. The Americans have a plan to ' neutralise ' Québec should it declare unilateral independence, while the multi-nationals are quick to seize on anything smelling ' socialism '. Thus a piece of irresponsible journalism in the German weekly Der Spiegel presenting Québec as a potential ' Cuba of the North ' was immediately picked up by the Zürich office of Alcan, translated into English, and sent to the Montréal office for circulation among its local senior staff. At the other extreme the Québécois themselves are getting increasingly impatient - " the P.Q. has been in power since November 15th and nothing has changed. "

By rigorous ideological standards what is presently happening in Québec is fraught with contradictions and compromises. It offers no orthodox model of the future, no definable eudaeomonía . But most people in Québec are prepared to accept it, for it is in the compromises that lies the potential of realising something. The P.Q. is out to win , to give a country back to its people, and definitely not to function as purists leading a Quixotic existence out in the wilderness. They should be supported in their endeavour, for promoting the balkanisation of the world is one way of undermining the concentration of power and capital and thwarting its mission of strengthening disparities between classes, peoples, and countries. What is happening in Québec is most certainly being closely

watched in Acadie, in Scotland, in Brittany and in ^adozen other places. And between these places alliances can be established between equals that can form the basis of a new world order that is 'à l'échelle humaine'. Indeed such alliances are the next crucial step, otherwise the dismembering of states could well play into the hands of corporations by increasing the relative advantage of their hegemony. But the Québécois haven't thought too much about that one yet....or so it seems.

Eric Waddell
1 February 1977



A Different View of "THE QUEBEC SITUATION" -

extracted from Strangers Devour The Land

by Boyce Richardson, Macmillan 1975. pp.21-23.

A Colony Within A Colony?

The courtroom was the physical embodiment of a sharp and bizarre cultural dilemma present in this case. The persecutors of the hunters in James Bay were themselves the country's largest and most vocal cultural minority, the French-Canadians, or Quebecois, as they now like to be called, whose battle for cultural and linguistic survival had in the last decade become so intense that about a third of them now favoured the separation of their province from Canada and the setting up of their own nation-state. This minority had survived in North America by the application through 200 years of an absolutely fierce determination to propagate and maintain themselves as an entity. From 70,000 at the conquest of Quebec in 1759, they had become 5 million in Quebec, with as many again who had emigrated to the United States. Though always culturally firm and sure of itself, politically and economically Quebec was until 1960 one of the most backward areas on the continent.

After a decade of awakening, the Quebecois had shed much of the xenophobia they developed during their fierce struggle for survival. But still every aspect of public policy among them was seen through a nationalist perspective—that is, through the perspective of the only French-speaking nation in North America. Every major economic advance or project had come to be regarded as the triumphant assertion of the national will. But, oddly enough, while this cultural revival had been going on among them, it had become increasingly difficult to tell the differences between the Quebecois and the rest of the North Americans, apart from the fact that they spoke French. Like all other North Americans, they wished to embrace the technological dream, and shrewd politicians among them had found the means to pursue policies of resource sellout on a gigantic scale while making it sound as if they were all necessary in defense of French-language cultural and national survival. It was this nationalist ethic, harnessed to a technological dream, which the Indians and the Inuit now had to fight. The construction of big dams and the generation behind them of electricity from the waters of the teeming rivers of Quebec were the major economic achievements of the Quebecois in the 1960's, and the James Bay hydro-electric project, which the Indians were now opposing, was merely more of the same thing: from its inception it had been clothed by provincial political leaders in the rhetoric of national development. Though the scheme was ill-prepared economically, it would create jobs and was therefore acceptable to a public already suffering from Canada's most persistent unemployment. Though it was an offense to environmentalists in its proposed destruction of a great wilderness, most of the environmentalists were English-speaking and therefore didn't really count. Though it was imposed on the Cree hunters as if they were of no account, their cries of minority outrage could be depended upon not to move Quebec public opinion because these, too, when they were not uttered in Cree, were uttered in English. Also, the Cree were looking to the federal Canadian government—another English-speaking agency—to defend their rights.

Given this kind of reasoning, it is perhaps not strange that the Quebecois should have shown themselves insensitive to the needs of another minority also struggling for cultural and linguistic survival. With every issue decided on grounds of the Quebec national interest, it followed that any other interest must be inferior, or at least of lesser importance. As it happens, this doctrine was eventually spelled out by one level of Quebec court.

The MCM: Potentials of a Pluralist Party

The emergence of the Montreal Citizens Movement in 1974 and its electoral success represent a significant event in the recent history of Canadian urban politics. Radical/reformist movements of Vancouver and Toronto are experiencing difficulties arising in the case of both--in part--from a lack of solid community-based following and in the case of the latter--in part--from its nebulous relationship with the provincial NDP. In this respect at least the Montreal movement shows some potential. The recent election of the PQ at a provincial level--although not without its own problems--provides a more favourable atmosphere than did its predecessor for the emergence of a progressive, if not radical, municipal party. Furthermore, the electoral success of the MCM--winning 19 out of 55 seats at city council--was largely the result of strong community ties and a "grass roots" political approach.

However, three years after its inception the MCM seems to be facing some internal difficulties. These unfortunately have been aggravated and exaggerated by press releases of some of its own members--specifically Nick Auf der Maur, Bob Keaton, and Ginette Kerouack, three moderate city councillors who represent basically middle class districts of Westmount and Notre Dame de Grace (NDG). Their discontent arises from activities of more radical members of the party--who, they claim, are guilty of insubordination, intolerance, and to quote Kerouack, "a clear betrayal of the mandate" in expressing their particular "ideological" interpretations of current local issues.

The focal point for these accusations is the failure of a recent attempt to reintegrate Keaton and Auf der Maur into the party. They had resigned from the MCM (while maintaining independent seats on city council) in order to enter provincial politics. Press reports imply a lack of willingness of "the left" to allow their re-entry, failing to mention that the vote for reintegration lost by one and that many members of a variety of ideological viewpoints were opposed to their reintegration--feeling that Keaton and Auf der Maur had used the success of the MCM as a "springboard" into provincial politics. The tendency of both the press and the councillors has been to magnify recent events to the proportions of an internal power struggle between a majority of "moderates" and a handful of "radicals". Unfortunately this has had some success in polarizing moderate members.

If one looks at the nature of the MCM and the platform on which it was formed, these recent events, or something similar, should not be unexpected. Much of the problem lies in the pluralist nature of the party. Members include individuals from the now disbanded Progressive Urban Movement, Front D'Action Politique, and Montreal Trade Union Council--all of which represented very different political viewpoints; from Save Montreal, Society to Overcome Pollution, Citizens for Cycles, Green Spaces--representing environmental concerns; and non-aligned individuals and community organizations too numerous to list.

It is perhaps too easy to oversimplify and view the party as consisting of two distinct homogeneous groups, the "moderates" or "reformists" and the "radicals" or "leftists", when in fact the party consists of a

whole spectrum of viewpoints. One might also run the risk of considering one particular viewpoint as being fundamentally representative of the party and the others marginalized and unimportant--as Auf der Maur has implied in his accusations of "leftist" attempts to take over "the party". However, in reality a variety of groups and individuals representing both extremes, and positions in between, have played fundamental roles in the creation of the party and its continued existence. The common ground on which they formed the MCM was basic opposition to Drapeau and the Civic Party and general agreement on clearly delineated goals for urban reform, dealing with housing, health, transport, recreation, etc., and outlined in "Une Ville Pour Nous/A City For People".

The problems in the MCM have arisen in the context of analysis and strategy used to attain these goals. No particular ideology or strategy was agreed upon. In fact, such a task would have been difficult if not impossible, given the success of the variety of approaches adopted in various districts. The initial consensus was that the approach should be left to the discretion of members in particular districts--who would be most sensitive to the needs and attitudes of their respective communities. However, while "reformists" in the party have perhaps not seen the need to express their short-term goals in terms of a specific ideology, the "radicals" felt--and stated in the congress of 1975--that the articulation and expression of an ideological framework was a necessary part of their political activity. In view of Auf der Maur's and Keaton's reactions to such an expression one wonders if this freedom was tolerated only in so far as it was not exercised.

It is hard to be entirely optimistic about the potentials of the MCM to remain a pluralist party in the future, assuming one considers pluralism to be desirable. On the positive side, no one of the groups involved wishes to forfeit the already established favourable public image of the MCM, and already Kenneth George, recently elected to the MCM on a leftist slate, has managed the reconciliation of some of the more polarized members. Furthermore, conditions in Montreal--in view of the ever-present housing crisis, and continued ill feeling and dissent vis-à-vis Drapeau and the Civic Party (heightened by the Olympic debt)--seem ripe for the emergence of a progressive party. On the negative side, despite willingness of radicals to work within a pluralist party, and the strength of both their contribution and representation in the party, the possible re-emergence of "scare tactics"--in mild forms exhibited by Keaton, Kerouack, and Auf der Maur, or even in a more severe form, as was witnessed in the smashing of FRAP during the October Crisis of 1970--could make it either difficult or impossible for radicals to function within the party.

[Note: Auf der Maur and Keaton have since left the MCM. - Editors.]

For more information:

- Our Generation, Vol. 10, No. 3: "The Montreal Citizens Movement."
- Our Generation, Vol. 10, No. 4: "The Urban Question," H. Milner.
- Our Generation, Vol. 11, No. 2: "Reformism and the Urban Question," Roussopoulos.

(Back issues of Our Generation: 3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal)

- "Une Ville Pour Nous/A City For People", MCM, 1974. 1276 Dorian, Montreal.

"Accumulation and Third World Cities"
Workshop at McGill University.

This workshop took place in the morning and afternoon of 26 February, 1977, and was attended by students and faculty from the Economics, Geography, Anthropology, and Political Science departments at McGill. Also present were four visiting geographers--Keith Buchanan, Alan Mabin, Terry McGee, and Milton Santos. The workshop was sponsored by members of the Geography department.

The focus of the day's discussions was a paper recently written by Terry McGee and Warwick Armstrong, which had been given to all interested people beforehand. The paper dealt with problems raised in their initial work on the subject of accumulation and third world urbanization, and attempts to develop a more comprehensive analysis. McGee mentioned problems concerning how to analyze the third world urbanization process, the articulation of capitalist with pre-capitalist modes of production, and the role of the traditional sector in third world cities. He referred to the paper written by himself and Armstrong in 1968, in which they addressed the structural contradictions of third world urbanization (for example, urban population increase, failure of the system to create sufficient wage employment), in which people continue to be "absorbed" into the traditional sector. In trying to answer the question of how this sector can continue to absorb people, they use the concept of "urban involution" (adapted from Geertz). The problem with their work in 1968 was that they were concentrating on symptoms of this involution (i.e., population growth, differential productivity, disarticulation), rather than structural explanation.

Hence they began to look at the process of accumulation on a world scale and its consequent articulation in third world urban systems. In the recent paper they stressed that the urban system must be analyzed as a whole, as a hierarchical institution; thus, primate cities must not be studied as separate entities. They also utilized work by Gerry and Le Brun on the concept of the dissolution and conservation of the petty mode of production. These authors state that in the European transition to capitalism, dissolution of the petty mode was a dominant tendency, whereas in peripheral capitalist (third world) cities today, conservation of this mode is dominant, because it provides cheap goods and labour, and takes on welfare functions which would otherwise be required of the state.

The recent paper listed several questions regarding peripheral capitalist urbanization. The first question concerns the role of peripheral capitalist cities in the accumulation process; they form a hierarchical system stretching from the metropolitan capitalist

core to satellite town and village, organized to service the dominant capitalist mode of production in the processes of appropriation, accumulation, and investment, providing the focus for the indigenous elites and foreign investors to carry out expanded capitalist activities. The second question concerns the relationships between the dominant and other modes of production in peripheral capitalist cities: whether conservation is a dominant process in the relationship between the modes, and at what pace will dissolution occur. The third question is about the implications of this particular articulation of relationships which is emerging -- implications for class formation would involve the use of repressive measures by collaborating elites to prevent class consciousness from emerging -- implications for economic structure include the persistence of large low-income sectors of pervasive poverty.

McGee expressed the hope that these questions would be discussed during the workshop and also pointed out two shortcomings of the recent paper which he hoped would be addressed. One was the role of the state in accumulation and its relationship to indigenous elites, which was not sufficiently clarified. The second was that it did not sufficiently deal with the tendency to look for symptoms and find "band-aid" solutions. In other words, it is still too easy to concentrate on the "urban problem" rather than looking at it as part of the problem of structural contradictions of a larger system thus, there is not an urban solution to an urban problem.

A point was raised about the value of this model of accumulation and third world cities, in terms of giving rise to strategies for getting rid of poverty and dependence. It was agreed that analysis should be directed to transformation.

In connection with this, doubt was expressed as to whether the concepts of dissolution and conservation were in fact adequate for analyzing the problem. The concept of conservation was subjected to scrutiny on the basis that it is a vague word with connotations perhaps too positive, and that we should not encourage a belief in conservation POTENTIAL. For instance, conservation does not contribute to the ELIMINATION of poverty. It tends to prevent structural contradictions from coming to a head, inhibits the development of political consciousness, and is for these reasons supported by indigenous elites and the World Bank alike. Do we want to support it simply because by being absorbed into the traditional sector people are working? Or because it is not quite capitalism? It is oppressive toil with little reward.

One answer to this was that there is alienated, exploited labour everywhere and the authors are not trying to glorify the "informal" sector of petty production (the informal sector is also known as the bazaar sector). They are rather trying to grasp the

reality of third world cities today, and even though this sector is supported by the World Bank and elites it is also to be appreciated as a life-supporting sector and an alternative to starvation. This is not to say that this urban involution does not ultimately represent the conservation of something damaging.

Further criticism appeared in the suggestion that the concepts of conservation and "informal" could be misleading when this process is viewed in terms of decisions made by capitalist powers. Viewing the position of the poor in terms of the New Economic Order, and decisions made by the World Bank etc. for the next ten years, this speaker discussed the "policy of substitution of production" in Africa especially, he said, one can see a forced mobilization -- a forced creation of an "informal" sector which is not "informal" at all but a NECESSARY part of the New Economic Order. In this sense there is not just conservation but creation of something new, involving a different use of the proto-proletariat, in which an immobile labour force exists on terms dictated by the Capitalist power structure. The people involved become poorer still because they have no political ability to participate in decision-making and are subject to more ideological victimization.

It was also stated that the new "gentle aid" (defined as "tooling people in a nice way") is important here because it stresses acculturation and diffusion of ideas, people defined as consumers, with an ideology which tries to obscure class differences. The latter are turned into ethno-religious ones, acting to prevent transformation. There are many examples of this from the history of capitalism and we must develop very tight categories of class, based on historical experience, for any present situation, in order to contribute to the breaking down of class society. There was general agreement that the model needed to concentrate more on class analysis.

The authors were also enjoined to make their analysis more historical-- to situate the model not just conceptually but more in terms of the historical development of capitalism-- perhaps concentrating more on the role of cities in the historical evolution of capitalism with particular emphasis on their incorporation into the system. In this way some concept of continuity in urban evolution might be maintained.

Another major point raised was that of planning. Planning in Third World cities is "planning to stop history"-- planners are in search of tools-- not ideas but justifications. The French word "aménagement" was suggested to be a better word than "planning" which has positive connotations. Planning is acculturation; planning integrates people, assimilates people-- it gives them tools but they must acculturate to use them. Thus one participant concluded that

planning is part of the creation of dependency, "a take-off into sustained poverty".

Regarding the paper again, attempts were made to clarify the meaning of accumulation. One participant criticized the paper's basis in dependency theory, a model which does not clarify class conflict and is thus compatible with a rising indigenous bourgeoisie trying to gain independence from international finance, multinational firms, and so on. In order to transcend dependency theory, it was said, an accumulation model must look at capital formation, social organization of production, the rural-urban dichotomy, ownership patterns, and class formation and struggle.

There were also comments on the term "mode of production". One speaker urged the group to distinguish between the abstract term mode of production and concrete examples of modes in specific places; then to distinguish these from "social formation" which is not just the sum total of the various modes existing in a particular place. The speaker stated that although capitalism is an international mode of production, with strong linkages from place to place, it is not yet an international SYSTEM. Smuggling is a good example of resistance to an international system, and it occurs in every social formation, be it advanced capitalist country or traditional society. The development of capitalism is uneven, hence we find the continued persistence of sectors not fully subject to capitalist production but yet firmly linked into the capitalist market.

Another subject of discussion was third world urban STRUCTURE. It was stated that the urban system is the functional locus of the realization of structure. It arises from structure and function, NOT from space. Space is, according to the same speaker, one of the social structures--the dialectic between society and landscape is resolved by space. The urban network is a national system which is given life by society, it is not an autonomous force. Space is most resistant to change. Forms do not readily permit transformations or new formations. Geographers have never been preoccupied with formations but rather with form.

There was general agreement that the city is a spatial manifestation of the total process of accumulation including its defunct (useless) aspects. Again it was stressed that there is danger in viewing the problem of third world urbanization merely as one of the city domination of the countryside. The urban-rural dichotomy must be seen in relation to accumulation and SOCIAL CLASSES.

The conference ended with a reminder to all that the purpose of this paper and similar efforts should be to clarify contradictions

in capitalist urbanization, and to point toward strategies for transformation to a society in which poverty, private wealth, alienated labour, and domination by capital do not exist.

Suggestions for further reading:

Bienefeld, Manfred, "The Informal Sector and Peripheral Capitalism: The Case of Tanzania", Institute of Development Studies Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1975), pp. 53-73

Bradby, Barbara, "The Destruction of Natural Economy", Economy and Society, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1975), pp. 127-161

Gerry, Chris., Petty Producers and the Urban Economy: A Case Study of Dakar. World Employment Programme Research Working Paper No. 8 International Labour Office, Geneva. 1974.

McGee, Terry, "The Persistence of the Proto Proletariat", Progress in Geography. Vol. 9 (1976), pp.3-38.

McGee, Terry, and Warwick Armstrong, "Revolutionary Change and the Third World City: A Theory of Urban Involution", Civilisations, XVIII, 3, 1968.

Capital as portrayed in a twelfth-century manuscript.



Research at University

More and more as the attempt is made to establish a practical dimension in university studies, fieldwork becomes more appropriate. It seems to be the ideal way to confirm (or refute) theories in addition to giving a chance for researchers to deal with reality. The principal interest of such research for students is often based on academic fulfilments (mostly thesis) : thus there is an invasion of the milieu in search of information which goes back to the origin of study, the university. Hence, university structure of research keeps its monopoly of knowledge through a mask of participation.

A certain group of students from Québec, joined together within a university research project, realized gradually the contradictions between the academic requirements and the needs of the rural area they were working in. The attempt to make their research known to local people, through a film and accompanying document, induced the group to question itself on the political impact of this action. Restriction to an academic frame would have required often non-intervention of the researcher in the milieu of study, tending to reproduce the role of university within the social structure, i.e. as an ideological vehicle for the dominating class. On the other hand, adoption of a political frame has crystallized the intention of the group to revise its role within the class struggle, within capitalist exploitation. Meanwhile, the group did not eliminate the academic frame at the expense of the political one, and this is the principal contradiction that the group has to face now : " In confining itself to an academic frame and at the same time trying unsuccessfully to emphasize and clarify a political framework, the group can only exacerbate the contradiction. It is evident that academic interest is incompatible with the political goals that the group has fixed for itself (however long-term they may be) ".* 1

Recognizing the antagonism between the academic and political interests, the group decided to proceed with the work already begun, each person attempting gradually to resolve individually the contradiction of university research. Consensus on the need to make the research available to the people in the studied region is still present, even though this dissemination is dependent on monetary aid. The present paradoxical situation of the group reveals the different steps through the students evolve in the research.

Historical evolution

Behind a governmental subsidy, a group of researchers was formed to study a county in the Province of Québec (Bellechasse county). The group, composed primarily of students of Laval University (Bachelors, Masters and Ph.D. levels) is multidisciplinary (anthropology and geography). Originally, the project was to study for three (3) years the impact of " amenagist politics " ² aimed to rationalize and ameliorate economic situations of rural populations " ³ Also the project was intended to enable young researchers to " acquire a research experience " ³ . Different sectors of research were defined : agriculture, forest exploitation, wage workers, family structure, agriculture cooperatives and transfer payments.

* : all the quotes were translated by the author of this article

1 : text from the group : november 1976, p. 1

2 : subsidy demand FCAC (Formation de Chercheurs et d'Action Concertée) 1974-75

3 : subsidy demand FCAC 1974-75-76-77, p. 3-4

The first year consisted mostly of gathering fundamental data :
" even if some mechanisms of exploitation were discovered, the utilisation of this information was on an individual basis and no intervention was done " 4
The second year was marked by the utilisation of a theoretic frame : the historical and dialectic materialism. " Our work during this time showed some contradictions the principal one was the difficulty to link practical reality and theories." 5
During the third year, the group became the conscious witness of labour exploitation, agricultural proletarianization, high rates of transfer payments (especially unemployment insurance and social aid). In the same way they witnessed the increase of state intervention.

It became very important to disseminate this information to the rural people. The principle of dissemination had been mentioned before in the structure of the project but manifested itself only through a couple of newspaper articles : all the research work done stayed at Laval University. Hence, the group adopted a new option when it decided to give back to the people the functional (real) character of research : to disseminate the results of research as elements of political realisation and action. This idea grew stronger with the presence in the group of students in filmmaking, preparing a film on agriculture also " members of the group worked on the preparation of a document which would be distributed with the film and which would complete in a more detailed way the analysis of the county. " 6 So, with this new orientation, the group decided also to control in a more concrete way the direction of the project : a greater participation from students in the decision-making of this research group was shown. Finally, a fourth subsidy was proposed to finance the dissemination of information in the county, but this is still tentative.

Role of University in the social class structure

Problems with which students of the group have to deal at the moment are from two (2) sources : A) unequal political consciousness of individuals within the group; B) university structure of research. The first problem is concerned with dissensions as to the ways, through dissemination, to favour political organisation of the population in the studied rural area and to abolish their exploitation. The second problem resides in the social function of University as a vehicle of dominating class ideology. The capitalist state, protecting the interest of the bourgeoisie, diffuses, through universities, notions which do not controvert the present capitalist mode of production. Also universities form people who will perpetuate the same concepts. Hence, the university structure of research is linked with state power. This, structures the financial mechanisms of research, and by the way, the academic right of appropriation of research. By little, researchers have the possibility to reach certain financial sources to pursue research or to have access to information, but they are not allowed to diffuse the results without the agreement of the State. Instead of the supposed " neutrality " of the researcher, we observe clearly his role as worker for the dominating class.

4 : Pour une juste compréhension de la réalité, text from the group (summer 1968)
p. 4

5 : *ibid*, p. 4

6 : *ibid*, p. 6

Research, if it is not returned to the sector where the information comes from, constitutes new material for the ruling class to dominate the landscape, resources and population of the studied area. So it is paramount for researchers who attempt to foresee a struggle against the dominating power, to disseminate their research information to the appropriate social groups (women, workers, farmers, etc.), regions (urban and rural), etc., as political elements of organisation for the dominated class. All kinds of research information - not just in social sciences but also in the natural sciences and humanities - should be given back to the dominated classes who have been studied for so long.

Francine Beaudin (McGill University)

This Laval research group is still active.
For more information, write to :

Francine Beaudin
Projet Bellechasse
Département d'Anthropologie
Pavillon de Konninck
Université Laval
Ville de Québec, Qué.
G1K 7P4



White is
calling Africa
the Dark Continent.

DR. BUNGE and the VANCOUVER GEOGRAPHICAL EXPEDITION:
EXPLETIVES UNDELETED

During the winter of 1977, the editorial committee of the U.S.G. Newsletter received a letter from Dr. William Bunge concerning the Vancouver Geographical Expedition. For a number of reasons that are discussed below, we initially decided not to print Dr. Bunge's letter in Volume II Number 1 of the Newsletter. Subsequently, we received the following note from Dr. Bunge:

Editors,

I wrote and submitted a critique on the Vancouver Geographical Expedition. It will be published all right (I'm just impossible to repress for long) But I think it would be better if it were published in the U.S.G. Newsletter. It would show more courage on your part. ...

For the Future - The Children
Bill Bunge

As a result of Dr. Bunge's note, we have decided to print his letter along with an explanation of why it did not appear in the last newsletter:

The Vancouver Geographical Expedition

Lenin taught us that we must be publically self-critical, no matter how gleeful it leaves our enemies. In this mood of nongleeful self-criticism it is necessary to point out that the Vancouver Geographical Expedition (VGE) was doomed from the start.

I have personally successfully seen two expeditions through, The Detroit Geographical Expedition and Institute (DGEI) and the Toronto Geographical Expedition (TGE) and have launched a third and most ambitious Canadian-American Geographical Expedition (CA GE). Since many view these efforts as personal, or at least, that I am the only one who can make them work, I have decided to put the methodology of the expeditions together in a book - THE SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION OF GEOGRAPHY - which seeks publication overseas. A portion of the book has appeared in FIELD NOTES of the DGEI), but most is freshly authored. The trick of successful expeditions has been to combine classic principles of explorations; e.g. techniques developed by La Condomine in his expedition to Equador to test Newton's hypothesis that the earth bulged at the Equator; with Marxist working class control. In the 1960's this was called "community control." In working class communities this is obviously working class control. This is precisely what the VGE did not do. It did not place itself under working class direction.

I visited the VGE in the winter of 1975. We were mutually appalled with each other. The expedition house was properly located in a working class neighborhood, but I was told by someone who believed it, that the neighborhood had no organization! What this means is that the VGE had established no trust with the neighborhood. Organization is everywhere; it is just underground to outsiders. The VGE were outsiders. I am driving taxi cab at Terminal Two at the Malton International Airport in Toronto, trying to organize the drivers and it was two years before the real leader surfaced. The public leader was a use. From my experience in Detroit I was not surprised, but I was pleased that I had finally won their trust. The VGE never really tried but instead fell for the bourgeois class myth, very popular with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the 60's, that SDS would become community organizers - implying that the working class was too stupid (the code word was "culturally deprived") to see the advantages of organizing themselves.

The person in charge of the VGE house was the only non-geographer, a worker commissare evidently. This is like putting a worker in charge of Norman Bethune's hospital. The expedition house is collectively under the control of the working class community, not an individual foreign-to-the-community worker. The house is supposed to do good geography and needs its best geographer in command. The problems they undertake, the overall direction comes from the community, not the technical command of the operation. Workers are not geographers (and geographers are not workers).

The people in the house were overwhelmingly campus oriented. The conversation was of courses and grades, it was like an off campus student union. The atmosphere suggested that it was bad manners not to be liberal toward homosexuals. This question of homosexual permissiveness was not challenged on class grounds. Was homosexual permissiveness high on the agenda of demands that working class neighbors were raising? Any behaviour that seriously insults local norms is unacceptable. Expeditions cannot be an extension of the campus but an extension of the working class onto the campus. If this basic power relationship is not solved, the expedition becomes an invasion of the working class neighborhoods so typical of academic meddling in the community, spy work. Everything must be done to make the expedition house fit into the neighborhood, including the nature of the students admitted to the house. If they do not reflect working class norms, sorry, they are unacceptable in the house. The test we use is to be poor children and working class, not middle class, norm. Both in Toronto and Detroit, people in the expeditions worked. Especially in Toronto, many of the student geographers worked their way through school as taxi cab drivers. All this was missing in Vancouver.

It is not pleasant to be so harsh about the VGE, but it was clear that it was doomed because of the structural problems outlined above. The VGE must not be allowed to be used as an example to prove that urban expeditions are unworkable which is just the way our mutual enemy's will use its failure if we do not learn lessons from its collapse rather than let the claim that such efforts are impossible stand unchallenged. Che may have lost in Argentina, Guatemala, and Bolivia, but after all, he did win in Cuba. (1)

Bill Bunge

It is important to note that Dr. Bunge's letter is one of several which appeared in the Newsletter in Volume I Numbers 3 and 4-5 after an initial article about the V.G.E. appeared in Volume I Number 2. The editorial committee, in a non-unanimous decision, voted not to print the above letter in Volume II Number 1 of the U.S.G. Newsletter due to the following reasons:

1. the letter contains a number of factual mistakes that distort both the activities and the positions of former members of the Vancouver Geographical Expedition;
 - a. The initial article concerning the V.G.E. contained a section "admitting" that the expedition had failed to achieve significant community participation - especially within the Grandview Woodlands area. It was argued that community groups were not politically active at the time the expedition was growing. V.G.E. members had felt that as students - with only limited amounts of time to spend in the community - they could not initiate political activity.

In a subsequent letter, a former member of the Expedition argued that the refusal to initiate political activity was a reason for the V.G.E.'s shortcomings. Be that as it may, it is hard to see how the V.G.E. "fell for the bourgeois class myth ... that (students) would become community organizers implying that the working class was too stupid to see the advantages of organizing themselves."

- b. During the course of the Expedition, it was recognized that most members were 'campus oriented'. This was a consequence of the fact that they were students, living in different parts of the city, during a time of relative political inactivity. It was concluded from this recognition, that Expedition member's political energies in the community might best be directed toward existing organizations that were participating in struggles outside the Expedition neighborhood.

V.G.E. members did not argue that neighborhood based expeditions could not succeed. But it was recognized that such expeditions were only one of several ways for students to participate in community struggle. And this way was not appropriate to the members of the V.G.E. at a specific historical conjuncture.

c. The non-geographer in the Expedition house was not in charge. In reality that person played only a very small role in the Expedition. The V.G.E. consciously attempted to minimize specialized leadership positions.

2. the letter adds only one point to the discussion raised by Dr. Bunge in his previous critique of the V.G.E. which appeared in Volume I Number 4-5 of the U.S.G. Newsletter;
3. the one additional point raised by Dr. Bunge concerns the participation of homosexuals in expeditions. Here the editorial committee felt that Dr. Bunge's "empirical" account of the role of homosexuals in the V.G.E. constituted an incredible distortion of the reality he purported to report. For good or for bad, the behaviour of homosexuals as homosexuals, had nothing to do with the success or failure of the V.G.E. . Many members of the Expedition, let alone the community, were not even aware that homosexuals were participating in the group's activities. (2)

Dr. Bunge's "theoretical" position concerning homosexuals is worthy of serious debate. The editorial committee feels that this issue must receive a more complete elaboration. Given the current debates concerning socialism and sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular, we did not feel that Dr. Bunge's single paragraph on the subject surrounded as it was by a repetition of his previous positions and distortions of "what he observed in Vancouver" constituted a printable "analysis".

- 1) (We assume "Che" refers to Dr. Che Guevara who gave up practicing medicine to help fight in revolutions in Latin America and Africa during the 1950's and 1960's. - editors note)
- 2) It is interesting to note that the homosexual referred to by Dr. Bunge is currently employed as a Taxi driver and is helping to organize a trade union.

DESPAIR, FAITH, CHARITY AND HOPE: NEWFOUNDLAND 1977

1. Despair

Things are without doubt very gloomy indeed in Newfoundland. The current economic crisis has sent unemployment rates soaring to between 14 and 30 percent, depending on whether you accept official statistics or the more realistic figures provided by non-official sources. The demise of some of the more spectacular development schemes of recent years, like the closure due to bankruptcy of the Shaheen oil refinery at Come by Chance last year with the loss of 500 jobs, has contributed significantly to the depressing picture. Even the waves of tourists reaching the province from the mainland last year were smaller in size than in previous years. Politicians and others can no longer point towards the illusion of progress, the 'saving grace' of private ownership of the means of production, and there is a great deal of 'concern' over a situation which has most people flummoxed.

2. Faith

It's during such times that academics and others generally tend to keep quiet, shrug their shoulders and wait for conditions to improve before creeping out of the woodwork. Recognizing their impotence in the face of circumstances the appeal to 'faith', with perhaps an added measure of the good old Victorian 'self-help' thrown in. People, generally, in the face of material deprivation often turn to 'higher things', and therefore it may be no accident that Newfoundland can claim a couple of new religions in the past few years.

3. Charity

With masses of unemployed it becomes no longer necessary to maintain people on Unemployment Insurance and in a state of readiness for work. Many people can thus be siphoned off by tightening up on UIC, shifting the emphasis from one of "from now on your full-time job will be looking for another job" to the kinds of minimum wage community projects which have in the past littered the Newfoundland landscape with rusting and abandoned adventure playgrounds. Such projects, of course, need local initiative so they help to keep people's minds occupied as well as their working skills partly 'oiled' in case they are ever needed during a future phase of economic expansion. Many of these 'solutions' to the problem of unemployment are not new to Newfoundland. They are essentially the same as those used during the depression of the 1930's, and periodically since then. However, as yet there is no talk of removing the mob of 'dangerous' unemployed from St. John's, and establishing them in new rural settlements to fend for themselves.¹ Perhaps it's just a matter of time.

4. Hope

The situation would be bleak indeed if it were not for a few rays of shining hope. First, the government of Newfoundland is still finding it possible to borrow money to keep the wolf from the door, even though Newfoundland's credit rating means that it has to pay the highest interest rates of any province on the \$200 million it will borrow this year.² So long as it is able to borrow on the international money markets it can export its crisis onto the future -- and what does a per capita debt which is twice the national level mean anyway? The situation is much the same as for those people in Newfoundland who earn the minimum wage of about \$400 a month and find that the more they work the deeper in debt they get (fuel and rent may cost \$250 a month). In many ways they would be better off on welfare and declaring bankruptcy. Second, the depression seems not to have daunted Newfoundland capitalists. Terra Nova Shoes Limited (admittedly owned by a come-from-away), is marching on the mainland and about to enlarge its empire by taking over a defunct U.S. branch plant in Ontario so that it can "capture a bigger piece of the United States market".³ Who said capitalism in Newfoundland was anaemic? Third, if the province can only hang on for a couple of years the offshore oil in Labrador is going to be a salvation. That is, assuming Labrador does not separate or become part of Quebec. All the slogans of the phantom oil boom of 1910 are being repeated.⁴ But, of course, this time it's going to be different. Fourth, next year the Canadian Summer Games will be held in St. John's, and how the influx of tourists will "fatten the local economy". As Mr. Joy, Director of Tourist Services has pointed out:

dollars pour into the establishments (hotels, etc.)
and then wend their way to the service industries
providing food and various goods needed by the hotels.
It's an almost endless economic chain.

and,

The spread is fantastic ... from an economist's
standpoint.⁵

Exactly! Finally, there is evidence of a significant shift to the left in politics in Newfoundland. As John Crosbie, ex-Energy Minister, said shortly before being elected as Conservative M.P. for St. John's West and leaving for Ottawa:

It would turn your stomach ... to see what American Smelting [& Refining Co.] [ASARCO] took out of Buchans in the years they have operated there, and Price Co., without paying to this province hardly anything in taxes and employing people there at miserable wages and [in] miserable conditions in a company town with miserable housing. It would really cause you to become a savage-- you know, Marxist.⁶

What's that? The sky must be falling and the day of judgement must be at hand.

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6. Financial Post, June 12, 1976.

Jim Overton,
St. John's,
Newfoundland
January 1977.



White is
knocking the
numbers game, but
playing the Stock
Market.

BOOK REVIEW

LACOSTE Yves, La géographie, ça sert, d'abord, à faire la guerre, Petite Collection Maspero, Editions François Maspero, Paris, 1976, 187 pages.

As expressed by the title of his book, the author tries to analyse the role of geography through society. "La géographie, ça sert, d'abord, à faire la guerre" doesn't limit itself to the historical analysis of this discipline but rather outline the fundamentals.

First, he relates the founding of geographic education in the 19th century which influenced - more than we think - its interpretation and also its real function. Based mainly on the study of regions and their components, the best perceptions of the discipline were once attributed to Vidal de La Blache (1845-1918). The description of physical and human elements, segmented in regions, have not implied any controversy and eliminated easily any references to political, economical and social interpretations. Those studies then dissimulated the true character of geography which is the political power of space utilisation and simultaneously presented only a superficial analysis of diverse phenomena. This superficiality accentuated the real raison d'être of geography which figured as the poor cousin beside the other physical and social sciences. Geography has revealed itself useful only within an academic frame and even then was frequently (and is still actually) subject to removal.

Later, Lacoste discusses problems from a Marxist analysis, applied to geography. According to the author, Marx has not perceived the importance of space in his study as he has done for time and history. This lack had serious consequences in relation to a leftist view of geography fighting against the reactionary attitude. At this time, quantitative analysis of geographic phenomena developed at the expense of a Marxist spatial analysis. We still observe today the difficulty to establish structures of a Marxist geography even with the existence of Marxist geographers.

The principal function of geography, being a knowledge of space as political strategy, has to be used by the oppressed class as a tool for struggle. The dominating class, controlling studies and research in geography, emphasizes its domination of space and population with the purpose of maintaining its specific interests.

Geography is not non-political, having been historically most dependent on the ruling class but has potential as a strategic instrument for the oppressed classes, particularly to make war.

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Francine Beaudin



White is
still thinking
Custer won.

DEVIL'S TOTALITY OR HOW IMPERIALISM DIFFUSES CAPITAL THROUGH FORMS

(Address to meeting of the Union of Socialist Geographers, Worcester, October 17, 1976)

Milton Santos

Forms as a tool of capital

Present historical conditions have facilitated the mechanism of capital expansion over space through forms. But at the same time, the mechanism has become more subtle and its effects may not be even suspected by the concerned people or countries who have been brainwashed by western theories about growth and space, or who are defenceless.

But this mechanism has also turned more abrupt and irretrievable, on the one hand because of the size of means of labour which are meant to stay grounded for long, seeing their increased fixity; and on the other hand, because of the far more explicit technical content of these geographical objects.

Forms, this new "Trojan horse", have turned out to be a means of penetration of underdeveloped countries, fitting particularly well non-aligned or socialist-oriented states, for two main reasons: (1) the results are not directly visible, which makes a significant difference with the planning of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's; and (2) because of the technical nature of the new forms, it is not even necessary to touch the very structure—which would be a major political hindrance.

Actually, two mechanisms have been put to work: (1) the implementation of new forms, formerly simple support but generating now new functions of their own; and (2) the replacement of existing functions by new ones more "functional" in capitalistic terms, through direct action on old forms which are razed and replaced by new ones.

The remarkable fact is that henceforth action can be directed exclusively to forms and no longer necessarily to form and structure together. Direct action on structure entails delicate negotiations and the risk of being turned down by a government aware of the danger. But through forms, the socio-economic structure of a country can be reached without trouble.

The action on rural world

The current forms of action on rural world fit in that general scheme. Official programmes pretend to grant loans to small landowners for the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, equipment, etc., and encourage modern marketing and management. Under the pretext of helping to solve food supply and rural poverty problems, the purpose is to modernize rural economy and to increase the technical and organic composition of capital in agriculture. It is well known that any technical change in agriculture is followed by a modification in land tenure, which is a form, a juridical but also a spatial form.

The unlatching of the mechanism of "aid" will soon increase the need for capital in agriculture, not only in production itself but in other activities as well. Concentrations will take place in wholesale trade, in transportation, freight, and again in land tenure, and true rural monopolies will be formed. Actually, such programmes do nothing but advantage the already favoured people.

Another modality of action is the development of feeder roads. This is what is being planned and implemented in many countries, for instance in Kenya and Tanzania. This purposeful modification of spatial forms introduces a new rhythm in exchanges and in return induces new timing for the various stages of production. Exchanges are increasingly mediated through money, whereas a faster circulation of commodity capital and money capital is observed. The need for advanced money also follows the pace. In short, the need for cash quickly becomes frantic. In addition, new transportation facilities and monetarization ease the entry and consumption of modern products in the countryside.

The latest strategy of planning is to avoid showing up as a whole or a coherent set of undertakings.

Isolated actions may look harmless, but when considered in their ensemble, the pernicious consequences they entail come out.

If we compare the two planning strategies described here above, it is evident they work in the same way. Both are a step in the qualitative jump which shifts from *simple reproduction*, necessary to the group survival, to *enlarged reproduction*, necessary for accumulation.

The division of labour is also an instrument of the capitalist expansion. Thanks to the separation of activities, the output of each activity becomes a commodity. Exchange becomes imperative because of the level of the productive process itself: thus each day a larger number of use-values is metamorphosed into exchange-values, essential to the capitalist system. Instead of surplus production being used to raise cash and purchase the necessary commodities: commodity - money - commodity, the mechanism will be: money - commodity - money. In this case, money is no longer an intermediary for exchanges of individual excedents. Now money initiates the circulation process. It is the *salto mortale* told by Marx (*Capital*, Vol. 1, Part 1, ch.III, sect. 1), the metamorphosis that brings in, and for long, the capitalist nexus.

The action on urban milieu

The same mechanism applies to cities. Through the action on forms, new or renewed ones, urban planning is often a mere scientific backing to capitalist operations. The introduction of tall buildings and big works in cities definitively upsets the level of capital in construction activities, imposing the importation of equipment, raw material and capital just as it deepens significantly capital needs in other urban and even national activities. And this is all the more acute as the country is less developed.

A particularly striking project is that of the renovation of Karioakoo, commercial center and core of the African town of Dar es Salaam. It is intended to replace traditional forms by modern ones, by tumbling down a large poor residential area wherein about 80,000 people are living, that is 16% of the total population of the city. At the same place, a new quarter will be built.

This project, in which big amounts of capital will be involved on a relatively short period, is to be financed by the World Bank. Its full implications cannot be grasped without considering the population's characteristics, its activities and its present location in the city.

Kariakoo is the site of the long existing main wholesale market in town and in the country; it is the economic and geographic place of a double articulation between the rural and the urban sides of the prevalent—but not the dominant—mode of production in the country that I labelled the lower circuit of poor economies, and also between the upper circuit and the lower circuit. On the one hand, modern goods or imitation of modern goods mainly manufactured within the country are commercialized on this market; on the other hand, a significant part of craft production from town and countryside, but essentially the food production directed to urban consumption are brought into the place and redistributed or directly sold.

Kariakoo and its market are a link, organically and functionally efficient between the poor rural economy and population and the poor urban economy and population. The market and its many petty activities are also an important source of petty jobs. In the neighbouring streets, most of the houses shelter a small retail trade, a restaurant, an hotel, a repair service, a public writer; the place is crowded with hawkers, porters.

The project has already been started up and a modern market, organized in corporation, is functioning. When the new housing scheme is implemented, the form and function of the quarter will be thoroughly different. The new houses will have a new content. The poorest people will be moved to peripheral areas. One cannot speak of urban land speculation in a socialist-oriented country where urban land has been nationalized; one cannot speak either of real estate speculation since there is a rent control; however, it won't be helped that a new population distribution will take place following the differences of income.

The most worrying thing is that the new spatial form will stand up as a wall between the two sides of the same concrete mode of production, one operating in the countryside and the other in the city. This block of concrete is going to generate first the dismantling of a simple form of circulation, and then the complete dependence of the lower circuit upon a reinvigorated upper economic circuit.

The capitalist structure will take root in a very important sector of the economy to drain off the surplus value generated by rural poor and the potential savings of the urban poor.

The new spatial form will have deadly effects upon traditional trade and production: elementary wholesale trade, cheap small hotels, restaurants, small retail trade, crafts, repair activities, transport, retail services, etc. Traditional wholesale trade will be replaced by more bureaucratic modern marketing. Capitalist modernization will sadly impose itself all around. The State has nationalized all import-export trade in order to deprive the capitalist system of one of its tools; but now we will soon witness the birth of a monopsonic activity—perhaps under the umbrella of State-owned corporation—and what is worse, it will happen exactly in the production sector on which the food supply of the urban population depends.

The project being now executed is a typical case of short circuitage of the lower circuit of economy in order to make the way to a larger diffusion of capital over space. But it means by the same token that the government's politico-economic project is being also short-circuited.

What can be foreseen from now onwards is a series of concentrations in all activities directly or indirectly linked to the project. Growth with concentration at the service of a capitalistic structure, generates poverty. This poverty will be structurally different from the one of the prior situation because the activities of the poor economy become more dependent upon those of the upper circuit of urban economy. Surely, the activities of the lower circuit won't disappear since poverty is not going to be weeded out but aggravated; however, these activities will be directly dependent on the interests and activities of the upper circuit.

Now, the point at issue is to know whether the government will be able to thwart the trend of capitalism diffusion; whether or not it will have the economic and political power for such action. If not, the political structure itself will be victimized, and from crisis to crisis, will be replaced by a new structure more obedient to the installed capitalist structures. That will be the end of the socialist experimentation.

But forms can be used also to impair and weaken the sovereignty of any underdeveloped country, be it capitalist or socialist. But it must be considered that when handled by capitalism, they become tools in its strategy to stop a transitional process towards socialism.

Forms, devil's totality and planners

Gramsci (L.V.W., 1972, p.85) wrote that "it is easier to talk about content than to talk about forms, because the content can be treated logically". However it seems that many geographers just ignore the mystery of forms: they are the empiricists who, being conquered by the false objectivity of the sensible world, interpret the thing through the thing itself, space by space alone. We must call them spacists or geographers.

There are also those who tried to see through this mystery in a less mechanistic way. J. Einchenbaum and S. Gale's article (19), for instance, presents a true combinatory, a manifold combination of possibilities, and seeks to identify their rationale.

The most significant progress was made when an opposition between process and form was pointed out, while attributing them a cause-to-effect relation: the form being a result of the process.

However, in our opinion, even these last approaches fail to take into account the totality of which processes and forms are only instances.

It is not sufficient to speak of process. Processes 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 is the base for the interpretation of all objects and forces.

The study of totality impels a choice of analytical categories that must reflect the real notion of totality. In my opinion, we must take into account, in addition to the categories of *time* and *scale* that function externally, the categories of *structure*, *function* and *form* to which we have to add the notion of *process*. However the process itself is nothing but a fleeting vector whose life is ephemeral; it is a brief moment, the fraction of time necessary for the structure to be realized, that is to be geographized or better, spatialized

through a function, that is through a more or less lasting activity, and by its indispensable union to a form, this latter longer lasting.

The process ends when a fraction of the structure has been sheltered into a particular form called to have a particular function.

There is no structure without form and no function without form. Every form has a function, object of both its cooperation and its contradiction with the structure. It is a question here of a form with a content, a *form-content*, an actuality, by opposition to the empty form which is an expectative or a delusion.

The essential point is that these categories structure, function and form as well as process (time and scale) are indissociable both as analytical categories and as historical categories. They are the ones that define the concrete totality, the totality in its permanent process of totalization.

Nevertheless, the relations between these categories are often threatened according to a rigid, inalterable order, a verticality, in the structuralist manner. That is, the form is always considered to be commanded: by the process, by the function, by the structure, separately or conjointly.

In reality, things happen differently and it would seem that "bourgeois" specialists of space might have a more practical knowledge of Marx than their Marxist colleagues... It would have never been possible to use spatial planning in the 50's and 60's to aggravate Third World underdevelopment if forms had not been consciously and purposely manipulated parallel to structure, in order to spread capital over those countries.

Theories such as Th. Hermansen's, J. Friedmann's, L. Rodwin's, J. Lasuen's, B. Berry's *et cetera*, are all the same grounded in this peculiar idea of totality, a sick totality, a perverse and evil totality. In such theories, the considered structure is not that of the nation, framework of the actions, but the global structure of the capitalist system. Such theories are serving the dominant mode of production instead of serving the local socio-economic formation and its specific needs. Those are conservative positions tending to maintain the status quo and feed the existing structures while stamping out all new trends that would make possible a transformation.

Mode of production, socio-economic formation, forms

At this point, it is necessary to distinguish between mode of production and socio-economic formation from a theoretical and epistemological point of view because this distinction is an essential one in reality.

At each historical moment, the new forms represent the current mode of production. But it is the socio-economic formation that gives them their real-concrete and systemic signification. Forms are not only a shape of matter vaguely realized, they are a shape of matter bearing a finality to accomplish. Forms are endowed with a technical structure that binds the future, and this is all the more acute in the present technological period.

The new form comes already with an *imported content*. It represents the mode of production in its content. Its incorporation to the socio-economic formation means the incorporation of this content to the receiving socio-economic formation. Modes of production ensure the historical continuity, including historical continuity of forms. But only in the socio-economic formation do the forms get an effective social role. The specificity of their role, moulded on the specificity of the concerned socio-economic formation, does not mean that they lose the role they bear from the mode of production, that is from the broadcasting countries of the centre of the system.

The new form introduces a *new relationship*, an increased dependence which, from then onward, will press the socio-economic formation to a structural change, often fundamental. This historical moment is a crucial one, wherein a *mutation* occurs, which overcomes the up-to-now prevailing conditions. The impact is all the more brutal that the country is less developed.

The transition's problems

The example of Tanzania calls forth another observation because it puts forward the problem of transi-

tion.

Can we speak of a transitional socio-economic formation? No, there is no transitional socio-economic formation. But there is actually a situation in which socialist structures grow side by side with capitalist structures. Capitalist structures benefit from the acquired speed and from the spontaneous possibilities of growth of the capitalist system. Socialist structures only develop under true cooperation with the capitalist system. State. It is through the pre-existing capitalist structures that the capitalist system counteracts to thwart any desired or at work structural change.

A totality designed to move in a given direction, forms commanded by an opposed finality of efforts of reconstruction and may turn down the whole project. Transition is not performed as long as a tendency, historically determined, has not been transformed into structure, that is to say, until the structure, from then on inoperative, be replaced by the tendency that is no longer a potentiality

This devil's totality represented by forms is a threat not only for the economic instance but for the political instance as well, whose distortion no longer allow to speak of transition.

The role of forms, of spatial forms in particular, is a crucial one in a situation of transition: opposing change because they are earth grounded, some new forms resist above all by their technical structure which is endowed with means to reproduce the very structure that is sought to be suppressed.

Towards a human space

In this view, we assume that in present conditions still more than in previous periods. space is definitely called to play a decisive role in the oppression or liberation of man. During the last 80 years, but mostly after World War II, many geographers gave a precious and pernicious collaboration to the expansion of capital with all its inequalities, all over the world and particularly in the Third World. Of course, it was easy to go with the stream.

We must prepare ourselves for the opposite action and try to find the foundations of a space that would be a true human space, the space of everybody and not the space of capital, technically called the "economic space".

WESTERNIZATION OF THE GANG OF FOUR:



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Can we speak of a transitional socio-economic formation? No, there is no transitional socio-economic formation. But there is actually a situation in which socialist structures grow side by side with capitalist structures. Capitalist structures benefit from the acquired speed and from the spontaneous possibilities of growth of the capitalist system. Socialist structures only develop under true cooperation and the planned impulse of the State. It is through the pre-existing capitalist structures that the capitalist system counteracts to thwart any desired or at work structural change.

Within a totality designed to move in a given direction, forms commanded by an opposed finality thwart the efforts of reconstruction and may turn down the whole project. Transition is not performed as long as the desired tendency, historically determined, has not been transformed into structure, that is to say, until the previous structure, from then on inoperative, be replaced by the tendency that is no longer a potentiality but a reality.

This devil's totality represented by forms is a threat not only for the economic instance but for the political instance as well, whose distortion no longer allow to speak of transition.

The role of forms, of spatial forms in particular, is a crucial one in a situation of transition: opposing change because they are earth grounded, some new forms resist above all by their technical structure which is endowed with means to reproduce the very structure that is sought to be suppressed.

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WESTERNIZATION OF THE GANG OF FOUR:



'Fields, Factories and Workshops.' Prince Kropotkin.
Nelson. 2s 6d.

We welcome a reprint of this important little book, so valuable to all those who strive for a better social order because it discusses the linkage of agriculture and industry in a co-operative organisation. Along with it one should read Foght's Rural Schools of Denmark to gain an insight into the educational side of the policy of social co-operation.

(From the Geographical Teacher, No. 55,
Vol. X, Part 3, Autumn 1919, p. 123)



White is
wearing rings
in your ears while laughing
at people who wear
rings in their
noses.

IF
YOU'VE
GOT

If you've got
anything worth having
we want it; timber?
We cut it! Minerals?
We take them too,
leaving you with holes
in the ground! We buy,
with your money, all
enterprises that pay well,
take over plantations, farms,
sheep and cattle stations,
plant bases for our
armed forces where we will,
then sell you our hogwash
we advertise as culture, for you
to take and feed your kids
with; but if you don't
want what we give you,
we'll plaster you with
a hundred and one kinds
of bombs; rip your land
apart, just to show you
where might lies, and
the essential correctness
of free enterprise.

Peking , August 26th, 1970.

Rewi Alley
(Cited in the N Z Monthly Review)

Recently in a reputable American geography department, a memo was sent around to graduate students advertising a Central Intelligence Agency "summer intern program" for those interested in China, Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Russia. Students were informed that the pay would be good and "the experience would probably be invaluable." (Someone has a sense of humour.)

Concern for man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavours....Never forget this in the midst of your diagrams and equations.

(Albert Einstein)

THE 11 COMMANDMENTS OF IMPERIALISM

I gnorance
M alnutrition
P overty
E xploitation
R acial hatred
I ntimidation
A narchy
L abour unrest
I nternational gangsterism
S ocial division
M urther

(From a Guyana government handbill)

ESPACES ET SOCIÉTÉS

Revue critique internationale de l'aménagement, de l'architecture
et de l'urbanisation.

Editors: Castells, Durand, Jonas, Lefebvre, Preteceille, et al.
Subscriptions: Editions Anthropos, 12 Avenue du Maire, Paris 15.
France 80F, Foreign 90 F, Individual copies 25F.

No. 15, April 1975:

Michael Maffesoli: Imaginary and Real in the Task of History.
Pierre Sansot: **City** and Poetry.
Alain Medem: Peripheral Cities.
Simone Debout: The Transitional City.
Alain Pessin and Henry Tonque: The World and the City.
Francois Pelletier: Urban District and Social Communication.
Andre Bruston: The "Regeneration" of Lyon 1853-1865.
Andreina Daolio: The Urban Struggles in Italy.
Christine Castelain: History of the "Campamento Nueva Habana"
(Chile).

Compte-Rendu: L. Arnaud-Matech: Games, Models, and Simulations,
Critique of the Urban Games of Edmond Preteceille.

No. 16, November 1975:

A. Lipietz: Theoretical Approach to the Transformations of
Space in France.
Bernard Poche: Mode of Production and Urban Structures.
Claude Henri: Value, Contradictions and Mode of Production: A
Tertiary Lecture.
Julien Freund: The City According to Max Weber.
Richard Fauque: Perception of the City and Urban Imagination.
Michel Coquery: Urban Renovation and The Problem of the Centre
Eva Radwan and Jean-Francois Parent: The District of Aulequin in
Grenoble.
Michel Wieviorka: Urban Marketing.

Nos. 17-18, March/June 1976:

Special Issue on "The Urban Crisis in the U.S."

David Harvey: The Political Economy of Urbanisation in the U.S..
Richard Cild Hill: Spatial Structure, Ethnic Segregation and Crises
of Local Finances in the American Metropolises.
John Mollenkopf: Urban Politics and Social Conflicts in the U.S.
(1945-1975).

Inquiries: Christian Topalov: The Politics of Housing in the Portuguese
Revolutionary Process.

LA PENSÉE

Revue du Rationalisme Moderne.

Directing committee: Cogniot, Dubois, Haud Ricourt, Laberrenne, Langevin-Joliot-Curie, Le Ny, Mitterand, Muldwort, Orcel, Soboul.

No. 185, February 1976:

Pierre Macherey: The History of Philosophy Considered as a Struggle of Tendencies.

Solange Mercier-Josa: Hegelian Dialectic and Freudian Psychoanalysis.

Christian Palloix: The Work Process from Fordism to Neo-Fordism.

Abdelkader Djeghboul: The Algerian Social Formation on the Eve of Colonisation.

Georges Cogniot: The Politics of The Rhinoceros.

Marcel Cornu: Architecture, its Knowledge Trapped by the Idolatry of Art.

No. 186, April 1976:

Lazare Behare: Population Law and Demographic Science.

Carmel Camilleri: The Individual and the Group: Some Aspects of Social Psychology.

Jean Jacques Goblot: Pierre LeRoux after Les Trois Glorieuses.

Luce Langevin: The 250 Years of The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

Yildiz Sertel: Asiatic Mode of Production and Ottoman History.

Fortune di Ruzza: The "Dictionnaire Economique et Social".

Georges Cogniot: Democracy and Education.

No. 187, June 1976:

Michel Grenon, Regine Robin, Albert Soboul, Florence Gauthier, and Elizabeth Guibert: The French Revolution and the Problem of Passage from Feudalism to Capitalism.

Michel Pecheux: Union Position and Party Involvement in the Human and Social Sciences.

Jacques Vignet-Zunz: The Rural Monograph.

Pierre Bonte: Maurice Godelier, Marxist Itineraries in Anthropology.

LA PENSÉE (Cont'd)

No. 188, August 1976:

Mincent Labeyrie: The Place of the Ecological Revolution in the Scientific and Technological Revolution.

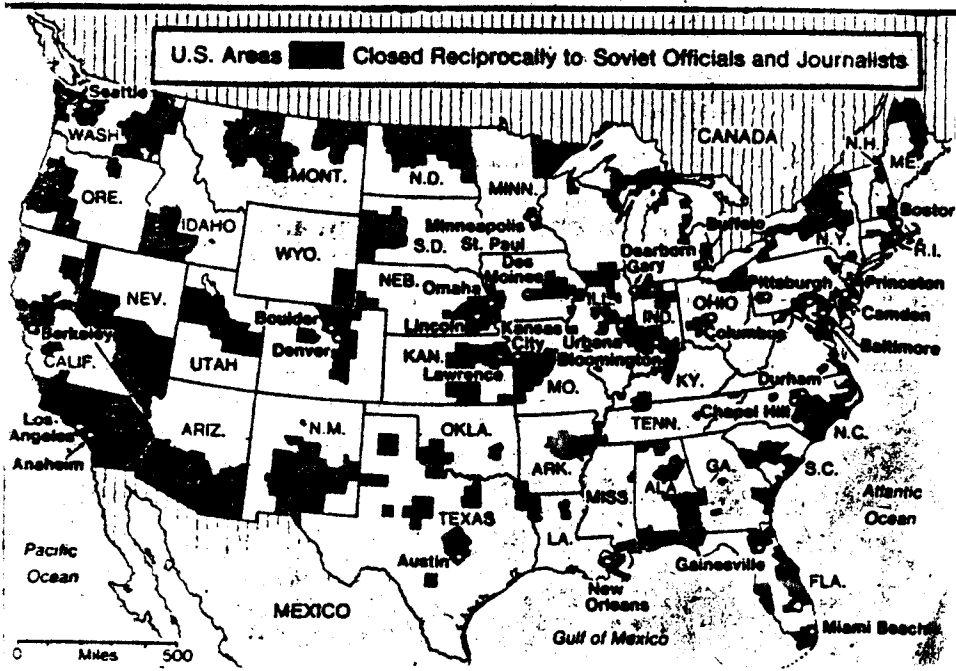
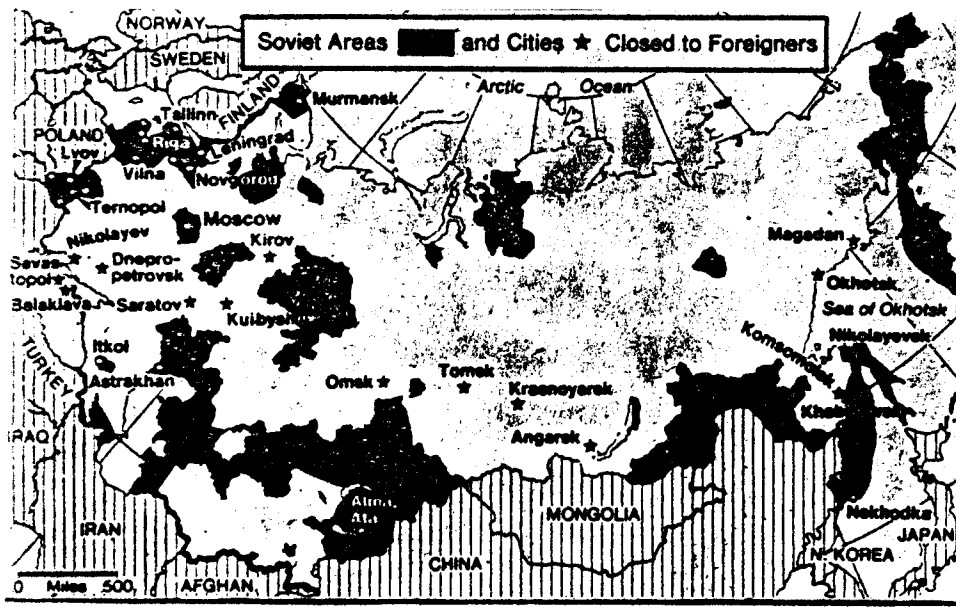
Friedhart Klix: The Criteria of Knowledge [connaissance] in Radical Research in Psychology.

Francoise Robert-Gadet: The Historical Difficulties in the Framework of the "Formation Permanente".

Albert Ayache: Right and Left in the French Protectorate of Morocco in 1934-1936.

Michel Paty: Note on the Dialectic and the Evaluation of Theories.

Yves Benot: To Hear the Cry of Artand.



RE VUE TIERS-MONDE

Institut d'Etude du Développement Economique et Social
58, Boulevard Arago, 75013 Paris, France.
Subscriptions 97F, foreign 107F, each edition 25F.

Tome XVII--No. 65, January- March 1976

"The Transfer of Technologies" (under the direction of Dimitri Germidis).

Contents:

- Dimitri Germidis: Transfer of technology to developing countries: a controversial issue.
- Pierre-F. Gonod: Elements for new policies in the transfer of technology.
- A.S. Bhalla: Technology transfer, appropriate technology and employment, with special reference to agriculture.
- Antonio Marques dos Santos: Contribution to the critique of the concept of intermediate technology.
- Mikoto Usui: Transnational enterprises and international development: A new focus in the perspective of industrial and technological cooperation.
- Dimitri Germidis: Transfer of technology, regional cooperation and multinational firms.
- Nicolas Jequier: Codes of conduct concerning the transfer of technology: Solution or source of conflict?
- Schiller Thebaud: The "systems" of scientific and technical research in developing countries.
- Daniel Carriere: Toward a redeployment of the labour force and a technological exchange.
- J. de Bandt: Transfer of technology and industrial readjustment policies.
- Charles-Albert Michalet: Transfer of technology, multinational firms and the internationalisation of production.
- Martin Brown: The role of engineering firms in the transfer of technology.
- Gilbert Etienne: The Chinese walk on five legs.
- J.M. Dagnino Pastore and B.C. Raddavero: Aspects of the importation of technology in Argentina's automotrice industry.
- Surendra J. Patel: Collective self-reliance of developing countries.
- Nicole Ganiere: Technology and industrialisation in China: A bibliographical contribution.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW:

International conference of researchers on the transfer of technology by multinational firms--Paris, O.C.D.E., Nov. 1975.

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"Before UNCTAD-IV: Commodities, Raw Materials and International Politics," Presented by Jean Masini.

UNCTAD Secretariat: An Integrated Program for Commodities.

Michel Dumas: What is the New International Economic Order?

Arghiri Emmanuel: "Stabilisation", Alibi for International Exploitation.

Francois Geze: The Battle for Mineral Raw Materials: Multinationals vs. Producer Nations.

J. -P. Berlan, J. -P. Bertrand and L. Lebas: Elements of the World-wide American "Soja Complex".

Bernard Reysset: Comparative Cost Evolution of Different Commodities.

Jacques de Bandt: Commodities in the New International Economic Order.

INTERNATIONAL RAW MATERIALS POLICIES:

Georges Fischer: Initial Note.

Aime Teyssier D'Orfeuille: Shortages on World Commodity Markets.

Denis Bauchard: Oil, Its Present and Future.

Pierre Legoux: Tin and the International Tin Agreement.

Andras Madas: Wood: New Perspectives for Developing Countries.

Guy Delaporte: Coffee: Imposed or Negotiated Prices?

Philippe Kahn: The Raw Materials Crisis and Internal Organisation Measures.

Helge Hreem: Raw Materials, Multilateral Agreements and the Structure of Economic Power.

Suzanne de Brunhoff: Raw Materials and the International Monetary System.

Jean Touscoz: International Co-operation and Third World Exports of Raw Materials: Conditions for Fair Trade.

Celso Furtado: The New International Economic Order: A View From the Third World.

DEVELOPMENT SOCIOLOGY:

Yves Goussault: Introductory Note.

James F. Petras: Development Sociology or Exploitation Sociology?

Yves Goussault: The State and Agricultural Development: The Concept of Interference.

REVUE TIERS-MONDE (Cont'd)

- David Barkin: Popular Participation and the Dialectic of Cuban Development.
- Nourredine Abdi: Agrarian Reform and the Algerian Path to Development.
- Jean-Claude Chesnais and Jacques Ballin: The Demographic Question in the Indian Sub-Continent.
- Jean-Jacques Drevon and Serge Treche: Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Bolivia.
- Jean-Francois Troussier: Guyana Through Questions.
- Farhad Rad-Serecht: Structural Distortions and the Growth Process. Essay on the Dynamics of Tertiary Sector Expansion in the Iranian Economy.

AT THE I.E.D.E.S.:

Supplying cities in African countries and Madagascar in 1985.
The Special Cycle "Childhood--Youth" and development plans.
The AFIRD

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***** Ideological Eye Openers *****

ECONOMICS FOR LITTLE ONES

Five-year-olds in two states may soon know more about economics than their parents, after a program to teach the elements of economics has been introduced next year throughout the school systems of California and Utah.

The program, originated two years ago at the University of California at Los Angeles, is called Kinder-Economy. Under it, kindergarten pupils spend 30 minutes a day for a semester learning economic concepts in classroom situations.

For example, according to Dr. Marilyn Kourilsky, associate professor of economic education, who developed the program, "When there aren't enough crayons or felt-tip pens, the teacher can talk about the concept of scarcity."

The principle of 'opportunity cost' is taught by presenting a child with a variety of activities during a play period and later asking the child to consider what was lost by choosing one activity over another, and whether the decision actually made was the 'profitable' one.

Once such basic concepts are mastered, children advance to more sophisticated projects, such as running their own businesses. One major obstacle to implementing this program has been that elementary teachers themselves lack the necessary background in economics to present the materials to the children.

COURSE OUTLINE . MCGILL UNIVERSITY. GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT.

FALL/SPRING: 1976/77.

Introductory statement.

In common with many other studies in the social sciences, the ideas and concepts of 'development', 'growth', 'progress', and 'modernisation' (and various other in-phrases) will be subjected to questioning in this course. The course title has been chosen deliberately to indicate that it is underdevelopment rather than 'development' which is the prevailing condition of the majority of the world's peoples. It will also be the object of our studies to show that this condition is the result of a process with deep historical roots, that is, related to the hyper-development and growth of the so-called 'advanced', or 'developed industrial' societies. Finally, as a study in geography, the course will be concerned not just with 'economic' development, but will endeavour to relate the different aspects of developing or underdeveloping societies. In so doing, it will consider problems at various levels - international, national, sub-national - and those existing between social classes, ethnic and cultural groups.

In working out the course structure we have tried to tie the various elements to a unifying theme. We consider that theme, very clearly, to be centred around the evolution and growth of capitalism, the dominant world social system. The inherent tendency of that system to expand and to concentrate power based on the need for continuous capital accumulation will be the focus around which historical studies and the analyses of contemporary social and spatial disparities will be considered.

Course Structure.

With these themes as a background, we can now consider the course schema.

1. Introduction.

- (a) Some definitions - values.
- (b) Consideration of different approaches.

2. The Evolution of the Exchange Economy.

- (a) Internal/external relationships.
- (b) The process of expansion.
- (c) Accumulation, surplus, appropriation, and other concepts

3. The Mechanisms of growth, Penetration and Incorporation in their Historical Context.

(a) Changes in the mode of production.

- mercantile capitalism
- early industrial capitalism
- export of goods, capital, technology
- transnational corporate dominance

(b) Interaction of global expansion with distinct societies and geographical areas.

- sophisticated cultures
- tribal communities in areas of exploitation
- tribal communities in areas of settlement
- comparison of different forms of interaction and their results over time

4. The Manifestation of Underdevelopment.

(a) Forms of domination.

- neo-colonialism and global production/consumption
- cultural incorporation

(b) Dependence and its consequences.

- economic
- political
- socio-cultural

The intention here will be to consider some of the consequences of dependence:

(i) in economic terms [monocultural, export-oriented agriculture externally patterned (and/or directed) forms of industrialisation/urbanisation/modernisation; rural - urban migration; sectoral employment changes etc.]

(ii) in social and cultural terms (emergence of new classes in urban areas - elites, working class and marginalised; social consequences of urbanisation and economic change - problems of disruption leading to alienation, violence, alcoholism; the culture of poverty and new forms of unrest

(iii) in political terms (rise of new power groups and decision makers allied with the international structure of economic and political control; the intermediary role of the middle class and its contradictions; other groups of influence -- church, armed forces etc.).

5. Responses from the Periphery to Centralised Control.

This section will be considered schematically in much the same way as section 4.. The following give an indication of the areas of interest to the course.

- (a) Economically - changing attitudes to transnational corporate influence, bargaining, nationalisation, protection of domestic activity.
- (b) Social and cultural responses - agrarian reform, urban reform, class organisations, rejection of dominant ideology through music, literature, art, language and other statements of class, community, regional and national identity.
- (c) Politically - nationalism; regionalism; separatism; emergence of new political groups based on social and economic class interest and consciousness; revolutionary movements.

White is
looking in the
dictionary to find out what
honky means.



WE ONLY WANT THE EARTH

Some men, faint-hearted, ever seek
Our programme to retouch,
And will insist whene'er they speak
That we demand too much.
'Tis passing strange, yet I declare
Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are,
We only want the earth.

'Be moderate,' the trimmers cry,
Who dread the tyrants' thunder.
'You ask too much and people fly
From you aghast in wonder.'
'Tis passing strange, for I declare
Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are,
We only want the earth.

Our masters all a godly crew,
Whose hearts throb for the poor,
Their sympathies assure us, too,
If our demands were fewer.
Most generous souls! But pleasure observe,
What they enjoy from birth
Is all we ever had the nerve
To ask, that is, the earth.

The 'labour fakir' full of guile,
Base doctrine ever preaches,
And whilst he bleeds the rank and file
Tame moderation teaches.
Yet, in despite, we'll see the day
When, with sword in its girth,
Labour shall march in war array
To realize its own, the earth.

For labour long, with sighs and tears,
To its oppressors knelt.
Be never yet, to aught save fears,
Did the heart of tyrant melt.
We need not kneel, our cause no dearth
Of loyal soldiers' needs
And our victorious rallying cry
Shall be we want the earth.

Songs of Freedom 1907

From: Selected Works of James Connolly
Ed. Beresford Ellis
Penguin, 1974.

USG FINANCIAL STATEMENT

April 1, 1976 to April 30, 1977

Balance as at March 31, 1976 488.23

Expenditure

Administrative and mailing 81.53

Newsletter printing 260.15

341.68

Income

Donations 105.00

Memberships and subscriptions 145.31

Interest on credit union accounts 25.95

276.26

Balance at APRIL 30, 1977 422.81

N.B. Forthcoming expenditure will total between \$200-300 made up of mailing, conference expenses, newsletter printing (Vol. 2 #1 and #2) and reprinting of back issues of the newsletter.

ADDRESSES

Inquiries concerning the USG, its nature and goals should be sent to

Paul Susman
Department of Geography
Clark University
Worcester Mass. 01610

along with other general correspondence.

Inquiries concerning the annual meeting of the USG in Regina (see final notice elsewhere in the issue you are reading) should go to

Colm Regan
Department of Geography
McGill University
Montreal, Quebec

Subscriptions, donations, membership inquiries, requests for back issues of the newsletter and similar matters should go to

USG
Department of Geography
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby B.C.
Canada V5A 1S6

Requests for the Study Papers on Imperialism produced by the Vancouver local of the USG should be addressed to that local at the Simon Fraser Address given above.

Membership of the USG is \$5 per year (including the newsletter); newsletter subscriptions are \$5 per year; the Study Papers are \$2 per copy.

The editing of future newsletters will be decided by the AGM; meanwhile, contributions should be sent to Paul Susman or to the Vancouver local.

***** Ideological Eye Openers *****

"It is anticipated that, under the Empire broadcasting system, it will be possible for naked blacks to listen-in in the jungle to the world's best operas. We may also reach the period when brown-skinned Indians will be able to dance to one of England's best orchestras, and when furred-clad Canadians in distant snowbound outposts may listen to a description of the running of the English Derby..... I believe that by means of the wireless we shall be able to bring different parts of the British Empire into very close contact with each other."

From a governmental statement before the Australian parliament on March 9, 1932. The quotation is in connection with the setting up of the Australian Broadcasting Commission which was to be linked into the imperial system coordinated by the B.B.C.