

Sue Riddick

U.S.G.

NEWSLETTER

Union of Socialist Geographers

oct. - nov. 1977

vol. 3 no. 1

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# Editorial

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As might be expected, the Newsletter needs more money. We urge people to renew their subscriptions and invite non-subscribers to subscribe. This issue contains a loose leaf subscription form. Readers of the Newsletter should ask their local, college, and university libraries to subscribe to the newsletter.

Due to the shortage of production staff at Simon Fraser University, all material should be sent ready for publication.

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 FIRST LINE OF EACH PARAGRAPH =  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch indentation (5 spaces)

LINES PER PAGE = 58 (single spaced)  
 CARTOONS, ADVERTISEMENTS, ETC. - good copy

We are grateful to all those who submitted material for this issue, to all those who helped with the typing and other stages of production, and especially to those who took minutes of the annual general meeting in Regina, in June.

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## What Is The USG ?

The Union of Socialist Geographers was organised in Toronto in May 1974. The consensus of those gathered in Toronto was that an organisation - the USG - be formed to improve communication among those geographers who agree with the principles in the organisation's aims:

The purpose of our union is to work for the radical restructuring of our societies in accord with the principles of social justice. As geographers and as people we will contribute to this process in two complementary ways:

1. organising and working for radical change in our communities, and
2. developing geographic theory to contribute to revolutionary struggle.

Thus we subscribe to the principle: from each according to ability, to each according to need. We declare that the development of a humane, non-alienating society requires, as its most fundamental step, socialisation of the ownership of the means of production.

The USG currently has members in Africa, Europe and Latin America as well as North America. Several active groups exist in both Canada and the United States, including academic and non-academic geographers, and non-geographers. The USG publishes a Newsletter several times a year and holds an annual meeting in April or May each year.

The USG welcomes inquiries and new members. For further information, and the names of people to contact in your vicinity, write to

Susan Barry  
Department of Geography  
McGill University  
805 Sherbrooke St West  
Montreal Quebec

To become a member, send your name, address and \$5 to

Nathan Edelson  
Department of Geography  
Simon Fraser University  
Burnaby, B.C.  
Canada V5A 1S6

Membership includes receipt of the Newsletter. Individual newsletter subscriptions are \$5; institutional subscriptions, \$10 per year.

## Note From The Executive

At the Annual Meeting in Regina, it was decided that the Executive Committee will consist of six members: a secretary, a treasurer, conference organizer, and three members at large. Four of these positions have been filled. We are still searching for two members at large. Thus far we have Committee members from Montreal, Toronto, Chicago, and Vancouver. We hope to find a volunteer from the east coast of the United States.

It has been suggested that next year we explicitly appoint a member of the Executive to represent non-academic members of the USG. Another suggestion has been made that we appoint a member from Europe to organize regional meetings for our growing membership in Great Britain, Ireland, and on the Continent.

If you know of any people who might be interested in joining the USG please send their names and addresses to Nathan Edelson at the Dept of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. We can send them a complimentary copy of the newsletter and forward their names to the appropriate regional coordinators of the Union.

## Available Publications

The following publications are available from the UNION OF SOCIALIST GEOGRAPHERS, Vancouver Local, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Back Issues of the USG Newsletter:

Volume 1 Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4-5  
Volume 2 Numbers 1 and 2  
\$1.50 each

Study Papers on Imperialism  
by the SFU Working Group on Imperialism  
\$2.00 each

Canadian-American Geographical Expedition  
Papers by William Bunge

Field Notes 1: The North American Working Class \$1.50  
Field Notes 2: The Canadian-American Geographical Expedition \$1.50

Review of Nicos Poulantzas's CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM  
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## Treasurer's Report

As of October 1, 1977, we have \$512 (Canadian funds) in the USG International account at the North Burnaby Credit Union. We estimate that this should be enough money to produce four newsletters and still leave some funds for the 1978 Annual Meeting at New Orleans:

### Reproduction Costs

Xerox masters: 40 pages at .10 per page = \$4.00  
(200 copies) x (40 pages at .005 per page) = \$40.00

### Mailing:

120 to North America at .25 each = \$30.00  
40 to overseas members at .50 each = \$20.00

Misc: = \$16.00

Total cost per newsletter = \$110.00

Four newsletters should cost approximately \$440.00. That will leave us with only \$72 to cover the costs of the Annual Meeting as well as regional conferences and costs of contacting new members. Unless we receive more funds during the next few months, the International will not be able to help subsidize the costs of regional meetings.

At the present time there are 56 members paid up until May 1, 1978. In addition, 33 members paid their dues last year, but have not yet contributed this year's \$5.00. These 33 members will receive Volume 3 Numbers 1 and 2 of the USG Newsletter before being dropped from our mailing list. There are, rather unfortunately, 67 laggards who have paid neither their 1976 nor their 1977 dues. For them, Volume 3 Number 1 (this issue) is the last USG Newsletter they will receive until dues are paid.

For the last two years, the USG has been subsidized through various contributions from members and institutions. These subsidies should not and can no longer be relied upon for our regular operation. The USG must become self-sufficient. This can be done. We would need approximately \$750 per year in dues and subscriptions. That amount would enable us to produce four newsletters and have about \$250 to contact new members, sponsor regional meetings and organize the annual meeting. To raise \$750, we require 150 memberships. If each paid up member of the USG could get two others to join, we would have more than enough. We also sell subscriptions to institutions at a rate of \$10.00 for four issues. Your university or public library might be interested in subscribing. We can provide \$5.00 subscriptions to student unions or other organizations with limited funds.

Nathan Edelson

# USG Regional Conference - Toronto

Location: University of Toronto's Sydney Smith Hall

## Programme

11 November (Friday) - Party 8.00 p.m. to ?? a.m.  
21 Raglan Place #4  
Toronto, Ont. M6C 2K7  
Tele. no. 416-656-0912

12 November (Saturday)

10.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m. Workshop on Regional Development organised by Montreal Local of the USG.

2.00 p.m. - 5.00 p.m. Workshop on Political Economy of Urbanisation organised by Toronto Local of the USG.

13 November (Sunday)

10.00 p.m. - 12.00 p.m. Organisational Meeting

1.00 p.m. - 4.00 p.m. Workshop on Field Geography.

## Contact People

Suzanne MacKenzie  
21 Raglan Place #4  
Toronto.  
Telephone no. 416-656-0912

Alan Wallace  
231 Vaughan Rd. #C12,  
Toronto.  
Telephone number 656-1317

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Note: Friday afternoon arrivals (i.e., before 6.00 p.m.) should telephone 978-2057.



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# Political Economy Of Urbanisation Workshop

On 9 July, 1977, at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, a preliminary gathering was held, attended by about twenty people, most of whom are interested, one way or another, in Urban Political Economy/Housing/The State. The idea for this session emerged out of the Canadian Association of Geographers and Union of Socialist Geographers meetings in Regina in June - when some people from McGill, University of Toronto, and Queens got together for informal discussions, and came to realise that there were individuals and small groups at several universities in Ontario and Quebec who had similar or complementary research interests but who had no forum for inter-communication. So we decided to get some of them together in one place for a day as soon as possible.

The meeting was convened by members of the Geography Department at Queens, and attended by faculty and graduate students from University of Toronto Geography and Planning Departments, several members of Kingston Socialists, and one member of the British Political Economy of Housing Workshop.

The discussion centered around the purpose of setting up a group structure with meetings on a regular basis, the focus of interest of the group, and organisational matters. It was agreed that the spectrum of interest could be covered under the heading "political economy of urbanisation" but that it should not be restricted to "housing." One participant suggested that an ongoing group could aim to fulfil any or all of these functions: -

- (a) To provide a support system for students and teachers who feel isolated within their own departments and would benefit from a pooling of (human resources).
- (b) To provide a means of co-ordinating people with complementary research interests and of identifying "gaps" where research was urgently needed.
- (c) To produce material that would "service" existing socialist-oriented citizens' and political groups whose work might need theoretical backing. After much debate, the feeling among most of those who wanted to participate in an ongoing group was that for the time being, at least until its identity and direction were further established, the group should operate predominantly within the university level where most of us had some skills and personal experience. Meetings and memberships should, however, be open to anyone; individual members should be encouraged to engage in any political practice that seemed appropriate to them; and the goals of the group should not be static ones.

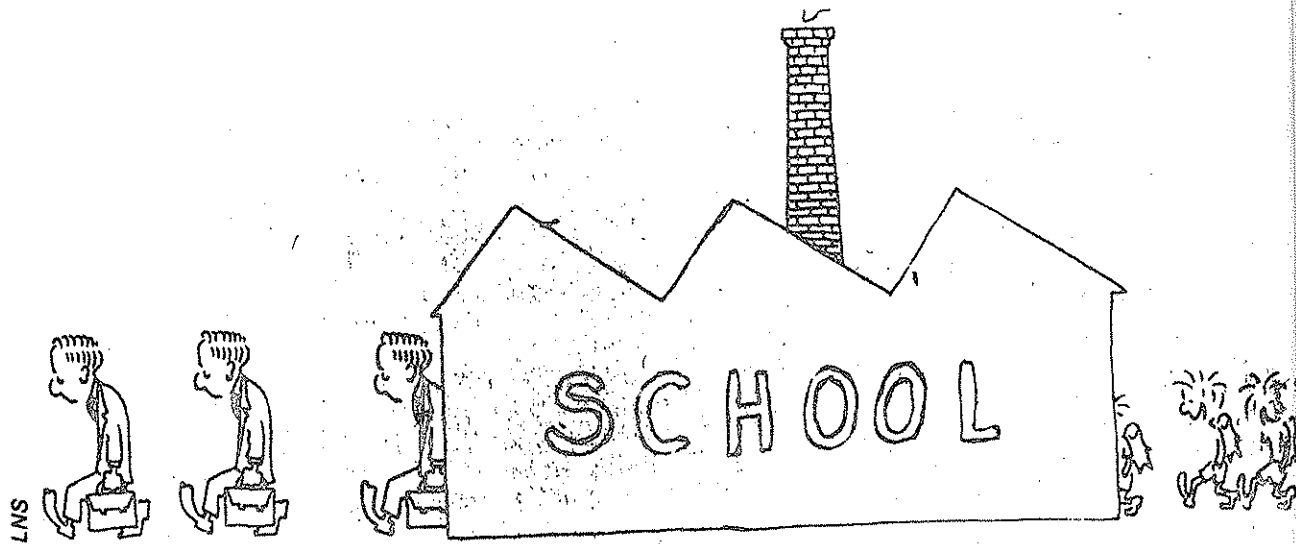


Agreement was reached on a WORKSHOP format for the next one-day meeting, at which two sessions will (tentatively) be held. Each session will have a theme, around which a small group of people will prepare sets of issues and questions, and will use these to lead off a structured discussion. Several themes were suggested:

- (1) Ideology and residential environments
- (2) the family and residential environments.
- (3) class structure, "housing class" and urban political movements.
- (4) the state and housing policy in Canada
- (5) the political relevance of theoretical work on reproduction of the labour force.

An ad hoc committee was set up to organise and publicise the next meeting and to decide upon two themes for the workshops - depending on people volunteering to lead discussions. (see notice on p. ).

Report submitted by Damaris Rose.

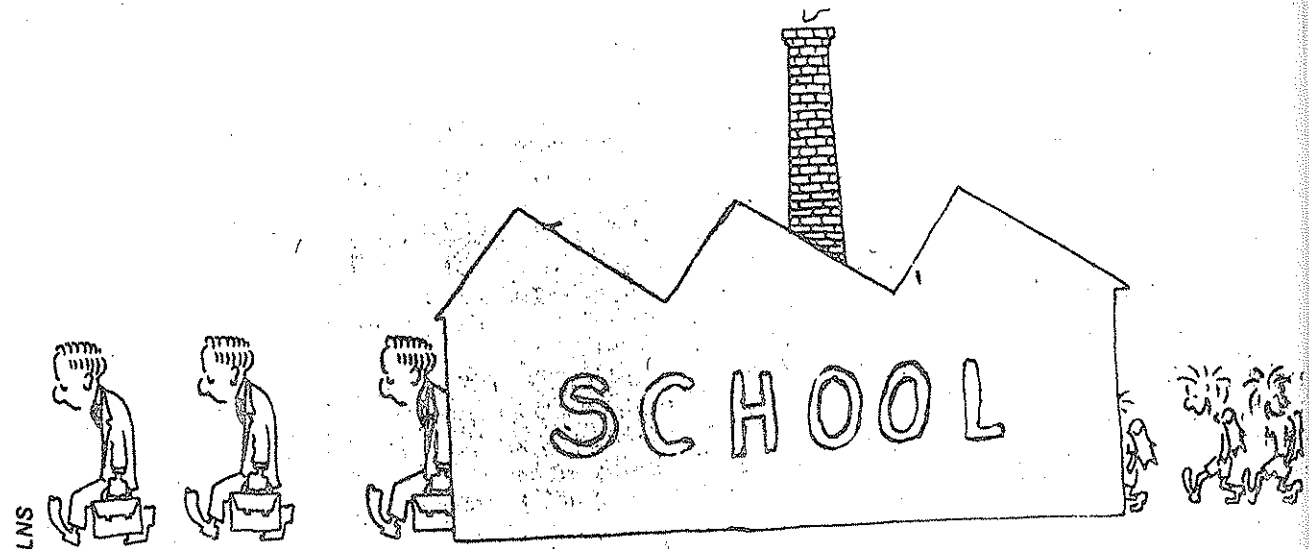


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Report submitted by Damaris Rose.



State and Mind Volume 6, No. 1 (formerly RT, A Journal of Radical Therapy)

## Papers From Regina - USG

### 1. NICOS POULANTZAS'S ANALYSIS OF CLASSES IN CAPITALISM

Over the past few years a recurring theme in USG meetings and discussion groups has been the thorny question of providing a rigorous framework with which to tackle the question of class in contemporary society. To this end, a working group was established at Simon Fraser University which chose Nicos Poulantzas's book *CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM* (NLB, London, 1975) as its starting point. At the Regina meeting this group presented a summary of their reading of Poulantzas as a preliminary discussion paper.

Poulantzas's work was initially chosen because the group considered it to be the most rigorous and comprehensive discussion available at present. In its introduction, the group stressed the need to approach this work on its own terms, i.e., become familiar with the discourse at least as the preliminary step. This, they felt, was particularly important as misunderstanding and misreading of the text has been a frequent event. Another point stressed initially was that the group's presentation was an introduction and by no means represented a comprehensive framework. The first section of the introduction dealt with Poulantzas's methodological principles and listed some of the principal concepts, e.g. class struggle and the concept of class, class places and class positions, and economic, political and ideological relations in the structural determination of classes. The second part endeavoured to provide an international context in which Poulantzas's concepts could operate. The presentation then turned to the forms of productive relations in which capital has been involved historically, plus a discussion of the political and ideological relations of production. Commercial, banking, and productive capital were then situated in the periodisation of monopoly capital.

Attention was then focussed upon the way in which a social formation is articulated in the imperialist chain and how such articulation can give rise to comprador, national and domestic bourgeoisies, and perhaps of major importance today, the contradictions which can arise among them. Thus the bourgeoisie is not viewed as a unified bloc with common goals and interests at all times. The remainder of the presentation covered such other aspects as the role and function of the state, the nature of the new petty bourgeoisie and its relation to the working class and the traditional petty bourgeoisie, and some concepts which Poulantzas develops in the course of his class analysis. The final section dealt with some critiques of Poulantzas, both from within the group, and others previously published. The group took issue with Poulantzas's definitions of (1) boundaries between classes; (2) the relationship between the old and new petty bourgeoisie; (3) his restriction of productive workers to those who produce material commodities; (4) his looseness in some definitions. The summary was

attended by an extremely useful glossary of terms drawing upon Poulantzas, Althusser, Balibar, and others.

Since it is by no means possible to enumerate adequately the areas covered or the discussion presented, it may be opportune to note that a draft summary of the presentation is available from

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Unfortunately the presentation took quite a long time and thus discussion was somewhat limited. Perhaps the one area in which animated discussion did occur was on the usefulness of the whole exercise. It was strongly argued that to tell a government worker that she/he was a member of the new petty bourgeoisie was counter-productive politically, and further, that the analysis was far too 'abstract'. In reply it was argued that the discussion had not been intended to provide a political programme, that it represented an attempt to understand class, and that many historical happenings (Chile for example) underlined the need for accurate class analysis. Another area of discussion centred around the productive/unproductive labour division and whether such divisions were realistic. The general feeling of the meeting was that the presentation had been useful, that more time was needed for discussion, that documents should be circulated more, and that people would return to the issue again.

(Report by Colm Regan, McGill University)

Bill Bunge was not at the conference. His two papers were read and provoked much discussion. Synopses of Bill's papers and of the discussions are given below.

## 2. THE NORTH AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

By W. Bunge

Historical background: Neither the white nor the black working class was represented in the demands of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. It was when Martin Luther King began to champion working class and poor people's rights that he was shot. The New Left and counterculture and feminist movements were similarly premised on middle class demands. The black movement took a nationalistic turn in which middle class and working class interests could coincide. The administration in Washington was anti-labour: wages were held down, unemployment increased, profits increased, along with suppression in the name of law and order, encouragement of patriotism and racism.

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The work place: In the late 1940's, the Progressive Labour Movement retreated and the percentage of unionized workers declined. Only the Teamsters were effective in the South, the land of "runaway" non-union industries. Organizers of textile workers murdered in the 1960's got little attention from the press compared to civil rights workers; the flight of industries to the South continued. The South and West were also recipients of military contracts and of much public investment. This is part of the "Southern Strategy".

In Canada workers reacted to deteriorating conditions, such as wage controls without price controls, leading to a day of protest in October 1976. Rank and file militancy in Canada is advanced, for instance, the French Canadian trade unions, the existence of a labour party (NDP), and the tolerance of socialism shown by unions. The North of the USA is increasingly militant, for instance, the UMW is controlled by the rank and file. The Building Trade Unions have been reactionary but are now experiencing economic repression which should make them more militant. The Teamsters continue to act strangely; perhaps a change will come there. The bulk of the labour movement seems determined to organize the South (witness the UAW) to save Northern jobs.

Working class neighbourhoods: Classic working class strategy is to organize parties or factions around a union base. Recent problems make it apparent that the home place of the working class is going to need attention as well. Nationalism (eg, French Quebecois, Puerto Ricans, black and native people) is more intense at the living place, in solid ethnic neighbourhoods, than in the more integrated work places. The home place is the neglected flank of the movement. Here the working class is likely to be divided and conquered. The non-working population and the working class neighbourhood organizations need to strengthen their direction and coordination. Racism is the great divider of the working class. Black workers are the worst off. The infant mortality rate for black babies in the USA is higher than fifty-seven percent of the world's nations. In Canada, infant mortality among blacks is much lower. Toronto has no ghetto slum at all. In the USA, the "Southern Strategy" punishes the northern cities. In Canada, the working class has forced the rich to pay considerably more taxes than their American counterparts. In Boston, the white right to community control is pitted against the black right to quality education. It is as if the South were making war on the North. You have to go to the far North -- to Canada -- to find a semblance of peaceful civilization.

Conclusion: Carter is pushing Atlanta for a national model. The Southern working class is weak in the work place and at home. Toronto, not Atlanta, is the model for the working class to follow.

## SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION:

There was much objection to the North-South dichotomization, although some people suggested that it was perhaps mostly a rhetorical tool. With so many Canadian geographers present, much evidence was raised regarding Canada's imperfections, to wit: high infant mortality rates among native groups, Regina's native slum and the severe problems of native people everywhere in Canada; the fact that Toronto has great inequalities and ghetto slums; that Quebec unions may be progressive in some ways, but are reactionary as well; and there are great disparities between unionized workers and the two-thirds of the labour force which is non-union.

People also objected to the northness-southness characterization of the USA. Unions of course developed first in the North where industry was concentrated, but in the face of violence equal to that later experienced in the South. The Southern Strategy is not a regional model but a class strategy of increased exploitation and repression of workers. Jimmy Carter represents aspects of Southern ideology but his fundamental association is with American monopoly capital as a whole (eg, the Tri-Lateral Commission).

Someone suggested that although violent repression of organizing may be quite common, other more civilized ways of blocking workers' demands are just as effective, for instance, through the courts, and through the international unions in Canada which are supported by capital because their leadership cooperates to intensify the labour process, increase productivity, and hold down wage and other demands. One person commented that the NDP is not a truly labour party, and another said that the UMW is not a rank and file run union, and many conflicts occur within it.

### 3. THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL EXPEDITION (CAGE)

By W. Bunge

After a tour of North American campuses in the fall of 1976, twenty-one Canadian students were recruited for a weekend field study in Windsor and Detroit in November. The data they have collected will be analysed and published. It was impossible to get American students to participate in a similar effort.

Geography suffers from special afflictions--geographers have lost the traditional skills of their trade. They no longer explore Geography is becoming incompetent and irrelevant to the world without. This is evidenced especially by its almost complete neglect of field study, its trendiness, its pandering to politicians, instead of being a true science in search of laws of the real world. Geography should be out of the control of politicians in its pursuit of data. When a system rots as badly as the American system has, objective mapping by expeditions will only gain support from the left.

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The expedition to Detroit and Windsor in November 1976 conducted the following explorations (maps included in the text):

- Map 1 Abandoned buildings
- Map 2 Abandoned buildings which have been re-occupied.
- Map 3 Regions of purchased toys
- Map 4 Toyless regions
- Map 5 Skin lacerating soil (weight of pernicious material per square yard)
- Map 6 Children's desert (% barren soil)
- Map 7 Fly-covered babies (houses with no screens)
- Map 8 Cold children (% houses with broken windows)
- Map 9 Surplus food in rural area around Windsor

Two additional maps from the Detroit Geographical Expedition are included in the text: (1) Infant deaths per 1000 in Detroit, and (2) Region of rat-bitten babies in Detroit.

Class distinctions appeared in the environmental pathology maps 1-8. Map 9 showed rotting food in fields near Windsor which could feed starving children in Detroit.

If more maps could be made, the American political reaction would be furious. Objective monitoring by geographers exposes state secrets. The state does not want the public to know about rat-bitten baby regions and protein deficiency.

Who will support an urban exploration? Some geographers, especially younger ones, are interested in doing good work. Hopefully, some departments will grant course credit for summer field work to continue the Detroit-Windsor exploration. Windsor is not supportative so far, but the Detroit mayor's office may soon be. Another potential source of support is unions, especially if some maps relevant to them were produced, such as percent of the work force in unions by province and state, and correlation between unionization and mean income.

The CAGE has started. It has done field work and is publishing; exploring and mapping -- just what geographers are supposed to do and almost never do any more. This time it includes not one city but the continent. Canada has no slum ghetto--our CAGE might help black children in Detroit break theirs.

## CAGE--SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION:

Before discussion proceeded very far, one member gave a background summary of Bunge's career, especially the attempts by the state and the academy to harrass and silence him. The history and achievements of the expeditions throughout North America were also stressed. The ensuing discussion revealed two basic objections concerning the paper, followed by points about the nature of expeditions and their contribution to radical geography, and the question of how the USG can support expeditions.

One objection was made to the apparently simplistic dichotomization of Canadian and American societies. People protested that Canada is capitalist too and has its share of urban and rural slums. The other objection was to the assumption that if all this objective mapping of poverty were done there would be a furious reaction. This hope was not borne out by conditions in the last two decades, in which the public was bombarded by visual images of injustice and inhumanity everywhere; the reaction produced was rather a pathology of silence -- not indignation leading to political action.

This second objection was countered by defence of expeditions on at least three bases: first, they were an attempt to get radical geography as a whole moving; second, they were intended to supply people in a community with information and tools to fight conditions of poverty and deprivation; third, they were intended to break down the division between scholarly work and field work and between the professional geographer and the folk geographer (the latter a community resident having access to training and information provided by field workers). Expeditions were seen as valuable in that they forced middle-class professionals to realize problems which they would never have perceived as such, as a result of being forced to see an urban working class community through the eyes of its residents.

Suggestions were made as to the lessons to be learnt from expeditions:

1. They will not last forever as a permanent part of city life but go in cycles.
2. They tend to work best where people already living in a place decide to form one--an outgrowth of local concern rather than a call to people from all over the continent. But they still need the benefit of outside geographers.
3. They vary from place to place; there cannot be a model which works everywhere.
4. Successful ones have found ways of giving the information back to the people in useful forms. What to do about the abuse of this information, by government agencies, other social scientists, etc., is always a problem.

The relationship of the USG to expeditions was seen as complementary, in that the former is more oriented to intensive study, but most of us go through cycles of both. Forms of support were suggested. First, people not involved in expedition field work should provide bibliographies and review papers to those who do not have the time to search. Second, as teachers, etc., we should inform people who might be interested as to the history and present activities of expeditions.

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## USG Presentations At The CAG

### The Circuit of Capital, Barriers, and Expedients

Bernard J. Curtin,  
 Union of Socialist Geographers,  
 Simon Fraser University,  
 British Columbia,  
 Canada.

This paper examines Marx's discourse on the circular movement of capital, the barriers capital encounters in the sphere of circulation, and the expedients it devises to overcome them. Continually, Marx stresses that capital constitutes a unity of its production and circulation processes. This unity can be best grasped by sketching Marx's formula of the circuit of money-capital.

$$\begin{array}{c}
 mp \\
 M-C < \dots P \dots C'-M' \\
 lp
 \end{array}$$

In the first phase (M-C) of the circuit, the capitalist enterprise advances money-capital (M) to purchase means of production (mp) and labour-power (lp). This act of circulation, although necessary creates neither value nor surplus value: it is merely a change in the form of capital-value -- a change from its money form to its commodity form. (Marx distinguishes between pure circulation concerned with changes in the form of value and real circulation involving the physical movement of commodities (including information).)

In the second phase of the circuit (P), under the direction of the capitalist or his agents, labour-power and means of production are set in motion to create new commodities. During this phase of the circuit, value is transferred from the means of production and new value is created. Part of this value, Marx calls surplus-value. Surplus-value is created if the value produced in the production process is greater than the value of the means of production (instruments of production and raw materials) and labour-power (wages) consumed during the production process.

During the third phase (C'-M') of the circuit, the commodities produced during phase two and containing more value (C') than the value of the inputs (C = mp + lp) consumed during the production process are sold or transformed into their money equivalent (M'). As this phase of the circuit is an act of pure circulation, neither value nor surplus-value is created.

Thus, it is evident that the circular movement of capital (from its point of origin to its point of destination) or the turnover time of capital consists of an act of circulation (M-C), punctuated by an act of production (P), and closed by an act of circulation



((C'-M')). Capital continuously describes this circular movement, passing successively from one form into another. Any circumstance which interrupts the movement of capital as it moves from one phase to the next introduces stagnation into its circuit and constitutes a barrier to its normal movement.

Competition and capital's inherent tendency to expand value compel it to both abbreviate the time of circulation and widen the sphere of circulation. Since capital creates no value whilst it resides in the circulation phases of its circuit, it strives continuously to abbreviate its time of circulation. Although impossible, capital aims to reduce circulation time to zero.

Having considered changes in the form of capital-value, the paper then enumerates and analyses those circumstances or barriers which interrupt the circulation phases of the circuit of capital, the expedients it devises to surmount these barriers, and the strategies it devises to widen the sphere of circulation (sell more). Especial attention is devoted to the barriers capital encounters in acquiring labour-power and to the use of voluntary circulation costs to widen the sphere of circulation.

#### The Idea of an Optimum Population

Alan Mabin  
Department of Geography,  
Simon Fraser University,  
Burnaby,  
British Columbia

Views of population issues commonly focus around that intensely geographical nexus: the relation of population and resources. The predominant interpretation of population-resource relations remains essentially Malthusian in character. Yet the real fact of different national demographic policies suggests that there are widely differing ideas of what the optimum population might be. The paper seeks to indicate answers to the questions that arise from this situation. Where did the idea of an optimum originate? Why has it taken on different forms? What theory can accommodate the changing and differing ideas on the subject? And what can geographers contribute on the idea of optimum population?

The paper makes reference to the ideas of utopian writers, Townsend, Sauvy, Marshall, Keynes, Buchanan and others. Following Godwin and Glacken, it is concluded that Townsend (and Malthus) were mistaken in their perception of the 'principle of population'. It is shown that Marx provides a more flexible interpretation of the 'laws' of population.

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A theory is required which not only takes into account the nature of optima, and the relation between society and resources, but also accounts for the positions which different interest groups take up on the question of the optimum. While such a theory does not exist, it is possible to indicate the outlines which it might take. This is done in the final section of the paper, basing the argument within Marxist theory.

Geography at present holds a confused position with respect to the issues raised in the paper. Yet geography has a vital contribution to make through the connection between society and space.

History, Geography and the Sharecropping System of the USA

W. Alan Wallace,  
Department of Geography,  
University of Toronto.

The paper attempts to define some concepts which seem useful for an investigation of the continuity and change contained in the periods of slavery, sharecropping, and urban industrial proletarianisation in Black American history. The works of Althusser and Poulantzas are used to produce a more rigorous definition of the concepts of mode of production and social formation. A schematic analysis of the sharecropping system employs these concepts and interprets this form of agricultural production as:

1. a process containing and embodying an increased subordination to capitalist relations of production. This was brought about by its dependence on capitalist markets and through competition with capitalist forms of production.
2. a process containing aspects of the slave mode of production in its organisation of the labour process and the extraction of surplus.

Some obvious connections between slavery and later stages of Black American history, in addition to the situation of space within the concept of social formation, open major areas of inquiry.

CASEY



## The Theme of Isolation in the Geography of Depressed Regions

Susan Barry  
Dept of Geography,  
McGill University,  
805 Sherbrooke St. W.  
Montreal, Quebec.

The paper discusses the proposition still common in social science that regional underdevelopment in developed nations is due primarily to past and present isolation. The isolation theme is shown to recur in descriptions of the Appalachian region, and it is asserted that these descriptions promote a myth in which underdevelopment is associated too readily with isolation to the neglect of interaction and dependence. The isolation theme is noted to be implicit in dualist models, which explain regional disparities in terms of two separate sectors and which fail to investigate adequately the relationships between depressed and developed regions. It is stressed that in both Appalachia and Newfoundland insufficient attention has been given to this function of these regions in a larger economic system; government programs have been premised on isolation as a major barrier to development when in fact the greatest problem is distortion of development due to the functions of these regions in national capitalist economies.

## The Changing Role of Women in the Nineteenth Century Canadian City

Suzanne Mackenzie  
Department of Geography,  
University of Toronto,  
100 St. George Street,  
Toronto, Ontario,  
Canada M5S 1A1

Attempts to write a geography of women, while recognising the importance of home-workplace separation, have failed to explore its theoretical implications. This paper attempts to broaden our understanding of this dichotomy and to re-integrate women's experience into urban history and theory. It applies the movement of the dialectic between the sphere of producing goods and services and the sphere of reproducing labour-power to late nineteenth century Toronto. The tensions between the two spheres are examined from the perspective of the family as a reproducer of labour-power and women as wage workers and housewives-mothers. Class variations in concrete and ideological conditions and the need for increasing state intervention to co-ordinate two spheres conditioned the choices offered to and the ideological understandings about women. It is argued that selective intervention in reproduction of labour and the formalisation of ideology about women and the family, as manifest in urban structure and process, resulted in an increasingly

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19

restrictive definition of women's 'proper sphere'. Further, it is argued that a framework which explicitly examines the apparent separation of these two spheres offers a way of re-integrating our understanding of urban process.

### The Journey to Work and Investigation of Urban Structure

Katherine Willson,  
University of Toronto,  
Centre for Urban and Community Studies,  
150 St. George Street,  
Toronto, Ont.  
Canada M5S 1A 1

This paper offers a brief critique of geographic models which assign community behaviour the major role in determining urban structure. The difficulties of interpreting the individual journey to work as the only link between productive and reproductive activity are discussed in the light of work which has been undertaken on data from the 1971 Census of Canada. Interpretations of the development of commuting and strongly differentiated urban space present in the historical literature are assessed. Explanations of residence-workplace separation based solely on transportation technology or changing tastes are found inadequate and the phenomenon is placed within the development of wage-labour in nineteenth-century capitalism. Some suggestions for areas of historical research around the phenomenon of commuting are offered and an attempt made to find a meaningful context for studies based on current commuting patterns.

### The Genesis of the High Rise Building Form

Jane Bonchek,  
4082 Rue St Urbain,  
Montreal,  
Quebec.

The high rise has become the subject of a significant body of literature during the course of the past decade. This paper assesses briefly the explanations offered for the arrival and perpetuation of the high-rise building form in the discourses of architecture, economics, and economic geography. The architectural literature views the evolution of the high rise in Chicago to be the outcome of a complex association of technological changes, the moods of individual architects, and the impact of rapid commercial expansion and rising land values.

Implicit in the literature of the neo-classical economists is the notion that high rise buildings occupy locations with high land values, lesser uses being unable to bid for such expensive sites. A contrary view claims that high buildings create high land values.

I argue that historical research should be undertaken to firstly investigate the utility of some of the conventional economic interpretations, and secondly, to investigate possible relationships between the development of Corporate Capitalism, changes in popular ideology and the development of the high rise. Such a task must surely be befitting of the geographical discipline, which in recent years has exhibited an interest in both the phenomenology of built form and the relationship between urban spatial patterns and institutional structure.

### Myths of Regional Development

Garry Crowfoot  
 Department of Geography  
 University of Toronto  
 100 St. George Street  
 Toronto Ont.  
 M5S 1A1

This paper examines the use of the static neo-classical model of intra-national regional disparities (in which equilibrium comes about through compensating flows of capital and labour) as a means of mystifying the nature of regional disparities in advanced capitalism. It is proposed that the nature of such uneven regional development can only be understood through the analysis of capitalism as a whole. The neo-classical model is used to justify state intervention in the economy to encourage the mobility of capital and labour to their 'highest and best' use, whilst the effect of such policies is to weaken the peripheral economies and to strengthen those of the centre. The model diverts attention from the conflict between capital and labour, emphasising instead the dichotomy between rich and poor regions, the implications of which are discussed. Finally, we consider use of the model in translating the 'regional problem' from one of relations of production to one of differential consumption power, permitting a 'solution' through transfer payments (unemployment insurance, pensions etc.) while leaving the real problem untouched.

Papers were also presented by Jim Overton on "Romantic Economics", Steve New on "Land Speculation in Prince George, British Columbia", and Colm Regan on "Ireland". We did not receive abstracts of these papers.



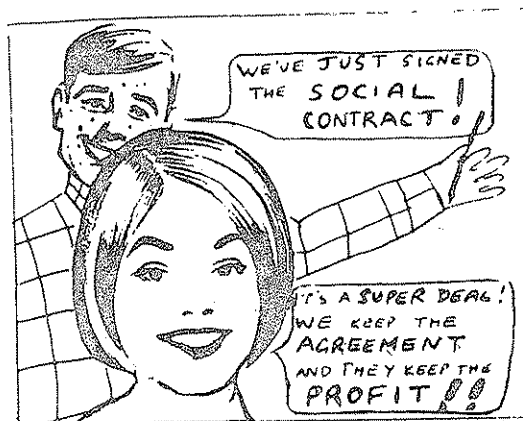
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#### Housing and the State: the Development of Housing Policy in Britain

Demaris Rose  
Sussex University  
Falmer, Brighton  
England BN1 92N

In order to understand the contradictory nature of contemporary housing policy within social democracy, and how we might go about changing it, we must first understand the means by which the state's role in housing has been transformed with the historical development of capitalism. My paper attempted to situate housing policy within an analysis of the structural constraints of the state, focussing on the structural need to resolve the increasing conflict between production and reproduction. I am now commencing my M.A. research - examining the late nineteenth century in Britain, a period during which the function of the state was transformed from one of laissez-faire to one of direct intervention in the housing process. By using primary and secondary sources, I hope to untangle the influence of specific class struggles and class alliances upon housing policy, and thus to discover the degree of 'relative autonomy' the state had in specific circumstances. I hope to use this material to build upon existing theories of the state and state intervention.

(I'd like to exchange ideas on this topic. Please write c/o the address given above).

### Social Geography Study Group

REPORT ON THE SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY STUDY GROUP MEETING HELD AT THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL, 26TH MARCH 1977.

#### Public Expenditure Cuts

Against a background of increasing public concern over the role of public expenditure, the Social Geography Study Group held a one day conference on the nature and effects of public expenditure cuts. It was felt there was a real need to place the current debate in perspective and to look in more detail at the effect of such cuts.

In the morning session Keith Basset (Bristol) gave a general introduction on the theme of public expenditure cuts in the context of the present economic crisis. He outlined the main stages in the development of public expenditure economics since the advent of the present Labour government and analysed in more detail the relative impacts on different categories of expenditure. He then surveyed the different interpretations being offered as to why public expenditure cuts are thought necessary and the form they should take. This involved a comparison of monetarist, keynesian and

various Marxist analyses of the real causes of the present crisis. A final section touched upon the regional and urban implications of the different perspectives. Bob Colenutt (North Southwark Community Development Group) presented a paper on, 'Inner City Policies and Public Expenditure Cuts', which highlighted the contradiction between cutbacks in public expenditure and recent attempts by the government to provide aid to inner cities. Drawing on material from Southwark he showed that capital and revenue expenditure play a central role in the social and economic life of the borough. Cutbacks, which are only now becoming apparent, are leading to the reduction in maintenance of council housing and public services in general and to the deferment of housing and open space schemes. The contradiction in government policy is apparent in the five Dockland boroughs of London which have cut capital spending by \$19 million while the Government has granted them \$17 in urban aid. The low level of Government aid to inner cities was seen as a token gesture, compelled by political reasons, in the direction of those people and capitals still left in the inner city.

The afternoon session was devoted to papers focussing on selected types of expenditure. Alan Muire (School for Advanced Urban Studies, Bristol) gave a paper on housing expenditure. He suggested that the extension of cash limits and expenditure cuts were the latest in a long history of periodic cuts not only associated with economic crises, but as corrections to the tendency to extend the role of the state. In the present circumstances pressure to reduce state intervention was important. In practice (as most housing expenditure is concerned with charges on borrowing), in a period of inflation and high interest rates, and given tax relief, all elements of public expenditure were not controlled and cuts were partial. The effects of inflation in the bunching of debt charges has led to confusion about the effect of public expenditure cuts, and the financial basis of local authority housing, and has added to the attempts to legitimise changes in policy on dubious premises. Andrew Evans (School for Advanced Urban Studies, Bristol) presented a paper on transport expenditure cuts. He noted that transport expenditure has been, and is being, reduced more than other types of expenditure. The most severe cut is in capital expenditure on local, non-trunk, roads, and public transport schemes. This means that after allowing for long term commitments, such as the Tyne Wear Metro, there will be no new capital schemes either for roads or public transport. The government intends to reduce revenue support to public transport by about half from 1977-1978 to 1980-1981 which means that fares in metropolitan areas will tend to rise substantially more than inflation rates. The outcome is still uncertain since the primary policy makers are the local authorities, not central government.

Linda Clarke and John Mason (Architectural Association) jointly presented the final paper, 'Hospital Planning and Public Expenditure Cuts: with special reference to London'. They outlined the conditions of the National Health Service, described attempts to deal with its problems and showed some of the effects of expenditure

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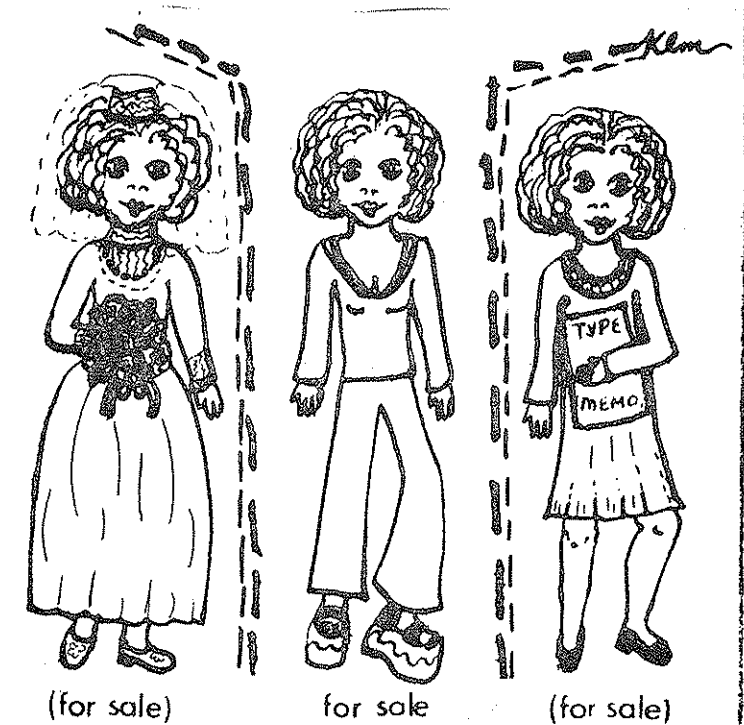
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cuts in health. They showed that cuts in the budget of North East Thames regional Authority will jeopardise local services in such deprived areas as Camden and Islington. Overall, they foresaw large areas of London being left with a skeletal network of large hospitals catering for the dangerously ill rather than the development of local and preventive services. They rounded off their paper with descriptions of the attempts to save the Elizabeth Garrett Hospital from closure.

Four conclusions emerged from this conference. Firstly, the public expenditure cuts need to be seen from the perspective of the present economic crisis. This raises questions concerning why and how the crisis occurred. Secondly, the precise nature of expenditure cuts needs to be specified since responsibilities are distributed between government departments and between central and local government. Thirdly, the role of the state needs to be theoretically developed if we are to explain its response to economic crises. Fourthly, it is clear that geographers, among others, need to be aware of the role and nature of expenditure cuts since their effects will have important implications for areas of geographic enquiry. Future patterns of transport, housing, health and education will be shaped by the levels of expenditure now being deacted. Geographers, as individuals and as academics, have an obvious interest in these matters.

Report submitted by J. R. Short and P. Williams.



from the second wave



# USG Annual General Meeting

The fourth annual general meeting of the USG took place in Regina June 4 - 6, 1977, coinciding with the annual USG and CAG conferences. Two items came up repeatedly during the meeting. The first, which bears special mention is the question of funding. Of 125 people who receive the newsletter, 85 have not paid their membership fees. The second item was the subject of present USG structure. The following is a summary of the minutes.

## I FINANCES

A financial statement of the USG for April 1, 1976-April 30, 1977 was reviewed and appears in Volume 2, Number 2 of the Newsletter. The balance of funds was \$422.00

## II NEWS FROM THE SECRETARY

The secretary (Paul Susman) was unable to attend the meeting but sent a letter suggesting USG advertisements be placed in left wing and socialist journals to increase exposure. It was suggested that such advertisements should also appear in mainstream geographic journals. Paul Susman has resigned from the position of secretary as he will be leaving for Africa.

## III NEWS FROM THE LOCALS

**TORONTO:** Members of the USG in Toronto have formed a working group and established working relations with the planning department of the University of Toronto. Their commitments for the coming year include:

1. editing Volume 3, Number 2 of the Newsletter
2. establishing contact with working groups on housing in England
3. organizing a regional conference in November for Eastern Canada and the United States, focussing on, among other things, urban history and regional development. For details regarding this Conference, see page 6 of this newsletter.

**VANCOUVER:** Members of the Vancouver local participated in 4 main activities this year which included:

1. a reading and study group on N. Poulantzas's CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM.
2. sponsoring resident and visiting speakers: Mike Lebowitz, J. O'Connor, James Anderson, Milton Santos, Eli Zaretsky.

# USG Annual General Meeting

The fourth annual general meeting of the USG took place in Regina June 4 - 6, 1977, coinciding with the annual USG and CAG conferences. Two items came up repeatedly during the meeting. The first, which bears special mention is the question of funding. Of 125 people who receive the newsletter, 85 have not paid their membership fees. The second item was the subject of present USG structure. The following is a summary of the minutes.

## I FINANCES

A financial statement of the USG for April 1, 1976-April 30, 1977 was reviewed and appears in Volume 2, Number 2 of the Newsletter. The balance of funds was \$422.00

## II NEWS FROM THE SECRETARY

The secretary (Paul Susman) was unable to attend the meeting but sent a letter suggesting USG advertisements be placed in left wing and socialist journals to increase exposure. It was suggested that such advertisements should also appear in mainstream geographic journals. Paul Susman has resigned from the position of secretary as he will be leaving for Africa.

## III NEWS FROM THE LOCALS

**TORONTO:** Members of the USG in Toronto have formed a working group and established working relations with the planning department of the University of Toronto. Their commitments for the coming year include:

1. editing Volume 3, Number 2 of the Newsletter
2. establishing contact with working groups on housing in England
3. organizing a regional conference in November for Eastern Canada and the United States, focussing on, among other things, urban history and regional development. For details regarding this Conference, see page 6 of this newsletter.

**VANCOUVER:** Members of the Vancouver local participated in 4 main activities this year which included:

1. a reading and study group on N. Poulantzas's CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM.
2. sponsoring resident and visiting speakers: Mike Lebowitz, J. O'Connor, James Anderson, Milton Santos, Eli Zaretsky.

3. providing a forum for 'dry-runs' of thesis proposals, seminars, etc. They found this was invaluable in tightening-up such presentations prior to public presentation - and in the theoretical progress of the group.

4. holding regular meetings.

The local agreed that a major shortcoming during the year was the failure to expand the membership significantly. In the coming year they hope to enlarge membership and stimulate interest both in the USG and in socialist theory with the establishment of a reading group on CAPITAL. They noted also that the difficulty in getting radical and socialist graduates admitted to geography underlined the importance of stimulating interest and discussion among undergraduates.

**MONTREAL:** Members of the USG at McGill formed a local this year and focused attention on establishing a base for USG activities by:

1. stimulating discussion of a leftist persuasion in the department
2. supporting socialist geographers who applied to McGill
3. the first socialist course in geography at McGill was held this year, on development and underdevelopment (outline available in Volume 2, Number 2 of the Newsletter)
4. forming a reading group on the national question. Unfortunately the group disbanded part of the way through the term. The local has since decided that allocation of responsibility to each individual for the presentation of a section would do much to maintain momentum.
5. assisting a conference on Third World Cities and the Accumulation process, centred around a working paper by Terry McGee and W. Armstrong. A report on this conference appears in Volume 2, Number 2.

The local's major criticisms of itself were:

1. the need for T.A.s to generate more discussion with their students.
2. its greatest failing was a lack of regular discussion by active members as to the nature of socialism and their commitment to it.

Commitments for the coming year include:

1. another edition of the Newsletter - Vol. 3, No. 3.

- 2. translations for the Newsletter from French to English
- 3. regular meetings for general discussion
- 4. a reading group
- 5. more involvement in local issues
- 6. contact with other Quebec universities (Laval, U.of M., Concordia etc.)

IV NEWSLETTER AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- 1. The Vancouver local has agreed to continue publishing the Newsletter but reminds locals that contributions should be sent typed and in completed form ready for printing, to avoid problems at the publishing end.
- 2. Editorial policy was raised as an issue. In some instances in the past it was necessary to exclude articles which blatantly contradicted socialist principles. A committee was formed to make recommendations concerning the nature and extent of editorial powers. These recommendations appear elsewhere in this issue. Response is welcome.
- 3. A motion was passed that the Newsletter should include articles in languages other than English (notably French and Spanish) with English summaries if desired by contributors. It is hoped this would stimulate readership in Quebec and Latin America.
- 4. A motion was made that the Newsletter appear quarterly. It was agreed that the USG has sufficient funds (subject to qualifications noted in item 5 below) and materials to meet these deadlines.
- 5. The editorial sub-committee recommended that a minimum of three newsletters per annum be published with provision for a fourth according to the organization's financial position. The next four newsletters will be compiled by the following groups:

Oct-Nov 1977	-----	Simon Fraser University
Dec-Jan 1978	-----	University of Toronto
Feb-Mar 1978	-----	McGill University *
Apr-May 1978	-----	(to be decided)

\* This issue to contain information regarding the 1978 Annual General Meeting, the agenda regarding USG/AAG/CAG events and appropriate reading lists for USG presentations.

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#### 6. MONOGRAPHS

It was suggested that material too long for inclusion in the Newsletter be published in monograph form (similar to the Vancouver local's Study Papers on Imperialism). The implementation of this proposal depends upon adequate funding. For further information and suggestions, contact the Vancouver Local of the USG, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.

#### V LIBRARY

It was recommended that a USG Library be established at the Vancouver local. The library will contain articles, papers given by USG members at conferences, monographs, back copies of the Newsletter, relevant course papers and tapes. The contents will be listed yearly in an annotated bibliography in the Newsletter and available on request. People requiring material will be expected to cover duplicating and mailing costs. The library will be maintained by Suzanne Geddes, assisted by Suzanne Mackenzie. Enquiries should be directed to:

Suzanne Geddes, c/o Geography Student Union, Geography Department, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby 2, B.C.

#### VI FUNCTION OF THE USG STRUCTURE

A considerable amount of time and energy was devoted to the issue of assessing, clarifying, and redefining the present USG structure. The discussion proceeded by focusing on the vital question: WHAT IS THE USG?

The original statement of principles and goals (as it should read in the February 1975 issue of Antipode) was assessed. This statement comprised:

"The purpose of our union is to work for the radical restructuring of our societies in accord with the principles of social justice. As geographers and as people, we will contribute to this process in three complementary ways:

1. Organizing and working for radical change in our communities, and
2. Developing geographic theory to contribute to revolutionary struggle.
3. To try to promote equality within the university by supporting and agitating for student and staff parity in all decision making. (Added to its own goals by the Vancouver local, 1974).

Thus we subscribe to the principle: from each according to ability, to each according to need. We declare that the development of a humane, non-alienating society requires, as its fundamental step, socialization of the ownership of the means of production."

To these basic principles and goal were added the following interrelated objectives:

4. To continue the pursuit of presenting critiques of bourgeois geography
5. To develop an alternative socialist analysis of geography
6. To organize and maintain a means of mutual help and support for and between persons within and outside the university system (utilizing, yet outside the confines of the present university structure as much as possible) by:
  - a. collective work format
    - i. seminars
    - ii. reading groups
  - b. an effective contact system

In seeking to answer HOW these objectives could be implemented effectively, a forum discussion and a process of self-criticism ensued around the question: Does the present USG structure realize these objectives? The following issues were raised in this regard:

1. The question was raised as to WHAT KIND OF ORIENTATION SHOULD THE USG TAKE? Are the principles and goal of the USG capable of being directed towards the non-academic community or are they strictly being directed towards academic pursuits? Can the USG provide a medium for the non-academic to integrate socialist theory and discuss this theory within the work-place?

The suggestion was made of having USG subgroups outside the university, whilst recognizing the organizational problems which this would clearly entail. Can the USG accommodate this? Clearly, there is a need for further discussion of HOW this may be undertaken. Stress was placed on the difficulties of adjusting from academia to the work-place. From this perspective on future direction, several pitfalls within the present movement were noted:

- a. Personal alienation from socialist theory after leaving the university environment
- b. The problem of moving between a high level of theoretical abstraction to implementation of theory into practice. Two particular areas were noted:
  - i. teaching
  - ii. regional and urban planning

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- b. The problem of moving between a high level of theoretical abstraction to implementation of theory into practice. Two particular areas were noted:
  - i. teaching
  - ii. regional and urban planning

- c. The problem of research as an end rather than as a means to an end. We MUST consider for WHOM is research being undertaken and who will benefit from it? There is a clear problem of socialist research being used by the bourgeoisie AGAINST the socialist movement itself. Furthermore, we must recognize the danger of socialist geographers becoming merely producers and reproducers of ideology. ACTION and COMMITMENT are vital!

- d. We need to safeguard and maintain socialist principles.

It was suggested that persons who are concerned about the relationship between theory and practice should submit constructive position papers on WHERE and HOW the relationship could be strengthened.

2. At the same time, it must be remembered that we are attempting to introduce socialist principles into geography AND contribute to socialist analysis and practice from a geographical perspective.

How can we, (both academics and non-academics) learn from each other utilizing the USG as a means of supporting individuals in both their work and their research? One means of achieving this objective is through the functioning information network [God, save us from this jargon!] of the USG, ie. the newsletter and individual contact. Another means was perceived [a useless, mindless phrase] in continuing or developing regional meetings as a forum for the exchange of ideas and constructive criticism.

3. The need for locals outside the academic community was emphasized whilst recognizing the idiosyncracies of specific areas and potential locals.

## VII INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE USG

It was considered that the structure of the USG requires more rigorous definition. It is apparent that the lack of such results in commitments being made by individuals or groups of individuals who are unclear as to the required task. For this reason, the structure of the core committee was discussed with the future policy adopted as follows:

1. The core committee shall consist of
  - one correspondence secretary
  - one finance secretary
  - one conference organizer
  - three members at large

2. For future AGM elections, there was a consensus that the core committee should display a balanced regional distribution.
3. In addition to their (as outlined) duties, the functions of the Correspondence Secretary, the Finance Secretary, and Conference Organizer will be extended to include those of a recognized regional contact person. These three, and the three members at large will: a. be responsible for correspondence between locals b. general regional contact for members and non-members.
4. The position of members absent from the meetings with regards to nomination and election of officials was discussed. Attention was given to the possibility of mail ballots, but was rejected for the sake of expediency and effectiveness.

#### Election Results

Correspondence Secretary: Susan Barry,  
c/o Geography Dept.  
McGill University  
Montreal, P.Q.

Finance Secretary: Nathan Edelson  
c/o Geography Dept.  
Simon Fraser University  
Vancouver, B.C.

Conference Organizer: Jim Blaut  
c/o Department of Geography  
University of Illinois  
Chicago Circle,  
Chicago, Ill.

Members-at-large: Suzanne Mackenzie  
c/o Geography Dept.  
University of Toronto  
Toronto, Ontario.

Two of the members-at-large have disappeared sucked away by the vampire.

#### VIII FURTHER BUSINESS

1. Jim Blaut asked for authority to represent the USG in contact with Cuban geographers.
2. Discussion arose concerning submission of papers for USG conferences by non-attending members. A motion was passed that submission of papers from both attending and non-attending members was to be encouraged. However, time

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constraints necessitated that non-attending members should be able to have presented one paper of reasonable length. [What is this sentence trying to say? editorial comment]. A second paper by the same member would be presented only upon the request of the member and pending discussion by the organizing committee.

3. Subscription Fees: It was agreed that the distinction between membership and subscription be maintained and the rate for each remain \$5.00. A subscription rate of \$10.00 was established for institutions.
4. It was noted that we have a large number of members with dues in arrears, resulting in an increasing financial burden. It was therefore decided that:
  - a. Members will be informed of arrears after one issue of the newsletter is sent for which a subscription has not been paid.
  - b. Membership will be automatically cancelled after six (6) months in arrears.
5. It was decided to hold an orientation session for interested non-members in conjunction with future CAG/AAG annual conferences. This session will be arranged the first night of the USG conference.
6. The USG should in the future try to ensure that members are present at all CAG/AAG sessions in order to ask pertinent and penetrating questions.
7. In accord with the practice of alternating the location of USG annual meetings between the AAG and CAG, the next (1978) annual meeting of the USG will be held in New Orleans, LA., USA, where the AAG will be meeting in April 1978.

From our Short Story Collection:

## Morality And Power

### The Role of Human Rights in Foreign Policy

By Henry A. Kissinger





# Foreign Publications

## GEOGRAPHISCHE HOCHSCHULMANUSKRIPTE

This is a series published by a German collective. Its title in English might be 'Geographical Papers from Universities'. At least three collections have been issued so far; some details follow.

HEFT (Volume) 1. Some criticisms of bourgeois industrial geography (published 1973; Gottingen, ISBN 3-921587-01-8).

This volume contains critical analysis of some work by W. Gerling, A. Kolb, E. Dittrich, H. Quasten, H. Hassinger, A. Losch, R.B. McNee, and others, as well as a critique of a book entitled 'Theoretical Foundations of Human Geography' by D. Bartels. It is shown how the methods, theoretical reflections, and empirical research of industrial geography are conditioned by the prevailing conditions of bourgeois society. The interdependence of the consciousness of science and the materiality of society is shown by analysing the work of industrial geographers and their viewpoint and ideas. It is not intended to give an analysis of the concrete, historical conditions of capitalism itself, though a vital part of the work deals with the confrontation between the real conditions of society and the problems and statements of industrial geography. But the work is a real analysis in that geography as a subject, and geographers, are a part of the bourgeois world itself. This means that a critique of industrial geography is also a critique of bourgeois science as a part of the social praxis of the capitalist system.

The main questions addressed are:

1. the values of knowledge in the theoretical and empirical literature of industrial geography;
2. the function of these results in relation to the capitalist socio-economic system.

Criticism of the prevailing form of industrial geography reveals the contradiction between its predominant political-economic character, and the fiction of its claims to neutrality in science.

HEFT 2. The history of the paradigm in Geography and its didactic [teaching?] by Wolfgang Schramke (published 1975; ISBN 3-921587-02-6).

A notion of science and of the theoretical basis of geography - and of geography's relation to society - seems to have become fixed in schools and universities. Reasons for this are the success of the theoretical perspective in geography, the integration of modern questions in the subject (regional planning, city planning, ecology) and also the success of the revision of the curriculum which has

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been carried out. The consolidation of this position is also related to tendencies within the politics of education in West Germany. The positions of the individual subjects (like geography and history) are secure for the near future, and the idea of a new integrated study of society is fading.

But it is questionable whether the criticism of science which began in the late sixties can be stopped now - in fact, there is an important argument against that happening. It is obvious that, despite the changes in terminology and technical methods, traditional ideas of geography still survive. The world view of classical 'landschafts' geography could survive. The implications of such a continuity should not be neglected, particularly if the 'landschafts' geography is interpreted as an irrational reflection of the development of society in Germany.

This work attempts to show the relationship between the history of the subject and the conditions of society. As an example, the period between the two world wars is examined. This was one of the 'peaks' of German geography and some topics of the time still influence thinking in geography and its didactic [teaching] - such as the idea of social harmony and the organic image of society.

HEFT 3. Stadtentwicklungsprozes - Stadtentwicklungschancen. Planning in Berlin, Bologna and in the Peoples' Republic of China. by Kuchler, Muller and Tommel (published 1976; ISBN 3-921587-03-4).

This volume deals with planning in 3 contexts:

1. planning for 'Sanierung' in the Kreuzberg area of Berlin;
2. the politics of planning as a practical critique of agglomeration in Bologna;
3. the reconstruction of cities in China.

Correspondence and orders should go to

Redaktion der Geographische Hochschulmanuskripte  
Rastener Weg 11  
3400 GOTTINGEN  
Germany

ZONE

The following is a statement by the editorial collective of ZONE, a Dutch journal of socialist geography. (The statement has been translated from German, and we apologise for any inaccuracies in the translation).

Everyday life shows us how far urban and regional problems influence our life. The degeneration of the conditions of living

and working, the social and material infrastructure in our neighbourhoods, the jobs in the region, the situation of traffic - these are things which affect everyone.

Is this a natural, unchangeable state of affairs, the source of which is unrelated to the character of capitalist society itself? What answers are given to this question by the different disciplines which consider these problems to lie within their area of competence? What are the answers of the unions, the parties, the mass media? Who defends which ideological position?

These are the questions with which we - the editorial collective of ZONE - are concerned. The editorial collective will confront theoretical and concrete analysis with the reality of class and divergent interests, which are usually hidden behind urban and regional problems. This will be done on the level of the city and of the world.

Never before has the organisation of space been so much determined by class conflicts as today. ZONE will try to derive its political position from the way in which the struggle against the dominant use of space is carried on.

As a socialist journal, ZONE will present a broadly anti-capitalist perspective.

Specific issues of ZONE are as follows:

1. The mining region. An attempt to build a theory of regional development, with reference to Limburg, a mining region in the south of the Netherlands.
2. Contributions to a socialist theory of city development.
3. Regional development. An attempt to clarify the issue of regional development.

ZONE can be obtained from:

Stichting ZONE  
Saenredamstraat 4 a  
Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

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"ANTIPODE": A Radical Journal of Geography by Hector Giroux

The regular appearance of the journal ANTIPODE since 1969 constitutes an event of great interest. The revolutionary orientation ('that's what 'radical' means in English) of this publication is something new in North America and even in the world since in its time, it is the only publication to question "establishment" geography - that is the science of geography in service of the ruling class. The actual evolution of ANTIPODE, which saw the expansion of themes, trends, and the deepening of questions concerning historical materialism, is very promising. The formation of the Union of Socialist Geographers - which is based in Vancouver (British Columbia) will eventually contribute to the entrenchment of progressive and revolutionary ideas in the profession thanks to its specific organizational structure.

The formation of the USG, then the development of ANTIPODE will introduce in the discipline a challenge to the ideologies of the status quo and to the complicity with imperialism, a challenge which has developed vigorously in the United States in the past ten years. The history of ideas in this country indicates that progressive and revolutionary ideas experience periods of advancement followed by brutal contractions - essentially caused by repression. Thus, already in the thirties, numbers of intellectuals wished to put themselves in the service of Americans who were victims of the Great Depression. The Second World War, then the Cold War put an end (quickly enough) to these sparks of interest! In the 1960s - favoured by a new economic and political conjuncture and marked, among other things, by Black uprisings, struggle against the war in Vietnam, the beginning of ecological and feminist movements - we saw the appearance of a new generation of activist intellectuals. It is necessary to point out here that the intellectual battles and debates have, in the United States, at once positive and negative aspects linked to conditions specific to their formation.

The positive aspects are a newness, an enthusiasm, a remarkable innovative capacity (linked partly to technical and financial means which one can make use of in North America). The negative aspects are evident for the most part in the absence of political organizations at a national level and the ever present danger of cooption. The threat of repression is always a reality and it is possible that this flourishing of ideas will be similar to that of the 1930s.

Whatever form it will take, the explosion of non-conformist publications attests to the progress of revolutionary ideas in the 'academic' world in general (universities, but also colleges, research institutes ...).

One could cite here a number of excellent reviews such as LATIN AMERICA AND EMPIRE REPORT of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), THE BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS, THE PACIFIC RESEARCH AND WORLD EMPIRE TELEGRAM, THE INSURGENT

ANTIPODE, then has appeared since 1969: to this day it has put out 15 publications. The title without a doubt - for us as geographers - implies the concept of oppositon, contradiction. The journal is published in Worcester, Massachussetts, in affiliation with an editing group which originally was formed at the Department of Geography of Clark University. (This Department publishes a traditional review: ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY).

The principle editor of ANTIPODE is Richard Peet - a specialist in historical geography. The presentation is simple. Volunteers prepare the edition and do the typing. In the beginning, the first few publications had only a few articles - but they are becoming progressively thicker. It began to be necessary to focus the publication around a particular subject (special publications), or at least to organise the articles according to themes.

Frequently the production of a special edition was assigned to an individual in charge of requesting articles from people he/she knew and then to organise them. The journal easily invaded the frontiers of the English world. Consequently, one must call it not an American journal but an Anglo-Saxon journal. Contributions come not only from the United States, but equally from the U.K., from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and English speaking Africa. It would appear that they are the same for lectures. [readers]

#### The Science of Geography and the Ideological Environment

An exhaustive analysis of the contents of the journal is not attempted here; an analysis of the content is inseparable from the nature of the science of geography in the Anglo-Saxon (English speaking) countries, as well as from the predominant ideologies. It is not necessary to do more than make reference to specific relations between these.

A few can be presented:

1. Anglo-Saxon geography is above all thematic. The regional orientation which we are familiar with in French geography is either unknown or held in contempt -- like traditional geography. In addition, there is economic geography (with all its branches), cultural geography, historical geography, etc. The concept of rural geography is not particularly important for Anglo-Saxon geographers. Physical geography which will not be treated here, and has not been dealt with by ANTIPODE was to a large extent recovered by physical and natural sciences, and is narrowly specialised.
2. Anglo-Saxon geography was the first - before Swedish geography - to explore quantification in relation with the possibility of using calculating machines installed in universities.

ANTIPODE, then has appeared since 1969: to this day it has put out 15 publications. The title without a doubt - for us as geographers - implies the concept of oppositon, contradiction. The journal is published in Worcester, Massachussetts, in affiliation with an editing group which originally was formed at the Department of Geography of Clark University. (This Department publishes a traditional review: ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY).

The principle editor of ANTIPODE is Richard Peet - a specialist in historical geography. The presentation is simple. Volunteers prepare the edition and do the typing. In the beginning, the first few publications had only a few articles - but they are becoming progressively thicker. It began to be necessary to focus the publication around a particular subject (special publications), or at least to organise the articles according to themes.

Frequently the production of a special edition was assigned to an individual in charge of requesting articles from people he/she knew and then to organise them. The journal easily invaded the frontiers of the English world. Consequently, one must call it not an American journal but an Anglo-Saxon journal. Contributions come not only from the United States, but equally from the U.K., from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and English speaking Africa. It would appear that they are the same for lectures. [readers]

#### The Science of Geography and the Ideological Environment

An exhaustive analysis of the contents of the journal is not attempted here; an analysis of the content is inseparable from the nature of the science of geography in the Anglo-Saxon (English speaking) countries, as well as from the predominant ideologies. It is not necessary to do more than make reference to specific relations between these.

A few can be presented:

1. Anglo-Saxon geography is above all thematic. The regional orientation which we are familiar with in French geography is either unknown or held in contempt -- like traditional geography. In addition, there is economic geography (with all its branches), cultural geography, historical geography, etc. The concept of rural geography is not particularly important for Anglo-Saxon geographers. Physical geography which will not be treated here, and has not been dealt with by ANTIPODE was to a large extent recovered by physical and natural sciences, and is narrowly specialised.
2. Anglo-Saxon geography was the first - before Swedish geography - to explore quantification in relation with the possibility of using calculating machines installed in universities.

The results of using quantitative methods were in general extremely mediocre, with the exception of physical geography and certain problems of applied geography.

However, the quantitative 'pseudo-revolution' permitted a debate on problems of methodology and in a more general sense, a reflection on epistemology - the consequences of which were realized later. Men like William Bunge and David Harvey were in the 1960s, champions of quantitative geography. They became, in the 1970's, revolutionary geographers. One could equally make mention of Michael Eliot-Hurst of Vancouver. The tendency is not general, but it is noticeable. Another fraction of 'quantifiers' retreat into fat salaries of government employment or profit substantially in the private sector.

Concerning the journal, let us note that the rather widespread utilization of quantitative methods gave geographers a familiarity with quantitative terminology which authors of articles use often enough.

3. A very important point concerning the ideological condition in which Anglo-Saxon geographers work. Moreso than elsewhere in the capitalist world (with the exception of Western Germany, perhaps) dominant bourgeois ideology is quasi-hegemonic in Anglo-Saxon countries.

This is explained by a long series of repressive actions which crushed for at least three generations, the embryo of revolutionary organizations, progressive unions, leftist intellectual groups, and progressive books and journals. The last great repression took place in 1950 with the 'hunt' for communists. But from 1968 to 1972 the repressive machinery was in operation, chasing students from universities and destituting professors as well.

The ideological environment is, therefore a difficult one. The majority of 'converts' are from recent times.

What was the starting point for their involvement?

-for many, epistemological and ideolgical research, the discovery of the fundamental texts of Marxism;

- for others, the questioning of inequalities, in particular in cities, the Black problem;

- for some, student revolts and the struggle against the Vietnam war served as a point of departure.

But all this is recent and unsteady. There are no political parties to which one can refer to define general orientations, nor even unions.

To where?

-the temptation to do everything at once: build one or two parties, create internal organizations in the profession, struggle at an ideological level and continue to teach.

- faced with this diversity of tasks, the spirit could be seized with panic and herein lies a real danger for the movement; but the existing and very real enthusiasm of a great number can in part overcome this difficulty.

It is time to return to the contents of the journal.

Contents of ANTIPODE

ANTIPODE claims to publish geographic articles on subjects of social interest and articles written from a revolutionary (left) political viewpoint.

Actually one can distinguish:

- Articles on 'social subjects' those which are discussed in the news; the problem of Blacks, Indians and most recently the feminist issue. In general the problematic is hardly original. With the pragmatic orientation of Anglo Saxons, reformism becomes very attractive. 'How can one improve a specific situation?'. And this gives rise at times to projects in applied goegraphy: 'Where to locate social services, day care centers in underprivileged areas?'

- Articles on subjects which are strictly geographical often take the form of an epistemological critique: for example, a critique of the theory of growth poles (Vol. 6, No. 2), a critique of studies of industrial location (Vol. 5, No. 3).

One can note as well articles on political geography about Vietnam, Angola, South Africa. All these articles are not revolutionary - far from it. The general orientation is marked by a strong basis in eclecticism. One can find articles which are strictly academic which were accepted undoubtedly because they presented a 'new point of view' or treated 'a new subject'. The journal is above all a geographic journal and must appear more or less regularly (about three times a year). It is customary as well to leave it to the traditional geographer to respond to a critical article where his or her theories are called into question (or more often, where the theories of the specific area of traditional geography in which he/she specializes).

In light of this, there isn't - strictly speaking - a specific orientation to the journal (there is no published editorial) and one can find quite often a number of diverse tendencies.

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In light of this, there isn't - strictly speaking - a specific orientation to the journal (there is no published editorial) and one can find quite often a number of diverse tendencies.

- Tendencies of left liberals or humanists, often expressed by traditional geographers who don't want to 'miss the boat'; who lean a little to the left, because it is fashionable, and some of whom are opportunistic.

- Tendencies of reformists of diverse persuasions who are strongly oriented to a pragmatic approach. The 'third worldism' concerning problems of underdeveloped countries is without a doubt a type of reformism. This is represented in the review by Jim Blaut. Ecologism - the defense of consumers and users of services has attached itself to these tendencies. One might mention here the works of J. Wolpert, who - inspired by Nader's methods - exposed a strategy of urban planning which in breaking down more or less homogeneous social space, made arrangements to plan a freeway through the middle of a Black ghetto! Starting from this, citizens committees were able to act and it was possible to raise consciousness.

- Very diverse anarchist tendencies. Extreme feminism could enter into this category. The 'geographical expeditions' of the Bunge group are equally part of this tendency.

A few words of explanation about this group could be useful. William Bunge who published THEORETICAL GEOGRAPHY in 1963 is one of the pioneers of quantitative geography. From about 1968 he evolved personally through studying racial problems in the ghettos of Detroit. Because of his particular position he was hounded from the University. He took refuge in Canada. His method consists of 'the geographical expedition', thanks to which he wishes to renew a lost tradition in geography. This involves making contact with the deprived populations of ghettos, putting oneself in the service of 'communities' (this term is not defined). The results of expeditions (from Detroit to Toronto) are mediocre.

The rambling and utopian thinking of Bunge frankly leads to an impasse when he leaves to search in Guadeloupe and Marie Galante for playgrounds for Black children of the ghettos, as a refuge from racism and the aggression of a technological civilization (Vol. 5, No. 2). Let us say that the merit of Bunge and his expeditions was to remind geographers that they must not shut themselves off in their workplaces.

- Marxist tendencies at last. Marxist theory brings a substance to geographic studies which one can look for vainly elsewhere. The progress of Marxist geographers has occurred in the last few years.

The development of the best among them, David Harvey is equally interesting. David Harvey is as well, a pioneer of quantitative geography. With EXPLANATION IN GEOGRAPHY (1969), he provides the most theoretical expression of scientific positivism in geography. In spite of its most fundamental fault, the book reveals a rigorous and questioning mind which begins to understand the dialectic. In effect, David Harvey soon repudiates his work, and directs himself



to the materialist study of urban phenomena. In 1973, he published SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE CITY (Arnold Publishers, London) incorporating his studies on Baltimore and prepared a work (to appear in 1977?) which will be a discourse on the geography of Marx (also published by Arnold).

Around Harvey and concurrent with him, other geographers dedicated themselves to problems in urban geography (a very well developed branch in departments of Anglo Saxon geography) in a Marxist framework. Vol 6, No. 1 (April 1974) is a special edition on urban geography, and in Vol. 7, No. 1, one finds studies on the theory of urban rent.

#### The Evolution of ANTIPODE: The Creation of the Union of Socialist Geographers

Concurrent with the work of publication, there was for the editorial group of ANTIPODE and affiliated with them, meetings for discussion.

Often these meetings took place in conjunction with the annual general meetings of the American Association of Geographers (a well attended congress). Often in the form of simultaneous sessions or even 'round table discussions' more or less integrated with the principal conference. The opportunity then arose for geographers living great distances from each other to exchange ideas, to develop propaganda in a larger sense in the presence of professional geographers.

After numerous encounters, the debates between the different and above mentioned tendencies were polarised. The intervention of anarchists in particular favoured a chaotic and non-constructive ideology.

From here, without a doubt, the need to create an organisational body which was more structured, where normally anarchistic and liberal tendencies should no longer be represented: the Union of Socialist Geographers, founded in 1974 in Toronto (the second meeting took place in Vancouver in 1975 - the fact that the two reunions took place in Canada is without a doubt due to security reasons) constitutes this organisation which remains nevertheless organically linked to the editorial team of ANTIPODE.

Translated by Sue Ruddick, Department of Geography, McGill University, Quebec.

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## News From Minnesota

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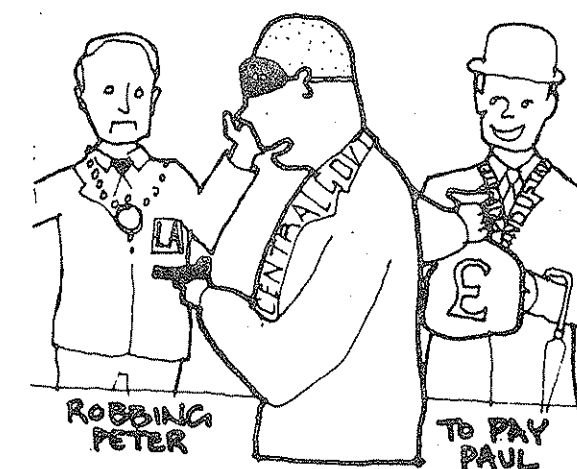
A group of people at the University of Minnesota are interested in holding a regional meeting of the USG towards the end of 1977. The aim will be to gather together in Minneapolis those from the Midwest and North Central U.S. and from Central Canada who are interested in socialist geography. There seem to be a lot of separate individuals in this region, and it is important to develop some communication between them. No particular structure or topics have been chosen for the meeting, as we feel these should be decided on by the participants. Thus we ask that anyone interested in such a meeting now or in the future contact one of the individuals named below. Please tell us how you would like the meeting run, what subject areas should be discussed in workshop etc., and whether you have any ideas you want to present. Also indicate the dates on which the meeting should be held. Please help us to generate some enthusiasm! All replies received by Nov. 1st will be collated into some sort of coherent meeting, and final arrangements and dates will be communicated to all. Please contact one of the following.

Bryan Higgins, Mickey Lauria, Bill Pizarra, Eric Sheppard at:

Department of Geography  
University of Minnesota  
414 Social Science Building  
Minneapolis MN 55455 USA

### Newsletter

An edition of the USG Newsletter is currently being prepared by a group at the University of Minnesota, for publication towards the end of the year. Any contributions, reviews, short papers, etc, would be gratefully received. Please contact Bryan Higgins, Department of Geography, University of Minnesota, 414 Social Science Building, Minneapolis, MN 55455 USA.



from "Rates of Decline"  
by Southwark Community  
Development Project

# Seminars

Notes of a seminar delivered at SFU by James Anderson (Planning Dept., Architectural Association, London)

Subject - Capitalism and Regionalism

The seminar consisted of two inter related sections :-

- A) Criticism of Stuart Holland's books 'CAPITAL VERSUS THE REGIONS', Macmillan, London, 1975, 'THE REGIONAL PROBLEM' and 'THE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE', Macmillan, London, 1975.
  - B) A schematic account of the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland
- A) Whilst Holland's work represents in many ways both an improvement on and a criticism of regional economics, it still remains within and operates under the latter's problematic. As such it represents a useful text, but one which should be approached in a critical manner.

Holland's basic argument can be briefly summarised in the following manner:-

1) The development of capitalism in Britain post WW II was characterised by the rise of large multinational corporations, of both British and foreign origin, the latter being predominantly American. As a consequence of this pattern of capitalist development, existing regional imbalances had in fact been worsened or exaggerated. Another consequence was a relative shift in power from the public to the private domain, and this weakened the effectiveness of State regional policies.

2) Following from such an analysis the solution for redressing regional imbalances is seen as lying in the realm of increased State intervention: essentially in order to shift the locus of power back towards the public domain.

### Criticism:

Holland relies more upon the framework of Myrdal and Perroux, e.g. his use of growth pole analysis, than that of Marx. Thus although apparently a socialist analysis, it is inadequate on a number of counts. He succeeds in ignoring to a large degree both the working class and politics as a field of activity. Secondly Holland's criticisms of the State are superficial: confusing nationalisation and the maintenance or continuance of an identical labour process, with radical, socialist change involving workers control and transformation of the labour process and the relations of production. Furthermore Holland concentrates solely on the multinationals as the problem, and the enemy as such: consequently

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all non multinationals are not seen as part of this enemy. This is comparable to the French Communist Party's anti-monopoly alliance. In other words, Holland fails to situate the multinationals within a mode of production, with its attendant requirements for its reproduction and the accumulation of capital. Equally he does not recognise that capitalism consists essentially of social relations.

Many of the inadequacies of Holland's analysis arise from his conceptions of politics and the state. The latter is conceived of as a form of neutral umpire (despite Holland's references to Marx), and thus politics, accepting this definition, should be concerned with changing, not the whole nature of the bourgeois state, but only some of the State's features and decisions. Finally the failure to locate regionalism and nationalism within a mode of production, imperialist in its present phase, actually serves to promote a mechanism which divides labour against itself, by emphasising geographic inequalities at the expense of class contradictions.

B) Capitalism in Ireland

The development of capitalism in Ireland can be approached through the concepts of regionalism, religion, nationalism and class.

Irish nationalism grew out of the emerging Irish bourgeoisie of the late 18th. century. Suppression of the 1798 nationalist rebellion and the subsequent Act of Union between the two islands led to the demise of the Southern cotton industry and a stunting of industrialization.

In the radical North-East where the development of industry, particularly linen, was further advanced, economic growth continued. Religion was employed to divide the working class and eradicate the radical nationalism of the Presbyterians. By the 1830's nationalism was suppressed and the North-East was established as an appendage of industrial Britain.

The South, however, required Home Rule in order to facilitate capital growth for an internal bourgeoisie. A class alliance between this bourgeoisie, the peasants, and some workers formed the basis of Irish Nationalism from the 19th century into the early 20th century.

The bourgeoisie of the North-East, with their dependance on the British market, had material grounds for opposing Home Rule and its attendant tariff walls. At the same time religious discrimination allowed for the formation of a class alliance between Protestant workers and the Northern bourgeoisie. This alliance was orchestrated at the popular level by the Orange Order.

Partition was the compromise solution to these two opposing forces. The Southern bourgeoisie accepted partition because it allowed for the maintenance of some links with Britain, where

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quantities of Irish capital was invested. The radical Nationalists (mainly peasantry) opposed partition: an opposition which culminated in the Civil War. In the 1930's this radical section achieved State power and established heavy tariffs. There was, however, no expropriation of British capital in Ireland.

In the period since WW II a number of tendencies have become apparent. The Southern economy is now totally dominated by British capital, e.g. 60% of profits go to Britain; 70% of head office decisions are made outside the Republic.

In the North, major industries have experienced significant job losses. This has been taken up, in part, by employment in the public sector where religious discrimination also pertains - 12% of jobs in Local Government were held by Catholics, who comprise over a third of the population.

Employment has also been generated by new investment; chiefly via multinationals. Here discrimination has taken on a regional expression. Thus the western counties of Northern Ireland, those with a resident Catholic majority, have received less than 10% of grants for the establishment of new industry.

A convergence of North and South has thus developed since the War under the dominance of the multinationals. In the 1960's the Dublin, Belfast and London governments attempted to rationalise the political and ideological structures in response to this convergence. This attempt failed because the reformist nature of the programmes were detrimental to the privileged position of the Protestants in the North. The northern sectarian State is unreformable.

Britain now props up the Northern State because the consequences of a withdrawal would be detrimental to the interests of capital in Ireland as a whole. Hence the massive grants bestowed in an attempt to bring down the level of unemployment. Increased unemployment among Protestant is politically explosive in that together with the dominance of the multinationals, these two forces have eroded the class alliance in the North. Similarly the Orange Order, whilst remaining a powerful force, has seen its effectiveness reduced somewhat.

Working class unity between Catholic and Protestant workers has previously appeared in the North, for example, in the 1930's. Such unity is necessary before nationalism can be viewed as a progressive force; it must be based on the working class and not on the outworn class alliances of traditional republicanism.

In order to assess nationalism adequately it is necessary to distinguish between pro- and anti-imperialist nationalism. This relationship to imperialism, one which Holland ignores incidentally, is the main criterion against which Irish nationalism must be measured.

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Reformism in Ireland was clearly an attempt to maintain imperialist domination. It proved impossible to implement satisfactorily. Likewise the stage theory of the Irish C.P. must be seen as another type of reformism - i.e., democratise the North as the first step and then seek to establish class unity. This ignores the sectarian basis of the Northern Irish State and the nature of the government in the South, which is clearly pro-imperialist.

What is now required is a political intervention at an all-Ireland level, opposed to both Northern and Southern States, and based on the working class, attempting to unite the working class, north and south, Protestant and Catholic, and doing so as an integral part of an anti-imperialist strategy.

Traditional Republican class alliances are no longer useful, but are, in fact, regressive for the Southern bourgeoisie - or what is left of it since the take over of the economy by the multinationals - has long ago lost interest in fighting the foreign domination of Ireland. Where they haven't been bought out they have been bought off.

The realities of regionalism in Ireland confirm the poverty of Holland's regional economics.

Prepared by Bob Galois, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada.

## Underconsumptionism

The purpose of this note is to draw attention to a recent publication - UNDERCONSUMPTION THEORIES (A History and Critical Analysis) by Michael Bleaney (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1976). This note is not a book review: rather it desires to indicate some of the serious mis-understandings of capitalism found in underconsumptionist theories.

What is an underconsumptionist theory?

"An undeconsumptionist theory is a theory of the capitalist economy which contains both of the following elements:

- 1) the idea that a state of depression is not just a phase of the industrial cycle or the result of a temporary conjunction of circumstances but is the state towards which the economy naturally tends in the absence of offsetting factors;
- 2) the idea that this stagnation is the result of a persistent tendency towards insufficiency of demand for CONSUMPTION goods". (Bleaney, p. 11).

The belief that insufficient demand for consumer goods is the major cause of capitalist crises has persisted since the appearance of the first major capitalist crises. Underconsumptionist theories began to appear with the rise to dominance of the capitalist mode of

production. It is not surprising that such views should have emerged as production for the market became the dominant form of production. Much of the conceptual confusion concerning capitalism can be attributed to the major role that markets play in the capitalist economy. To acknowledge that the existence of markets has a tendency to hinder understanding of capitalist RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION is not to endorse the view that markets misrepresent reality or produce a false reality. The ultimate cause of all conceptual mis-understanding is the absence of rigorous theoretical concepts.

Consider an economy in which markets did not play a predominant role. Pre-capitalist economies did not experience economic crises. (One must distinguish between economic crises and crises prompted by war and natural disasters. If capitalism was immune from natural disasters and wars, and even if unlimited supplies of natural resources and raw materials were available, it would still experience serious economic depressions and recessions. And no matter how sophisticated state management of demand, capital would still be a crisis ridden economic system).

In pre-capitalist economies, time not spent in producing means of subsistence for the masses was spent in the production of means of subsistence and luxury goods for the exploiting class. Additional time was spent in producing "religious" goods and public works. The same fundamental processes operate in a capitalist economy. The law of value cannot be abolished. What changes is the form it assumes in different modes of production. So much of the total social labour time is spent in the production of means of subsistence for the working class, so much in the production of the means of subsistence and luxury goods for the capitalists, and so much for the production of the means of production.

What all underconsumptionist theories and even theories which take aggregate demand into account are saying (and they are largely unconscious of the implications of what they say) is that an economy does not have the ability to consume what it produces. In other words, it is asserted that there are either physiological or social limits to consumption. If this were the case, then it would be easy to show that there is a tendency for production to exceed demand. Unfortunately for the underconsumptionists no such limits do exist. As far as capital is concerned, the working class consumes too much. In other words, too much consumption by the masses (overconsumption), not underconsumption, is a major barrier to capitalist accumulation. The reduction of the consumption of the masses is one of the ways capital resolves its crises. This reduction permits capital to extract more surplus-value from the working class.

That determinant roles are attributed to consumption and exchange by underconsumptionists and neo-classical economists is not surprising. Neo-classical economics asserts that the satisfaction of consumer needs is the goal of capitalist production and that this

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That determinant roles are attributed to consumption and exchange by underconsumptionists and neo-classical economists is not surprising. Neo-classical economics asserts that the satisfaction of consumer needs is the goal of capitalist production and that this

end is best attained through the maximisation of profits. That such incompatibles are presented as compatible and accepted by millions of workers indicates the power of the dominant ideology. Even more absurd is the fiction that it is consumer preferences which determine the level and composition of output. Such thoroughly unscientific views suppress the key consideration that it is the maximisation of surplus-value which is the driving force of the capitalist economy.

Bleaney's UNDERCONSUMPTION THEORIES is the first book length treatment in the English language of the different underconsumptionist theories which have punctuated the history of capitalism. After World War II, Marxism, especially, North American Marxism fell prey to underconsumptionist theories. Such influential "Marxists" as Paul Sweezy, Paul Baran, James O'Connor and many others propagated the belief that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism are attributable to underconsumptionism? It is noteworthy that Major Douglas, the intellectual father of the original Social Credit Movement was a strident underconsumptionist. Unlike Sweezy and Baran, Douglas believed that government regulation of credit and the money supply could avert recessions and depressions and thereby ensure the survival of capitalism. Sweezy, in his THEORY OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT, transformed Marx into an underconsumptionist. The upshot of this metamorphosis of Marx was to divert attention from the sphere of production - the domain of class struggle - to the spheres of distribution and circulation. Particular attention was devoted to realisation problems. It was forgotten that production is the dominant moment of the capitalist economy. The limits to production are the limits to exchange and consumption. The world economy as a whole cannot exchange or consume more than it produces. In a given time period the world economy produces a given quantity of means of production and means of subsistence, and luxury goods. No amount of tinkering with the money supply, no amount of monopoly pricing, unequal exchange, or cheating can change this fundamental fact. Of course, countries and individual countries may not receive in money or real terms the equivalent of what they produced. That however is a distributional matter and does not affect the quantity produced.

Capital's primary task is to enforce the production of value and surplus value. To emphasise the primacy of production is not to minimise the roles circulation and consumption play in the capitalist economy. However to ascribe dominance to circulation and consumption is decidedly non-marxist. More seriously, such a view is incorrect. To combat (I make no apology for the military metaphor) capital at the ideological level, the working class needs rigorous theoretical concepts.

Bleaney assesses the underconsumptionist ideas of de Sismondi, Rodbertus, the Russian populists, J. A. Hobson. In a chapter devoted to Marx, Bleaney shows easily that Marx was not an underconsumptionist. Neither was Rosa Luxemburg a fully fledged underconsumptionist for she was aware that the demand for investment



goods was significant. Luxemburg fell into a different error. She felt that capitalist economies needed pre-capitalist outlets to realise some of the surplus-value produced in the capitalist economies.

Bernard Curtin, Union of Socialist Geographers, Simon Fraser University, B.C., Canada.

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