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# NEWSLETTER

Union of Socialist Geographers

aug-sept 1978

vol.4 no.1

### USG NEWSLETTER

#### VOLUME 4 NUMBER 1

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### U.S.G. SUBSCRIPTON AND MEMBERSHIP ORDER FORM

I WOULD LIKE TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE U.S.G. NEWSLETTER:  1. Individual Subscription: \$5.00 (four issues)  2. Institutional Subscription: \$10.00 (four issues)  3. Donation:	
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ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER FOR \$	
NAME	
ADDRESS	,
If you know of any people who might be interested in jointhe USG please send their names and addresses to the U.S.G. the Dept of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. can send them a complimentary copy of the newsletter and forw their names to the appropriate regional coordinators of the U	at We ard
PLEASE SEND A COMPLEMENTARY COPY OF THE U.S.G. NEWSLETTER TO:	
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### **Editorial Remarks**

This issue of the Newsletter has been put together at SFU, a momentary change from the circulating task of compiling the newsletter away from the place where it is printed. Much of the issue is taken up with reports on meetings held by the USG in various places in the last several months: Dublin, New Orleans, Toronto and London Ont. An attempt has been made to group ANNOUNCEMENTS of forthcoming events and practices at the front of the newsletter. SUMMARIES OF PAPERS GIVEN AT MEETINGS come after the MEETING REPORTS, which are in chronological order. CORRESPONDENCE is followed by ARTICLES by members. A brief description of the USG, and subscription and publication order forms, are located at the end of the newsletter.

Three years of newsletter publication have been completed by the USG. Volume Three included issues compiled by locals in Vancouver, Toronto, Minneapolis and Montreal. In the fourth volume two issues will, for the first time, be compiled outside North America - the next issue in Britain (see notice in this issue), and a subsequent one in Australia. This issue again includes subscription and publication order forms - get your local library to subscribe!

Those compiling, typing and generally working on this issue include Bob Galois, Nathan Edelson, Bill Thomson, Anthony Arundel, Barbara Mintzes, Mary Mabin, Suzanne Mackenzie, Bernard Curtin and Alan Mabin.

The members of the USG at SFU record their appreciation of the comradeship of Tom Ford, who died earlier this year.

# USG Newsletter - Next Issue, vol 4:2

This issue will be put together in England. Contributions from British Isles and international members most welcome - especially book reviews, work-in-progress articles etc.

COPY MUST REACH US BY OCTOBER 1st 1978 - earlier if possible.

Please send all material to Damaris Rose
Grad P/H - Arts Bldg.
Sussex University
Falmer
Brighton, England, BN1 9QN

\*NB\* Vol. 4 No. 2 may not reach North American members until shortly after Christmas 1978. Please bear this in mind when sending in announcements etc.

Contributions should be typed ready for printing, single spaced, both margins one inch wide, on (or appropriate for transfer to) 8 1/2 by 11 inch paper. Cartoons, advertisements, etc. should be good copy.

The schedule for the remainder of Volume Four is overleaf.

## Publication Schedule, vol 4: 3 & 4

The following is a schedule for the production of issues remaining in Volume 4 of the U.S.G. Newsletter after publication of the British Isles number (4 #2).

Volume 4. Number 3

Local Editing: Clark University Deadline for Submissions: 25.1.79

Address for Submissions: Phil O'Keefe,

Graduate School of Geography,

Clark University,

WORCESTER, MASS, 01610, USA

Publication Date: 8.3.79

Volume 4, Number 4

Local Editing: Australia

Deadline for Submissions: Address for Submissions:

24.4.79

Peter Rogers.

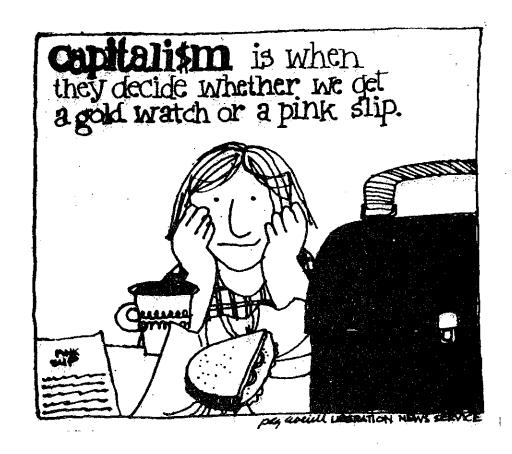
Department of Geography, University of Sydney,

SYDNEY, N.S.W., AUSTRALIA, 2006

8.6.79 Publication Date:

enquiries about the production and distribution of the U.S.G.

Any enquiries concerning the above schedule as well as any general Newsletter should be directed to: Bob Galois, Newsletter Coordinator Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. CANADA



### **USG Britain/Ireland Section**

MEETINGS AT INSTITUTE OF BRITISH GEOGRAPHERS ANNUAL CONFERENCE MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

JANUARY 2 - 5, 1979

The USG (BI) will be holding several meetings during the IBG.

Jan. 2 (Tuesday evening): Introduction to the USG (BI and International); aims and objectives, etc.

Jan. 3 (Wednesday evening): AGM - elections to committees; finances etc.

Jan. 4 (Thursday afternoon): Socialist geographic approaches to:
Imperialism and underdevelopment
Urban geography
Cultural geography
Natural hazards
Physical geography etc.

'Socialist geographic approaches' will be particularly aimed at those new to the theory and practice of socialist geography. If you have any SUGGESTIONS, or if you WISH TO CONTRIBUTE to this session, please contact, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE,

Ian Cook
Dept of Social Studies
Walton House, Titherbarn Street
Liverpool, England L2 2NG.

Individual USG members will also be involved in IBG sessions, including Alternative Models of Development; Family Roles and Urban Spatial Structure: Costs of Industrial Change.

We hope that many BI and International members will be able to participate in USG activities at the IBG.

If you need cheap/free accommodation, or if you can offer bed/floorspace etc in the Manchester area, please contact Ian Cook.

### on the MONEY commodity

The Annual General Meeting of the USG agreed that a notice should be placed in all issues of the newsletter requesting donations and funds from fully employed members (or anyone else who feels obliged or can afford it) .... this is the notice.

## Canadian Housing Policy Workshop

At the USG meetings held in conjunction with the CAG in Toronto Sue Ruddick, Shoukry Roweis, and Nathan Edelson volunteered to initiate and to coordinate a Canadian Housing Policy Workshop. The first year's project for this workshop will be to critically read and review three major studies. Due to the constraints of time, the first has already been selected; the others are tentatively proposed:

Oct 15: Bettison, David
POLITICS OF CANADIAN HOUSING POLICY

Dec 15, 1978: Lithwick, N.H.
URBAN CANADA: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Feb 15, 1979: Dennis, M. and Fish, S. PROGRAMS IN SEARCH OF A POLICY

Other possible readings include the reports of Hellyer and Spurr as well as POSTWAR CANADIAN MORTGAGE MARKETS by Smith and CANADIAN SOCIAL HOUSING POLICY by Patterson.

All three books will be read by all members of the workshop. Those members who want to (hopefully all members) will write a 3 to 8 paged typed review of each book.

Each review will focus on ONE of the following areas:

- (1) public housing; (2) home ownership; (3) rental accomodation;
- (4) cooperative housing; (5) land servicing and municipal finance;
- (6) the construction and development industries; or (7) urban renewal and renovation.

The reviews will be received by Nathan Edelson, Dept of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. on the dates shown above. They must be typed on 8 1/2" by 11" white paper - single spaced with 1 inch right and left margins. Reviews received by the dates listed above will be reproduced and sent off to all members of the workshop. In addition space will be allocated for people to respond to the reviews of others which have appeared in previous issues.

The costs of reproducing these reviews is estimated at approximately \$5.00 per member (180 pages of reviews plus 20 pages of commentary at \$.01 per page; plus \$1.25 for postage and envelopes; plus \$1.25 for disasters and seed money for running off additional copies for non-members.

In this way we hope to begin to create the basis for a constructive dialogue among socialist geographers and planners interested in Canadian housing policy. This dialogue will hopefully take the form of a session at the 1979 C.A.G.

If you are interested in participating in the Workshop, please write to Nathan Edelson as soon as possible. Please include check for \$5.00 (monies unspent will be returned to members) and an indication of which of the themes listed above (eg. urban renewal, home ownership) you would be interested in focusing on.

### The Barefoot Doctors of Rural China

We have received notice of a film entitled BAREFOOT DOCTORS OF RURAL CHINA. According to its publicity blurb this is "one of few films about China made by Americans of Chinese descent. (It) presents a unique and intimate view of life in the Chinese countryside. Filmed entirely in the People's Republic of China, the (film) examines China's innovative efforts to provide adequate health care services for its agrarian population of over 600,000,000 people. The film focuses on the training and activities of peasant paramedics, known as the 'barefoot doctors', and their 'walk on two legs' policy of combining both western and Chinese medical techniques. It also discusses the barefoot doctors' role in China's current family planning campaign and the importance of jobs for women to the success of the program." It won the University Film Association Award for Best Educational More importantly, it comes recommended by Dick Walker. Film of 1975.

Rental: \$80 in U.S. and \$30 in Canada; sale price \$720

Contact: Diane Li Productions
P.O. Box 2110
Stanford, California
(415) 321-2010

Canadian Film Institute 303 Richmond Road Ottawa, Canada (613) 729-6193

### TO ALL MEMBERS

During the last Annual General meeting of the USG in New Orleans, it was decided that the work and field of interest of every member of the USG should be published in a special issue of the Newsletter this year. The purpose of this initiative is to increase contacts between the members of the USG.

Since I was named to contact people and to gather all the information, I will send you a letter during the summer describing all the information I need. If you expect to have a different address than the one the USG already has, please let me know so it will be easier to communicate.

The possibility to realise this work is strongly related to PARTICIPATION of everyone, and I hope I will not have to make too many long distance calls because most of the time I call 'collect':

So, I am looking forward to hear from all of you,

30 Sparkhall Ave. Toronto, Ontario M4K 1G5 Tél. (416) 461-3669 A la prochaine

Francine Beaudin

# **USG/Antipode Conference in Ireland**

RADICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF IRISH GEOGRAPHY:
HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY

The normal placed old boys network that is Irish geography was disturbed in March last by the holding of a conference entitled 'Radical approaches to the study of Irish geography: historical and contemporary' in University College, Dublin. The meeting was organised by the USG and Antipode as a preliminary step to the publication of a special issue of Antipode on Ireland. The meeting represented a fundamental break with and challenge to Irish bourgeois geography which has avoided 'political' subjects with a resoluteness which makes the IBG and AAG look like radical associations. In particular the conference was the first occasion when a series was presented on the Northern Ireland question.

Five of the papers presented dealt directly with Ulster and its problems while the remaining three analysed specific issues in the south. The most vigorous and acute debate inevitably took place over the 'Northern question' with very divergent views soon becoming apparent. The need for such critical discussion and debate was attested by the fact that a unanimous decision was taken at the end of the meeting to hold a similar event next year.

Attendance at the conference was large, with participants from London, Dundee, Nottingham, Sussex, Liverpool, Derry, Belfast, Jordanstown and various centres in the Republic. Given that this was the first time such a conference was held, it was inevitable that disagreement occurred over the interpretation of 'radical' or socialist geography. Many old hairy myths about socialism and Marxism received an airing. Consequently the organisers of the meeting agreed that future meetings would benefit from a brief introduction to socialist geography and also from a general discussion on the relationship between Marxism and geography.

The first paper presented was on the evolution of Ireland's territorial structure. In it Colm Regan (McGill) argued that Irish bourgeios geography was badly in need of some conceptual and theoretical rigour and needed to quickly move away from the present approach, dominated almost entirely by abstract empiricism. To this end the paper discussed such concepts as mode of production, social formation, territorial structure etc., and then put forward a tentative periodisation for studying the evolution of Ireland's territorial structure. Particular attention was paid to the nature and philosophy of mercantilism and the paper argued that the basis of class and regional imbalance was laid during this period in the development of capitalism, particularly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Much of the discussion afterwards revolved around this point, and also the thorny question of why industrial capitalism emerged in northern Ireland and not elsewhere on the island. The second 'background' paper was presented by Francis Walsh (Maynooth) and was entitled 'The structure of neo-colonialism: the case of the Irish Republic. In it he traced the evolution and nature of neo-colonialism in the Republic, contrasting the superficial descriptive approach with the analytical structural approach. Walsh's major point was that modern neo-colonial

structures are directly related to the colonial structures of the past and consequently the acquisition of 'political independence' by the Republic in 1922 did not fundamentally alter the material structure of the island. The most interesting point to emerge in the discussion was that the northern and southern economies were proceeding in much the same direction and that this would have fundamental and gargantuan effects on the political aspects of the general situation. At the end of the morning's session a general discussion ensued on how to integrate class analysis and structural analysis: it was during this session that many initial disagreements emerged.

The afternoon session proved to be useful in further pinpointing disagreements, not only on northern Ireland but on analysis and approach in general. Freddie Boal (Queen's, Belfast) presented a paper entitled 'Notes towards a radical geographic perspective on the national question. At the outset he traced the evolution of Ulster's planter population arguing that continuity and homogeneity were characteristic of that population, thus having having direct implications vis-a-vis partition. Boal argued that the 'Ulster system was an example of capitalism in its infancy, which was to act as a springboard for later industrialisation. such industrialisation and integration into the British economy led Ulster away from Home Rule and into partition as 'the only possible democratic solution to the problem. Further, he argued that Ulster protestant nationalism developed as a reaction to the cultural and religious nationalism of the south. In fact nationalism in the south was very much a smokescreen to divert attention from economic and social questions to the so-called national question. Boal now sees the basic problem as the refusal of Irish nationalists to accept the existence of two nations on the island, the one protestant, seeking to maintain constitutional links with Britain, the other catholic, seeking the reunification of the country. Jim Anderson (Arch. Assoc., London) gave an extended reply to Freddie Boal's paper. Anderson's major point was that the internal homogeneity of the Ulster protestant planter group was a myth, especially when reference was made to internal splits in 1798, 1800 etc and the wrangles between the Presbyterian and Anglican churches. Alternatively Anderson argued that there was only one nation in Ireland and that it was vitally necessary to analyse the class basis of nationalism in order to understand its various historical forms. Unlike Boal, Anderson stressed that British imperialism was still a major aspect of the northern problem. He concluded by stressing the need for united working class politics in order to break down the hegemony of Unionism and hypocrisy of nationalist politics in the south.

The general discussion which followed indicated a high level of ignorance and emotion on the Northern question. Many divergent views on the issue were expressed and little clear agreement became evident. Perhaps much of the confusion represents the manner in which each group views the other; the lack of any SERIOUS attempt to develop a socialist historical analysis (particularly in the south!), and in the specific case of geography, a total avoidance of the issue. A large part of the special edition of Antipode will be concerned with this topic.

Having been fortified by draughts of a local black brew (pace Fraser Hart) the second day of the conference began with a paper by Jim McLoughlin (Maynooth) on 'Unionism and the protestant working class'. McLoughlin argued that instead of dismissing the protestant working class as 'duped, reactionary or fascist' it is vitally necessary to study their historical evolution and situation vis-a-vis their material and cultural needs and their fears of the south. The paper concentrated upon mapping the extent and nature of discrimination in northern Ireland since 1946, emphasising the systematic use of it to estrange catholic workers and to benefit (marginally) the protestant working class. McLouglin argued that discrimination was clearly in the interests of capital in both Britain and northern Ireland, at least initially.

The problem of relative deprivation and its relationship to violence levels was discussed by Pete Goodyear (Queen's) in the morning's second paper. Goodyear was particularly concerned to explore the relationship between relative deprivation in catholic areas and the response of that community in collective violence. Initially he summarised the principal features of relative deprivation theory, the relationship between that and violence. than used certain empirical tests to validate this connection. Discussion of this paper revolved around the issues of definition of violence, various conflicting interpretations of why violence occurs, and the difficult question of - in whose interest is relative deprivation theory pursued ? Many people felt that information gleaned from this approach was potentially of great use to police, army, and government in quelling potential conflict. The whole question of research financing in northern Ireland also came up for discussion.

Denis Pringle (Manooth) presented the final paper of the morning on unemployment and religious discrimination in Belfast. from 1971 Pringle argued that two hypotheses could be put forward which explained the significantly higher unemployment among catholics. Firstly, unemployment could be due to discrimination by predominantly protestant employers. Secondly unemployment could be due to the higher birth rate among catholics. Using Simon Blalock modelling methods Pringle argued that the second hypothesis fitted the 'facts' better than did the discrimination hypothesis and that social class etc. would seem to be determined by family size etc. The paper concluded by referring again to the discrimination argument maintaining that it could be counter-revolutionary by appealing to sectarianism rather than the more fundamental problem of family size. The discussion following the paper was heated and for the most part Arguments were presented that 1971 simply in disagreement. represents a snapshot of a historical process and that this dimension should be taken into account. Furthermore, by concentrating upon 'facts' as indisputable, objective and ultimately true, Pringle avoided the entire issue of how facts are collected and by whom. Argument also ensued on the issue of population birth rates and social class arriving at the conclusion directly opposed to Pringle, i.e., that family size does not determine social class but rather This paper was particularly fruitful from the point of vice versa. view of bringing forward many of the disagreements between radicals and marxists.

The final paper was presented by Steve Shaughnessy (Nottingham) on the subject of regional planning policy in the Republic. The starting point of the paper was the marxist theory of the state emphasising that the state was not a neutral body standing above conflicting interests in a plural society. Rather the state acted directly in the interests of capital either in the spheres of production or reproduction. Tracing various aspects of the Irish state's regional policy Shaughnessy argued that the state aided capital through providing infrastructure grants, factories and labour. In this framework it was almost impossible to resolve the regional question as state policy was in fact part and parcel of the dynamic process of regional underdevelopment.

The conference concluded with a round table discussion on the nature of 'radical geography', Antipode, and the Union of Socialist Geographers. It was obvious from this meeting that many misconceptions exist about the nature and purpose of radical geography. Many students made the point that very little (if any) reference is made to Antipode in their departments. Hopefully the publication of the special edition will go some way towards resolving this problem and presenting an alternative to the sterile atmosphere of Irish bourgeois geography. The organisers of the conference were happy with the result and look forward to participating in next year's conference.

The editorial committee wish to invite all those interested to submit articles, papers, reviews etc. to the special edition. All preliminary manuscripts to be with the committee by August 15 and final copies by October 1, 1978. Please send them c/o

Colm Regan
Department of Geography, St Patrick's College,
Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland



'I'm going to get all I can before the meek inherit the earth.'

# AGM

OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST GEOGRAPHERS NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 9-12, 1978.

The fifth annual general meeting of the Union of Socialist Geographers (USG) took place in New Orleans April 9-12, 1978. Since the last AGM in Regina, Saskatchewan, the USG has experienced a 'global expansion'. Locals now exist in Ireland, England, Denmark, Australia, USA and Canada. Regional groups within each country were responsible for at least one regional conference in this last uear. Membership numbers continue to rise but all past and present members should remember to continue paying their subscriptions.

#### FINANCES

The treasurer's report for 1977-78 was presented by Nathan Edelson. Details of the treasurer's report appear as Annexure 1. See comments on local funding later under 'local/regional funding'.

#### NEWSLETTER

A number of suggestions were presented on the content of the USG NEWSLETTER - an issue of the NL should include local news on what people are working on; Francine Beaudin (Toronto) agreed to circulate all the locals requesting information on current work/research. Location of the NL publishing will continue to be Vancouver even though will only a few members left there. The task is a big one. Vancouver does have cheap (?) printing and a computerised mailing list. Vancouver has agreed to continue printing and mailing until the next AGM in Victoria British Columbia - at the site of the CAG meetings. Montreal has produced NL Vol 3 #4 to be distributed in May 1978. The Newsletter program was discussed; its final form may be found with the minutes of the May committee meeting (held in Toronto), for which see later in this newsletter.

#### ANTIPODE

Phil O'Keefe (Clark University) reported that he was taking on the editorship of ANTIPODE in Dick Peet's absence in Australia at ANU Canberra. The latest issue is the second part of the series on There are two volumes at press: (1) Mental underdevelopment. Health; (2) Ideology and Environment. There are currently 950 issues mailed to subscribers and a total of 2,000 printed for distribution. The format of the Journal will be changed; the cover design is to be changed and a new printing format will be used. Forty-five percent (significance?). of present subscribers are outside U.S.A. URPE survey concluded that ANTIPODE ranked third after MONTHLY REVIEW and URPE, as the most referred to journal of the radical publications in U.S.A. Discussion ensued on the editorial policy of ANTIPODE. The question was asked whether the journal will contain a higher proportion of marxist articles than previously. The editor noted that there will continue to be a balance between markist/radical stances as a wide range of such stances exists within the USG and within the journal's readers. The editor noted that he is going to request summary statements of major articles in the journal so that

students can have easier access to ANTIPODE material. A review board was suggested for ANTIPODE; the editor indicated that such a board was being constituted. No details of this board were available at the meeting in New Orleans. For more news on Antipode see p. 39.

#### USG MONOGRAPH SERIES

At the AGM in Regina in 1977 a committee was set up to review the possibility of establishing a Monograph series. The report and recommendations of this committee were presented to the meeting.

#### 1. Content

The content of the Monograph Series should be socialist as defined by the aims of the Union of Socialist Geographers (see Vol. 3, No. 1) and as interpreted by the Editorial Committee. High academic quality should be stressed. Two types of submissions are recommended: (a) comprehensive bibliographic essays covering major fields of interest to members of the Union of Socialist Geographers, and (b) papers which are of general interest but which are too long for acceptance by academic journals and too short for publication in book form. (ie. approximately one hundred page manuscripts)

#### 2. Editorial Committee

The Editorial Committee should consist of three members in good standing of the U.S.G. . One of these members should be a student. Members should be elected for two or three year periods to ensure continuity. During the first year, one member could be elected for a one year term, one member for a two year term and one member for a three year term. Thereafter, one member would be elected each year for a three year term.

The Editorial Committee should have acting AUTHORITY in soliciting receiving, reviewing, and selecting essays for publication. It will receive RECOMMENDATIONS concerning possible areas of interest that should have published monographs. These recommendations can come from individual members as well as from the Annual General Meeting and the U.S.G. Executive. The Committee should have final decision over the selection of material to be published and over the rotating funds accumulated for the Series. All decisions should be by consensus. When this is impossible, a majority of the Editorial Committee could request that the Executive appoint additional temporary members to help establish a consensus or a majority decision.

#### 3. Funding

A fund of approximately \$200 to \$300 should be allocated by the Annual General Meeting to initiate the Monograph Series. Monographs should be sold at a small profit to ensure a large enough revenue to continue periodic publication of additional monographs, i.e. the series should be self-financing. Approximately one to three monographs should be published per year. In addition, we recommend that an essay entitled 'The Political Economy of Urbanisation' by James Anderson serve as the first monograph. Suggestions for its revision (including the addition of more material from North America)

could be made by the Editorial Committee and the first monograph could be ready for distribution by early 1979.

#### 4. Procedures

Manuscripts could be submitted by a U.S.G. member in good standing. These may be initiated by the individual member or solicited by members of the Editorial Committee. Manuscripts must be typed and submitted in triplicate. A special fund might be established to help defer the costs of this preliminary reproduction. Hopefully a network of members with xeroxing privileges can be established. The Editorial Committee could receive manuscripts and have the power to co-opt additional members in good standing with expertise in relevant specialties to serve as manuscript reviewers. Manuscripts should be circulated without the authors names attached. All comments and recommendations will be collected by the Editorial Committee and returned to the authors.

The Editorial Committee should review the reviewer's comments and decide whether each manuscript is: (a) acceptable for publication, (b) acceptable for publication with some revision, or (c) rejected. When there are enough funds accumulated in the Monograph Series budget, the Editorial Committee would select from among the acceptable manuscripts one or two to be published. The selection should depend upon the judgement of the Editorial Committee which will attempt to balance the quality of the various manuscripts with the areas of analysis in which U.S.G. members are working. Every effort should be made to incorporate the general policy recommendations of the Annual General Meeting. An additional balance will have to be achieved between manuscripts which could be of value to members of the U.S.G. and mauscripts that might help to attract additional members to the Union.

Finally, the Editorial Committee should make every effort to help authors of manuscripts which are acceptable for publication, but which cannot be published by the Monograph Series, to have their essays published in academic journals.

Several members commented: it was noted that the anticipated limited circulation of 200 was too small and would be unfair to an author to expect such limited circulation; a wider circulation was recommended. The monograph committee report will be circulated to all regional contact persons for comments.

#### REPORTS FROM THE LOCALS AND REGIONS

#### 1. Toronto

Suzanne Mackenzie reported that she had continued to contact lapsed members with good results. She recommended that other contact persons engage in this form of activity and contact; communications within locals is vital. 'We have found that a few personal letters or calls can work wonders, the woods are full of isolated and potentially enthusiastic socialist geographers'. The Toronto group has established a working relationship with community/academic/non-academic geographers. Meetings were held on a regular basis between these groups. Toronto hosted a regional meeting focussing on 'The Political Economy of Urbanism' in November, 1977. There are currently 15 members in Toronto, some of whom will be moving on soon.

#### 2. Minnesota

Mickey Lauria reported on the Regional Meeting held at Minnesota in Spring, 1978. The meetings were attended by 40-60 people. The contents of the papers and discussions will appear in a later newsletter. It is hoped to hold another regional meeting in Wisconson in 1979. The local also held reading groups, and worked with neighbourhood community groups during the year.

#### 3. Clark

Dick Peet reported on the Clark regional meeting which 20 people attended. He indicated that there were few 'signed-up members' at Clark largely because the local was not aware of the procedures. The meeting was informed that the procedures were: sign up, send the money to Vancouver, receive the Newsletter, attend meetings. It was agreed that procedures should be standardized through a standard membership form to be made available to all locals: these should also be available at all regional meetings.

#### 4. Valparaiso, Indiana

Dick Hansis indicated that a West Lakes Meeting had been held. There was a good attendance; fruitful discussion on radical geography topics took place.

#### 5. Simon Fraser

Michael Eliot Hurst reported on the Treasurers activities and on the NL printing activities at Vancouver. He noted that only a few members will still be living in Vancouver. The local took part in U.S.G. reading groups with students at Simon Fraser; a regional conference was also held in 1977, drawing people from other universities in British Columbia, as well as community groups in the region. About 40 people attended.

6. McGill/Montreal

Sue Ruddick noted that two reading groups were held last Fall with varying degrees of success. The meeting agreed to try and circulate some ideas and suggestions about organizing meetings and reading groups and other 'local activities'. It was noted that most local groups arose AFTER SUCCESSFUL READING GROUPS HAD BEEN HELD. Dick walker agreed to publish some notes in a U.S.G. Newsletter on 'Guide to reading Capital'. Other members agreed to communicate similar ideas and programmes through the regional contact persons (see list in this Newsletter). It was noted that the proliferation of locals in 1978 had arisen from reading groups together with extensive letter writing and contact made by each regional contact person and by the Corresponding Secretary (Susan Barry).

### U.S.G. ORGANIZATION, ELECTIONS AND CONTACT PERSONS

It was suggested that a member at large be responsible for arranging meeting programmes at AAG/CAG when USG meetings do not coincide with them (i.e. in alternate years). Dick Walker (Berkeley) volunteered to be meeting organizer for the meeting at Philadephia while the main USG AGM is being held in Victoria, British Columbia. (See discussion

on relocation of 1979 AGM with Toronto committee minutes in this newsletter).

The meeting noted that organization will consist of a conference secretary, a finance secretary, a corresponding secretary, secretary for 'non-academic' contacts, regional contact persons. Regional and local autonomy is important BUT if there are any issues which at any time involve political decisions or commitments they must be communicated to all regional contact persons for comments and recommendations from all locals.

REGIONAL CONTACT PERSONS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS 1978-79

Canada. V5A 1S6

#### REGIONAL CONTACT PERSONS

	REGIONAL CON	TACT PERSONS	
Berkley, California, Colorado	Dick Walker, Dept of Geography, Univ of California, Berkley, Ca. 94720 USA	Toronto, Ont Canada	říancine Beaudin 30 Sparkhall Ave Toronto, Ontario Canada M4K 1G5
Clark Univ Northeast USA New England	Chrys Rodrigue, Graduate School of Geography, Clark Univ, Worcester, MA 01610	Australia	Ron Horvath Dept of Geography Univ of Sydney Sydney NSW 2006 Australia
Johns Hopkins Univ Northeast & South USA		Denmark	Hans Folke Stationsvej 7 DK-3480 Fredensborg Denmark AND Kenneth Olwig Skt. Peders Strade
McGill Univ Quebec	Sue Ruddick Dept of Geography, McGill Univ, 805 Sherbrooke W. Montreal, Quebec, Canada. H3A 2K6	England, UK.	26A, Itv 1453K Copenhagen, Denmark Martin Brennan Dept of Geography King Alfred's Coll Winchester, England
Minnesota Midwest USA	Mickey Lauria, Dept of Geography, 414 Social Sciences Univ of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 USA	ireland	Colm Regan Back Lodge Castleknock Co. Dublin, Ireland
Simon Fraser Univ Northwest Pacific.	Alan Mabin, Dept of Geography, Simon Fraser Univ, Burnaby, B.C.		

#### OTHER ELECTED PERSONS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Corresponding Secretary Eric Sheppard,
Department of Geography,
University of Minnesota,
414 Social Sciences Building,
Minnesota, Minn.,
USA. 55455.

Finance Secretary Nathan Edelson, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada. V5A 1S6.

Conference Secretary

John Bradbury,
Department of Geography,
McGill University,
805 Sherbrooke St. W.,
Montreal, Quebec,
Canada. H3A 2K6.

Secretary for non-academic geographers' affairs

Sue Ruddick, Department of Geography, McGill University, 805 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Quebec, Canada. H3A 2K6.

#### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS

Issues discussed were: location of meetings, orgaization, and participation with associated AAG/CAG/IBG meetings. A number of comments were made. 1. There should be special sessions at the associated conference plus USG meetings and sessions: 2. Associated conference rooms should be used wherever possible to cut down on USG expenses: 3. It was suggested USG members give papers in USG sessions as well as in associated conference sessions: 4. It was indicated that a regular and freely available room for USG meetings was important for the functioning of the group at the associated conferences. It was agreed that an investigation should be made by the conference secretary on the availability of rooms and a room strategy for the future (including rooms for 'workshop purposes').

#### SOCIALIST GEOGRAPHY TEXTBOOK

Phil O'Keefe reported on progress on a textbook concept. Themes to include Uneven Development and Environmental Relationships. Will consist of 10-12 chapters of about 30 pages each. Will be edited at Clark University and is hoped to be at press by April, 1979. (September, 1978 for 1st draft contributions). Contact O'Keefe at Clark for further details. (Also see minutes of Toronto meeting).

A REPORT was made by Jim Blaut following discussion with Brian Berry on an article published in the Journal of Urban History. It was recommended that a letter be sent to B. Berry by the USG corresponding secretary.

#### LOCAL/REGIONAL FUNDING AFFAIRS

The meeting noted that the regional meeting held in England and Ireland was an attempt to establish locals. These locals were still deciding about their own funding arrangements for certain activities but that they should continue to contribute their \$5.00 memberships for overall USG costs. The locals will retain their own funds, to include costs of Newsletters, but international funds will be held by the international secretary, Nathan Edelson, in Vancouver. Newsletter publishing funds will thus be in Vancouver. The meeting agreed that donations from fully employed members were to be recommended: however no lists of names will be published in the Newsletter or elsewhere. A note will be placed in all Newsletters requesting donations and funds from employed members (or anyone else who feels obliged or inclined or can afford it).

#### REPORT FROM IRELAND (AND BRITAIN)

A mailed report from O'Neill's Pub in Dublin was received after the AGM in New Orleans. The report was presented by Damaris Rose, Colm Regan, Tommy McLaughlin, and Ian G. Cook; alias the interim ad hocorganising committee. The British Isles/Ireland group indicates they would like to produce a Newsletter - to be printed and distributed by them in October/November, 1978; this is in preparation for the AGM and workshop sessions at the IBG in Manchester, England in January, The ad hoc committee requests that Vancouver mail all newsletters to British Isles subscribers (all subscribers names will continue to be forwarded to Vancouver). See notices of the British Isles newsletter and of the USG/IBG meetings in this newsletter.

#### ANNEXURE 1: 1977-1978 TREASURER'S REPORT Nathan Edelson

During 1977-78 the balance of the U.S.G. International Account rose from \$488.21 to \$1153.99. The most positive aspect of this increase is the fact that memberships and subscriptions 'skyrocketed' from approximately \$145.00 in 1976-77 to \$545.00. As of April 5, 1978, there were 92 members and subscribers.

In addition there are over forty people who signed up for the Great Britain/Ireland "Local" at the I.B.G. These members have paid dues to a separate account in Britain. They have received volume 3, Numbers two and three of the U.S.G. Newsletter.

On April 7, 1978, we recieved a check from the newly formed Australian Local. That \$70.00 will appear in next year's income statement.

- Special Income: (Iron law of our falling rate of profit [FROP])
- We have received donations from several fully employed members.
- The transfer from the S.F.U. Local was a one-time donation. There will be less opportunity for such transfers in the future as our access to extra-ordinary funds is rapidly declining.
- An advertisement was placed in the Newsletter by the Architectural Association. This \$55.00 corresponds to the costs of printing and mailing one hundred newsletters sent to Great Britain and Ireland.
- The printing subsidies, which have existed for several issues of the Newsletter, have not appeared in the budget before. Unfortunately, a recent transformation may mean that the subsidy is unlikely to appear again.

Expected Additional Income:

1. We have been promised at least one \$40.00 donation.

2. We are very much expecting a \$27.56 'donation' from a not to be named member of the Executive who helped organise the A.G.M. - over the phone.

Expenditures: (FROP II)

- 1. Printing costs are likely to increase in the coming year;
- Postage costs are already up:
- 3.

#### FINAN

There will	a 15 cent charge per check;
NCIAL STATEME	ent
A	April 30, 1976\$482.23 April 30, 1977\$488.21 April 5, 1978\$1153.99
I.	(92) Memberships and Subscriptions\$545.00 Exchange Rate\$ 16.67 Sale of Back Issues\$ 9.50 Interest (as of Dec. 31, 1977)\$ 42.10
Special	1 Income:
	Donations
Total .	Income\$1041.07
	<pre>tters Volume 3, Number 1 (200 copies)     Printing</pre>
	Expenditures Special A.G.M. Mailing
Total	Expenditures\$375.29
Balance	(April 30, 1978)

# **USG Committee Meeting Toronto May 1978**

Those present:
Committee Members: John Bradbury (conference organiser) and
Nathan Edelson (financial secretary). (Eric Sheppard, correspondence
secretary was not present).
Others: Bob Galois, involved in Vancouver newsletter production;
Damaris Rose, representative from British Isles and about 20 other
members of the USG.

The meeting was convened primarily to work out financial relations with British Isles section, to work out newsletter production, and other business.

- Bob Galois proposed that the committee appoint someone in Vancouver to be newsletter coordinator, in charge of communication renewsletters, ensuring deadlines, and making decisions in accord with the newsletter guidelines. The committee recognised that the job has already existed, shared among several people in Vancouver over the years. They asked Galois to take the job on formally at least until January. Galois agreed and also plans to draw up a revised set of quidelines soon for everyone's approval.
- II Relationship of British Isles Section with USG International
- A. The committee and the meeting at large agreed that the British Isles is an autonomous section: their organising priorities (resocial context and issues, academic structure and schedules etc) are different from those in North America. They will have separate dues collection and funds, with British Isles representatives coming to North American meetings (and vice versa) when possible. The newsletter will, however, be shared for an indefinite period.
- B. The International account will absorb costs of printing and mailing newsletters to British Isles, up to and including Vol. 3 #3. This is to be considered part of the complimentary copy budget. After this no more complimentary copies will be sent and the British Isles will pay production and mailing costs for issues sent to British Isles. (British Isles also has a \$50 credit for paying for an ad about the USG in Architectural Association journal.
- C. The British Isles section has volunteered to edit and produce vol. 4:2 of the newsletter, to be sent to all USG subscribers in January 1979. The International account will pay for poduction and mailing costs for copies sent outside the British Isles, plus approximately \$10 which goes to any group editing a newsletter. If British Isles production costs exceed \$1.25 per copy, arrangements will be made with the USG committee and newsletter coordinator to cover the excess cost. Damaris Rose said cost will not exceed this. They will limit pages to keep weight below 250g (90z).

#### III Newsletter

Galois said schedule must be set up far in advance and kept more tightly than in past. Anyone wishing to edit an issue in the next two years should let him know. He suggested priority goes to those who have not yet edited one - agreed by committee.

Schedule (revised due to developments since AGM in New Orleans.

Deadlines allow 6 weeks for production)

- Vol. 4 No. 1. Ed. by newsletter coordinator and others in Vancouver, by default. Deadline 15 July received by subscribers 1st week September. Contents: mostly reports on USG meetings 1978, announcements re. AAG/CAG meetings in 1979.
  - Vol 4. No 2. British Isles edited and produced.

    Deadline: end of September received by subscribers 1st week Jan 1979.

    Contents: most substantive material provided by British Isles; announcements and short items from everywhere, re information on USG program at CAG/AAG 1979; call for agenda items AGM.
- Vol. 4 No. 3. Clark University editors, production in Vanc.
  Deadline: early Jan 1979? Received by
  subscribers 1st week in March.
  Contents: Final programs for USG conferences
  at CAG/AAG. Corresp. secretary's draft of
  agenda for AGM.
- Vol. 4 No. 4. Australia editing?
  Deadline: May 1979?

Other items which will go into newsletters hopefully this year:
- Minnesota regional meeting papers
- supplement - information on members interests and work in progress. Survey done by F. Beaudin (privately funded).

#### IV Other Business

#### A. USG AGM and Conference.

The conference organiser, with help of committee, regional contacts, and newsletter, will be soliciting agenda items and conference papers, workshops, etc. Organiser and correspondence secretary will draft tentative program and agenda for Vol. 4: 3. After the New Orleans AGM it was discovered the the CAG will be in Victoria, not Montreal, next year. Someone suggested that we should relax the rule of alernating our annual meeting between CAG and AAG, because many easterners (especially American) will not come to Victoria. It was proposed that USG meet in Philadelphia in 1979, then Montreal in 1980. Discussion points are summarised below. The committee eventually polled all members in June and planned to decide on basis of response received. The results of the poll, and the decision reached by the committee, will be mailed to members as soon as possible.

- Aiming for greatest population concentration means holding meetings in the east of Canada and USA.
- this is necessary to give people access to the USG, and for growth of numbers.
- the CAG alternates between east and west whereas the AAG is more often in the east. Long term effect will be more meetings in USA.
- Canadian students do not get funded to go to AAG. They will especially Westerners, become under-represented. In other words it becomes a locational and "class" issue.
- greater numbers of people will meet and have access to the USG every year.
- AAG is more important to the American and Canadian geography establishment.
- CAG provides good atmosphere for alternative perspectives.
- Annual meeting was held in Toronto 1974 and Vancouver 1975 therefore the rule has not always held in the past.

#### Antipode В.

Report by Phil O'Keefe, representing new editorial board. Future issues: Vol 10 last no. - anarchism

Vol 11: 1 - environment Dick Walker Jan 79 Vol 11: 2 - urbanisation Glasgow 1979

Vol 11: 3 - special issue on Ireland 1979

Vol 11: 4 - general articles
They may begin to publish 4 per year but rates will go to \$14. will be a book review section coordinated by Dick Hansis of Valparaiso University in Indiana. People are encouraged to send They have also proposed a pull-out section reviews to him. containing introductory and review papers on socialist analysis in geography - designed especially for undergraduates and people unfamiliar with Marxist perspectives.

C. Textbook. Report by Neil Smith.

The idea for a socialist geography textbook (introductory and non-sectarian) originated last fall with Smith, O'Keefe and others. Since then, this group has tentatively arranged a publisher and some people have responded to the initial calls for contributions at various regional meetings and the annual meeting.

The USG committee agreed to work with the textbook editors; reviewing the material received. Whether or not it will be called a "USG textbook" will have to be decided at the AGM. (Including what to do with revenue if any).

Deadline for contributions September 30 (possibly later for Southern hemisphere). Publication date April 1979. Time and quality are equally important.

D. Monograph Series: material awaited for monographs!

- 735

# USG at the AAG

#### MONDAY

Jim Lyons, Clark University, "The Frankfurt School: A Critique."

Neil Smith, Johns Hopkins University, "Post-Positivist Modes of Explanation in Geography: A Critical Review":

Three specific approaches have begun to materialise from the critiques of geographic positivism. They share only the view that within capitalist society, geography as science provides technologies of social domination and legitimating ideologies. The approaches are logico-linguistics, phenomenology, and marxism. Marxists cannot simply dismiss the first two approaches as idealist diversions or the like; they have real lessons to teach.

- 1. The <u>logico-linguistic</u> approach (Stephen Gale and Gunnar Olsson) maintains that science itself is the root of social domination and that such domination can be prevented only by a revolution within science. Science must become self-consciously political. It does so by rejecting formal logic's monopoly as a scientific calculus, replacing it with a multitude of different value-incorporating logics. Political choice is built into the structure of science. In so far as this approach is self-consciously apolitical and ahistorical, however, it becomes embroiled in a tangle of very real ideological contradictions. Hence its lack of progress. Its main value for marxists is as an attempt to fill in the dialectical interstices between formal logic and the dialectic.
- 2. Phenomenology attempts to rehumanise science more directly. Discussion has centred on the intersubjectivity of place which is quite distinct from the abstract scientific conceptualisation of space. As an antidote to positivism, phenomenology is fertile. But it is unable to provide a real alternative. It intentionally describes and depicts the surface appearance of reality and is unable to capture the brutal objectivity of a world built by labour and capital. For marxists, the main value of phenomenology would come in analyses of culture, and the relation between culture and the material base. In so far as phenomenology has tended to degenerate into "humanistic geography", it should be taken less seriously.
- 3. Marxist answers to social domination clearly imply political revolution Among erstwhile geographers, research continues on many fronts; therefore, only two polemical points will be made here rather than an impossible overview. "Spatial dialectics" is a misnomer unless we are also to grant "temporal dialectics", "social dialectics", "economic dialectics", etc., as equal objects of study. The dialectic is simply how we characterise human relations with nature and one another, in all their spatial, temporal, social etc., aspects. The fetishims of space implied by

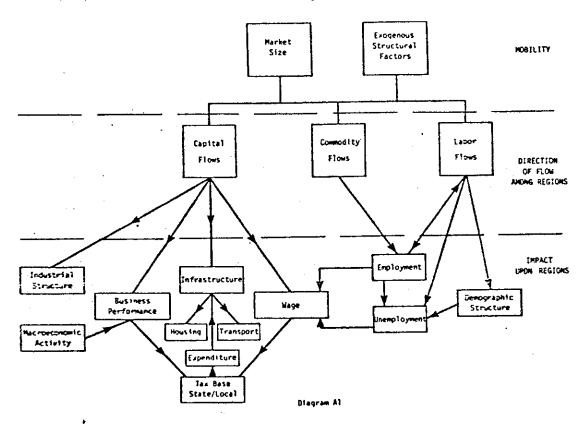
"spatial dialectics" reflects a deeper contradiction camouflaged by the notion, "Marxist Geography". On the one hand, we try to be marxists; on the other, geographers; but we cannot both transcend disciplinary boundaries and remain within them. Politically, it is time for marxists to recast geography within an integrated marxist framework. The second point, therefore, is that "uneven development" is an excellent focus for this project. Its roots are in Marx's accumulation model, and the spatial content—what earns us our bread and butter still—oozes from the category without being artificially transplanted. In an unfetishised way, it introduces space in its integrity to marxist analysis.

Workshop on Uneven Development: Eric Sheppard (Minn.), John Bradbury (McGill), Dick Walker (Berkeley), Neil Smith (Hopkins), Dick Peet, Kathie Gibson, Chrys Rodrigue, Phil O'Keefe (Clark):

Kathie Gibson and Phil O'Keefe presented a descriptive model of regional underdevelopment within advanced capitalism. This model was developed by Don Shakow (Dept. of Economics, Clark University) to initiate research on the relationships between capital exports and the increasing problems of mature regional economies. Diagrams Al-A5 (below) describe the model.

Initial discussion focused upon bourgeois models which were seen to fall into two categories -- equilibrium and growth models. The nature and assumptions of the models determined the strategies to combat regional decline, but because such models were inaccurate reflections of reality, the emerging strategies were jejeune. An alternative theoretical base was the theory of the development of underdevelopment: the reciprocity of developed and underdeveloped relationships was seen as a critical approach to understanding decline in mature economies -- the peripheralization of the centre. It was argued that, under contemporary conditions, outflows of financial capital from the mature economies to the Third World create the basis both for import substitution within Third World economies and, to a more limited extent, the reimportation of goods back into industrial countries. Regional impacts are significant. Trajtenberg cites data showing that imports assembled abroad by subsidiaries of U.S. Transnationals, covered by exemptions under Section 807.00 from the Custom Tariff, rose from \$61 million to \$500 million in five years (1966-70). The rising incidence of export platform activity, consequent upon differential wage structures and degree of unionization between developed and underdeveloped countries, is likely to accelerate decline in mature economies as the global expansion of capital continues apace. (\*R. Trajtenberg, "Transnationals and Cheap Labour in the periphery," in Paul Zarembka, ed, Research in Political Economy. Greenwich: JAI Press, 1977)

#### Schematic of Major Submodels



# Detail of Direction of Flow and Employment Impacts

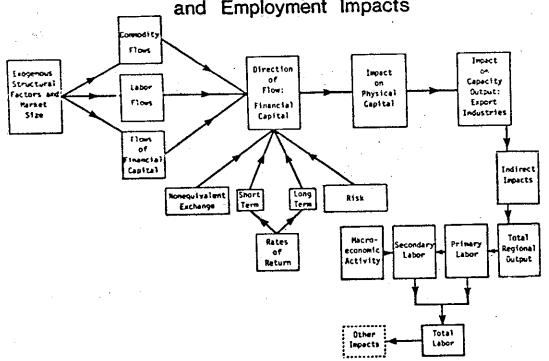


Diagram A2

### Relative Interregional Mobility of Resources

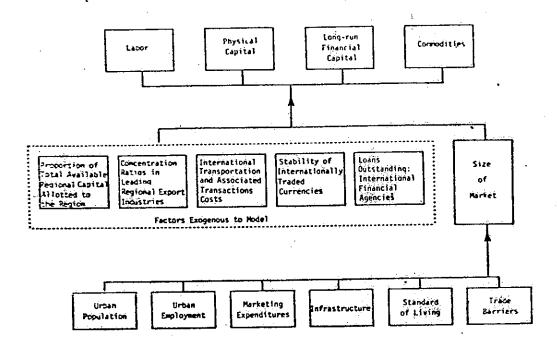
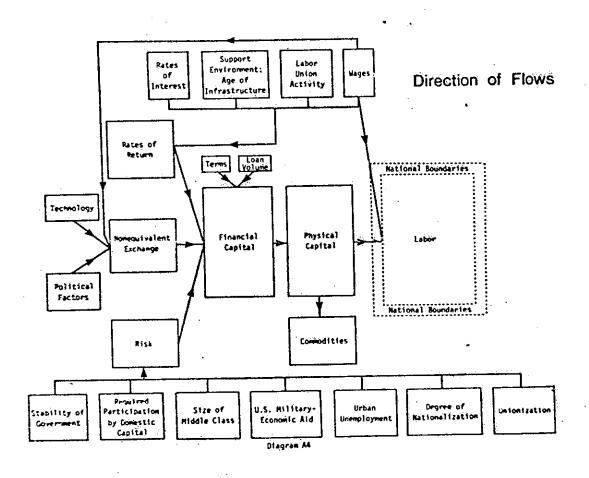


Diagram A3



## Regional Employment Impacts of Capital Flows

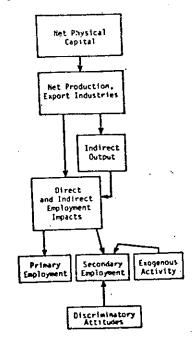


Diagram AS

There was general discussion on the following basic points:
--People were advised to look at recent work of U.R.P.E. on post1970 changes in the operation of transnationals, i.e., the key
importance of wage differentials in the location of resource and
manufacturing industries. The critical variable in this change
is finance capital.

--The effects of capital outflow from "mature" regions on different segments of the work force there. The authors of the model stated that highly skilled workers in textiles and electronics are being affected as much as the unskilled workers by the exodus of industry and new investment.

Dick Peet then gave a presentation on the internationalization of capital, based on a book edited by Hugo Radice, International Firms and Modern Imperialism, especially articles by Hymer and Palloix Hymer provides a functional analysis of imperialism and multinationals, in which the internal structure of the multinational is related to a new emerging structure of space. The hierarchical division of labour in the firm is manifested spatially, with high level decisions made in the centre. The two structures are outlined but Hymer does not relate them well. Palloix discusses the international self-expansion of capital: the

internationalization of the circuit of 1)commodity capital (with world markets), of 2)money capital (monetary investment), and of 3)productive capital. This is bringing about the differentiation of the working class on an international basis.

Peet stressed the "denationalisation of capital", the creation of an unregionalized international capitalist class. This requires a major modification of strategies based on centre-periphery models, in order to combat this even more powerful form of capitalism.

General discussion focussed on the ways in which centreperiphery patterns exist today, how they are changing, and how the model is still applicable. The following are a few of the points made:

--Investment transferred from declining regions in mature economies, to Third World countries, is not benefitting most people in the Third World because corporations remove most of the surplus from these countries; it goes back to advanced cap. countries, into corporations with few regional constraints.

--The centre periphery model is primarily a model of political processes which have aided economic expansion; you cannot equate the flow of capital from Mass. to Arizona with the flow from Mass. to Taiwan: in the latter there is a change in political circumstance. As capital has evolved, it has utilized the political system to evolve its economic structure.

--But the differences implied by centre-periphery models should be seen as being of degree, rather than of kind; the role of the state is important in providing a favourable investment climate: capital will go to the Gulf Coast rather than Calif. because the political system is more amenable.

Dick Walker made the last presentation in this workshop, on "Capital and the regions in the U.S.A.". He referred to those who maintain that the South is becoming more like the north, the "convergence theory". Yes, Atlanta looks more like New York City, there is a new structure of industrial development (e.g., petrochemicals), infrastructure is modernized, etc. But the development has occurred in mosaics rather than as homogeneous regional development. All over the country, the degree of articulation and integration in space has grown, in terms of division of labour, become more detached from a particular region and companies as they integrate nationally and internationally. The "centre" is a mosaic, with connections between downtown N.Y.C., Atlanta, Look at how uneven development over time is integrated Rio, etc. with uneven development over space.

Fred Blum, Chicago State, "Union Organizing and the Protection of Radical Academics."

Karen Tsao, "The Evolution of Environmental Perception as a Field: A Critical Perspective":

Environmental perception in geography carries many diverse subjects under one label. The field also carries with it many problems and controversies. The first problem is that it tends to be descriptive, rather than explanatory. It is also predominantly ahistorical: even when the past is studied this is done descriptively and without relation to the present. The second problem is that it has incorporated loose analogies from other disciplines, such as ethology, with unsufficient caution.

The third problem is that the field came into existence in order to resolve problems and debates in the academic world in general. These were: 1) the people/environment dichotomy—the cultural versus environmental determinism stalemate, 2) environmental engineering was failing and needed perception studies to help it out, 3) the quantitative revolution raised the hope of scientific breakthroughs, 4) value crises in planning could hopefully be resolved by studies in perception, attitudes, etc.

Another problem is the reification of subject matter: techniques, eg., cognitive maps, became ends in themselves rather than means to understand society generally. Although the many subfields claim to be phenomenological, they are not, due to this reification, which is directed toward professionals. The field exists to find ways of substituting expert opinion into lay opinion.

Nick Helburn, Univ. of Colorado, "Impressions From Two Weeks as a Tourist in Cuba."

Karen and Ken Olwig, Wisconsin, "Nature Conservation and Primitive
Accumulation":

The Olwigs repeated and expanded on their AAG presentation concerning a U.S. National Park which covers most of the island of St. John, Virgin Islands. Adjoining the park is a luxury resort sponsored by Rockefeller interests. In keeping with U.S. park policy, this park was conceived as an enclosure to re-create a wilderness environment, which meant closing the area off to even the most ecologically sound agriculture. The park has virtually destroyed the native agricultural economy, leading to underemployment and conflict.

The authors criticized the ideology of nature park creation in the U.S.A.: the creation of "wilderness gardens" has time and again, in the cause of "environmental conservation", dispossessed local communities which had exploited their environments in an ecologically balanced fashion. Several people in the audience defended the ideology of conservation movements, on the basis that in order to protect natural areas from massive corporate resource depletion, it was necessary to fight for all or nothing—for the disallowance of economic activity on any scale. How relevant this is to the park on St. John was not discussed at length.

# Workshop on Peasants. Jim Blaut, Dick Hansis, Phil O'Keefe:

Phil O'Keefe and Jim Blaut presented a discussion on peasants and peasant production, based on "Theses on Peasantry" (Antipode, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1977, p. 125ff.). O'Keefe and Blaut stressed the following points about peasant studies:

a) There was a tendency to overgeneralize and thus to neglect variations through time and space.

b) Key words, such as "peasant", were used ambiguously and frequently carried, as intellectual baggage, unstated assumptions and implicit theories.

c) Different radicals conceive of revolutionary struggles in different ways-scholastic exegis of 19th century theorists, especially analysis which compares European yeomanry with modern peasantries, leads to improper generalizations of the current political economy of peasant production.

d) The class behaviour of the peasantry cannot be simplistically compared to the class behaviour of proletarians. Further, it cannot be assumed that whatever the specific conditions, the peasantry will rapidly decline as the proletariat expands.

e) Class struggle, from sabotage to wars of liberation, are the everyday, active resistance of the peasantry to oppression.

f) Women play a critical role in the spheres of production and reproduction and the articulation of capitalism frequently increases the rate of female subjugation.

Discussion centred initially around these points but then moved into three areas, namely, 1) the importance of ethnoscience, 2) the contradiction between peasant risk-minimization strategies and capitalist profit-maximization strategies, and 3) the importance of environmental considerations in peasant production. (See Wisner's article, "Does Radical Geography Lack an Approach to Environmental Relations," Antipode, Vol. 10, No. 2).

Major consensus was apparent except when the question of "peasant modes of production" was raised. No doubt that issue will rear its head again!

#### WEDNESDAY

U.S.G. SESSION AT THE AAG. (four papers below):

Pat Burnett, Oklahoma, "A Critique of Social Science Theory, Research, and Practice".

This paper discusses the origins and damaging consequences of androcentrism (the Illusion that women do not exist as a class) in social science theory method and practice. Its basic thesis is that the psycho-sexual development of men and women in the bourgeois household has been most influential in producing current social science theory method and practice; this is largely practiced by men with a repressed consciousness of the role which their valuesbased in emotions, empathy and intuition, and drives for power-play in the idiosyncratic conduct of their research. On the other hand, the paper argues that women have developed distinctive modes of knowing, based in their psychosexual development away from analytical, aggregative, outer world approaches, towards knowledge gained through their conscious use of intuition, emotion and empathy for the conduct of nurturing interpersonal relations. The latter mode of knowledge has much in common with so called phenomenological approaches. The androcentric bias is shown to hold both for current science of public policy and science of social justice (Marxist) approaches in geography. The paper suggests remedies for this polarization of knowledge, first, through the explicit recognition of women both as a class in society and with their own perspective, leading to a Marxist feminist approach to human evolution; and, second, transcending this kind of analysis, through new ways of knowing and writing generated through experiments in new forms of sexual and other relations between men and women. Suggestions as to the kinds of geography which a Marxist feminist analysis would produce are made in the paper; the production of the completely new ways of writing social science are hinted at, but not exemplified in an article of this length and scope. That remains the topic of another paper.

Mike Storper and Dick Walker, Berkeley, "The Political Economy of Water Resource Development in California and the West":

\_\_\_\_\_

Dick Walker and I presented the above as an example of our work in applying marxist analysis to environmental and resource issues that face us now.

Water resource development in California has been characterized by a distinct cycle: each time the state or federal government is asked to authorize (and fund) a major surface water project, it is justified on the ground that this supply of water will stabilize agriculture by providing it with the water it currently demands. However, we have seen over time that each new incremental water supply generates a new wave of expansion in irrigated agriculture in the West, and we are left with the same old problem, viz., overdrafted groundwater supplies, increasingly expensive groundwater pumping, and threats of shortages.

At the same time, the diversion of Northern California's waters has disrupted the environmental stability of the San Francisco Bay ecosystem, and created poor quality water supplies for one agricultural region in California, the Delta region, in order to provide water to the other, the San Joaquin Valley.

Furthermore, water storage and transfer projects have become increasingly expensive in several ways. First, energy costs will go up five-fold by 1983. These are the costs required to pump water several hundred miles, including one supply which is pumped over a four thousand foot high mountain range. capital costs of new dams and canals have risen astronomically. Third, costs borne by the public in subsidizing interest on bonds which pay for the projects are increasing. Finally, there is a peculiar and little-known situation in the operation of the projects: water which is "owned" by those who contract with the projects is not always used. For example, water owned by the Los Angeles Metropolitan Water District is often not claimed by that District. It reverts to a status known as "surplus" water. This water is then supplied to other users of the water projects at a price one-seventh of its true selling price (which is subsidized in the first place). Several hundred thousand acre-feet of this water goes to large agribusiness landholdings in the San Joaquin Valley owned by the first families of Los Angeles, the same families which play a large part in setting the policy of the Metropolitan Water District. Those large farms realize savings of many millions of dollars per year in this way.

We conclude that water, an extremely important production input in the arid West, has been provided with no attention to the ultimate development of the agricultural system, nor to an equitable manner of bearing the costs of this massive infrastructure. In fact, water development has been used to facilitate a continual expansion process for irrigated agriculture, at the same time that the highest quality agricultural lands (those which are more efficient in use of water for producing food) are urbanized. Costs of this system have been socialized, and management of the projects is highly suspect.

Jim Lyons, Clark University, "Ideology and Abstract Empiricism in Geography".

Chrys Rodrigue, Clark University, "Toward a Radical Cultural Geography".

The purpose of this paper is to critique bourgeois cultural geography and to sketch an alternative approach to it. The critique focusses on the concept of culture, the subject matter of cultural geography. Bourgeois definitions of this conept are shown to be very vague, at one time narrowly confined to the ideological sphere, at other times including such a vast range of elements that only the Marxian concept of social formation

can embrace them all. The result of such vagueness of scope, and the accompanying lack of structure, is that bourgeois cultural geography expresses philosophical idealism and essentially mechanistic causation.

Consequently, cultural geography can only obfuscate understanding of social processes and sometimes degenerates into legitimation of capitalist social processes.

This critique of cultural geography is followed by an alternative approach to it. In order to avoid the weaknesses of bourgeois science, this approach must be materialist, historical, and dialectical. It entails decomposing an ideological, institutional, infrastructural, or artifactual phenomenon into its various relations to past and present movements in a mode of production, in order to grasp its origin. To understand its continuation, radical analysis proceeds to uncover the functions (past, present, and developing) of such a phenomenon in the maintenance of the social formation. If analysis reveals it to be dysfunctional, then the focus of further enquiry must be identifying the conditions within the social formation that allow it to persist or develop.

ANTIPODE SESSION AT AAG "RADICAL PERSPECTIVES IN GEOGRAPHY" (four papers below):

Dick Peet, "Societal Contradiciton and Marxist Geography".

Gerry Hale, UCIA, "Cultural Hegemony and Ideological State Apparatus: Toward the Geography of Cultural Domination".

Ed Soja, UCIA, "'Topian' Marxism and Spatial Praxis".

Jim Blaut, Chicago Circle, "A Radical Critique of Cultural Geography".

#### WEDNESDAY NIGHT

Chrys Rodrigue, Clark, "The Co-optation of American Budddhism".

The 1970's produced a number of introspective, self-focussed movements, such as Buddhism, Yoga, the occult, pop psychology, and fundamentalist Christianity. This paper argues that these constitute internalized reactions to advanced capitalism, which, unlike the active resistance movements of the Sixties, proved functional to capitalism.

This transformation and co-optation of reactions against capitalism has four components: (1) they provide guidelines for capitalist production; (2) the use of commodity fetishism allows them to become markets for the realization of that production; (3) parts of their philosophies are extracted from their context, exaggerated or distorted and made into legitimations of capitalism (cf. Buddhism's karma and universal suffering doctrines); and (4) they become harmless diversions of human consciousness and action. This co-optation process was then described as potentially applicable even to Marxism itself.

Mickey Lauria, Minn., "Community Development, Neighbourhood Control".

Clark Akatiff, Saklan Institute, "Academic Geography and the Saklan Institute" (read by Jim Blaut).

Francine Beaudin, "Agriculture in Transition: Québec":

Beaudin presented data on the capitalization of agriculture in Quebec, using the example of milk production. Since 1941, 66 per cent of dairy farms disappeared, reflecting three trends:

- 1) Progress in capitalist industry increased the number and cost of means of production (machinery, grains etc.).
- 2) Concentration of capital, consolidation of farms: from 1881-1971, average size of farms increased by 100%.
- 3) Capitalization of monopolies: there were only 71 milk factories in 1973, whereas 10 years previous there were 185. In 1975, three big companies controlled 80% of the milk market: Kraft (Sealtest), Borden (Joubert), and Québec-Lait (coop). In 20 years, capital invested on farms doubled, and expenses for machinery and maintenance tripled.

This has led to two kinds of farm--firstly, the agribusiness companies and co-op which employ wage labour; secondly, the small producers which become more and more in debt, taking an additional job (low-wage) or leaving the farm altogether.

These tendencies continue today. For example, in 1973, pressure from agribusiness for "better quality" led to a new law requiring the use of bulk tanks. The increased capacity of these tanks in turn required increases in the number of animals and consequent investment in more land and machinery. From 1972 to 1974, there was an increase of 80% in the means of production. Added to this was the increased difficulty encountered by small farmers in obtaining credit. The result was a decrease of 25% in the number of milk producers in 1974, compared to 1970.

Beaudin also discussed pork and poultry producers, citing an 80% decline in the number of producers from 1951 to 1971.

She concluded with an analysis of the small farmers as a semi-proletariat, a tightly-controlled adjunct to the larger farming and processing monopolies, producing agricultural goods at a much lower labour cost than that of wage labour on industrial farms.

General discussion focussed on the class position of farmers, effective and ineffective strategies used in their struggle against monopolies.

### AN EXAMPLE OF CORPORATE STRATEGY

Mike Storper gave a paper in the AAG's "Ecology and Socialism" session entitled, "The Failure of Regulation: A Case History of Industry's Attempt to Locate on the Urban Fringe". He says:

"This paper dealt with Dow Chemical's attempt to locate a petrochemical plant about 40 miles northeast of San Francisco. Dow's intransigence in complying with the regulatory apparatus, and their failure to meet environmental pollution standards eventually forced them to withdraw their plans. However, they withdrew with a well-managed campaign to destroy the environmental review process, by claiming they had been driven out by "bureaucratic red tape", producing a "bad business climate" in I then traced the raft of regulatory reforms aimed California. at smoothing the location process for massive new industries such as Dow, and I concluded by demonstrating that those opposed to the project won the battle but lost the war. The goal of such research is to develop a political economy of regulation, and to demonstrate concretely some of the strategies used by capital in political struggles of this type."

## THE CAY CAUCUS, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS

In the last decade, many North American professional associations have developed within their main sessions, a gay caucus: sociology, psychology, nurses, for example. As usual, trailing somewhat, a gay caucus was formed at the AAG meetings in New York in 1976. I must admit that it was with some very considerable trepidation that I requested that initial meeting be scheduled in the official programme—not for any fear on my part, but for fear that either the AAG organising committee would turn it down, or that if it were scheduled nobody would show up. Such was my naiiveté since neither fear came to pass. Attached are the grounds on which in New York, and each year since, I have made the request.

The initial meeting in New York was the best attended, and it included representatives from the Gay Academic Union (an all-discipline North American faculty/graduate student gay association). The following meeting in Salt Lake City was less well attended, but the most constructive, especially in light of the just published Harold Carter comments in <u>Professional Geographer</u>.

The recent New Orleans session was very poorly attended, for a number of reasons—poor timing on the last session of the last afternoon, vying with 20 other attractions, and a very visible location. The latter proves to be very important: without wishing to fan the flames of paranoia, many gay geographers perceive a real threat if others come to know of their homosexuality, that threat largely centring around the loss of their jobs! However, one good feature of New Orleans was a determination to continue, to offer in Philadelphia a full paper session, and for someone else to take over the organising from me (although reality being what it is, she cannot reveal her name and affiliation, and my name will continue to be used as a "front").

I personally am not in favour of the "paper-session" (there is no "gay-geography" any more than I believe there is a "Marxist" geography), since I see the function of a gay caucus as being supportative of those geographers who are gay, who are in the process of coming out, who are being assailed by their institutions or their colleagues. Having suffered myself in that process, I feel very strongly that that function is partmount, along with the political presence of a "gay group" forcing its attention on the Harold Carters and other bigots in Geography.

We won't go away: I am sure that the AAG thought we were a faddish bandwagon, which, if they allowed on the programme without a fuss, would simply die away after a year or two. Ironically, the Carter-Bryant tirades have strengthened us--the sociologists, the psychologists, the nurses, the geographers, and others, will continue to have gay caucuses until such time as

society no longer oppresses us. I very much like to think that a socialist society will end that oppression; however, the attitudes of many claimed "socialists" does not always fill me with the optimism that I ought to have. There are organisations of socialist homosexuals in Britain and Australia; maybe the time has arrived for some "agit-prop" by gay socialist geographers.—Michael E. Hurst

PROPOSAL: Special interest group: Gay Geographers

TOPICS: to provide an annual forum for gay geographers in which experiences in the academic institution and profession of geography can be exchanged.

Particularly,

- a) to work towards the ending of all discrimination against people on the basis of sexual orientation or gender;
- b) to support individuals in the process of "coming out";
- c) to advance human liberation by eliminating sexism from all institutions of learning;
- d) to promote learned studies of the gay experience, and the dissemination of such studies;
- e) to encourage libraries to develop substantial collections in gay studies and gay literature.

PROGRAMME: An evening session or informal gathering at which the above topics are discussed. The advantage of a formally announced meeting of this kind is that it reaches the widest possible audience.

ORGANIZER: M.E. Eliot Hurst,
Department of Geography,
Simon Fraser University.

# The USG at the CAG

USG Special Session "PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN GEOGRAPHY AND HOUSING" at the Canadian Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, May 24 - 26, 1978, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario. Convener: Suzanne Mackenzie (University of Toronto)

CLASS, SPACE AND URBANISATION: SOME THEORETICAL COMMENTS

Bob Galois, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.

Rejecting empiricist approaches and operating within the conceptual framework of historical materialism, the paper asserts that urbanisation, as a process, must be situated within a theory of spatial uneveness. A pre-requisite of such a theory is a non-fetishised conceptualisation of space - of space as a necessary condition or dimension of existence.

The theory of spatial uneveness requires the utilisation of the concepts of mode of production and social formation, together with a clear recognition of the different degrees of abstraction involved. Analysis at the level of the social formation involves both the articulation of modes, and stages of modes, of production within the social formation, and the articulation of, or between, social formations. Urbanisation is seen as an 'effect' of the social processes generating spatial uneveness, as analysed with the aforementioned concepts.

These concepts, translated into the field of social relations, are used to provide the basis for a summary analysis of the genesis of the city of Vancouver, B.C., in 1886.

## SUBURBANIZATION AND EARLY CAPITALISM

Gord Garland, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario

The focus of this paper will be the relationship between independent suburban municipalities and central cities, within the context of late nineteenth century urban expansion. In particular the central city came to be politically dominated by petty commodity producers and commercial interests who were not responsive to the needs and dictates of the ascendant capitalists. In contrast, suburban municipalities were dominated by owners of landed property, in whose objective interest it was to direct general economic growth to the local situation. Due to both their relatively small scale and their socio-political composition the outlying municipalities readily facilitated capital accumulation through, 1) political protection from market forces and 2) the provision of urban and industrial infrastructure. In consequence, suburban municipalities became the forward sites for integrated commodity production. As factories agglomerated in these suburbs, the capitalists gained a form of political power which could not have been replicated in the central cities.

## THE RELATIONS OF HOUSING PRODUCTIONS

Nathan Edelson, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.

Facilitation of the expansion of commodity output has enabled the capitalist mode of production to restructure, dominate and/or replace other modes - feudal, slave, petty commodity production - in various geographic regions at specific historic conjunctures. It has served this dominant transforming function because its relations of production have resulted in more efficient technical divisions of labour. Marx predicted that contradictions arising from capitalist social relations periodically serve as a barrier to further increases in economic productivity. One sector in which this prediction has been realised is that of residential construction.

Geographers have long studied the housing question.
Traditionally they have focused on the sphere of consumption by analysing residential differentiation and the spatial distribution of dewellings. More recently, they have analysed the sphere of circulation (eg. mortgage finance) and the evolution of state policy. These arenas of inter and intra classs conflict and cooperation transmit signals from the economy and polity as a whole to housing - the primary artifact in the sphere of social reproduction.

This paper examines the attempted innovation of "industrialised" housing production. It explores four sets of social relations common to advanced capitalist formations. These include relations within the fraction of residential construction capital and relations between that fraction and (a) construction workers, (b) existing property occupants, (c) other fractions of capital. It is argued that contradictions arising from these social relationships have hindered the successful implementation of a more rationalised process of housing production.

HOUSING IS NOT HOUSES: A CONCEPTUAL CRITIQUE FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Damaris Rose, Sussex University, Falmer, Brighton, England

This paper builds upon the research represented in an earlier paper (CAG, Regina, 1977), which suggested that 'housing' and 'urban' policies were expressive of changing and often conflicting processes of capitalist production and reproduction. I shall argue here - in contradistinction to the bulk of the mainstream liberal housing analysis - that HOUSING must NOT be equated with HOUSES, viewed as passive consumption items. It must rather be understood as a process, operating in social and geographic space, embracing the home and wider residential environments as well as physical dwellings, and playing a key part in 'social reproduction' at economic, political and ideological levels.

If we wish to avoid environmental determinism, spatial fetishism and fossilised historicism when we study housing, we must use historically-specific concepts which allow us to explore how the significance of housing changes with changes in the organisation of the capitalist labour process. Such changes should be viewed not just in terms of the need for the physical production of dwellings and the reproduction of work-hands, but in terms of the parts played by housing in the creation, maintenance and modification of

'immediate', personalised environments wherein people develop, sustain or alter their attitudes, aspirations and social relationships. Some indication of the historical specificity of the concept of reproduction will be given in the context of working-class housing in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain.

## INFORMAL SESSION

The Union also held an informal meeting after the special session to introduce interested persons to the USG. The meeting was announced in the CAG program and attended by about 15 people. A summary of the Union's history and objectives was followed by discussion of participant's interests and ongoing research. Participants (many of whom are now members) recommended that such meetings be made a regular feature of the CAG Annual and Regional Meetings.

# Correspondence

ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE

Dear Comrades:

The National Front is a racist organisation founded in England in 1967. It seeks to exploit issues such as high unemployment, declining welfare services and falling real wages in order to lay blame for these problems at the feet of the black and Jewish communities. As with most fascist organisations, its goals are to divide opposition by inciting race hatred and violence against black and Jewish people.

The National Front remains, at present, a British organisation, although it has proven links with the Ku Klux Klan in America and

Nazis elsewhere.

We therefore urge all socialist geographers to join with us in opposition to the National Front. To co-ordinate anti-fascist activity, the Anti-Nazi League has been founded. Its principal aims are to inform people about the National Front and its goals, and to publish leaflets and posters against the N.F. It is supported by a large number of people from all walks of life.

We would urge all our comrades to support the Anti-Nazi League by joining and participating, or by contributing financially (supporters cards cost one pound). Stickers, posters, leaflets and

information can be obtained from, and contributions sent to:

ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE
12 LITTLE NEWPORT STREET
LONDON WC 2, ENGLAND

Contributions and help are vital in order to eliminate the National Front !

Yours in struggle

Jim Anderson, Joe Doherty, Colm Regan

### NEWS FROM ANTIPODE

Antipode celebrates its first decade of publication. From a modest beginning Antipode has risen to a position of importance both within political economy and geography. This is due in no small measure to the dedication of Dick Peet, who as editor for the last 9 years has been instrumental in articulating and co-ordinating contributions to radical geography. The next issue of Antipode, Vol. 10 no. 3, marks a (temporary) fond farewell from Dick to Antipode readers. Together with Myrna Bribart, Dick is editing a special edition on Anarchism, which I am told will have a much more "artistic" format than previous editions of Antipode. Already published are Vol. 10 no. 1 - on mental health, women and health in China, environmental relations and much more. Vol. 10 no. 2 is another example of Jim Anderson's effort to impart the importance of the nature of ideology in geography - a continuation of a theme initiated in Vol. 5 no. 3.

Antipode will be undertaking two major departures in the near

1) A Book Review section (a la URPE) is to be edited by Dick Hansis,

Department of Geography Valparaiso University, VALPARAISO, IN. 46383

U.S.A.

A list of books to be reviewed will be published in forthcoming editions of Antipode. Unsolicited reviews will receive equal consideration.

2) A new section of Topic Overviews (on subjects such as food, energy, etc) will be introduced - aimed at undergraduate readership. These reviews will contain extensive bibliographical information to easily obtainable material. Suggestions for additional topics (and CONTRIBUTIONS) will be gratefully received by the editor.

Phil O'Keefe Graduate School of Geography Clark University WORCESTER, MASS. 01610 U.S.A.

## TO THE EDTORS: A PROJECT FOR THE USG ?

I would like to make use of the newsletter to draw the attention of USG members to a recent publication of the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE): READING LISTS IN RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS; RESOURCE MATERIALS IN RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS, Vol. 3, Winter 1977. Section 7 of this publication is entitled 'Spatial organisation' (pp. 128-144) which 'focuses on the problems of spatial organisation in capitalist formations at the levels of region, metropolitan area, and community' (p. 129), and takes the form of a bibliography of recent 'radical' publications. The bibliography is an on-going project with 'an expanded and updated version or addendum (anticipated) in the coming year or so'. The co-ordinators also issue a request for help in this project: 'we would like to rely on the help of more people than we have previously, and help from many more countries'.

It seems to me that this is a project in which the USG should interest itself - the bibliography includes numerous references from Antipode and by USG members. I would suggest, however, that this interest should not simply be at the level of interested individual members, but that the USG, as an organised body, should make a formal approach to the co-ordinators expressing both interest and a willingness to provide support and participation. Clearly for such an approach to be meaningful it would have to be based on the KNOWN support of the membership. If any members are interested in realising the above then perhaps they could let me know. I will then inform the USG executive of the extent of interest so that they may (hopefully) initiate formal contact with URPE. Finally I would add that URPE, as far as I know, does not seem to be aware of the existence of the USG, and that the USG could only benefit by establishing formal contact with URPE.

Yours fraternally

Bob Galois
Vancouver Local, USG
Department of Geography
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby BC
Canada V5A 186

### LETTER FROM SYDNEY

A local of the USG has recently been formed in Sydney, Australia, comprising staff and students from the University of Sydney, University of New South Wales and University of New Castle. Members are active in a group which has been reading Marx and Marxist literature for the past two years and a community program centred on a community resource centre in Sydney's inner city. Interests of the group are varied but mainly concentrate on the political economy of urbanism, especially housing and property institutions. To provide a focus for the activities of the Sydney local we have volunteered to compile and edit Volume 4 Number 4 of the USG Newsletter to be published in mid-1979. Any contributions to this edition of the Newsletter may be sent to:

USG (Sydney local)
Department of Geography
University of Sydney OR
Sydney, NSW 2006
Australia

USG (Sydney local)
Department of Geography
University of N.S.W.
Kensington, NSW 2033
Australia

We hope to hear from you soon.

USG (Sydney)

# Uneven Development and Regional Disparities

REFLECTIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MODE OF PRODUCTION TO SPACE.

Monique Piot, Universite Laval.

The whole question of regional disparities, of underdeveloped regions, inter and intra-regional development, of the link between social and spatial inequalities, has become more and more the object of research, as much by critical enquiry as by civil servants charged with making proposals for the planning ('amenagement') of space. Without even discussing the concrete results of planning policies, it is astonishing to note how little all this research has contributed to the fundamental analysis of the subject. If the problematic of social inequalities, or more precisely of social classes, has been elevated to an adequate degree of conceptual rigour, the problematic of spatial inequalities has only a limited theoretical foundation.

The majority of researchers who take as their goal the comprehension of phenomena such as disparities in space (at all levels) and regional inequalities in development begin by the operationalization of concepts which have not been rigorously defined. As long as it is not made the object of a theoretical definition, the concept of regional disparities - for example - will have only an ideological meaning, that of the 'official' discourse on space. And it is not by measuring that one can define it (space). For, by so doing, one arrives, quite simply, at results without knowing exactly what has been measured, because operationalization without sufficient conceptualization does no allow one to distinguish the accessory from the essential, the conjunctural from the fundamental, the ideological from objective reality. The results cannot be interpreted, theoretical analysis cannot progress, research is blocked.

If one accepts that it is dangerous to seek to measure spatial inequalities or regional disparities - whether in order to establish policies for the management of space, or in order to criticize them without knowing exactly what is understood by region or space, without comprehending the manner in which space is organized and according to what laws, one admits to the necessity of making a large detour in order to extricate the genesis of the spatial organization and the laws which preside over the evolution of spatial forms. then is it possible to verify if the concept of regional disparities has another content than that - ideological one - which leads towards the belief that it is uniquely a question of the problem of the distribution of goods and which implies that the solution is one of assuring a better distribution through the voluntary intervention of the state. It is the same for all of the terms utilised - moreover often indifferently - underdevelopment, inequalities, domination, dependance etc... tied to spatial notions (spaces, regions, cities ...) .

Here, therefore, it is a question of discussing a problematic of the organization of space (1) in its relationships with the elements of the mode of production. We rely essentially upon the work of a group in Grenoble, whose main lines of research have been expounded by Bernard Poche (1975).

The study of the relation mode of production - space must be carried out 'at diverse instances, economic, political and ideological, through an historical analysis of the formation of spaces, articulated ('croisee') with a (structural) analysis of their present utilization' (Poche, 1975, p. 20), that is to say through an analysis 1) of the superposition of spatial forms corresponding to different historical stages and 2) their relations. Poche uses here the term 'overdetermination' in saying that 'the spatial arrangement of elements of the mode of production can be considered as overdetermined by the history of its formation' (Poche, 1975, p. 20). The concept of overdetermination (Althusser, 1971, pp. 112-113) is used here in the sense of a dialectical process in which the spatial arrangement is at once determinant for the social relations and determined by the diversity of its antecedent states.

## 1. Organization of Capitalist Space: Historical Analysis

The proposed historical analysis refers to the space of western societies since the initial establishment of capitalist relations of production. The question, therefore, is that of comprehending the process of the formation and evolution of 1) the forms of the organization of space, and, 2) the forms of social relations inscribed in space (Table 1).

The basic hypothesis is as follows: it is the level of the development of the productive forces (which correspond to a stage of capitalism) which is determinant in defining and delimiting the stages of the spatial organization of a mode of production (vertical dimension in the table).

The relation of space to the mode of production may be studied according to two fundamental components of the mode of production:

1) the economic process of production, 2) the process of the reproduction of social relations (horizontal dimension of the table). The confrontation of the relations of production with the productive forces in the process of production entails contradictions which can have a very important spatial dimension (for example urban ground rent in the central city - an expression of the private ownership of land - which is at once the source of enormous profits and an obstacle to accumulation, because of the monopolistic barrier of private property). Thus contradictions, inherent in the relations of production, are translated into spatial conflicts which, as social practices, are inscribed in space.

The relations: space - relations of production (column 1 of table) therefore define the ROLES of the spatial elements, and the relations: space - social relations (column 2 of the table) define

the PLACES of classes, strata and fractions of classes, through the inscription of their relations in space (Poche, 1975, p. 26).

Employing these elements the table represents an initial and schematic outline of such an analysis.

It is evident that a table remains very abstract. Only a concrete study delimited in time and space could permit a precise definition of the stages and the clear identification of the material and social forms of social organization in a specific area. Furthermore it can already be anticipated that it will doubtless be necessary to add another stage to the capitalist mode of production, that of state monopoly capitalism.

Structural Analysis of the Organization of Space

Once this first step has been accomplished, it is then a question of identifying 1) the spatial forms presently existing, their localization and their superimposition; and 2) the relations that they maintain in a given space.

The unequal development of the productive forces brings about different types of division of labour, corresponding to different stages. It is possible, therefore, for different stages to co-exist. The spatial division of stages (that is productive forces at different levels) and the corresponding social strata are not homogeneous in space. Each level of spatial regrouping (metropolis, regional city, countryside ...) can be placed in relation with a specific group of elements pertaining to a particular stage, which is dominant in relationship to other stages present in that space.

It is possible to establish 1) a regionalization - that is a characterization of portions of space - according to the primacy of one or another stage over others in a particular space, and according to the type of corresponding social spatial relations; and 2) an hierarchization - in terms of domination - of these 'regions' according to the relations that the spatial forms and the types of social practices bring about between them, at the economic, political and ideological levels.

This type of research, if it is undertaken in a thorough fashion, would have several advantages. A better understanding of the genesis of the forms and organization of space would enable more effective spatial interventions since the causes of different situations would have been identified precisely.

Furthermore, such an approach enables the abandonment of 'economism' in the form of the 'rationalizing' temptation in which regional research is engulfed, by clearly identifying the economic, political and ideological levels of problems. Do not the problems of regional disparities have an essentially political dimension?

	Stage of Development of the Productive Forces	Characteristics of the Division of the Process of Production in Space (Relations: Space - Relations of Production)
Merchant Capital	- Relative direct producer- non-producer, (Owner of means of pro- duction) - Elementary technical and social division of labour	<ul> <li>Relation of the simple economic process of production in space</li> <li>Homogeneity of the division at the level of the economic instance (when there is a growing complexity of the relations in space at the political and ideological levels)</li> <li>Dispersion of the labour force</li> <li>Essentially local markets</li> <li>Role of the city: collection of surplus production of goods and exchange/circulation</li> </ul>
Competitive Industrial Capitalism	<ul> <li>Complex division of labour in the process of production</li> <li>Indirect relation of the producer/non-producer</li> <li>Organisation of production becomes a productive force (PF)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Economic homogeneity within local</li> <li>spaces and 'inter-regional' heterogeneity</li> <li>Specialisation of space</li> <li>Concentration of the labour force and means of production in space</li> <li>De-localisation of Markets</li> <li>Role of the city; crowding of the labour force in space</li> <li>Differentiation of urban functions</li> <li>Local reproduction of 'localised' relations of production under the form of complete cycles (eg. in France, textiles in the north, metals &amp; engineering at St Etienne)</li> </ul>
Monopoly Capitalism	<ul> <li>Complex division of labour in the process of production &amp; circulation</li> <li>Institutionalisation of the organisation of the PF in all phases of the production process</li> <li>Scientific and Productive PF</li> <li>PF of commerce and distribution</li> <li>PF of Financial Management</li> <li>Absolute control of the global process: monopolies</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Economic disarticulation of local spaces</li> <li>'Delocalisation' and fragmentation of the process of production</li> <li>'Delocalisation' and concentration of capital</li> <li>Technical and social division of labour is expressed through a more complex spatial division</li> </ul>

	Characteristics of the Reproducti (Relations: Space - Class Practic	on of the Social System in Space ces through Social Relations)
Merchant Capital	Classes & Fractions of Classes  - Bourgeoisie - owners of the means of production/working class & agricultural wage earners  - Intermediary strata - small producers (artisans & farmers)  - Merchants	<ul> <li>Localised domination by a local Fraction of the Bourgeosie linked with pre-capitalist fractions &amp; the control of local markets</li> <li>In the local space (city) the process of the reproduction of social relations of production is mingled with the process of the reproduction of social relations</li> </ul>
Competitive Industrial Capitalism	- Marginal agents and functional control staff	<ul> <li>Localised domination by the global bourgeoisie (capitals in part external to the region)</li> <li>Non-coincidence between the process of the reproduction of the social relations of production and the process of the reproduction of social relations</li> <li>creation of local companies in which the dominant local fraction plays the role of a relayer of the national bourgeoisie</li> </ul>
Monopoly Capitalism	- Numerous functional agents : researchers : managers	<ul> <li>'Delocalisation' of domination which becomes aspatial with monopolies</li> <li>Contradiction between the process of the reproduction of monopolistic social relations &amp; the process of the reproduction of local social relations</li> <li>Questioning of the power of local fractions with their attempt to maintain their relay function at the stage of state monopoly capitalism, the resurgence of 'local companies' as an instrument of the petite bourgeoisie against monopolies &amp; as an instrument of state control over space: spatial &amp; regional practice of local fractions</li> </ul>

### Footnote

1. Space is provisionally characterised by four dimensions: geographic space (physical variables), built space, topological space and relational space.

### Sources

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# Marxist hyphen Geography

"MARXIST HYPHEN GEOGRAPHY", MARXISM AND GEOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, MARXISM.

In the Spring semester 1978 a group of seven people met, initially to examine the theory, methods and practice of a "Marxist-Geography". Unlike many other courses in Geography at Simon Fraser University, we began with the common assumption that the Marxist praxis was superior to any alternative; this obviated any struggle amongst ourselves as to what the philosophical goal was. We began by reading articles by Peet, Santos, Buch-Hansen and Neilson, and others, all of whom claimed to be adherents to a new discourse, or new way of looking at old discourse, almost invariably called "Marxist Hyphen Geography". What unfolded in the following three months was the result of our joint examination and virtually unanimous final agreement. This paper is a result of that experience, but perceived obviously through my own eyes.

It was apparent almost immediately that Bourgeois Geography was merely descriptive and theoretically bankrupt. history of the discourse is abundantly strewn with falsified reports, inaccuracies, ideological distortions, periods of stagnation and decay, and various polemics over "fundamentals". The radical interventions we read were concerned to some degree with denouncing these bourgeois distortions, but many were also concerned with meeting such Bourgeois Geography and Marxism. These attempts, most particularly by Peet, Santos, and Buch-Hansen/Neilsen, were not able to see Geography as we know it, as a class-bound fragment of holistic knowledge, a product of a particular economic, political and ideological conjuncture (capitalism). Bourgeois Geography can only exist in a bourgeois society or in one imperialized by it; it has no meaning for a socialist society, and therefore the attempts to fuse two irreconcilable discourses are futile and unscientific. All it creates is a further fetishization of space; an irony, since that has been one of the points of attack on Bourgeois Geog-In addition, it was noted that (mea culpa) many raphy itself. radical interventions also involved parachuting in Marxist concepts and categorisations without placing them in a dialectical and historical-materialist framework.

In coming to the conclusion that there could not be a Marxist-Geography, that there was no point to Marxist and Bourgeois Geography, and that Bourgeois Geography was bankrupt, we were forced to the point of not re-defining geography but of de-defining it, in other words to transcend geography, just as Marx transcended classical economics. The course concluded, therefore, by indicating instead some points of departure—the dialectical relationship of modes of production/social formation/natural landscape; conjunctural problems of urbanization; the articulation of modes and social formations, etc., etc.,—so that we can move in time towards the development of historical materialism as the science of society.

Suggested reading: Goran Therborn, Science, Class and Society, London: New Left Books, 1976.

I intend to develop these ideas further in a forthcoming paper, "The lacunae, lapses, and silences of geography: Towards a de-definition".

--Michael E. Hurst

<sup>+</sup> This idea of de-definition was suggested by Ed Gibson, a cultural geographer at S.F.U., in another context—that of the rejection of Sauer-type cultural geography and starting cultural geography afresh. We have logically extended this to a rejection of all geography and its replacement by a holistic, dialectical/historical materialist science of society.

# Living with Capitalism

Bob Galois, Simon Fraser University

In 'Living with Capitalism' Nichols and Beynon present us with a slice of sordid reality: the sordid reality, in its full complexity, of the labour process in a modern chemical plant. That the authors have succeeded in retaining a vivid immediacy in their portrayal is due in no small part to their willingness to rely on the actual words of the participants. Thus one worker, on being asked to sum up what he thought about his job, replied with great clarity and conciseness: 'It's fucking awful. Just do it. That's all. Do it.' Nichols and Beynon readily concede that they did not 'do it', since 'If we had we'd have folded in five minutes flat, but we have tried to convey what it's like'. In this they have succeeded admirably.

Yet the book is not just a collection of responses, by workers, foremen and managers to their jobs. There have, after all, been a number of such collections of responses in recent years. (2) Nichols and Beynon have gone beyond the stages of simply recording people's opinions of their working conditions. They have, instead, utilised such statements as an integral part of an analysis of the relations of production under the present phase of monopoly capital and their contradictory dialectical development. (3) The analysis is, at once, both concrete - as the worker said the job is fucking awful - and theoretical. Moreover, and this is the great achievement, they have achieved this analysis without any disjuncture between the two It is not that the theory is unobtrusive; it's clearly there and intended to be clear, but that the presentation of the theory is governed by the language of the participants. As the authors state in the preface, 'Open this book at any page and it is likely that you will read the words of men who spend their lives working for Chemco' The vernacular is not restricted to the quotations but informs the entire text, in a way that is neither self-concious, nor As such, 'Living with Capitalism' makes absorbing, condescending. even compulsive reading.

Yet the value of the book is not merely stylistic. It is clearly situated within a markist discourse and represents, in microcosm, a class analysis of contemporary Britain as it is manifested in the social division of labour (5) within a given unit of production of monopoly capital. The authors initial concentration on the content and division of the production process is both derived from, and in turn, through the data presented, helps to sustain, the markist conceptualisation of the primary of production in class determination.

At the same time Nichols and Beynon demonstrate that this is in no way an economistic or reductionist position. In other words, they are fully cognisant of the role of political and ideological relations in the determination of class, and that the relations of production themselves are in no way simply economic. Hence in the

discussion of management they note,

"It is appropriate that we should be linking management style with politicians (Heath, Wilson, Powell), for politics - factory politics is a central part of these plant managers' jobs. (6) There's the "juggling", as we called it in Chapter 3, where we were mostly concerned with the technical, co-ordinating aspect of the function they perform. But they also know the value of the empty phrase, the nod and the wink, the pat on the back, and the occasional kick in the balls. And the most skilled of them put all of this together in a highly professional performance that is directed towrds the hegemony of capital; the dominance of a particular view of things over all others. For these men are dealers in ideology' (p. 120).

What then are the classes present at ChemCo's ultra-modern unit of production at Riverside? Firstly there is the working class which consists of those engaged in two groupings of jobs: heavy manual labour (advanced technology notwithstanding!) and technical operators. For these men 'work is something to be endured because, as labouring men, their labour is not their own: it is labour for capital' (p. 29).

Secondly, and on the other side of a class boundary, is the labour of supervision - managers and foremen. The reality of this class boundary is graphically spelled out:

For the most part this view of workers as things - objects to be worked on - takes on more subtle forms. But that managers think like this is not surprising, in view of these men's technical training and the job they are paid to do, which involves thinking in terms of 'labour costs' and treating the labour power of other men as a commodity ... The theories of psycho-sociology notwithstanding they've had to learn the hard way about 'man-management' and how to defend their right to manage. And this means that in this game you can either be a bastard or a bad bastard. (Bad bastards are managers who behave like bastards because they are bastards. Common or garden 'bastards' are men who find that as managers there are unpleasant things they have to do)' (p. 34).

The social division of labour under capital means that supervisors (agents of capital) are, by definition, and to use the north American vernacular, 'assholes': redeeming 'personal' qualities notwithstanding.

There are clearly structurally antagonistic class relations here, but to what class do they belong: are they members of the bourgeoisie? It would appear not. For whilst managers and supervisors are 'lowly agents' of capital they are 'most definitely

not "capitalists" in their own right; but none the less agents of capital not labour' (p. 72). Not workers, but agents of capital; agents of capital but not, seemingly, of the bourgeoisie. Are these people, part at least, of the 'new petty bourgeoisie'? (Cf. Poulantzas, 1975; see note 3.) Unfortunately Nichols and Beynon are silent on what is an important theoretical point. How far this is a function of the style employed and how far it is a conceptual fuzziness is by no means clear.

Similarly, whilst Nichols and Beynon are clear that there is a real division between management at the plant level and management at the head office level they do not spell out its meaning in class terms. Thus the real power (bourgeoisie?) is located at the head office which very effectively controls and constrains plant management (new closure of the gap between economic ownership and possession).

'Today, his "performance" is indelibly recorded on a personal record card, to be scrutinised and reviewed by managers at the Central Career Planning Department. Any weakness or failure, any "unnecessary" labour disputes or technical breakdown will be recorded. It will be marked down on his card' (pp. 38-39).

Middle management also sells its labour power as a commodity and hence there is a class boundary situated between these 'agents of capital' and the bourgeoisie. In a sense, of course, the bourgeoisie is located beyond the unit of production and Nichols' and Beynon's study, but they are central to it in another sense. Hence the class boundary between the bourgeoisie and 'middle management' is an important issue on which more light could usefully have been shed.

'Living with Capitalism' as the title implies does not restrict itself simply to an examination of a particular labour process under the capitalist division of labour. It is not just a marxist sociology of work. Nichols and Beynon situate their analysis in production but expand beyond this into the sphere of reproduction of labour power. The broader political and ideological consequences of, and requirements for, the expanded reproduction of the capitalist mode of production are also included the integration of trade unions by management, the ideology of sacrifice, social isolation and consumerism. If the analysis loses some of its precision and pungency in these areas, it is less a reflection of the authors than on the inadequacy of theory dealing with such issues.

In passing, although of more than passing interest to geographers, Nichols and Beynon mention some of the locational (socio-spatial) requirements for integrated (monopoly capital) units of production such as ChemCo. They write that the ChemCo plant

'is situated miles away from the nearest urban centre and has recruited a green labour force across an area in which there is no militant trade union tradition. It is hard to think that these factors weren't important in determining ChemCo to purchase its 1000 acre Riverside site; harder still when you consider that Riverside is but one of several new chemical complexes that have been located in such situations' (p. 161).

In other words, monopoly capital (with the social division of labour articulated onto the technical division of labour) is in the process of structuring space in a new form of spatial uneveness (uneven development). If, as socialist geographers, we are to contribute to an understanding of the full meaning of these 'forms' then we must obviously understand the process, we must recognise that spatial 'forms' are not simply the result of technical requirements, but subject in the last analysis to a social determination. 'Living with Capitalism' contains some useful reminders of this necessary emphasis.

In sum, Nichols and Beynon are to be congratulated for having written a very good book. 'Living with Capitalism' is indeed alive. As such it seems eminently suitably for introductory courses, but its usefulness should by no means be restricted to that level. At the same time it would be unfortunate if it were seen as an alternative, or antidite, to more abstract and theoretical markist analyses of class structure. Rather, 'Living with Capitalism' represents a valuable addition or companion to such works, and one which can help to expand and stimulate an ongoing debate.

## **Pootnotes**

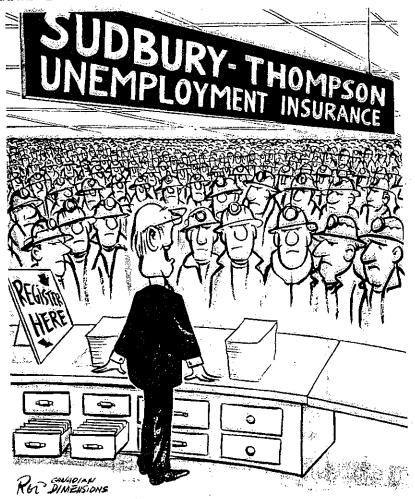
- 1. Nichols, T., and Beynon, H. (1977): LIVING WITH CAPITALISM: CLASS RELATIONS AND THE MODERN FACTORY. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. L2.75 in U.K., \$5.75 in Canada.
  - 2. See, for example, Fraser, R. (1968): WORK: TWENTY PERSONAL ACCOUNTS. London: Penguin; Johnson, W. (1975): WORKING IN CANADA. Montreal: Black Rose Press. For an historical dimension see Burnett, J. (ed.) (1977): USEFUL TOIL: AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF WORKING PEOPLE FROM THE 1820'S TO THE 1920'S. London: Penguin.
- 3. Nichols and Beynon provide some useful confirmation of the dominance of U.S. capital in the present phase of monopoly capitalism, and the meaning of the position of the U.K. social formation in what Poulantzas has called the imperialist chain. This is clearly revealed in the necessity of ChemCo becoming a 'Yankee type firm'. See Chapter 4 for some of the consequences of this in terms of the relations of production; cf. Poulantzas, N. (1975): CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM. London: New Left Books, esp. pp. 42-69.

4. Chemco is of course a pseudonym. We regard this as less than ideal but some people we talked to asked us not to reveal their identity and the site manager made the anonymity of the company a condition of our being allowed on the site (p. viiin).

5. The social division of labour has taken on a number of different meanings in marxist discourse. The meaning intended here, and that used by Nichols and Beynon (see p. 69), is derived from the work of Bettelheim, who writes,

The social distribution of these functions (of property and possession) and of the polar executive functions constitutes the social division of LABOR. Consequently, the latter is an EFFECT of the RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION. It is the same with the division of tasks constitutive of labor processes, or the TECHNICAL DIVISION OF LABOR. This is always Subordinated to the social division of labor, which means that the modalities of the distribution of tasks is always socially determined (emphasis in original). Bettelheim, C. (1975): ECONOMIC CALCULATION AND FORMS OF PROPERTY. New York: Monthly Review Press, p. 57. Originally published in French in 1970.

6. The research on which 'Living with Capitalism' is based was undertaken between 1970 and 1973. At that point in time Edward Heath (Conservative Prime Minister), Harold Wilson (Labour Leader of the Opposition) and Enoch Powell (Conservative) were three of the best known politicians in the U.K.



Now, is there anyone here who isn't from Inco?"

## ABOUT 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, socialization 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. An active section of the USG in Britain and Ireland plans to hold annual meetings at the time and place of the IBG annual meetings. The USG publishes a Newsletter several times a year and holds an annual meeting (in North America) in April or Nay each year.

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

Eric Sheppard
Department of Geography
University of Minnesota
414 Social Sciences Building
Minneapolis, MN 55455, USA,

or write to one of the regional contact persons listed with the AGM minutes in this issue of the Newsletter.

To become a member (except if you're in Britain or Ireland) 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.