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Union of Socialist Geographers



NEWSLETTER

u.s.g.

USG NEWSLETTER

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Editorial Notes

This issue of the USG Newsletter is the first to be put together by members of the British Isles (sic) section of the USG. It is being sent out to all members of the International and to British Isles members - with further copies being made available for additional British distribution to new and potential members.

The present (ad hoc interim) B.I. committee believe that the newsletter should serve as: a means of presenting work-in-progress in socialist geography - from undergraduate level to advanced research; an aid to the teaching of 'revolutionary theory' both within the existing academic discipline of geography and outside and beyond it; a forum for discussion and critique of important contributions to socialist geographic theory (book reviews); and a means of keeping people informed of meetings, conferences, workshops etc involving the USG or of interest to USG members. The content of the present newsletter reflects all of these concerns.

The British Isles (sic) section of the USG was created at the Annual Meeting of the Institute of British Geographers in Hull in January 1978 (see USG Newsletter 3, no. 4 for full report). Since then, British Isles membership has grown to around 70, while the ad hoc committee members have been in regular contact and have met in Dublin in April and in Liverpool in September. Our work so far has been mainly directed at co-ordinating publicity for the USG (B.I.), publishing this Newsletter and arranging USG sessions at the Manchester IBG in January 1979, where a more formal launching of the USG (B.I.) is proposed. We have also maintained close links with the USG International including representation at the May 20th Regional Meeting in Toronto (see report in Newsletter 4 no. 1).

We feel it is important that this newsletter, and our activities at conferences, workshops etc, should generate discussion, feedback and the sharing of information and our experiences in teaching and research between all our members. Other outlets - such as the Conference of Socialist Economists - exist in this country for socialist social science research. There are also fora within the academic geographical 'establishment' for debate and exchange between those of various 'left' and 'liberal' persuasions - most notably the Social Geography Study Group of the Institute of British Geographers. We believe, however, that the USG can and should provide an independent structure aimed specifically at developing collective and co-ordinated socialist geographic activity in a supportive atmosphere in which members can assume a socialist empathy with the mode of analysis being employed and with the principles guiding our work. Our aim must be to advance socialist thought and practice in a spirit of comradeship and through collective action, both through the direct political activities of our members in their own communities and at other levels, and through the specific contributions which socialist geography can make to the development of a critical social science.

Those involved in putting this issue together include Martin Brennan, Ian Cook, Suzanne Mackenzie, Colm Regan, Darris Rose and of course the Vancouver local. Our thanks to all contributors and especially to those who sent in material ready-typed (in recognition of our scarce labour-power and restricted access to typing facilities!).

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: Chryst Rodriguez

Graduate School of Geography,
Clark University,

MORCHESTER, MASS, 01610, USA

Publication Date: 8.3.79

Volume 4, Number 4

Local Editing: Australia

Deadline for Submissions: 24.4.79

Address for Submissions: Peter Rogers,

Department of Geography,
University of Sydney,

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

Publication Date: 8.6.79

Any enquiries concerning the above schedule as well as any general enquiries about the production and distribution of the U.S.G. Newsletter should be directed to: Bob Galois, Newsletter Coordinator

Department of Geography,
Simon Fraser University,
Burnaby, B.C. CANADA

ERRATA IN USG NEWSLETTER VOL 4 NO 1

1. Monique Plot is a member of the Groupe de Recherches sur l'Espace, la Dépendance et les Inégalités, otherwise known as GREDIM. Her paper was originally published in French in Notes et Documents de Recherches, Dept of Geography, Université Laval, Québec; Issue No. 9, pp. 105-112.

2. A reactionary graffiti made George Carter become Harold Carter on page 46 of the issue.

The USG at the IBG

MEETINGS AT INSTITUTE OF BRITISH GEOGRAPHERS' ANNUAL CONFERENCE
 MANCHESTER, ENGLAND
 JANUARY 2 - 5 1979

Final announcement

The annual conference of the I.B.G. will be held in Manchester from Tuesday Jan. 2nd to Friday Jan. 5th 1979 inclusive.

The USG (B.I.) has arranged one formal session within the conference programme and has made arrangements to have rooms available in the evenings for informal sessions:

Jan. 2nd (Tuesday evening): Introduction to the USG. General session for new and potential members, discussion of aims, objectives etc.
 Jan. 3rd (Wednesday evening): A.G.M. of the USG (B.I.).

- Agenda:
1. Relationship of the USG B.I. to the USG International.
 2. Financial report - subscription rate review etc.
 3. Newsletter report.
 4. Elections to the Committee.
 5. Programme for the year ahead.
 6. Any other business.

(Please write to Damaris Rose if you have any suggestions for additional items for the AGM agenda. Address: Grad P/H, Arts Bldg., University of Sussex, Falmer, BRIGHTON.)

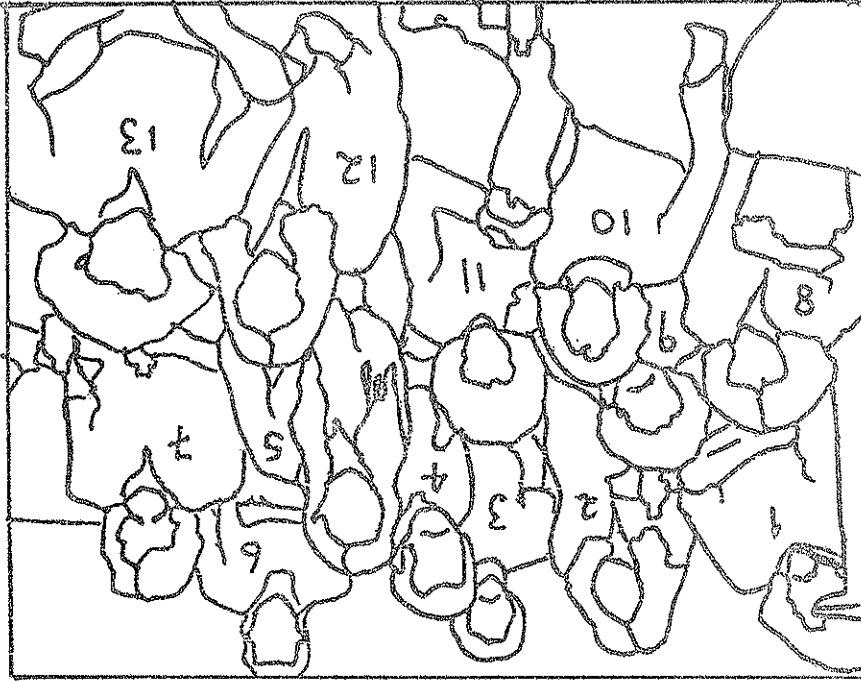
Jan. 4th (Thursday afternoon, module 3 in the IBG programme, continuing into module 4 - see conference programme for exact timing):

1. Imperialism and Underdevelopment (Martin Brennan, King Alfred's College & Ian Cook, Liverpool Polytechnic)
2. Environmental Science (Phil O'Keefe, Clark University)
3. Urban Geography (John Short, Reading University)
4. Historical Geography (Derek Gregory, Cambridge University).

This session will be particularly aimed at those new to the theory and practice of socialist geography. Contributors will present a history of socialist research in these subject areas, review current research, noting the areas of debate, and present an outline of the potential for further socialist geographic analysis. Because of the breadth of these topics we suggest that members write to contributors to offer material which is in press, suggestions etc. to widen the scope of the contributions.

The Thursday afternoon session is the only one which will appear in the official conference programme, therefore please check the conference notice board for details of the other meetings, and please visit the USG/Antipode desk which will be started throughout the conference. We hope to have a typewriter and a duplicator available to assist in the dissemination of information during the conference itself; these facilities will be located in Ian Cook's room at the hall of residence. Again, check with the USG desk or the conference notice board for details.

Participants in the USG Regional Meeting, Toronto, May 20th 1978. The first person to correctly identify all USG members present will receive a free ticket to the circus of their choice. Participants and their close relatives disqualified from entry. The first person to identify the photographer gets to chair the Victoria H.G.M.



U.S.G. COMPETITION

Apart from these activities, USG members are heavily involved in several of the IBG sessions, such as those of the Social Geography Study Group and the Developing Areas Study Group, so there should be enough 'expertise' available for us to set up several discussion groups etc. during the conference, continuing these as workshops where appropriate. Please come prepared to participate. Additionally, we intend to have a football match during the conference - this will be outdoors, so please bring kit and shin-guards! Would musical members please bring guitars etc. to enliven proceedings in the evenings.

If you're attending the USG sessions through the I.B.G. please contact Peter Dicken of the Dept. of Geography, Manchester University for booking forms. If you need cheap/free accommodation, please contact Ian Cook (Dept. of Social Studies, Walton House, Tithebarn Street, Liverpool - before term ends, or at home, tel. 051-709-1012) up until December 27th, or with Keith Gwime, 061-792-1466 from then until Jan. 5th. Please bring sleeping bags. More importantly, please bring enthusiasm. See you there!

P.S. British Rail is offering 25% discount on train fares to the IBG if you book before Dec. 15th. IBG members should have full details.

Future Activities of the USG.R.

The main activities of the U.S.G. in the British Isles this year have been the recruitment of new members, publicity, the production of this Newsletter and the organisation of a session at I.B.G. Manchester.

It will be up to the membership at the AGM in Manchester to decide what the future activities of the U.S.G. should be. However, I suggest here a few major questions which will have to be decided.

(a) Relationship with U.S.G. International

At the moment most "Locals" are in North America and publicity, newsletters and co-ordination are from there, particularly Simon Fraser. Does the U.S.G. (BI) wish to become more independent and produce its own regular Newsletter, for instance?

(b) The U.S.G. and the I.B.G.

Do we wish to hold regular sessions at the I.B.G. Conference? If so, our relationship with the Social Geography Study Group will have to be carefully worked out. This Group has done tremendously valuable work in encouraging the broadening of perspectives in human geography and many U.S.G. members are members of it.

(c) Meetings and Conferences

Do we wish to hold our own meetings during the year, open to all including undergraduates? If so, how frequently?

(d) Teaching and Course Design

How can the U.S.G. help in the restructuring of Geography degree and diploma courses? How can we increase our membership in the Colleges of Higher Education and the Polytechnics?

(e) Relationship with Outside Bodies

Should we be promoting links with other organisations e.g. liberation movements in under-developed countries?

These are a few of the issues. No doubt there are many more for discussion and resolution at the AGM.

Martin Brennan,
October 1978.

USG at the AAG:

We would like to compile a "shadow program" of USG member activities at the upcoming AAG meeting in Philadelphia. Would anyone who has submitted an abstract or who is organizing a session please drop a note with their name and title or names and titles of all participants. You might also include information on any fellow-travelers whose talks would be of interest to USG members. This information must get to us immediately after you receive this issue of the Newsletter if it is to get into the next issue. We will also compile a final shadow program for distribution at Philadelphia.

Send replies to:

Dick Walker
Dept. of Geography
University of California
Berkeley, Calif. 94720

USG AT THE GAG AND THE USG ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1979

(A) John Bradbury is the organizer of the USG AGM in Victoria in May 1979. His address is Department of Geography
McGill University
805 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal
Quebec

All suggestions for the meetings should go to John. At present, the plan is to have some specifically USG meetings for two days before the GAG meetings begin in Victoria, and to have both USG sessions in the GAG meetings as well as other sessions for USG members while the GAG conference is in progress.

(B) To assist in planning the meetings, could USG people who have plans to submit papers to the GAG please write on this subject to John Bradbury. (Similarly to Dick Walker's request above). Further notices will then appear in the next issue of the Newsletter.

Oct 1979

Dear people - this just arrived can you put it in the newsletter Dick may have her soon to go out if it arrived as we's anxious for it to go in #2
invt
Jenny

Socialist Geographic Approaches to Teaching in Higher Education

An important trend in higher education in Britain during the last decade has been the granting of degree-awarding status to the newly-created polytechnics and the traditional colleges of education. The result is that there are now three major sectors in Britain in which a geography degree can be taken - the universities, the polytechnics and the colleges of higher education. As far as the individual eighteen year old student is concerned this dramatic expansion has meant increased choice of course and locations of study. For those who wish to teach and research in higher education it has also created increased job opportunities.

However, notwithstanding some encouraging experiments in interdisciplinarity this expansion has not generally been accompanied by imaginative, creative and innovative geography courses. Validating bodies such as the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) or the universities themselves are staffed by the established ruling elites within the discipline and too often the price of approval has been a dull conformity. Thus Johnston has been moved to comment on the new colleges: "there is a sameness in their products, a sameness which seems to be at variance with society's needs, both because of the lack of variety and because of the nature of the courses offered". (1) Contrary to expectations, the polytechnics have not established any tradition of applied geographical research nor close links with their local communities, nor have the colleges built upon their links with the schools to foster a reorientation of the subject towards providing a truly radical education for the young; instead they have tended merely to ape the universities and provide more of the same. However, there are some fundamental contrasts between the polytechnics and colleges on the one hand and the universities on the other and one such is a greater concern with the educational process. This has not been difficult as universities have traditionally been guilty of neglect of their "bread and butter" i.e. the students. Career prospects and self-aggrandisement have led to an obsession with research at the expense of thoughtful course design and teaching.

We would maintain that the new colleges and polytechnics have made a significant advance in this field in particular by creating the National Conference on Geography in Higher Education (N.C.G.H.E.), a body with which both the authors have been involved, and one which we urge other socialist geographers to work within. This is the only movement within British geography which is explicitly and fundamentally concerned with the processes of course design, course assessment, and methods of teaching at degree and diploma level, and therefore has a different emphasis from the Geographical Association (oriented to the schools) or the Institute of British Geographers (oriented to research).

As socialist geographers how can we work within such a body? A number of tactics are possible, but our broad strategy must be to stimulate awareness among our colleagues of the forces of disciplinary imperialism at work within the subject and place establishment geography firmly within the context of its role as a supporter of the status quo within society. We can use Gramsci's concept of ideological hegemony (2) to show how we in higher education perform a similar role in the modern capitalist state to that of the military in a totalitarian state, namely to exert the power of state, in co-operation with the media, the law, etc., in albeit a more subtle and insidious fashion, over the individual and the group. We can describe geography's recent rise as 'science' within the context of capitalism's needs for technocrats and managers competent in computer use, and

statistical and mathematical skills, and explore the development of geography as a multi-paradigm discipline beset by confusion concerning its precise aims and objectives, and internal contradictions and tensions, within the context of capitalism's own internal contradictions and tensions. We can build upon Taylor's ideas (3) to illustrate the ways in which the geographical hierarchy mirrors the elites in wider society in their response to tensions created by rebellious elements, namely by seeking at first to repress and isolate the rebels and then as the rebels grow in strength neutralise them by absorbing their leadership into the hierarchy itself. By studying changes within the subject as a reflection of societal change we enhance our understanding not only of the role of our subject within society but also of our role as socialist geographers within the subject, and the dangers which we ourselves face. In particular we echo Dear's comment (4) that socialist geography cannot be elitist, and we must be continually aware of the dangers of being sucked into the geographical hierarchy and of becoming so concerned with theory that action, and those who suffer 'out there', are forgotten. In our use of jargon, for example, we must beware of seeking to establish our academic credentials at the expense of communication with our students and those who are less endowed with formal academic qualifications than ourselves.

Apart from this raising of consciousness among our colleagues, we must also seek to dispel the false consciousness which is found among our students, a consciousness which reflects the standard texts from school level onwards, and their own place in society. We must enter the areas of debate concerning what we teach and how we teach it. At the recent September conference of the N.C.G.H.E. it was noticeable how much time was devoted in various degree courses to the teaching of quantitative methods, from first year courses onwards, and we must combat this by questioning the philosophy on which the techniques are based and by proposing that the time is spent in other ways. One of us has argued, at that same conference, that: "A thorough interdisciplinary foundation in political economy and the philosophy of science would seem to be a far more appropriate approach to the study of urban and regional problems than present first year geography courses offer." (5) We must prepare to justify this assertion and work to ensure that our students are exposed to alternative methods, methodologies and philosophies of geographical study. The ideological assumptions which underlie the standard texts must be exposed and criticised. It is thirteen years since Bunge's article on racism and geography appeared (6), but we have still not had a comprehensive review of the ethnocentric bias of geographical textbooks (apart from the occasional article (7), while a review of the class bias within them is even further off. Nor must we neglect the schools. The potential for the teaching of socialist geography within schools must be enormous, and we can be too concerned with isolating ourselves in higher education rather than examining 'O' and 'A' level syllabuses.

Socialist geographers must above all strive to be good teachers. We must re-examine the institutional contexts in which we find ourselves and if these structures (often traditional geography departments) prove unsuitable we must strive to change them. We need to avoid the trap of bourgeois elitism in which we become over concerned with our own "thoughts" at the expense of our students. A trap in which socialist academics see themselves as some latter-day Marx battling away in splendid isolation surrounded by the artefacts of scholarship. Meanwhile the struggle of our comrades in the real-world goes on. We need to be actively involved in course design, educational innovation, and community and adult education. We can put our professional skills to good use not only by writing but by teaching and involvement in political action.

These are some of our objectives. To realise them will take years of struggle and commitment. Socialist geography must be no passing bandwagon or fad to which people are committed until the fashion changes. And to succeed we must, ultimately, negate our own contributions for there should be no 'higher education' and no 'geography' in the societies towards which we are working.

References:

1. Johnston R. J.: "More on the structure of British education and the role of geography." Journal of Geography in Higher Education, 2,1,10.
2. Boggs C.: "Gramsci's Marxism". Pluto Press, London, 1976.
3. Taylor P. J.: "An interpretation of the quantification debate in British Geography". Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, New Series, 1,2,1976, 129-142.
4. Dear M.: "The nature of socialist geography". Antipode, 7,1,1975,87-89
5. Brennan M.: "Interdisciplinarity and human geography.", paper presented at the symposium on "Integration and disintegration in Human Geography", National Conference on Geography in Higher Education, Portsmouth Polytechnic, September 1978 (mimeo).
6. Bunge W.: "Racism in geography". Crisis, 72,1965,494-7 and 538.
7. Marsden W.E.: "Stereotyping and Third World geography". Teaching Geography, 1,5,July 1976, 228-231.

Ian Cook,
 Martin Brennan,
 September 1978.

Urban and Regional Geography Course Outline

M.F. Dunford
R.A. Sayer &
A.J. Fielding

University of Sussex
2nd Year Undergraduate Course, 1977-8

Introductory notes

In this course we will attempt to understand some major features of the geography of cities and regions through political economic theory. In order to give some idea of what this means it might be helpful to indicate what a more conventional course on urban and regional geography might do. Firstly, it might try to discover laws of spatial organisation of cities and regions without making much reference to underlying socio-economic processes (the spatial separatist approach). Secondly, in so far as it would have to refer to these socio-economic processes, it would probably make a fairly distinct separation between 'social' and 'economic', and indeed would split human geography into social and economic with little cross-referencing. Conventional economic geography uses the theory and concepts of mainstream "neoclassical" economics whose aim is often defined as "explaining the allocation of scarce resources between competing ends in society" (cf. Barratt-Brown, M. What Economics is About.) This definition gives economics a very technical character, excluding consideration of the social class structure of society and its historical development. Economic geography mirrors this definition in its preoccupation with studying the "economising" of the scarce resource "spatial interaction" in governing the spatial allocation of resources such as population, industry, housing etc., while it leaves studies of social structure and social problems to social geography.

A political economy of cities and regions firstly denies that spatial organisation can be understood independently of socio-economic processes and secondly it denies a separation between social and economic in the understanding of those processes. Political economy is concerned not with "economising" but with economies, insisting that economic organisation of production, consumption etc is also simultaneously a social organisation of classes. So, for example, urban social structure will be examined in terms of its dependence upon the social organisation in local urban industry.

We intend to start the course by clarifying these contrasting approaches to industrial location. Having studied some conventional works we will look at some political economic interpretations of the geography of production. At this stage it will be necessary to have two lectures on political economy theories of society; this may seem strange, but it is merely the equivalent of an introduction to the theory of demand and supply that you'd get in a conventional economic geography course. Then we move on to the regional and demographic implications and later the urban implications of this geography of production. In the second half of the course in mid-spring term we deal with urban geography more from the point of view of consumption in land use, housing, urban problems, finishing up in the summer term with discussions of urban and regional planning and the use of applied geographic theory. In more detail the course outline is as follows:

1. Introduction

Reading includes Slater, D. (1974), The poverty of modern geographical inquiry, Pacific Viewpoint.

The Geography of Production

2. Conventional/Classical Industrial Location theory and its implicit economic theory

Reading includes Smith, D.M. (1970), Industrial Location: Massey, D. (1977), Industrial Location Theory Reconsidered, in The Determinants of Land Use Change, Open University Course Book; Massey, D. (1978), Towards a critique of industrial location theory, in Feet, R., ed. (1978) Radical Geography, London: Methuen.

3. The location strategies of large firms

Reading includes Murray, R. (1973), Underdevelopment, the international firm and the international division of labour, in Towards a New World Economy, Society for International Development, Rotterdam University Press.

4. The Product Cycle and Industrial Location

Reading includes Vernon, R. (1966), International investment and international trade in the product life cycle, in Quarterly Journal of Economics, 190-207; Haddice, H., ed., (1975), International Firms and Modern Imperialism, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lecture on "Industrial Location on a World Scale: the example of the car industry."

5. Empirical Studies of Industrial Location

Reading includes Jenkins, R. (1977), The Dynamics of Dependent Industrialisation in the Latin American Car Industry, Praeger; Counter Information Services, Anti-Reports on British Leyland and Ford; Keeble, D. (1977), Industrial Location and Planning in the United Kingdom; Massey, D. and Meegan, R. (1978), Restructuring versus the Cities, Urban Studies, 15, 3.

Regional Development

6. (1) Theories of Regional Balance and Imbalance

Reading includes Holland, S. (1976), Capital versus the Regions, London: MacMillan; Myrdal, G. (1957), Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions.

7. (1) Dependency Theory and Regional Development

Reading includes Garter, I. (1974), The Highlands of Scotland as an underdeveloped region, in De Kadt, E. and Williams, G. The Sociology of Development.
Lecture on the critique of dependency theory and a review of theories of uneven development.

8. Migration and Labour Mobility

Reading includes Castles, S. and Kosack, G. (1972) Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe.

Urban Development

9. Industry and Cities

Reading includes Massey, D. and Meegan, R., op. cit.; Community Development Project literature, such as (1977) The Costs of Industrial Change.

10. Urban Structure and Investment in the Built Environment

Reading includes Harvey, D. The Political Economy of Urbanisation in advanced capitalist countries: the case of the United States. In Gappert, G. and Rose, H., ed., The Social Economy of Cities.

11. Urban Land Use and Rent Theory

Comparison of neo-classical and marxist urban rent theory and their implications for land use.

12. Urban Structure and Types of Capital in Urban Areas

Reading includes Lojkin, J. S. and Lamarche, F.'s essays in Pickavance, C. G., ed., (1976), Urban Sociology: critical essays, London: Tavistock

Lecture on class relations and urban areas.

13. Urban and Regional Planning

Urban and regional planning and the use of geographical theory in planning. The example of transport planning.

(Note: this is an outline of the structure of the Urban and Regional Geography course and not in any sense a complete reading list.)

The Urban and Regional Geography course at Sussex would seem to be almost unique, if my experiences with other undergraduates are anything to go by. If this is so it is a sad reflection on the British educational institutions. The course, broadly speaking, is an economic geography course, but its uniqueness, and its strength, is that it takes its viewpoint from political economy in its analysis of the subject. The introductory reading list had names such as Holland, Hobsbawm, Radice and Barratt-Brown as well as more accepted names in geography such as Peter Hall and Gunnar Myrdal.

At the very beginning we were plunged into a course on industrial location and immediately, to our horror, we were submerged in names such as Baran and Sweezy, David Harvey, Doreen Massey, Robin Murray and last but not least, Marx. For the majority of the group this was the very first encounter with political economy, and so many people were confused and discouraged and felt they had been plunged in at the deep end.

It took a while for the students to come to terms with the reading, and, for me at least, Harvey's article, "The Geography of Capital Accumulation" (Antipode, 7, 2) was a very good introduction to the relationship between political economy, Marxist economics and geography.

As the course progressed we covered regional development, migration, underdevelopment, dependency theory and external control, urbanism and urbanisation, rent theory and urban modelling. The reading was always varied and included both conventional and more radical analyses. We were rarely, if ever, rigidly 'geographical', and the course was, within certain boundaries (i.e. those set by the final examinations) very flexible - at one point we were even asked to read Raymond Williams' 'The Country and the City'. This broad approach to the subject was academically interesting and relieved the boredom and hard work of some of the more tedious books we had to read (that's not to say they weren't valuable). Tutorials and seminars were always 'open' and were usually profitable. They were allowed to develop, again within the ubiquitous boundaries, in the direction which the students and tutors thought would be most valuable.

At the end of the course there was, with one or two exceptions, almost unanimous agreement that the course had been worthwhile. Many students were worried initially that the course was aspatial - we are, after all, geographers! - but this was only because theories were not being expressed in explicitly spatial terms, and it became clear that most theories in economics are implicitly spatial. It seems important that geographers try to drop their preoccupation with 'space' for its own sake and see things in a more unified framework.

The course was valuable and it made one realise that perhaps 'traditional' geography is too narrow in its perspective, and that it must broaden its view if it is to have anything worthwhile to say.

- Richard Henley

North Southwark Community Development Group

In North Southwark, an inner industrial area in South-East London, there are some socialist geographers who have rejected academic life to work with working people in their own environment. The North Southwark Community Development Group is actively aiding and helping to co-ordinate the local population in the fight against property capital and an unsympathetic local council. The area is being over-run by office developments and the local social fabric is being destroyed by a lack of decent housing and community facilities - it really is a case of Profits Against Houses (report by the National Community Development Project Information Unit, 1976).

The N.S.C.D.G. consists of two full-time workers, George Nicholson and E. Colenutt, who operate from an old shop in the heart of the area (Bob Colenutt is author of several publications and has contributed to Antipode). The group runs a community planning centre where local people can get advice, use the centre's resources, or just have a cup of tea. The group workers also give lectures, take students on secondment from the South Bank Polytechnic and provide information to academics, trades unions, various pressure groups etc.

For about eight years now the local population has fought vociferously against the growth of office development in the area and the loss of industrial jobs. The group has produced a huge quantity of 'agitational' propaganda and it has constantly been a thorn in the side of the office developers and speculators and certain official agencies in the area. Now the group is threatened with closure, and it appears to be the same story as the Community Development Projects - "the state sent us in, this is what we found, so it is shutting us up." (Note: the history of the CDPs is given in Gliding the Ghetto: the state and the poverty experiments, report by the National CDP Information Unit, 1977).

The North Southwark Community Development Group is funded by an Urban Aid grant, of which 25% is provided by local government and 75% by central government. The local authority has decided to stop its 25% contribution (a mere £2,200) and so the group will have to close down in December 1978, or, if they are granted an extension, March 1979. Now that the CDPs have been killed off, this must be one of the most important examples of socialist geographers in England actually doing something concrete and direct to aid working people to decide just how they want to live in what should be their city.

Local support for the North Southwark Community Development Group has been very strong but as yet not very effective. Expressions of concern and support from academics might still help their case. The survival of the N.S.C.D.G. is important from an academic point of view alone, but to the population of North Southwark, it is vital. So please write to:

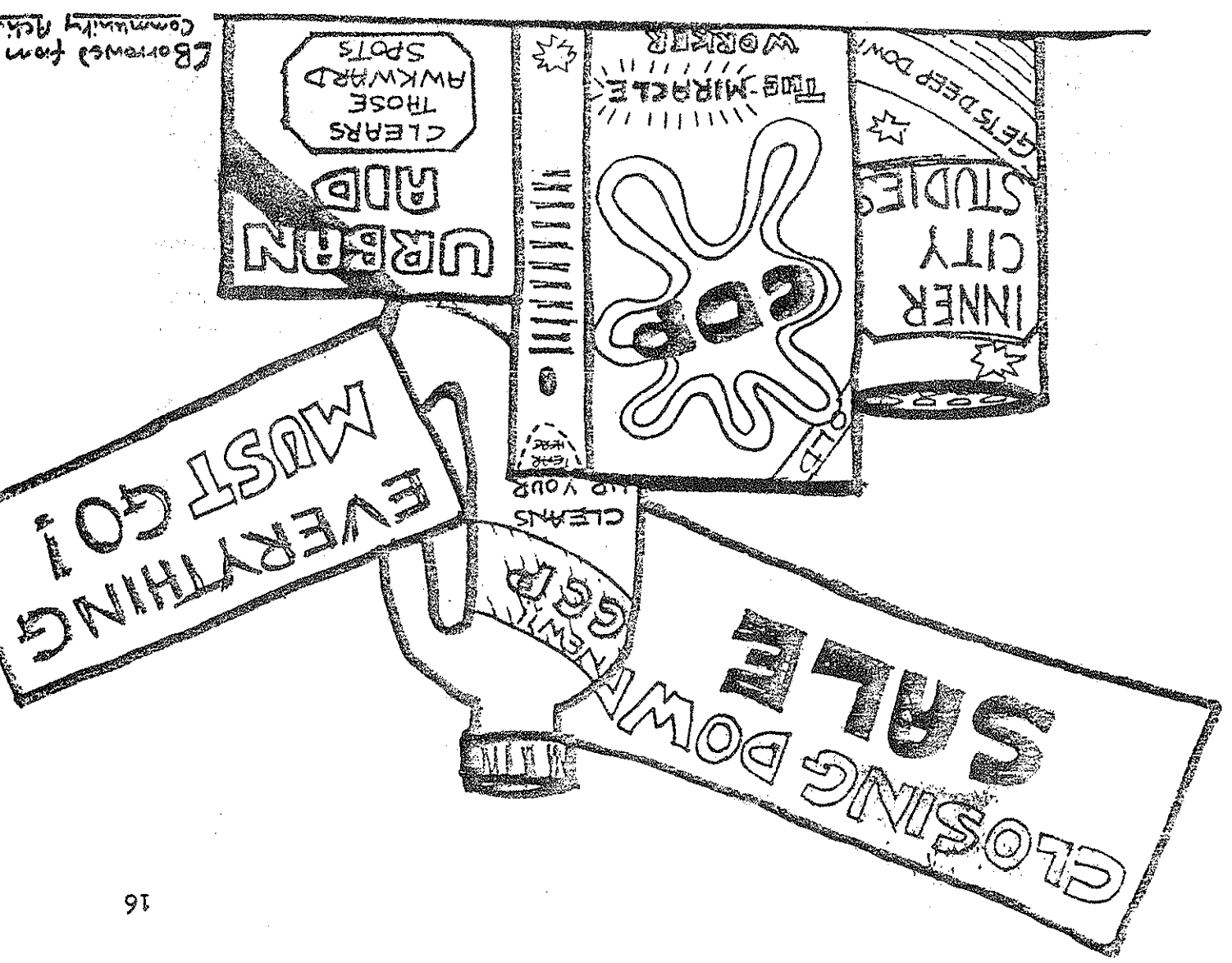
The Chief Executive and Town Clerk
London Borough of Southwark

Town Hall
Peckham Road
LONDON England
SE5 8UB

One day
 the apolitical intellectuals
 of my country
 will be interrogated
 by the simplest
 of our people
 No one will ask about
 their higher financial learning
 they won't be questioned
 on greek mythology
 or regarding their self-disgust

On that day
 the simple men will come
 those who had no place
 in the books and poems
 of the apolitical intellectuals
 but daily delivered
 their bread and milk...
 who cared for their dogs and gardens
 who worked for them
 and they'll ask
 'What did you do when the poor suffered,
 when tenderness and life
 burned out in them?'
 And you will be mute in your shame

APOLITICAL INTELLECTUALS



Political Economy and Community Action

THE LEEDS POLITICAL ECONOMY CLASS

Editorial note:

The following article was originally published - in a slightly different form - in Community Action, 35, Jan.-Feb. 1978 (CA is a collectively-produced and non-profit magazine with national UK distribution). We include it here because we think it will be of interest to many USG members, particularly those of us concerned with establishing relationships between socialist analysts and the practice of urban community activism. The article is followed by a brief review of one of the reports produced by the Leeds Political Economy Class.

UNDERSTANDING HOW POLITICAL CHANGES AFFECT HOW WE LIVE AND WORK

In order to build effective organisations and campaigns it is necessary to understand the root causes of wider political and economic changes and how these affect your particular locality. This article describes the experience and the work of a group of people in Leeds who are examining the political, economic and social base of the city.

Community action has developed over the last ten years as a means whereby people living in some kind of 'deprivation' can join together to provide a mass base from which pressure can be put on 'Them' to take some action to remedy the problem. In practice, the deprivations (the inner city problem; the repair problem; housing and the homeless etc.) still exist; the mass base has usually turned out to be a couple of dozen people and the actions have been unco-ordinated piecemeal patch-up jobs.

Understanding the changes

In this time enormous structural changes have been taking place in the wider political/economic/social scene. Between 1971 and 1976 one in eight of all manufacturing jobs in the country disappeared because of the reconstruction of British capitalism in its efforts to raise profit levels. The areas of greatest employment growth have been service sector industries and, in particular, central and local government, which now employ 11% of all workers. Much of this growth has involved the employment of part-time married women. With the present economic recession and unemployment (it one takes into account all those not registered as unemployed but who still seek work, such as housewives) running at over 2 million, even the public sector has been hard hit. In between June 1976 and June 1977 the number of people employed by local authorities fell by 25,173.

Another related aspect of the economic crisis has been the public expenditure cuts. These have affected the provision of services - housing, transport etc. - and have forced both trade unions and community groups on to the defensive, trying to protect their existing living standards and services.

Also, during the last ten years cities have continued to be remade in the image of profit. Old communities have become systems-built multi-rise suburban developments, inner cities have become the haunt of the secondary

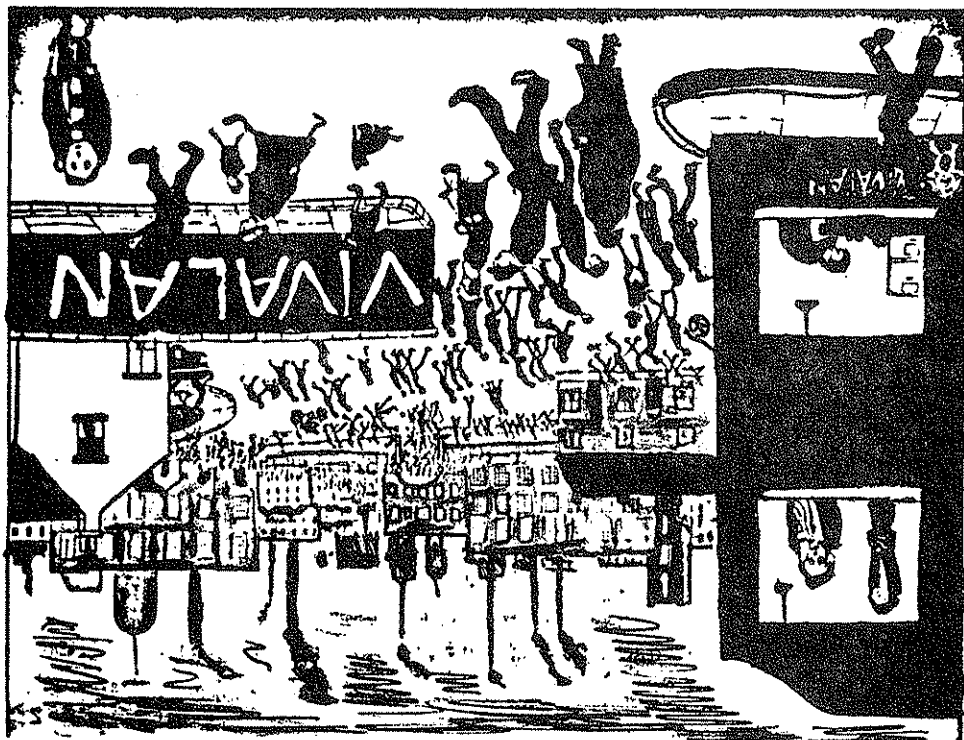
VIVALAN

When difficulty in coping with work or domestic responsibilities is a feature of depressive illness, a treatment which causes a lively interest in work, social life and the family.

'Vivalan' is unique, improving mood and restoring drive without daytime drowsiness so that the patient is able to take those most likely to benefit from Vivalan.

Listless, apathetic, tired patients who complain of fatigue and inability to concentrate are

The workers' antidepressant.



This ad has appeared in several medical journals in Britain

A number of political economy groups are operating in Yorkshire (Leeds, York; Hebden Bridge, Shetfield and Wakefield). In the main, these groups have

The limited success of much of community action results from its failure to develop an understanding of these wider changes and their significance for social change in a small locality. One perspective that has developed for providing this analysis is that of political economy. This simply means looking at the political and economic factors which underlie changes taking place, how these relate to the way people work and live and what potentialities arise for change.

Labour-force (blacks, the elderly etc.); shopping streets and corner shops have been recreated as 'district centres'; extended family networks have been replaced by 'new town blues' and 'mothers' little helpers'; and local government has been restructured. To combat the problems thrown up by these 'dislocations' we've had: Urban Aid; Community Development Projects; Compensatory Community Programmes; Inner Area Studies; 'partnership' schemes between local authorities and private developers; White Papers; and community action. (Kd. note: see Gidding the ghetto: the state and the poverty experiment; report by National GDP Information Unit, 1977.)

developed as part of the struggle of the workers' Educational Association to make adult education more relevant to the needs of the labour movement.

The longest running of these groups is in Leeds where a class sponsored by the WEA and Leeds University Extra-Mural Department ran for a two-year period. The class runs on a number of basic assumptions:

Forward Labour movement aims

The first is that because of most people's experience of education and because of the way most of further (i.e. post-secondary school non-degree level) education is structured it is difficult to recruit working-class people. The class therefore ran on the expectation that it would attract mainly middle-class, left of centre activists. However, instead of conducting the class with the education of class members as the prime concern, the intention was that class members would be seen as research workers who would collect and structure information which would be relevant to the labour movement as a whole (i.e. that the education of class attenders was of secondary concern and that the main aim of the class was to reach those in the labour movement).

The second set of assumptions was related to the structure of the labour movement. Firstly it was assumed that there were a small number of politically active people in the city who act as front-line educators. The basic problem for these people was that their commitments precluded them from undertaking necessary background research about local conditions. It, however, this information could be given to them they could act as disseminators. It was next assumed that there was a further group of people who were actively involved in trade unions, community and women's groups, and as a result of these involvements were beginning to ask questions about the wider situation. These were felt to be the people that the class were trying to reach in their reports. Thirdly it was assumed that there were many other people in these groups who would also be interested in the content of these reports and who would best be reached through the 'key' people.

Linking struggles

The first year of the course was primarily concerned with a detailed description of the economic base of the city within the context of what was happening at a regional and national level. The second year examined the social base of Leeds, i.e. looking at the way life has changed in cities as a function of the altering economic base. In particular, the class looked at community life as the place where women were involved in the reproduction of labour-power. The class went on to examine the role of community action and its link with the position of women and how struggles in the community needed to be integrated with those in the 'workplace.'

Network of contacts

Because the class has put dissemination of information as one of its main aims, part of the class work has been to build up contacts with as many groups in the city as possible. As a result of class publications, discussions have been held with, among others: the Leeds District Labour Party; the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers shop stewards' committee; community workers of the region; the industrial chaplains' mission and with various

political groups. In addition to the publications (see below), the class, in collaboration with the Leeds University Environmental Theatre Workshop, put on for six shows, a political music hall about the economic base of Leeds.

As the majority of the class members are activists many of the ideas developed in the class have been infused by them into local campaigns, groups etc. A particular example is the Leeds Community Workers' Group assessment of the role of community work in Leeds, and the strategy they are developing for influencing the proposals for the inner areas.

So far, there have been three publications ('The Engineering Industry in Leeds'; 'The Economic Base of Leeds'; 'The Need To Change The Way We Live - The Social Base of Leeds.1') the first one sold all the 500 copies printed and 'The Economic Base is now in its fourth reprint with more than 1200 copies having been distributed. The Social Base had an initial print of 1,250 copies and is selling well.

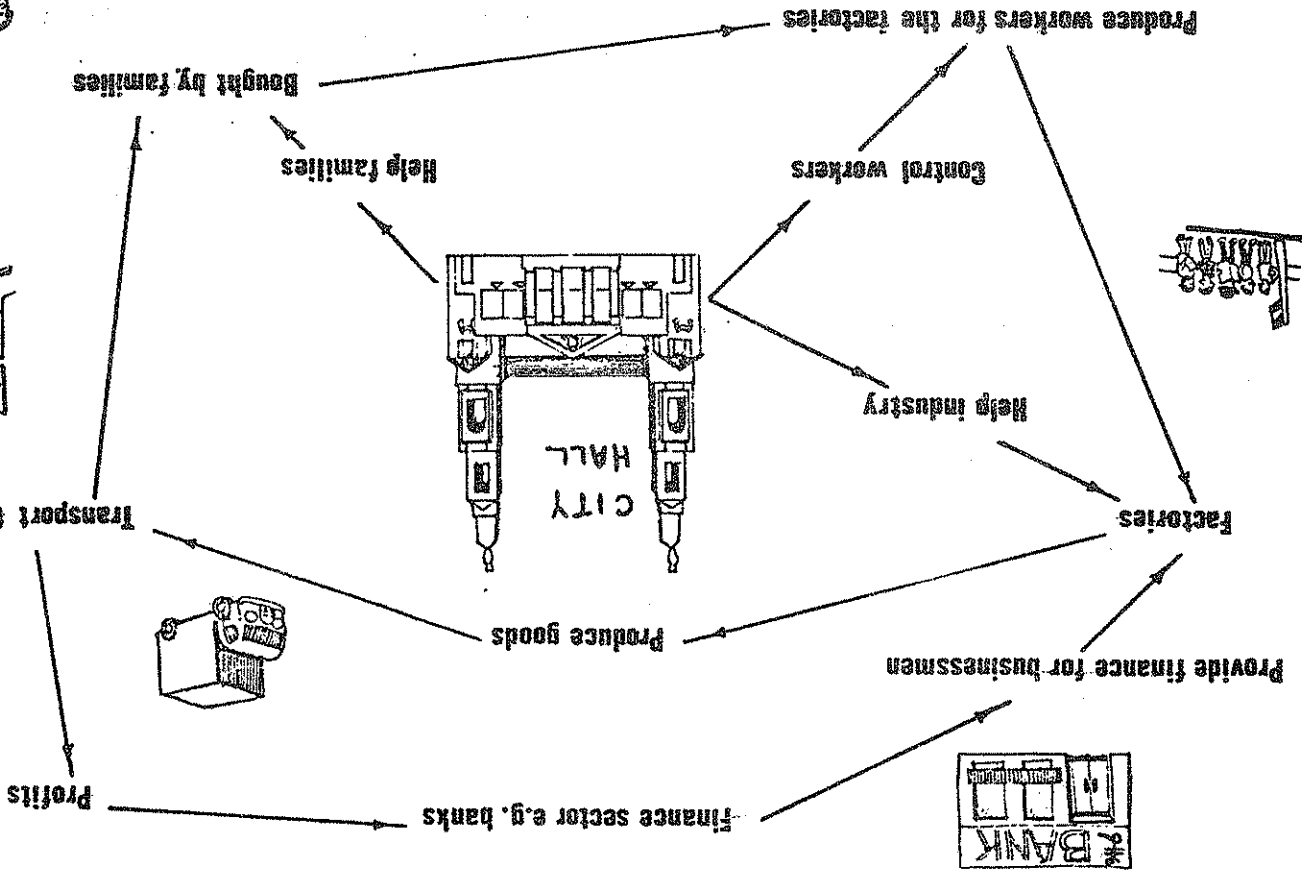


Diagram reprinted from 'The Social Base of Leeds'
MODEL OF HOW THE CITY WORKS

Response

From the mainly informal feedback that we have so far had there seems little doubt that the reports have reached the first group and some of the key people that we were aiming at. We have been less successful in reaching the wider audience in the third group. We arranged a ten-piece, mainly photographic display exhibit of the economic base of Leeds, which was put on briefly in the main shopping centre. We then offered it free to every Working Men's Club in the city, and not one took it up. There are signs, however, that the ideas and information contained in the report are being used by community workers and trade unionists, but it is difficult to assess this in any accurate manner.

There is, for example, a joint community/bus workers' group opposing cuts in public transport, and also a trade union and community information centre, both of which draw heavily on the reports.

What the sales do indicate, however, is that there was clearly a need for this type of information and analysis.

Publications available

The Economic Base of Leeds and
The Social Base of Leeds

- price 30.05p each, inclusive of postage and packing (cheques and money orders payable to Leeds Political Economy Class). Available from:

Leeds Political Economy Class
c/o Swarthmore Educational Centre
3 Woodhouse Square
LEEDS 3
England.

- Ron Wiener.

REVIEW/DISCUSSION: Leeds Political Economy Class, The Need to Change the
Way We Live: The Social Base of Leeds

The Social Base of Leeds is the third report by the Leeds Political Economy Class, "a collective work based on class members' contributions and research; critical comments from the many people who read the draft report and those who helped in its publication." The report was controversial from the start; the North Yorkshire branch of the Workers' Educational Association apparently objected to its content, and so it was eventually put out by the Leeds branch.

This report sets out to trace the impact on Leeds people's lives of the major structural changes which have affected the economic base of the city: the growth and more recent decline of manufacturing industry, and the attendant rise in unemployment; the growth of office employment; the expansion of the state bureaucracy and welfare services, and the recent out-backs in public spending.

It shows why people live in cities and how the way cities are designed and people relate to each other is determined by the two basic functions that cities have: to enable profits to be

The report also shows some of the ways in which people's lives and their physical environment are structured by the motor car itself. The analysis goes beyond the usual radical conspiracy-by-the-road-lobby theory by pointing to the importance of the car industry to the British economy and the scale of direct and infrastructural investment needed to maintain its competitiveness.

(p.6) main shopping outlet for people. of community life around district centres which provide the wasted on goods being distributed and sold. Hence the design people and facilities are together, the less time will be which are based on a rapid turnover of goods. The closer possible - hence the growth of supermarkets and hypermarkets It has also led to new ways of selling goods as quickly as motorway exit points or to ring roads around cities... circulates quickly that has led to the massive expenditure on the interest on his loans. It is this need for goods to be the cash not only to pay for ongoing costs but also to repay the capital investment, it becomes important for the emp- As the scale of production increases, and with it the size

network: In the section on the city and industrial development the report explains the need for industrial location close to an expanded road

Transport and the Circulation of Capital

There is also much to be learnt from the substantive content of the report, by academics as well as activists, particularly since it emphasizes two elements of the political economy of cities hitherto given inadequate attention in socialist theory and/or treated to the family. I will focus on these in this review, although in the report they are integrated within the overall analyses of the political economy of Leeds.

I believe that this report should be read carefully by 'academic' USG members, irrespective of whether their particular interest lies in urban political economy or elsewhere. For The Social Base of Leeds is an object lesson in how to produce an eye-catching document which successfully integrates theory and empirical material. Even more importantly, it is written in an accessible and jargon-free style yet it makes no theoretical compromises in its analysis. Nor does it slide into the kind of populist sloganeering used in some community-action-type reports to disguise their theoretical inadequacy.

made and to produce and reproduce the workforce... (It) is concerned with the consequences of these relationships on people's lives and with the need for change. (p.3)

Work Relations and the Family

The Social Base goes on to examine the pivotal role of women as mothers and housewives in reproducing the workforce biologically, emotionally and ideologically. It cuts right across the analytical separation of capitalist production relations and processes of social reproduction characteristic of most socialist work in this field to date (a notable exception being Nichols and Beynon Living with Capitalism - see review in USG Newsletter vol 4, 1), with some concise and cogent comments: Within the family the wife and the children provide a place where the male worker can release his workplace frustrations. In most workplace situations people are cut off from one another, being concerned being only a small part of the production process.... They have little chance of participating in the decisions which affect their work and it is the tensions associated with these working conditions that the family has to contain.

As the pace of work and the degree of control over working routines are increased in order to raise productivity levels, these tensions become worse:

Therefore problems which have their origins in the workplace are made difficult to deal with because their effects occur only in the private world of the family. Because people have been led to believe the myth of the happy family, these problems are seen as arising because of the individual's inadequacy to cope with them (Ed. note: see 'Vivalian' ad. elsewhere in this issue). Instead of questioning the conditions that they work under or whether families should be expected to withstand these pressures, most people seek support from the pub, the doctor or the social worker to help them struggle through...

Family tensions are aggravated by the trapped feelings that people get.... The family's welfare is (the man's) concern and this helps to tie him down to his job. It also provides his rationalisation for not helping out with the housework - he's done the real work by bringing in the real wage, she's only looked after the children and the house. But from the point of view of capitalism both jobs are necessary and it is the failure to see that both men and women are exploited by the same force which prevents common struggles from occurring. (p.13)

I have quoted at length from this section of the report because it points toward the kinds of analyses we need to develop (in much more detail, and historically) if the struggle for socialism is to make any significant advance in this country. The power of the trade unions has been shown to be tremendous, but their contribution to the struggle is still (with a few notable exceptions - see footnote) severely hampered by their exclusive pursuit of strategies limited to wage-bargaining and to adjustments within a capitalistically-organised labour process, strategies which fail to recognise the existence of complex interactions between (wage)workplace relations and 'everyday life'. Such economic strategies contribute to people becoming increasingly 'locked into' exploitative capitalist social relations through the ideologies of consumerism, the work/leisure dichotomy and the ideal home/family. On the

other hand the apparent sexism of the trade union movement - which has led many women in particular to limit their militant activities to 'women's struggles' or 'community struggles' in isolation from the labour movement - needs to be examined sympathetically and historically, in the context of changes in the organisation of the labour process, if it is to be understood and transcended.

Although The Social Base of Leeds shows how both the city's spatial form and people's daily lives are structured by the imperatives of capitalist production and reproduction, the analysis employed, far from being 'functionalist' - and hence politically bankrupt, is oriented toward action for change. After a brief evaluation of local trade union activity, community action and the women's movement, the report concludes by arguing that in order to 'change the way we live' a necessary first step is to develop theoretical and practical links between (wage)workplace and community organisations. It calls for a collectively-produced 'corporate plan' for the city, designed to start people thinking about ways of organising production for need, not profit. Now this may not appear startlingly original. But in my own limited experience I have come across very few socialist academics seriously concerned with some of the 'issues' given prominence here, while the political significance of working (academically and otherwise) at the production/reproduction 'interface' does not yet seem to be widely appreciated. It is therefore to be hoped that this report will stimulate further debate and that groups like the Leeds Political Economy Class will spring up in other parts of the country.

- Damaris Rose
 Grad P/H, Arts Building, University
 of Sussex, Falmer, BRIGHTON, England.

Footnote: The Lucas Aerospace Shop, Stewards Combine Committee has produced a 'corporate plan' questioning the products on which we work and the way in which we work on them. "They have produced blueprints for the cooperative production of socially-useful products as an alternative to the management's 'rationalisation' - i.e. redundancy - proposal resulting from the falling demand for Lucas Aerospace products.

Yet Another View on the Geography of Women

Recent articles in the U.S.G. Newsletter (Vol. 3 No. 3 and Vol. 3 No. 4) have attempted to answer the question: 'what should we be studying in relation to the geography of women?' Clearly almost any area of traditional geography can be used as a focus for the specific study of women, since human geography (as we know it) has always implicitly concentrated on the spatial and social activities of men - and it is about time that the sexist bias were removed from the discipline.

However, having said this, I personally feel that geographers should evolve in their perspective on women, as has the women's movement itself. Starting from a fundamental concern for equality with men in the world of work, for equal pay and conditions, and for the opportunity to pursue professional careers (which inevitably meant a concern for the few), feminists have increasingly turned their attention to an analysis of the position of women in the world of home, and to the structural constraints which restrict women in general to a subsidiary role in society.

The same should be true of geography. Social scientists (including geographers) have tended to concentrate on the employment patterns of women, on their journeys to work, on the extent of change generated by recent government acts in the field of employment. This focus is, of course, preferable to the former emphasis on women in geography, where they were seen simply as 'household surrogates' - doing the weekday shopping, establishing 'visiting patterns' and helping to develop 'community spirit' in their neighbourhoods. In such studies women were seen as mere extensions of their families, labelled with their husbands' socio-economic status, and acting simply as consumers.

But women are not just consumers, and nor are they primarily career-oriented in general. Most women work at home, and most women think of themselves firstly as housewives. Just as studies by feminists have come to focus on women at home, so geographical studies should begin to concentrate on the point of reproduction in relation to the point of production, rather than on production alone. For it is at the point of reproduction of labour power that the source of women's inferior status can be discovered.

At the very base of differences in activities and attitudes between men and women lies a fundamental differentiation of gender-roles. Women (and men) are socialised into the acceptance of gender-roles based on the cultural ascription of child-rearing tasks to women. The societal acceptance of gender-role differentiation leads necessarily to a structural constraint on the activities of women (and men). This role differentiation itself both supports, and is supported by, the workings of the capitalist system.

Capitalism needs a mechanism by which labour power is reproduced, both in terms of the physical reproduction of new workers, and in terms of the mental and physical recovery of adult male workers. The nuclear family provides this mechanism in a convenient manner, so long as the wife is kept in her traditional role as housewife and mother. This is achieved by increasing emphasis on consumerism on the one hand, and by limiting opportunities to escape from the home (by not providing child care facilities as of right) on the other. (The existence of an opposing need for capital to exploit marginal female labour creates a dialectical situation, worthy of study in itself.) Thus the capitalist system reinforces nuclear family structure and the inferior status of women.

Instead of beginning at the end of the problem - looking for differences in male and female economic activity rates or measuring the relative lengths of journeys to work (important as these studies are) - geographers should be focusing firstly on the beginning of the problem - looking at the 'gender-role constraint' which ultimately determines all the social and spatial activities of women.

In my own research I am looking at the activities and attitudes of a sample of women with young children (under school age) since these can be identified as influenced by the gender-role constraint to the greatest extent. But the need to bring up children and the consequent responsibilities and demands on time and energy mean that the gender-role constraint is a relatively permanent feature of the lives of women - its influence is by no means restricted to the period when children are in the full-time care of their mothers. Thus all subsequent activities (both in paid employment and outside this sphere) are constrained by gender-role differentiation.

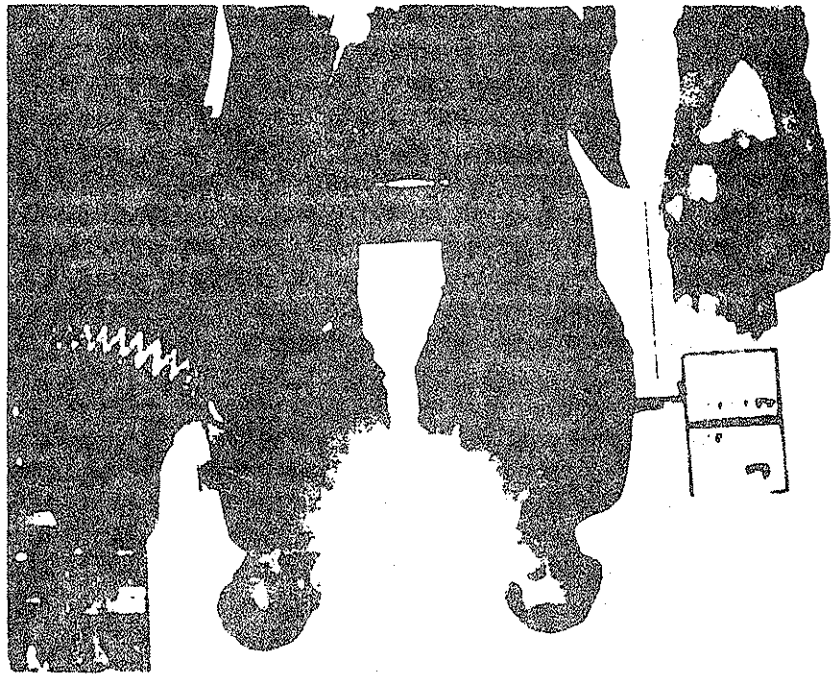
Similarly because society anticipates that all women will at some stage become subject to a gender-role constraint (i.e. that they will have children - and that they will be primarily responsible for bringing those children up) the activities of women before the period of reproduction are also influenced by the same constraint. Thus young women without children are similarly restricted in their employment prospects in their ability to buy homes and in the exercise of leisure opportunities. These restrictions all serve to constrain their behaviour in space.

It is therefore my contention that it is impossible to study the geography of women without first examining the constraint which forms the overriding influence on women's lives (namely, the gender-role constraint), and without incorporating the importance of this constraint into subsequent analyses of the social and spatial activities of women.

Jaqueline Tivers
 Geography Department
 Kings College London

When shall we two
 meet again?
 Under Antipode's
 using star
 and Antipodean
 traveller

- Pictured together at
 a recent USA regional
 meeting in Toronto.



Anarchism Again (Briefly)

Anarchism. Anarchist. These are labels which provoke critical reactions from both ends of the political spectrum. I, too, was critical when I first encountered the anarchist literature - it seemed too idealistic and lacking in strategy for social change, for example - but my views have changed. I now believe that anarchist ideas have much to offer socialism, and socialist geography, and write this short paper to instigate a debate among U.S.G. members concerning its usefulness and the ways in which libertarian ideas can be incorporated into the mainstream of socialist thought. This debate has probably been going on for some time in North America, but if so little has appeared in accessible sources about the pros and cons of anarchism, and this Newsletter is the appropriate forum for the debate to take place. Debate requires the presentation of both sides of an argument therefore I have attempted to sum up the strengths of anarchist ideas, its weaknesses also, and suggest some guidelines to assist us in evaluation of these favourable and unfavourable aspects of anarchist philosophy.

THE STRENGTHS OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT:

The essence of anarchist ideas is that the imposition of external authority upon the individual is firmly rejected and thus anarchists oppose government as manifested in the state. Further, anarchists oppose corporatism and gigantism in all their manifestations, therefore anarchism is critical of multinational corporations, nuclear power stations, high rise flats, urban motorways, the British National Health Service and other institutions associated with the welfare state, the Civil Service etc. etc. Herein lies its strength - and also, of course, its weakness. Institutions such as these must be subject to intense criticism for they are out-of-scale with our requirements for self-identity and meaningful interaction with our environment, and are dominated by the rigidities of corporate decision-making in which people are regarded as objects to be manipulated at will. Moreover, these organisations are hierarchical and anarchism is strongly anti-hierarchies, whether these are institutionalised in, say, the Universities, the Military, the Law or the Corporation, or the more subtle hierarchies which operate in the sphere of relationships within the family, the social group, or within and between cultures. Thus anarchism is strong because it supports individuals in their struggle against the forces of oppression and alienation which dominate modern life.

Other strengths arise from anarchist critiques of the inflexibility and compartmentalisation of modern living. Anarchists are concerned to have us return to more natural rhythms of life in which the clock and the calendar are not allowed to dominate our lives as at present. They are concerned to have us return to being whole men and women rather than the part-persons who adopt the roles of lecturer, student, businessman, wife, son, commuter etc. at different times of the day and night. This wholeness requires a move away from the specialisation fostered by the modern work situation and education system towards a mode of life in which we can work when we feel like working, sleep when we feel like sleeping, play when we feel like playing, create beauty when we are in a creative mood, think when we are in a thoughtful mood, and appreciate that we don't have to work because its nine a.m., sleep because its midnight, listen to music because its the weekend rather than a workday, etc. Perhaps the reader thinks that this way of life would lead merely to chaos rather than human progress, and that these criticisms of modern living are

both naive and sterile, but anarchists envisage a return to simpler, more localised modes of social organisation in which flexibility is not only more feasible than in the current system, but also more desirable. The most fruitful branch of anarchist thought is that which deals with this proposed mode of social organisation, an organisation which is based on voluntary co-operation rather than coercion and force, and communal living in which the monetary system is replaced by one based on need. Thus anarchism appeals to a growing number of socialists because it dares to envisage the future socialist society, even if it is accused of utopianism, and because it offers guidelines to the development of this society. However, it offers guidelines rather than blueprints, recognising that each society has within it the ability to respond to its own historical context and evolve its own specific mode of communal organisation. Once more, therefore, anarchist ideas appeal, for they do not seek to develop a new orthodoxy to replace the present one, an orthodoxy which is often apparent in many of the nations which purport to be socialist. Instead, anarchists seek to encourage rather than dictate, persuade rather than force and avoid the confines of a party structure which can often be reactionary and stultifying in response to unorthodox proposals.

In sum, then, anarchist thought appeals because it is visionary, exciting and dynamic. It proposes an end to systems of organisation, replacing these by decentralised forms of communal living in which spontaneity and creativity are encouraged, the education system is abolished and the processes of learning are placed firmly within the context of everyday life, and technology is used only if it is safe in ecological and social terms. Anarchist thought is strong because it is fundamentally humane, and in tune with many of the people who are struggling throughout the world against the forces of remote and unresponsive authority and power.

AND THE WEAKNESSES:

There are a number of weaknesses in anarchist ideas. There are degenerate strands in the anarchist literature, for example, particularly those texts which interpret anarchism as individualism rather than communalism. In these interpretations anarchism can become mere selfishness, with people doing their own thing in their own time, being unresponsive to the needs of others and dropping out when the wider society is most in need of their services. The anarchist emphasis upon voluntary co-operation can make it particularly vulnerable to critics who maintain that socialism requires more powerful forms of organisation in order to overthrow the very forces of capitalism and the state which are themselves so powerful. Coercion may even be necessary in a socialist society, at least in the early stages of its development, particularly when the masses are still blinded by the ideological blinkers imposed by capitalist society, and in any case anarchism is often itself ambivalent over the use of force in revolutionary change. The association of anarchism with mindless violence is not completely mythical, for example, and there is a branch of anarchist literature which insists that society must be destroyed before it can be reconstructed.

Anarchism can also be subject to criticism because it lacks analysis of the processes which give rise to the corporatism and gigantism which it opposes, and its emphasis upon action rather than upon theoretical sophistication may lead anarchists to attack the wrong targets, attacking the manifestations rather than the causes of the problems which it identifies. Similarly, it lacks an analysis of consciousness - power to the people by all means, but if their views are based upon false consciousness then the devolution of power could lead to a

host of petty dictatorships being created to replace the one which had been overthrown. Likewise, although anarchists seek to abolish the class system there is little analysis of class conflict and class consciousness in anarchist thought, and here too the decentralisation of authority could be counter-productive, allowing the domination of the working class by the bourgeoisie to be continued, albeit in a different context. Indeed anarchist ideas could be readily manipulated by the establishment to deflect attention away from it via the encouragement of public participation, community action groups, workers' control and other modified forms of anarchic organisation, and this too is a major weakness in the anarchist approach. Because anarchists criticise socialist states as well as capitalism states distortion can take place in this respect also, with establishment encouragement of the critiques of socialist states, and by implication socialism itself, and deflection from the more fundamental target of capitalism itself, whether this expresses itself as corporatism, state capitalism or any other ism.

Finally, the flexibility and responsiveness of anarchist ideas can themselves be construed as weaknesses, for anarchists do not seek to provide a strategy for social change nor a programme for revolutionary struggle. In this it may well be idealistic in its views of human nature and change. The party, the organisation, the programme, may well be prerequisites for the changes which will be necessary in the societies in which we, as socialists work and struggle.

TOWARDS AN EVALUATION:

Evaluation of these pros and cons will be based upon our evaluation of the usefulness of the anarchist contribution to socialism as a whole. I suggest that a debate takes place to consider the extent to which anarchism is anti-socialist in its obscuring of class relationships and lack of analytical power, whether it can contribute effectively to the ongoing process of socialist struggle and whether it can help us to define our long-term goals. We should also consider the extent to which anarchist views can be incorporated into Marxist analyses and examine libertarian tendencies in states which are already socialist. Was the Cultural Revolution in China an expression of anarchistic tendencies, with Mao unleashing the Red Guards against the party hierarchy and bureaucracy? Are Yugoslavian experiments in worker self-management libertarian in emphasis? Are anarchist views particularly relevant in underdeveloped nations? Let us debate questions such as these more fully, and attempt to combine the energy and drive of anarchism and anarchists, with their emphasis on action, with the theoretical sophistication and organisational ability of mainstream socialism in general - if indeed, this is possible.

Reading: I've deliberately avoided footnotes in order to focus more clearly and succinctly upon the issues as I interpret them, but suggest you read Woodcock G. "Anarchism", Penguin, 1975 reprint, then Woodcock (ed.) "The Anarchist Reader", Fontana, 1977. Then read Kropotkin's books and other references cited in U.S.G. Newsletter 3, 3, 1978, and articles by Peet, Breitbart and Galois in Antipode, 1975 and 1976. Other useful references include those by Baldelli G. "Social Anarchism", Penguin, 1972 (Aldine 1971), Apter D.E. & Joll J. (eds.) "Anarchism Today", Macmillan, 1971, Ward C. "Housing: An Anarchist Approach", Freedom Press, 1976 and "The Child in the City", Architectural Press, 1978, and Reyherabend P. "Against Method", Verso, London, 1975.

Lastly, I've finished the first draft of a long article upon anarchism and geography and would welcome correspondence on these matters as well as responses via this Newsletter.

THE CHANGING EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN BRIGHTON

As very little was known about the changing employment structure of one of England's most famous holiday resorts, Brighton, I undertook a study of the area during the summer of 1978. The project focused largely on recent developments, as these appeared to be creating serious social and economic problems for the town's lower socio-economic groups. Indeed it was found that since the early 1960s a process of de-industrialisation had weakened the town's economic base, resulting in higher levels of unemployment among the area's industrial labour force. These developments had created a 'hard core' of unemployed workers who were unable to find suitable employment elsewhere.

It was important to realise that the employment census data used in this study masked the full extent of the decline in industrial employment. This is because the available information did not provide a breakdown of those involved in the actual manufacturing process as against those involved in white-collar activities. Evidence from earlier studies of two of Brighton's major industrial employers supported the information that I had found, in suggesting that the changing labour process within these firms was leading to a decrease in industrial jobs and an increase in semi-skilled, lower-paid white-collar jobs. This was the result of a change from electro-mechanical to electronic engineering in the firms concerned. These developments altered not only the structure of employment within individual industrial sectors but the overall employment structure of the town.

Although the study emphasised the changes in manufacturing establishments it was evident that a marked change in the structure of services had also occurred. The new industries were 'working by brain' and white-collar work, in contrast to the formerly dominant tourist industry and distributive trades. There has been a shift from a service economy in the classical mould to a new white-collar economy, with education taking a leading place. In describing the town today it can be said that one-fifth of employment is in scientific and professional services, roughly a third in its role as regional shopping and transport centre, a sixth in manufacturing and one-seventh in its tourist role. The main changes have been a replacement of the tourist base by the new white-collar service employment and a shift in the structure of employment within industrial enterprises towards an increased white-collar component.

- John Campbell, School of Cultural and
Community Studies P/H, Sussex University,
Falmer, BRIGHTON, BN1 9QN.
I have presented here just a brief outline of the project. If anyone would like more details please get in touch at the above address.

Ireland The Debate on Partition

The partition of Ireland arose from the uneven nature of capitalist development in the island, originating as early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The Treaty of 1921, by which partition was recognised, did not hinder the requirements of British capital and so could be promoted as a political solution to what seemed an intractable problem. Since 1921 the situation has changed drastically: the decline of empire has resulted in an economic depression in Britain which has, as a matter of course, spilled over into Ireland. The emergence in Ireland (North and South) of monopoly capital and the requirements of the European Community are rendering partition economically and politically unviable and undesirable. The North and South of Ireland are increasingly taking on the appearance of an economic backwater of West European capitalism.

Throughout these various phases of Northern Ireland's history, partition has been maintained by a series of economic and ideological expedients, varying from employment discrimination to raising the spectre of reactionary Catholicism (1). Understandably, the present situation has necessitated a change in strategy, especially on the ideological level. The constitutional crisis in Northern Ireland coupled with the inability of British government plus the state of public opinion have all coalesced and resulted in the promotion of "independence for Ulster" as a "realistic, pragmatic and democratic" solution. Despite the apparent stalemate in bourgeois political "circles" (an apposite term!), underneath the superficial inactivity is a vigorous campaign to promote "negotiated independence" (2).

The arguments surrounding this debate were the subject of much discussion at the USG/Antipode-promoted conference in Dublin last March (3). Traditionally geographers in Ireland have avoided this sensitive issue with a vengeance; however, it now appears as though the situation will change (4). A significant portion of the forthcoming special edition of Antipode on Ireland will feature a debate on the "Two Nations theory" and so it would appear to be an opportune moment to survey some of the background to this debate.

In keeping with the West's fascination with opinion polls, various surveys have been conducted and the results have been widely publicised, adding much to the call for independence. A 1976 poll, carried out in England by the Centre for the Study of Public Policy at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow (Scotland), established that 72% of the Protestants interviewed were satisfied with direct rule from Westminster while the parallel figure for Catholics was 79%; however, the report concluded that such opinions had to be weighed against the growing volume of support in England for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. The national television network in the Republic revealed that 55% of people interviewed in England supported immediate troops withdrawal for various reasons ranging from the argument that the presence of the troops was too costly (21%), that too many troops had been killed (55%), to the old hoary argument "that it is an Irish problem which should be left to the Irish to resolve". (5) Recently the Daily Mirror, a mass circulation newspaper, advocated British withdrawal, as have various political groups, debating societies, "business" clubs and assorted academics. This cacophony of demands has also been supported in the

Republic by various individuals and political parties.

Various sections or fractions within the Official Unionist Party in Northern Ireland are critically supportive while the two major parties in the South are sympathetic to some form of independence or federation. The Irish Independence Party, the Socialist Party of Ireland and the British and Irish Communist Organisation are directly promoting the North's independence. Even the United States and the U.N. are sitting on the sidelines awaiting developments in this direction. With such political pressure and with the decline in importance in the economy of local and British capital, which is being replaced by multinational monopoly capital which bears no relation to traditional structures, it is inevitable that "independence for Ulster" should become an increasingly heard demand.

Briefly stated, the argument is that since total integration into the UK hasn't and won't work because the Catholic minority won't accept it, and since federation or unity with the Republic won't work because the Protestant majority won't accept it, hence independence is the only logical solution. Furthermore, groups such as the B & ICO argue that the Protestant North constitutes a separate Nation entitled to independence in its own right, and that consequently all socialists should support the right to self-determination. This specific position has necessitated a massive amount of historical revision and has thus led to the emergence of the Two Nations theory.

Two Nations theorists argue that since the inception of a Protestant community in 1600-1700, Ulster has developed an economy, society and tradition which is acutely different from the rest of Ireland, dominated by Catholicism. They further argue that Northern Ireland developed embryonic capitalism from which industrialisation later developed; comparisons are drawn between landlords North and South, arguing that the former were progressive while the latter were not. The particular land-holding structure in the North (known as the "Ulster Custom") fostered security of tenure and thus allowed capital accumulation to occur, on a modest basis initially. By the nineteenth century industrial capitalism had developed in the North East (Lagan Valley) alongside a Protestant 'Nation', both of which had nothing in common with the agricultural Catholic South. Consequently partition was logical and served the best interests of that Protestant Nation. Therefore, the two Nations theorists argue, the war in present-day Ireland is not a war of national liberation but a war to force the capitulation of the Protestant Nation and should therefore be opposed by all socialists. The argument is also made that the "national question" is simply a smokescreen used by the Republic's ruling class to divert attention from working-class economic and social issues in the South. There are variations and differing emphases within the two Nations theory but all contain most of the above arguments (6).

Those who oppose the two Nations theory consist primarily of the Republican groups, the bulk of left-wing Labour groups in the Republic, a large section of the British left and most European and North American groups. Most often the struggle in Ireland is viewed as an anti-imperialist struggle, directed militarily against the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Historically, most deny the nationhood of the Protestant people and argue that the concept of nation utilised is ahistorical and mechanistic. They attack the notion of internal homogeneity among Protestants by referring to various class antagonisms and to the constant fear of the Protestant

ruling class of defections within their own "nation." Protestant workers, it is argued, were won to Imperialism through preferential treatment in employment and social service allocation and discrimination has been used by Unionism to maintain political power in the interests of capital. Consequently they argue that withdrawal of troops, coupled with structural changes in the economy (noted above) will win Protestant workers away from Unionism and into a united socialist Ireland. Among these groups there is significant disagreement and difference in emphasis. Many argue that the solution to the problem lies in Northern Ireland while others argue that only a united socialist Ireland can provide a realistic framework for a permanent solution. Consequently differing strategies are advanced, most of which are now generating extensive debate, such as that which occurred last March at the Dublin conference.

- Colm Regan

Footnotes

- (1) See Farrell, Michael (1976), Northern Ireland: The Orange State, London, and de Paor, Liam (1972), Divided Ulster, Harmondsworth.
- (2) See, for example, various articles in recent editions of the Irish Times, e.g. Sept. 13th and 19th 1978, also Hibernia, Sept. 22nd 1978, and also Studies, Spring/Summer 1978 and Socialist Register, 1972, 1977.
- (3) USG Newsletter, Vol. 4, 1, Aug.-Sept. 1978.
- (4) Apart from the March conference and the forthcoming issue of Antipode on Ireland, Queens University, Belfast are about to publish an occasional paper on "Geography and Nationality" by M. Hesliga (? - typist).
- (5) See Irish Times, Sept. 13th 1978, also text of RTM television programme on British withdrawal screened Sept. 22nd 1978.
- (6) See, for example, British and Irish Communist Party (1972), The Re-construction of Partition, Belfast; also The Birth of Ulster Unionism, 1973, Belfast; and The Two Irish Nations, 1975, Belfast.

Philosophy of Social Science Marxism and Geography

Looking back at Harvey's 'Explanation in Geography' (1969) one can't help being struck not only by its level of scholarship, which set new standards in the discipline, but also by its text-book-like self-assurance in its equation of positivism with science. At the time - like many others, I suspect - I happily accepted that there were no other positions regarding the philosophy of science that needed to be examined. In the years since 1969, of course, this confidence in positivism has broken down and geography's practical and philosophical parochialism has disintegrated as geographers have discovered thriving non-positivist traditions in other social sciences.

With the development of major interests in humanist (chiefly phenomeno-logical) geography and 'radical geography' (not my term), there has been a trickle of short and generally unsatisfactory articles sprinkled with dilettantish references to Harsert and Dillthey, advocating what was understood to be a 'phenomenological' approach. However, these gave one little confidence in their grasp of the rigours of such philosophies - a suspicion which was often borne out by their substantive work with its bland outpourings of arbitrary and speculative interpretations of subjectivity in geographical experie-nces. Indeed, in response to this 'Leaders' Digest (Geography', one almost felt like saying "Come back positivism - all is forgiven!"

In the case of the radical and marxist school, work has been concerned primarily with a substantive rather than a glibly optical critique of positivism. In the case of the occasional polemic in 'Antipode'. Perhaps this reflected the uncertainty concerning epistemology in marxism generally, while it is sure of its opposition to positivism, empiricism and idealism, it has 101 alternative exegeses of historical or dialectical materialism to call upon. In the meantime, the remaining positivists either ignored these alternatives, or, which usually amounted to the same thing, (1) pronounced them as compatible and complementary (e.g. see the Introduction to the second edition of Location Analysis in Human Geography (P. Haggett et al., 1978)).

If these, then, are the 'Three Geographies', they correspond broadly to the three sociologies which have recently been the subjects of a spate of quite similar books on the philosophy of social science. These include Benton (1977), Gatt and Urry (1975), Haddens (1976), Smart (1976), May (1975) and Bernstein (1976). Each of these passes from a critique of positivism (in the first two cases from the standpoint of realism), through a discussion of interpretive or humanist social science to a sympathetic critique and advocacy of critical social science, including Marxism.

From the point of view of geographers, the preoccupation with sociology and disregard of geography in these books is unhelpful, but perhaps not unexpected. In the light of Derek Gregory's 'Ideology, Science and Human Geography' (1978, Hutchinson) it therefore a welcome venture by a geographer into this kind of philosophical discussion. To its credit, this book advocates a

critical, committed approach to geography, one that involves criticism of and efforts to change society, although it says little about the position of marxism in this. Its other strong points are its fresh and interesting account of positivist, so-called, quantitative geography, and its continuities with traditional geography, and its avoidance of the sterility of those debates about the philosophical implications of marxism which centre exclusively upon endless new 'readings' of classic marxist texts and ignore outside developments in philosophy which haven't already been processed by heavyweight marxist theoreticians. However, there are plenty of questionable and disjointed arguments in the book but perhaps its worst failing is not this but its muddly and at times irritatingly pretentious academic style of writing. Intentionally or unintentionally, this has the effect of 'distancing' the reader in such a way that Gregory fails to make the important philosophical ideas which he examines accessible to geographers. Given their importance, it would seem useful to try to make them more accessible and so in what follows, I shall not review Gregory's book but instead outline briefly some of the most significant issues in the literature upon which he draws. In the space available I cannot expect to do more than sketch in a few of these, and even then many of the supporting arguments and qualifications will have to be left out, but hopefully it will be sufficient to indicate their importance for defending marxism as a science of society and revolutionary practise. You will find fuller and better accounts of these issues in the philosophy of social science books mentioned above.

1. The realist critique of positivism

Positivism assumes a unity of method for all science, whether social or natural, and claims that what it believes to be the methods of the latter can and should be used for the former. Most critics of positivism have limited their attacks to the question of the legitimacy of the transfer of natural science methods to social science, but realists also question whether positivist understand even natural science. Positivists interpret 'laws' as statements about well-confirmed, regular successions of atomic events. They lay great stress on the deductive structure of theories, in which particular events or low-order laws can be 'explained' by deducing their occurrence from higher order law statements. For example, if we had to explain why this geography book 'x' is boring we might do so by deducing that this is the case from a law statement ("all geography books are boring") and a statement about the conditions obtaining at the present time ("this is a geography book"). Positivism has little to say about the role of description and analysis of the nature of objects in science for these are overlooked in the preoccupation with regularities in successions of empirical 'events' or patterns in 'data'.

In practise, this 'ideal' combination of deductive theoretical structures and laws about regular successions or patterns of events has to be compromised, for the stable regularities turn out to be extremely rare (e.g. in spatial analysis, the parameters of distance-decay functions always vary in different situations and over time) and no concrete instances ever do seem to be deducible from deductive theories without major ad hoc modification of the latter (as in the case of central place theory). Now, in the comfortable isolation of methodological discussions, positivists usually argue that under certain conditions, if a theory fails to predict or explain a particular event, the theory can be

said to have been falsified and should therefore be rejected. Needless to say, in actual practice, geographers have not followed this rule. In the last decade, numerous qualifications have been made to this doctrine of 'falsificationism', and historians and philosophers of science such as Kuhn and Heyerdahl have argued both that scientists usually do ignore falsification and clinging to their theories, and that they may be justified in doing so. Hence, on this view, it appears that scientists can use theories come what may, regardless of their empirical truth, the rationality of science is seriously challenged. In Heyerdahl's case, this scepticism is pushed so far that he is unable to offer any rational account of why people don't jump from the top floors of tower blocks instead of taking the lifts! In response to this kind of scepticism, it is now quite common to find scientists defending theories as merely useful, conventions, or 'fictions'. Some marxists, perhaps also influenced by this crisis in the philosophy of science, have also dropped any criteria of 'truth' in defending their theories or have argued that truth is produced through practice. The first position is one which enables non-marxists to happily dismiss marxism as an irrelevant fiction and the second is weak because it offers us no basis for distinguishing the 'truths' of socialist practice from those of capitalism or barbarism. In any case, successful use in practice is not so powerful a justification of theory as it at first appears, for we often get the right results for the wrong reasons: even prayer works sometimes.

The little-known realist critique cuts through this crisis by showing that both the positivists and their 'conventionalist' critics share the same misconceptions about the nature of theories and laws, and it is from this common base that the problems of falsification and breakdown in the belief of the rationality of science stem. On the realist account of the nature of theories, a deductive structure of statements is by no means necessary because, apart from mechanics and astronomy, there is generally no reason why relations between things or people should correspond to the relations of logic which exist in deductive structures of statements. In contrast to positivism, realism stresses the role of description in theory and the centrality of analysis of the nature and powers of its objects of study: it does not reduce its objects to atomistic 'events' or 'data'. Laws are not seen as statements about empirical regularities, but as the ways-of-acting that objects have as a result of their natures and powers. Whether such objects actually do produce certain effects depends upon the existence of a particular set of conditions, and it is usually only when these are controlled in scientific experiments that one can expect regular successions of events to result. However, we can recognise the operation of laws even where such regular successions or associations are absent; for example, when we see an aeroplane fly, we don't say 'there goes another refutation of the law of gravity!' We explain these ways-of-acting of objects, or 'generative mechanisms', by reference to the natures and powers of the materials involved. For instance, if we want to know why a geography book is boring it really is no use to be told that it is so because all geography books are boring. Rather, we need to know what it is about the particular analysts which is so unchallenging - does the definition of geography exclude consideration of interesting questions? Is it something to do with the types of people who become geographers? and so on. For the realist, the primary interest of science and its strongest theoretical claims involve the analysis of these natures and 'causal powers', whereas there is much less interest in and commitment to predicting when and

where these powers will be exercised. Scientists are only secondarily interested in predicting when and where a particular piece of copper will conduct electricity: what is important is why it can do so.

Let us see how marxist theory looks on this view. Virtually the whole of Marx's 'Capital' is an investigation of the nature, powers and ways-of-acting of the social relation of capital. Harvey's 'Social Justice and the City' and 'Castells' 'The Urban Question' both contain lengthy discussions on the nature of urbanism, rent and urban problems. Contrast these with those books in quantitative spatial analysis and economics which reduce scientific description to a few preliminaries of mathematical notation - let I be trips, K - capital, L - labour, p - population, etc - and then quickly move on to the development of the deductive structure - the mathematical model, whose functions are supposed to model empirical regularities in patterns of events. Marx's laws and tendencies of capital refer not to empirical patterns but to the generative mechanisms which produce them. The operation of these mechanisms, such as the tendency for the size of firms to increase, always depends, of course, upon the reproduction of capitalist social relations of production, but even where they are reproduced empirical regularities may not result because we still have little control of the conditions under which the mechanisms operate. It is in terms of the claims about such fundamental theoretical elements as 'the social relations of production' that the theory stands or falls. It does not or should not make any claims about, say, the net employment effects of the introduction of some new technology in the future because suchlike are dependent on unknowable future conditions (in this case, the growth of knowledge) and so marxist theory cannot sensibly be judged on such issues. If, however, it could be shown that labour power is not a commodity and that general factors could work with self labour, marxist theory clearly would be in trouble!

(Further reading: R. Harve (1970) Principles of Scientific Thinking, Macmillan London; R. Harve (1972) The Philosophies of Science, Oxford University Press; R. Harve and E.H. Madden (1975) Causal Powers, Blackwell, Oxford; R. Bhaskar (1975) A Realist Theory of Science, Leeds Books; R. Bhaskar (1975) Reverberand and Bachelard: two philosophies of science New Left Review, 94, pp.31-55; T. Benton (1977) The Three Sociologies Knowledge Kegan Paul; R. Keat and J. Urry (1975) Social Theory as Science, Routledge Kegan Paul; R. Bernstein (1976) The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory)

2. Interventive social science and the critique of positivism

'Interventive' or 'humanist' social scientists argue that the nature of society is such that natural science methods and approaches are inappropriate for the study of society. Although they are a diverse group, they share a common concern with subjectivity, intersubjectivity, language and meaning, and rules in social behaviour. Positivists (and some marxists) have failed to acknowledge and appreciate the implications of the fact that the objects of study of social science, unlike those of natural science, usually have 'intrinsic meaning structure'. A lump of granite is the same regardless of what we think about it, but our social practices are constituted by the meanings that they have for us. In the social world meaning is not just descriptive of social practices, it is in them. A fascist demonstration and an anti-fascist

demonstration may be virtually identical in outward physical form, but they differ according to their intrinsic meaning. When we say meanings are 'con-
 stitutive' of practices, we do not mean that they 'produce' or 'generate'
 social action, merely that kind of practices they are depends on the
 meanings they have in society. For example, for coins to function as money,
 for bits of paper to function as cheques, it is necessary for their users to
 understand something about their meaning in society. Sometimes these consti-
 tutive meanings may involve misunderstandings, and truths about the real
 nature of society, but they may be 'necessary illusions' for the reproduction
 of particular social forms. As social scientists, we have to understand
 their role because they make a difference to society, but of course we do not
 have to accept them. Positivist variants of marxism, perhaps from fear of
 anything that might smite of idealism, deny that meaning can be anything but
 descriptive, and paradoxically, as a result, produce an idealist picture of
 society in which 'ideas' have no apparent material basis and hang mysteriously
 above and out of contact with practice. Ideology, false-consciousness, not
 to mention our own practice as conscious social agents, are unintelligible if
 we try to deny the existence of constitutive meanings.

Although phenomenology belongs to this interpretive or humanist school and
 has some following in geography, humanist geographers have generally failed to
 grasp the significance of constitutive meanings and rules to society. This is
 generally because they have mistaken intersubjectivity for subjectivity. Their
 preoccupation with the subjective consciousness of individuals has blinded
 them to the fact that understanding, language and meaning cannot possibly exist
 for a single, isolated individual but can only be developed intersubjectively.
 Therefore they characteristically attribute modes of action which are in fact
 social products to the results of the perception of private individuals and
 consequently interpret their consciousness as social and 'naturalized'.
 (Further reading: G. Taylor 'Hermeneutics and politics' in P. Connor (ed)
 (1970) Critical Sociology, Penguin, K-O Apel (1972) 'Communication and the
 foundations of the humanities' in Acta Sociologica, 15, pp. 7-27; A. Giddens
 (1976) 'New Rules of Sociological Method', Hutchinson; E. Gellner 'Concepts and
 society' in B.R. Wilson (ed) (1970) Nationality, Blackwell, Oxford; B. Smart
 (1976) 'Sociology, Phenomenology and Marxian Analysis', Routledge Kegan Paul;
 B. Ray 'Social Theory and Political Practice', George Allen and Unwin)

3. From interpretive to critical social science

We can accept that understanding constitutive meanings in society is
 essential for discovering what is the nature of particular practices and in-
 stitutions, and in this respect it is compatible with the realist concern
 with description in science. But there is much more to social science than
 this and in any case numerous qualifications need to be made about constitut-
 ive meanings. Understanding the latter might help tell us what human actions
 were, but not why they occurred and why in particular amounts, times and places.
 They also tell us very little about social structure and material production.
 That is, our interaction with nature. Moreover it should always be remembered
 that although constitutive meanings are intersubjectively established, the con-
 ditions under which this takes place ordinarily involve an imbalance of power
 rather than one of consensus. In particular in the case of constitutive rules,
 such as the law, they cannot be disregarded without risking punishment of some

kind, and their imposition typically defends particular power structures.

One of the most important insights of a critical social science such as marxism is that it recognizes the interaction between the social and the natural worlds in a way which takes into account their fundamental differences. In particular, whereas nature's laws cannot be disobeyed and nature can only be controlled by obeying and manipulating its laws, social laws can be disobeyed by changing the practices which produce them. However it is the interlocking of relations between people and relations with nature in the sphere of production (in which we manipulate and work upon nature in order to produce our means of life) which makes it so difficult in practice to disobey social laws and change society. If you try to break out of existing structures of social relations it is hard to avoid endangering your means of subsistence because the existing social relations of production are generally the only available means of obeying the natural laws which must be obeyed if you are to survive. Ownership is a purely social category and yet your interaction with nature depends crucially upon whether or not you have ownership and control of the means of production. In pre-revolutionary Cuba, the sugar plantations included vast acreages of good but unused land, while large numbers of peasants had to live on inferior mountainous land which was inadequate to support them. This had the effect of forcing them to sell their labour power very cheaply to the plantation owners at harvest time. The owners would not have had an adequate source of cheap labour if the peasants had been able to take over the unused land. In other words the peasants were forced to obey a mutable social law because to do otherwise would have involved them in trying to disobey an unchangeable natural law in trying to live without adequate subsistence. A critical social science should therefore show and distinguish between social and natural origins of social problems in such a way that their supersession becomes possible.

Many philosophers have agreed that there is no point in science as a special activity unless it goes beyond and questions commonsense but the implications of this for social science have rarely been acknowledged. If all science must involve criticism of ideas and if ideas in the social world are inscribed in practice (including the practice of science) as we have argued, then social science must be critical of its object of study - society. This conclusion would probably be considered outrageous by many in that it happily admits discussions about values into social science, but to try and avoid this is to use an inconsistent and partial concept of critical rationality. In science we choose between 'good' and 'bad' arguments between 'worthwhile' and 'trivial' investigations, but these are not just arguments about the social world, outside because science itself is an activity in society. A science without evaluative content is impossible and since both science and pre-scientific, commonsense ideas are constitutive of social practices, a social science cannot avoid evaluating and criticizing society itself. Therefore the decision to adopt a critical, marxist approach need not be treated simply as an arbitrary one based upon 'personal beliefs', but can be defended quite logically.

(Further reading: B. Fay (op.cit.); M. Horkheimer, 'Traditional and Critical Theory', in P. Conneron (op.cit.); Keat and Urry (op.cit.); T.W. Adorno et al (1975) 'The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology', Heineemann, d. Habermas (1972)

Copies of this notice were taped on the inside of each of the toilets at Ramsey Hall, University of London, during the British Council's Welcome Programme for newly arrived Commonwealth Scholars. It was removed the morning the students dispersed. (We kid you not.)

1. The toilets are for sitting and not standing.
2. Men should keep the black seat upward when urinating.
3. Used paper should be put inside the toilet and nowhere else.
4. Toilets should be flushed every time they are used.
5. Body washing should be done in the bathrooms provided and NOT in the toilets.
6. They should be left absolutely clean and dry for the next person. If necessary use the brush provided to clean the pan and paper to clean the seat.

PLEASE NOTE

THE BRITISH COUNCIL'S BURDEN (circa 1978) ?

We have no articles on Third World Development as such in this issue. However, we are able to publish a world exclusive on

* * * * *

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Many of the points outlined in this paper have rarely been employed by marxists, but since they can be used to give marxism a sounder defence and foundation, they are well worth further exploration, especially in a subject area like geography which has only recently encountered marxism.

Knowledge and Human Interests, Heinemann).

BOOK REVIEWS

Belinda Probert, *Beyond Orange and Green: The Political Economy of the Northern Ireland Crisis* (1978, London: Zed Press, £2.95)

Perhaps one of the major weaknesses in recent left-wing publications on Ireland has been the lack of a systematic and rigorous (Marxist) historical analysis. This, in turn, has led to the adoption of confusing and contradictory positions and strategies, especially since 1966-68 when "Ulster" became popular on the left. It is in this context that the publication of Belinda Probert's book, *Beyond Orange and Green: The Political Economy of the Northern Ireland Crisis*, is to be welcomed, particularly as an introductory and useful summary. The book seeks to situate the present conflict in Northern Ireland within the logic of capitalist development and its uneven and contradictory impact. Probert succeeds in large measure, and as such her book deserves to be read by all socialists who seek an understanding of the present situation. Consequently, I will limit my comments to isolating the major framework of the book and to some critical points.

Probert views partition in 1921 as the inevitable outcome of the logic of capitalist development in Ireland. The North-West had, by 1850, embraced industrial capitalism and had become fully integrated into the British industrial economy, while the South and West remained largely agrarian, dominated by commercial farming and possessing little large-scale industry. The North contained an industrial capitalist class, a proletariat and its economy was highly urbanised; its future clearly rested in integration with Britain. On the other hand the South had over 35-40% of its population directly dependent on agriculture, its industries could not compete with those of England and its industrial class sought Home Rule and protectionism as a basic prerequisite for independent capitalist development. Furthermore, Northern Ireland had developed a strong Protestant Unionist ideology while the South was largely Catholic and Nationalist. In such a situation the North chose

loyalty to Britain... not simply because it was subjected ideologically or militarily to British imperialism, but rather because all social classes, including the proletariat, had some interest in remaining within the United Kingdom. (p.45).

The analysis is developed further by examining the early policies of both Northern and Southern governments since 1921; the South attempting to create a centre for independent capitalist development and the North maintaining the hegemony of Unionism through discrimination, chentilism and, of course, the Orange Order. The conjuncture of the present crisis is located in the failure of both ruling classes to assert the dominance of local capital in the face of the growth and penetration of monopoly capital and the increasingly "backwater" status of both areas in an expanded European Economic Community. In the South this has necessitated the abandonment of small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie (so often the base of republicanism), while in the North it has necessitated reforms dictated by local opposition to Unionist hegemony, the requirements of monopoly capital and Parliamentary pressure from Westminster. From this situation has emerged all the differing groups and factions advocating radically different solutions. However useful and challenging Probert's book is (and it does challenge many long held myths), nevertheless it does exhibit some important weaknesses.

Firstly the book lacks a systematic analysis of the roots of uneven development, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The restrictive legislation enacted against Irish trade, agriculture and industry from 1660 is not analysed from the position of mercantilism as a strategy for furthering its aims, especially in England. Probert mentions "jealousy" on the part of English merchants, yet this is hardly sufficient and needs to be integrated with an understanding of British Absolutism and its actions in Ireland. The policies of land confiscation and settlement, the extraction of capital and raw materials and the continued pauperisation of the peasantry are not adequately outlined. Obviously the restrictions of space and time hindered such an approach although this weakness is exhibited in most recent work and consequently severely limits our understanding of and ability to challenge bourgeois and nationalist interpretations.

Secondly, the analysis of the South and of the evolution of the republican tradition is limited. Although Probert announces in the introduction that such an extended approach to these topics is beyond the scope of the work, it weakens her analysis of the influence of class alignments in the South and their impact on the North. Likewise it limits her approach to the I.R.A. and its split in 1969 over gradualism and physical force and the strenuous efforts of some republicans to integrate their traditions with those of socialism. Given the more recent analyses and strategies of groups such as Official Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the newly-formed Socialist Labour Party (all three are all-Ireland parties), a thorough analysis and critique of the republican tradition and of class alignments in the South is vital to the formulation of strategy in all of Ireland.

In conclusion, Probert's book provides a useful introduction to the present situation and is particularly strong on the period from 1880 to 1945. Along with Peter Gibbon's book, The Origins of Ulster Unionism (Manchester University Press, 1975), Probert's work represents an important break with traditional radical or nationalist interpretations and goes some way towards providing some groundwork for a thoroughly Marxist approach. The weaknesses of the book are those which face the left with regard to the Irish question in general, weaknesses which will hopefully be subjected to thorough scrutiny in the near future.

- Colm Regan
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Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

Capital and Land is a major contribution towards formulating a general approach to the study of private landownership in a capitalist social formation through providing a framework for analysts. It is an outstanding demonstration of Marxist analysis, particularly in its treatment of the relation between theoretical and empirical analysis and their political implications. Having demonstrated, descriptively, a series of different and specific 'land problems', a theoretical framework is developed. A Marxist approach allows private landownership to be placed within the structure of production and distribution, emphasising the basis of this system in social relations and stressing historical context. It is argued that rent, specifically, is not functionally necessary to capitalist social formations; but, land being a non-reproducible, necessary condition of production, any form of private landownership will affect both the distribution and the production of the total surplus and hence affect capital accumulation. The structural position of rent in relation to the production of surplus value produces contradictory relations with other parts of capital whose nature depends on the precise forms of capitalist landownership. Apparently simple theoretical categories such as rent have very precise and different meanings in different historical situations which must be established by empirical investigation.

Having presented basic descriptive data on rent and land-ownership the authors differentiate three main forms of ownership on the basis of the particular relations of landownership involved and its role within the overall structure of the social formation. 'Former Landed Property' (church, state, landed aristocracy, landed gentry) is ownership which has adapted to the conditions of the capitalist mode of production; 'Industrial Landownership' (agricultural owner-farmers, manufacturing industry) owns land as a condition of production; 'Financial Landownership' (financial institutions, property companies) operates completely within capitalist terms, land being simply another possible sector in which to invest. The three forms are analysed in detail at the empirical (not non-theoretical) level in successive chapters, stressing their historical development, specificity, and significance in a structural sense to the system of production and distribution. Finally, the forms of contradiction between

Finally the authors argue that land nationalisation should be favoured but argue that this does not represent a technical solution nor an aim in itself, but that it is a real arena for class struggle. It should be fought for in the knowledge that its primary effect will not be to end the struggle over land and related issues, but to change the conditions of that struggle - thus policies on rents or spatial allocation would be the outcome of particular conditions of political class struggle. The 'land problem', though changed in form, would still result from the continuing problem of systems of landownership within a capitalist social formation.

A major conclusion of the book is that no distinct fraction of the bourgeoisie based on private landownership and having the strength and/or coherence to change the terms of the class struggle can be distinguished. Rent as a form of surplus value and land as a form of capital are inadequate bases for designating a coherent fraction; this is evidenced by the different places in the overall structure of production and distribution occupied by different groups of landowners (demonstrated by the differentiation of the three main forms at the empirical level), and the different ideologies and political struggles with which these forms are associated.

private landownership and the accumulation of capital are analysed using the three forms of ownership, and the political level examined by focussing, specifically, on the Community Land and Development Tax Acts and their potential impact on the different forms of ownership. It is argued that the different forms of ownership produce distinct contradictions for capital accumulation in terms of their nature, timing, and location within the economic structure, and that it is financial institutions' ownership which currently poses the most crucial problems.

STUDIES IN MARXISM

STUDIES IN MARXISM is a series of books providing discussion of important issues in all fields of knowledge from the dialectical-materialist perspective.

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after June, 1978 \$5.00, cloth \$10.00

Order from MARXIST EDUCATIONAL PRESS, c/o Anthropology Dept., 215 Ford Hall, University of Minnesota, 224 Church St. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55455. [Add 50 cents per order for postage and handling.]

Vols. 1, 2, and 3: \$11 (incl. postage and handling)
Vols. 1, 2, 3, and 4: \$15 (incl. postage and handling)

The Radical Historians' Organization

Department of History
John Jay College

445 West 59th Street
New York, New York 10019

The Boston Editorial Collective of the Radical History Review is preparing a thematic issue on the POLITICS OF SPACE for the Fall of 1979. We would like to encourage you to reflect on this theme as it relates to your own work and to consider working with us on the issue--writing an article or review, or reading manuscripts. The deadline for submitting material is February 1979.

We employ the concept of "space" to include and directly relate two prevalent spatial perspectives: the "political economy of space" and the "spatial sphere of social interaction." The former is essentially geographic; the latter, subjective or interpersonal. A third mode of spatial thinking is visual and architectural. At the center of all three stands the problem of the spatial experience and spatial representation of social power. In academic circles, the concepts have been too often separated so that geographers analyze patterns and functions of aggregate spatial order; other social theorists confine themselves to such psychological dimensions of space as private-and-public or sacred-and-profane; and architectural historians focus primarily on the aesthetics of form. However, we cannot understand the social relations of the city by simply viewing it as the sum of the efficient location of economic activity or by its demography; we cannot understand the family or the experience of the market as transactions abstracted from a specific physical setting; and we cannot interpret the design of buildings apart from their use. Ultimately, we cannot understand social relations apart from the material and built environment.

In working toward a fresh spatial perspective on political interaction, we find it useful to think of space not as an abstract or objective category, but as a social activity (an activity which always takes place in a specific setting). The process of appropriation, domination, reciprocity and resistance makes the shaping of space a preeminently political activity. Our task is to analyze how this shaping process has occurred historically and how it takes place today.

In the issue on the POLITICS OF SPACE we are focusing on specific spatial spheres--the workplace, the market, streets, housing and the family and household, neighborhoods, subunits--as well as on forms of spatial action--the appropriation of private property, the social allocation and control of public and private spaces, city-county transactions, and the mediation of space through movement. We also raise the problem of "alternative" organizations of space.

In order to expand our own space for thinking about these problems, we are encouraging many short articles (10-15 pp.) which by reflecting on a variety of topics from a variety of spatial perspectives allow us to explore the relations among different spheres as well as within them. We begin by encouraging you to think visually about the spatial order and experience which inform your own area of historical investigation.

If you have any questions or ideas about the POLITICS OF SPACE, contact Betsy Blackmar, Jean-Christophe Agnew, or Joe Interante care of the above address. If you have a specific manuscript idea in mind, please send us a one-page prospectus of it. We look forward to hearing from and working with you.

TELL YOUR FRIENDS

Peter L. Owens and Richard House,
School of Environmental Sciences,
University of East Anglia,
Norwich NR4 7TJ,
ENGLAND.

Contributors of abstracts may purchase the book at a discount of 25% off the published price, which will be approximately £ 5 / US Dollars 10 .

The style of abstracts should be the same as those in the normal Geo Abstracts series.

In addition to abstracts of formal publications, abstracts of theses, occasional and working papers are particularly welcome, by the 31st August, 1978.

We are especially anxious to receive abstracts of radical work for inclusion in the above volume. If you would like your work included, send an abstract of between 140 and 160 words with a full citation to us, at the address below, December, 1978.

and Richard House. Publication by Geo Abstracts, 1978/1979.

ANNOTATED
RADICAL GEOGRAPHY: AN INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. Peter L. Owens

RADICAL GEOGRAPHY

HOW TO JOIN THE USG - BRITISH ISLES SECTION

The British Isles branch of the U.S.G. was set up in Hull, January 1978.

It adopted the aims of the parent body, which are as follows: "The purpose of

the 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; by organising and

working for radical change in our communities and by developing geographical

theory to contribute to revolutionary change. Thus we subscribe to the principle

from each according to ability, to each according to need. We declare that the

development of a humane, non-alienating society requires, as its most

fundamental step, socialisation of the ownership of production." The branch

holds its first A.G.M. and discussion sessions alongside the forthcoming I.B.G.

conference in Manchester and will escalate its activities during 1979. This is

the first Newsletter from it and membership entitles you to all the Newsletters

produced during the year by the full U.S.G.

Correspondence and information are welcome and should be addressed to:

Martin Brennan, King Alfred's College, Winchester. Complete the form below if

you wish to join us. The subscription for 1978 is: £2, students-£1,

unemployed and marginalised-50p and should be sent to Ian Cook, Department of

Social Studies, Liverpool Polytechnic, Walton House, Tithebarn Street, Liverpool.

Please make cheques or p.o.'s payable to the Union of Socialist Geographers. This

covers the 4 1978 newsletters. Rates for 1979 will be reviewed at the AGM.

U.S.G.B.I. MEMBERSHIP FORM

NAME:

WORK ADDRESS:

HOME ADDRESS:

SUBSCRIPTION RATE: £2

£1

50p

YEAR: 1978 (retroactive)

General Field of Interest:
Current Research/Special Interests:

(not essential)

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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 May each year.

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

Eric Shepard
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.

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First main paragraph of text, starting with a faint opening word.

Second main paragraph of text, continuing the narrative or report.

Third main paragraph of text, providing further details.

Fourth main paragraph of text, possibly a transition or a new section.

Fifth main paragraph of text, continuing the content.

Sixth main paragraph of text, possibly a conclusion or summary.

Seventh main paragraph of text, starting with a faint opening word.

Eighth main paragraph of text, continuing the narrative.

Ninth main paragraph of text, providing further details.

Tenth main paragraph of text, possibly a final statement.

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USG NEWSLETTER

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Published by the Union of Socialist Geographers
 Simon Fraser University
 Burnaby BC
 Canada

1978

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Editorial Notes

This issue of the USG Newsletter is the first to be put together by members of the British Isles (sic) section of the USG. It is being sent out to all members of the International and to British Isles members - with further copies being made available for additional British distribution to new and potential members.

The present (ad hoc interim) B.I. committee believe that the newsletter should serve as: a means of presenting work-in-progress in socialist geography - from undergraduate level to advanced research; an aid to the teaching of 'revolutionary theory' both within the existing academic discipline of geography and outside and beyond it; a forum for discussion and critique of important contributions to socialist geographic theory (book reviews); and a means of keeping people informed of meetings, conferences, workshops etc involving the USG or of interest to USG members. The content of the present newsletter reflects all of these concerns.

The British Isles (sic) section of the USG was created at the Annual Meeting of the Institute of British Geographers in Hull in January 1978 (see USG Newsletter 3, no. 4 for full report). Since then, British Isles membership has grown to around 70, while the ad hoc committee members have been in regular contact and have met in Dublin in April and in Liverpool in September. Our work so far has been mainly directed at co-ordinating publicity for the USG (B.I.), publishing this Newsletter and arranging USG sessions at the Manchester IBG in January 1979, where a more formal launching of the USG (B.I.) is proposed. We have also maintained close links with the USG International including representation at the May 20th Regional Meeting in Toronto (see report in Newsletter 4 no. 1).

We feel it is important that this newsletter, and our activities at conferences, workshops etc, should generate discussion, feedback and the sharing of information and our experiences in teaching and research between all our members. Other outlets - such as the Conference of Socialist Economists - exist in this country for socialist social science research. There are also fora within the academic geographical 'establishment' for debate and exchange between those of various 'left' and 'liberal' persuasions - most notably the Social Geography Study Group of the Institute of British Geographers. We believe, however, that the USG can and should provide an independent structure aimed specifically at developing collective and co-ordinated socialist geographic activity in a supportive atmosphere in which members can assume a socialist empathy with the mode of analysis being employed and with the principles guiding our work. Our aim must be to advance socialist thought and practice in a spirit of comradeship and through collective action, both through the direct political activities of our members in their own communities and at other levels, and through the specific contributions which socialist geography can make to the development of a critical social science.

Those involved in putting this issue together include Martin Brennan, Ian Cook, Suzanne Mackenzie, Colm Regan, Damaris Rose and of course the Vancouver local. Our thanks to all contributors and especially to those who sent in material ready-typed (in recognition of our scarce labour-power and restricted access to typing facilities!).

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: Chryst Rodriguez

Graduate School of Geography,

Clark University,

MORCHESTER, MASS, 01610, USA

Publication Date: 8.3.79

Volume 4, Number 4

Local Editing: Australia

Deadline for Submissions: 24.4.79

Address for Submissions: Peter Rogers,

Department of Geography,

University of Sydney,

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

Publication Date: 8.6.79

Any enquiries concerning the above schedule as well as any general enquiries about the production and distribution of the U.S.G. Newsletter should be directed to:

Bob Galois, Newsletter Coordinator

Department of Geography,

Simon Fraser University,

Burnaby, B.C. CANADA

ERRATA IN USG NEWSLETTER VOL 4 NO 1

1. Monique Plot is a member of the Groupe de Recherches sur l'Espace, la Dépendance et les Inégalités, otherwise known as GREDIM. Her paper was originally published in French in Notes et Documents de Recherches, Dept of Geography, Université Laval, Québec; Issue No. 9, pp. 105-112.

2. A reactionary graffiti made George Carter become Harold Carter on page 46 of the issue.

The USG at the IBG

MEETINGS AT INSTITUTE OF BRITISH GEOGRAPHERS' ANNUAL CONFERENCE
 MANCHESTER, ENGLAND
 JANUARY 2 - 5 1979

Final announcement

The annual conference of the I.B.G. will be held in Manchester from Tuesday Jan. 2nd to Friday Jan. 5th 1979 inclusive.

The USG (B.I.) has arranged one formal session within the conference programme and has made arrangements to have rooms available in the evenings for informal sessions:

Jan. 2nd (Tuesday evening): Introduction to the USG. General session for new and potential members, discussion of aims, objectives etc.
 Jan. 3rd (Wednesday evening): A.G.M. of the USG (B.I.).

- Agenda:
1. Relationship of the USG B.I. to the USG International.
 2. Financial report - subscription rate review etc.
 3. Newsletter report.
 4. Elections to the Committee.
 5. Programme for the year ahead.
 6. Any other business.

(Please write to Damaris Rose if you have any suggestions for additional items for the AGM agenda. Address: Grad P/H, Arts Bldg., University of Sussex, Falmer, BRIGHTON.)

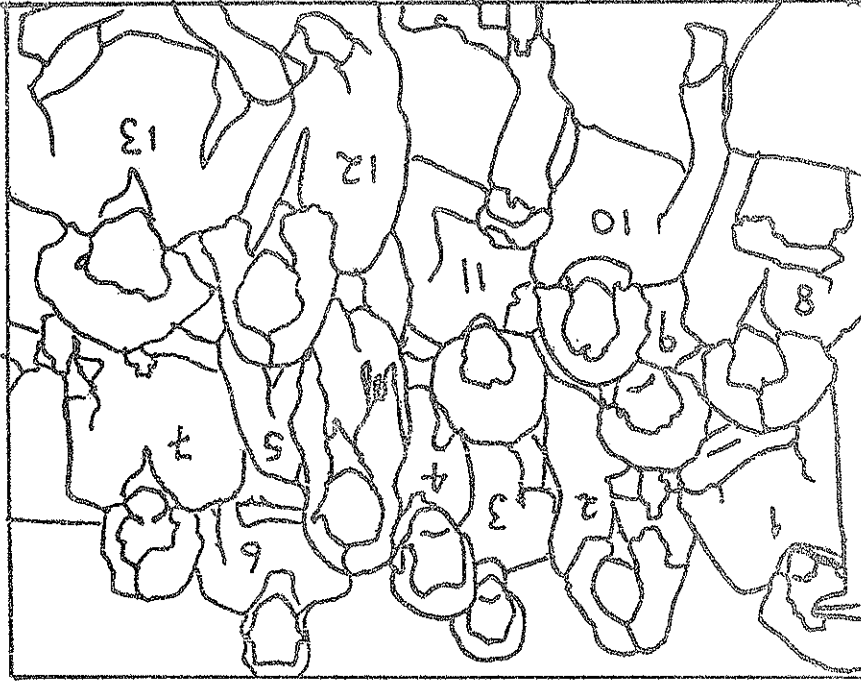
Jan. 4th (Thursday afternoon, module 3 in the IBG programme, continuing into module 4 - see conference programme for exact timing):

1. Imperialism and Underdevelopment (Martin Brennan, King Alfred's College & Ian Cook, Liverpool Polytechnic)
2. Environmental Science (Phil O'Keefe, Clark University)
3. Urban Geography (John Short, Reading University)
4. Historical Geography (Derek Gregory, Cambridge University).

This session will be particularly aimed at those new to the theory and practice of socialist geography. Contributors will present a history of socialist research in these subject areas, review current research, noting the areas of debate, and present an outline of the potential for further socialist geographic analysis. Because of the breadth of these topics we suggest that members write to contributors to offer material which is in press, suggestions etc. to widen the scope of the contributions.

The Thursday afternoon session is the only one which will appear in the official conference programme, therefore please check the conference notice board for details of the other meetings, and please visit the USG/Antipode desk which will be started throughout the conference. We hope to have a typewriter and a duplicator available to assist in the dissemination of information during the conference itself; these facilities will be located in Ian Cook's room at the hall of residence. Again, check with the USG desk or the conference notice board for details.

Participants in the USG Regional Meeting, Toronto, May 20th 1978. The first person to correctly identify all USG members present will receive a free ticket to the circus of their choice. Participants and their close relatives disqualified from entry. The first person to identify the photographer gets to chair the Victoria B.C.M.



U.S.G. COMPETITION

Apart from these activities, USG members are heavily involved in several of the IBG sessions, such as those of the Social Geography Study Group and the Developing Areas Study Group, so there should be enough 'expertise' available for us to set up several discussion groups etc. during the conference, continuing these as workshops where appropriate. Please come prepared to participate. Additionally, we intend to have a football match during the conference - this will be outdoors, so please bring kit and shin-guards! Would musical members please bring guitars etc. to enliven proceedings in the evenings.

If you're attending the USG sessions through the I.B.G. please contact Peter Dicken of the Dept. of Geography, Manchester University for booking forms. If you need cheap/free accommodation, please contact Ian Cook (Dept. of Social Studies, Walton House, Tithebarn Street, Liverpool - before term ends, or at home, tel. 051-709-1012) up until December 27th, or with Keith Gwime, 061-792-1466 from then until Jan. 5th. Please bring sleeping bags. More importantly, please bring enthusiasm. See you there!

P.S. British Rail is offering 25% discount on train fares to the IBG if you book before Dec. 15th. IBG members should have full details.

Future Activities of the USG.R.

The main activities of the U.S.G. in the British Isles this year have been the recruitment of new members, publicity, the production of this Newsletter and the organisation of a session at I.B.G. Manchester.

It will be up to the membership at the AGM in Manchester to decide what the future activities of the U.S.G. should be. However, I suggest here a few major questions which will have to be decided.

(a) Relationship with U.S.G. International

At the moment most "Locals" are in North America and publicity, newsletters and co-ordination are from there, particularly Simon Fraser. Does the U.S.G. (BI) wish to become more independent and produce its own regular Newsletter, for instance?

(b) The U.S.G. and the I.B.G.

Do we wish to hold regular sessions at the I.B.G. Conference? If so, our relationship with the Social Geography Study Group will have to be carefully worked out. This Group has done tremendously valuable work in encouraging the broadening of perspectives in human geography and many U.S.G. members are members of it.

(c) Meetings and Conferences

Do we wish to hold our own meetings during the year, open to all including undergraduates? If so, how frequently?

(d) Teaching and Course Design

How can the U.S.G. help in the restructuring of Geography degree and diploma courses? How can we increase our membership in the Colleges of Higher Education and the Polytechnics?

(e) Relationship with Outside Bodies

Should we be promoting links with other organisations e.g. liberation movements in under-developed countries?

These are a few of the issues. No doubt there are many more for discussion and resolution at the AGM.

Martin Brennan,
October 1978.

USG at the AAG:

We would like to compile a "shadow program" of USG member activities at the upcoming AAG meeting in Philadelphia. Would anyone who has submitted an abstract or who is organizing a session please drop a note with their name and title or names and titles of all participants. You might also include information on any fellow-travelers whose talks would be of interest to USG members. This information must get to us immediately after you receive this issue of the Newsletter if it is to get into the next issue. We will also compile a final shadow program for distribution at Philadelphia.

Send replies to:

Dick Walker
Dept. of Geography
University of California
Berkeley, Calif. 94720

USG AT THE GAG AND THE USG ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1979

(A) John Bradbury is the organizer of the USG AGM in Victoria in May 1979. His address is Department of Geography
McGill University
805 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal
Quebec

All suggestions for the meetings should go to John. At present, the plan is to have some specifically USG meetings for two days before the GAG meetings begin in Victoria, and to have both USG sessions in the GAG meetings as well as other sessions for USG members while the GAG conference is in progress.

(B) To assist in planning the meetings, could USG people who have plans to submit papers to the GAG please write on this subject to John Bradbury. (Similarly to Dick Walker's request above). Further notices will then appear in the next issue of the Newsletter.

Oct 1979
Dear people - this
news letter
has just arrived can
you put it in
the next issue
if it arrived as
we are anxious for it to
go in #2
in
with
many

Socialist Geographic Approaches to Teaching in Higher Education

An important trend in higher education in Britain during the last decade has been the granting of degree-awarding status to the newly-created polytechnics and the traditional colleges of education. The result is that there are now three major sectors in Britain in which a geography degree can be taken - the universities, the polytechnics and the colleges of higher education. As far as the individual eighteen year old student is concerned this dramatic expansion has meant increased choice of course and locations of study. For those who wish to teach and research in higher education it has also created increased job opportunities.

However, notwithstanding some encouraging experiments in interdisciplinarity this expansion has not generally been accompanied by imaginative, creative and innovative geography courses. Validating bodies such as the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) or the universities themselves are staffed by the established ruling elites within the discipline and too often the price of approval has been a dull conformity. Thus Johnston has been moved to comment on the new colleges: "there is a sameness in their products, a sameness which seems to be at variance with society's needs, both because of the lack of variety and because of the nature of the courses offered". (1) Contrary to expectations, the polytechnics have not established any tradition of applied geographical research nor close links with their local communities, nor have the colleges built upon their links with the schools to foster a reorientation of the subject towards providing a truly radical education for the young; instead they have tended merely to ape the universities and provide more of the same. However, there are some fundamental contrasts between the polytechnics and colleges on the one hand and the universities on the other and one such is a greater concern with the educational process. This has not been difficult as universities have traditionally been guilty of neglect of their "bread and butter" i.e. the students. Career prospects and self-aggrandisement have led to an obsession with research at the expense of thoughtful course design and teaching.

We would maintain that the new colleges and polytechnics have made a significant advance in this field in particular by creating the National Conference on Geography in Higher Education (N.C.G.H.E.), a body with which both the authors have been involved, and one which we urge other socialist geographers to work within. This is the only movement within British geography which is explicitly and fundamentally concerned with the processes of course design, course assessment, and methods of teaching at degree and diploma level, and therefore has a different emphasis from the Geographical Association (oriented to the schools) or the Institute of British Geographers (oriented to research).

As socialist geographers how can we work within such a body? A number of tactics are possible, but our broad strategy must be to stimulate awareness among our colleagues of the forces of disciplinary imperialism at work within the subject and place establishment geography firmly within the context of its role as a supporter of the status quo within society. We can use Gramsci's concept of ideological hegemony (2) to show how we in higher education perform a similar role in the modern capitalist state to that of the military in a totalitarian state, namely to exert the power of state, in co-operation with the media, the law, etc., in albeit a more subtle and insidious fashion, over the individual and the group. We can describe geography's recent rise as 'science' within the context of capitalism's needs for technocrats and managers competent in computer use, and

statistical and mathematical skills, and explore the development of geography as a multi-paradigm discipline beset by confusion concerning its precise aims and objectives, and internal contradictions and tensions, within the context of capitalism's own internal contradictions and tensions. We can build upon Taylor's ideas (3) to illustrate the ways in which the geographical hierarchy mirrors the elites in wider society in their response to tensions created by rebellious elements, namely by seeking at first to repress and isolate the rebels and then as the rebels grow in strength neutralise them by absorbing their leadership into the hierarchy itself. By studying changes within the subject as a reflection of societal change we enhance our understanding not only of the role of our subject within society but also of our role as socialist geographers within the subject, and the dangers which we ourselves face. In particular we echo Dear's comment (4) that socialist geography cannot be elitist, and we must be continually aware of the dangers of being sucked into the geographical hierarchy and of becoming so concerned with theory that action, and those who suffer 'out there', are forgotten. In our use of jargon, for example, we must beware of seeking to establish our academic credentials at the expense of communication with our students and those who are less endowed with formal academic qualifications than ourselves.

Apart from this raising of consciousness among our colleagues, we must also seek to dispel the false consciousness which is found among our students, a consciousness which reflects the standard texts from school level onwards, and their own place in society. We must enter the areas of debate concerning what we teach and how we teach it. At the recent September conference of the N.C.G.H.E. it was noticeable how much time was devoted in various degree courses to the teaching of quantitative methods, from first year courses onwards, and we must combat this by questioning the philosophy on which the techniques are based and by proposing that the time is spent in other ways. One of us has argued, at that same conference, that: "A thorough interdisciplinary foundation in political economy and the philosophy of science would seem to be a far more appropriate approach to the study of urban and regional problems than present first year geography courses offer." (5) We must prepare to justify this assertion and work to ensure that our students are exposed to alternative methods, methodologies and philosophies of geographical study. The ideological assumptions which underlie the standard texts must be exposed and criticised. It is thirteen years since Bunge's article on racism and geography appeared (6), but we have still not had a comprehensive review of the ethnocentric bias of geographical textbooks (apart from the occasional article (7), while a review of the class bias within them is even further off. Nor must we neglect the schools. The potential for the teaching of socialist geography within schools must be enormous, and we can be too concerned with isolating ourselves in higher education rather than examining 'O' and 'A' level syllabuses.

Socialist geographers must above all strive to be good teachers. We must re-examine the institutional contexts in which we find ourselves and if these structures (often traditional geography departments) prove unsuitable we must strive to change them. We need to avoid the trap of bourgeois elitism in which we become over concerned with our own "thoughts" at the expense of our students. A trap in which socialist academics see themselves as some latter-day Marx battling away in splendid isolation surrounded by the artefacts of scholarship. Meanwhile the struggle of our comrades in the real-world goes on. We need to be actively involved in course design, educational innovation, and community and adult education. We can put our professional skills to good use not only by writing but by teaching and involvement in political action.

These are some of our objectives. To realise them will take years of struggle and commitment. Socialist geography must be no passing bandwagon or fad to which people are committed until the fashion changes. And to succeed we must, ultimately, negate our own contributions for there should be no 'higher education' and no 'geography' in the societies towards which we are working.

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Ian Cook,
 Martin Brennan,
 September 1978.

Urban and Regional Geography Course Outline

M.F. Dunford
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A.J. Fielding

University of Sussex
2nd Year Undergraduate Course, 1977-8

Introductory notes

In this course we will attempt to understand some major features of the geography of cities and regions through political economic theory. In order to give some idea of what this means it might be helpful to indicate what a more conventional course on urban and regional geography might do. Firstly, it might try to discover laws of spatial organisation of cities and regions without making much reference to underlying socio-economic processes (the spatial separatist approach). Secondly, in so far as it would have to refer to these socio-economic processes, it would probably make a fairly distinct separation between 'social' and 'economic', and indeed would split human geography into social and economic with little cross-referencing. Conventional economic geography uses the theory and concepts of mainstream "neoclassical" economics whose aim is often defined as "explaining the allocation of scarce resources between competing ends in society" (cf. Barratt-Brown, M. What Economics is About.) This definition gives economics a very technical character, excluding consideration of the social class structure of society and its historical development. Economic geography mirrors this definition in its preoccupation with studying the "economising" of the scarce resource "spatial interaction" in governing the spatial allocation of resources such as population, industry, housing etc., while it leaves studies of social structure and social problems to social geography.

A political economy of cities and regions firstly denies that spatial organisation can be understood independently of socio-economic processes and secondly it denies a separation between social and economic in the understanding of those processes. Political economy is concerned not with "economising" but with economies, insisting that economic organisation of production, consumption etc is also simultaneously a social organisation of classes. So, for example, urban social structure will be examined in terms of its dependence upon the social organisation in local urban industry.

We intend to start the course by clarifying these contrasting approaches to industrial location. Having studied some conventional works we will look at some political economic interpretations of the geography of production. At this stage it will be necessary to have two lectures on political economy theories of society; this may seem strange, but it is merely the equivalent of an introduction to the theory of demand and supply that you'd get in a conventional economic geography course. Then we move on to the regional and demographic implications and later the urban implications of this geography of production. In the second half of the course in mid-spring term we deal with urban geography more from the point of view of consumption in land use, housing, urban problems, finishing up in the summer term with discussions of urban and regional planning and the use of applied geographic theory. In more detail the course outline is as follows:

1. Introduction

Reading includes Slater, D. (1974), The poverty of modern geographical inquiry, Pacific Viewpoint.

The Geography of Production

2. Conventional/Classical Industrial Location theory and its implicit economic theory

Reading includes Smith, D.M. (1970), Industrial Location: Massey, D. (1977), Industrial Location Theory Reconsidered, in The Determinants of Land Use Change, Open University Course Book; Massey, D. (1978), Towards a critique of industrial location theory, in Feet, R., ed. (1978) Radical Geography, London: Methuen.

3. The location strategies of large firms

Reading includes Murray, R. (1973), Underdevelopment, the international firm and the international division of labour, in Towards a New World Economy, Society for International Development, Rotterdam University Press.

4. The Product Cycle and Industrial Location

Reading includes Vernon, R. (1966), International investment and international trade in the product life cycle, in Quarterly Journal of Economics, 190-207; Haddice, H., ed., (1975), International Firms and Modern Imperialism, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lecture on "Industrial Location on a World Scale: the example of the car industry."

5. Empirical Studies of Industrial Location

Reading includes Jenkins, R. (1977), The Dynamics of Dependent Industrialisation in the Latin American Car Industry, Praeger; Counter Information Services, Anti-Reports on British Leyland and Ford; Keeble, D. (1977), Industrial Location and Planning in the United Kingdom; Massey, D. and Meegan, R. (1978), Restructuring versus the Cities, Urban Studies, 15, 3.

Regional Development

6. (1) Theories of Regional Balance and Imbalance

Reading includes Holland, S. (1976), Capital versus the Regions, London: Macmillan; Myrdal, G. (1957), Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions.

7. (1) Dependency Theory and Regional Development

Reading includes Garter, I. (1974), The Highlands of Scotland as an underdeveloped region, in De Kadt, E. and Williams, G. The Sociology of Development.
Lecture on the critique of dependency theory and a review of theories of uneven development.

8. Migration and Labour Mobility

Reading includes Castles, S. and Kosack, G. (1972) Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe.

Urban Development

9. Industry and Cities

Reading includes Massey, D. and Meegan, R., op. cit.; Community Development Project literature, such as (1977) The Costs of Industrial Change.

10. Urban Structure and Investment in the Built Environment

Reading includes Harvey, D. The Political Economy of Urbanisation in advanced capitalist countries: the case of the United States. In Gappert, G. and Rose, H., ed., The Social Economy of Cities.

11. Urban Land Use and Rent Theory

Comparison of neo-classical and marxist urban rent theory and their implications for land use.

12. Urban Structure and Types of Capital in Urban Areas

Reading includes Lojkin, J. S. and Lamarche, F.'s essays in Pickavance, C. G., ed., (1976), Urban Sociology: critical essays, London: Tavistock

Lecture on class relations and urban areas.

13. Urban and Regional Planning

Urban and regional planning and the use of geographical theory in planning. The example of transport planning.

(Note: this is an outline of the structure of the Urban and Regional Geography course and not in any sense a complete reading list.)

The Urban and Regional Geography course at Sussex would seem to be almost unique, if my experiences with other undergraduates are anything to go by. If this is so it is a sad reflection on the British educational institutions. The course, broadly speaking, is an economic geography course, but its uniqueness, and its strength, is that it takes its viewpoint from political economy in its analysis of the subject. The introductory reading list had names such as Holland, Hobsbawm, Radice and Barratt-Brown as well as more accepted names in geography such as Peter Hall and Gunnar Myrdal.

At the very beginning we were plunged into a course on industrial location and immediately, to our horror, we were submerged in names such as Baran and Sweezy, David Harvey, Doreen Massey, Robin Murray and last but not least, Marx. For the majority of the group this was the very first encounter with political economy, and so many people were confused and discouraged and felt they had been plunged in at the deep end.

It took a while for the students to come to terms with the reading, and, for me at least, Harvey's article, "The Geography of Capital Accumulation" (Antipode, 7, 2) was a very good introduction to the relationship between political economy, Marxist economics and geography.

As the course progressed we covered regional development, migration, underdevelopment, dependency theory and external control, urbanism and urbanisation, rent theory and urban modelling. The reading was always varied and included both conventional and more radical analyses. We were rarely, if ever, rigidly 'geographical', and the course was, within certain boundaries (i.e. those set by the final examinations) very flexible - at one point we were even asked to read Raymond Williams' 'The Country and the City'. This broad approach to the subject was academically interesting and relieved the boredom and hard work of some of the more tedious books we had to read (that's not to say they weren't valuable). Tutorials and seminars were always 'open' and were usually profitable. They were allowed to develop, again within the ubiquitous boundaries, in the direction which the students and tutors thought would be most valuable.

At the end of the course there was, with one or two exceptions, almost unanimous agreement that the course had been worthwhile. Many students were worried initially that the course was aspatial - we are, after all, geographers! - but this was only because theories were not being expressed in explicitly spatial terms, and it became clear that most theories in economics are implicitly spatial. It seems important that geographers try to drop their preoccupation with 'space' for its own sake and see things in a more unified framework.

The course was valuable and it made one realise that perhaps 'traditional' geography is too narrow in its perspective, and that it must broaden its view if it is to have anything worthwhile to say.

- Richard Henley

North Southwark Community Development Group

In North Southwark, an inner industrial area in South-East London, there are some socialist geographers who have rejected academic life to work with working people in their own environment. The North Southwark Community Development Group is actively aiding and helping to co-ordinate the local population in the fight against property capital and an unsympathetic local council. The area is being over-run by office developments and the local social fabric is being destroyed by a lack of decent housing and community facilities - it really is a case of Profits Against Houses (report by the National Community Development Project Information Unit, 1976).

The N.S.C.D.G. consists of two full-time workers, George Nicholson and E. Colenutt, who operate from an old shop in the heart of the area (Bob Colenutt is author of several publications and has contributed to Antipode). The group runs a community planning centre where local people can get advice, use the centre's resources, or just have a cup of tea. The group workers also give lectures, take students on secondment from the South Bank Polytechnic and provide information to academics, trades unions, various pressure groups etc.

For about eight years now the local population has fought vociferously against the growth of office development in the area and the loss of industrial jobs. The group has produced a huge quantity of 'agitational' propaganda and it has constantly been a thorn in the side of the office developers and speculators and certain official agencies in the area. Now the group is threatened with closure, and it appears to be the same story as the Community Development Projects - "the state sent us in, this is what we found, so it is shutting us up." (Note: the history of the CDPs is given in Gliding the Ghetto: the state and the poverty experiments, report by the National CDP Information Unit, 1977).

The North Southwark Community Development Group is funded by an Urban Aid grant, of which 25% is provided by local government and 75% by central government. The local authority has decided to stop its 25% contribution (a mere £2,200) and so the group will have to close down in December 1978, or, if they are granted an extension, March 1979. Now that the CDPs have been killed off, this must be one of the most important examples of socialist geographers in England actually doing something concrete and direct to aid working people to decide just how they want to live in what should be their city.

Local support for the North Southwark Community Development Group has been very strong but as yet not very effective. Expressions of concern and support from academics might still help their case. The survival of the N.S.C.D.G. is important from an academic point of view alone, but to the population of North Southwark, it is vital. So please write to:

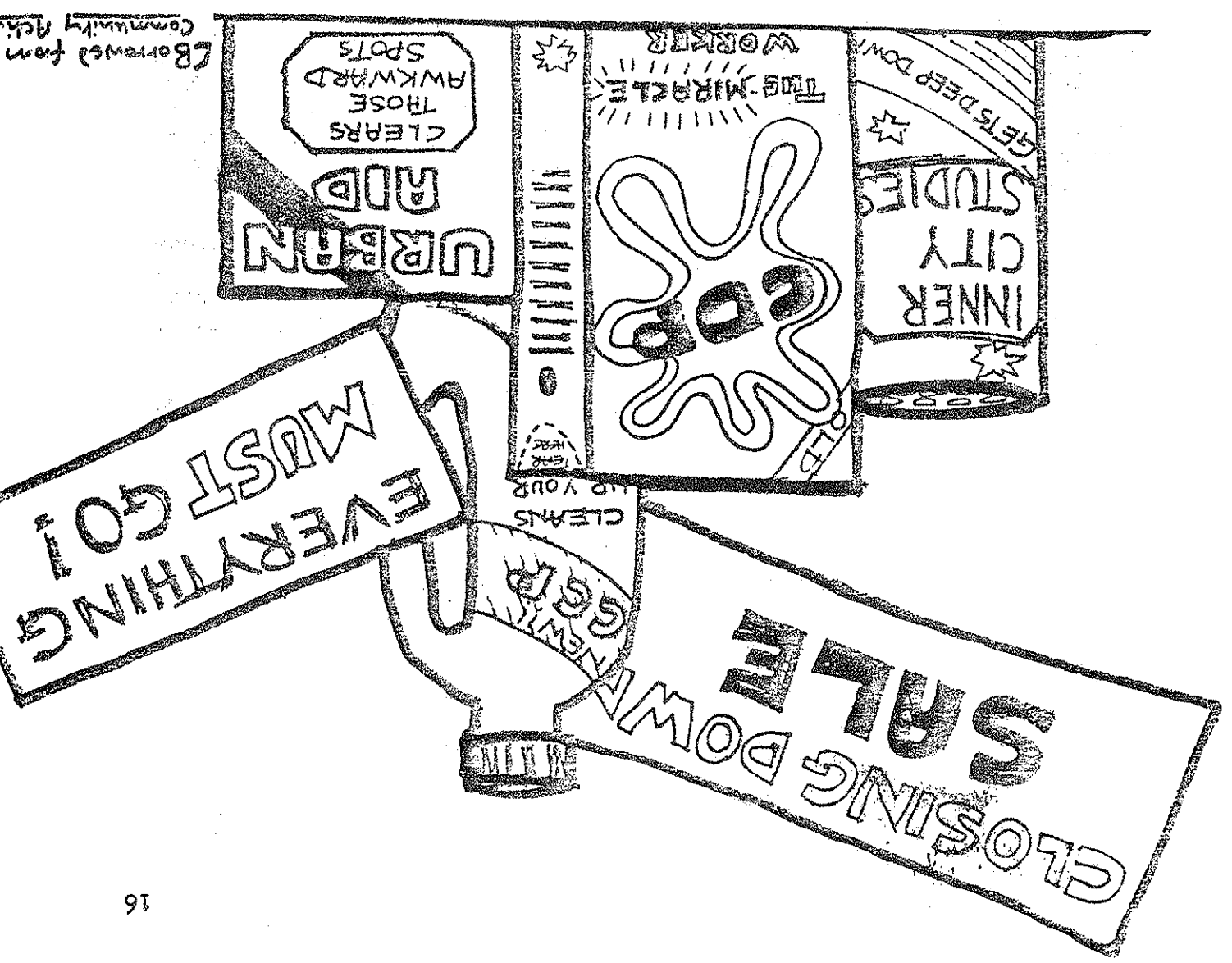
The Chief Executive and Town Clerk
London Borough of Southwark

Town Hall
Peckham Road
LONDON England
SE5 8UB

One day
 the apolitical intellectuals
 of my country
 will be interrogated
 by the simplest
 of our people
 No one will ask about
 their higher financial learning
 they won't be questioned
 on greek mythology
 or regarding their self-disgust

On that day
 the simple men will come
 those who had no place
 in the books and poems
 of the apolitical intellectuals
 but daily delivered
 their bread and milk...
 who cared for their dogs and gardens
 who worked for them
 and they'll ask
 'What did you do when the poor suffered,
 when tenderness and life
 burned out in them?'
 And you will be mute in your shame

APOLITICAL INTELLECTUALS



Political Economy and Community Action

THE LEEDS POLITICAL ECONOMY CLASS

Editorial note:

The following article was originally published - in a slightly different form - in Community Action, 35, Jan.-Feb. 1978 (CA is a collectively-produced and non-profit magazine with national UK distribution). We include it here because we think it will be of interest to many USG members, particularly those of us concerned with establishing relationships between socialist analysts and the practice of urban community activism. The article is followed by a brief review of one of the reports produced by the Leeds Political Economy Class.

UNDERSTANDING HOW POLITICAL CHANGES AFFECT HOW WE LIVE AND WORK

In order to build effective organisations and campaigns it is necessary to understand the root causes of wider political and economic changes and how these affect your particular locality. This article describes the experience and the work of a group of people in Leeds who are examining the political, economic and social base of the city.

Community action has developed over the last ten years as a means whereby people living in some kind of 'deprivation' can join together to provide a mass base from which pressure can be put on 'Them' to take some action to remedy the problem. In practice, the deprivations (the inner city problem; the repair problem; housing and the homeless etc.) still exist; the mass base has usually turned out to be a couple of dozen people and the actions have been unco-ordinated piecemeal patch-up jobs.

Understanding the changes

In this time enormous structural changes have been taking place in the wider political/economic/social scene. Between 1971 and 1976 one in eight of all manufacturing jobs in the country disappeared because of the reconstruction of British capitalism in its efforts to raise profit levels. The areas of greatest employment growth have been service sector industries and, in particular, central and local government, which now employ 11% of all workers. Much of this growth has involved the employment of part-time married women. With the present economic recession and unemployment (it one takes into account all those not registered as unemployed but who still seek work, such as housewives) running at over 2 million, even the public sector has been hard hit. In between June 1976 and June 1977 the number of people employed by local authorities fell by 25,173.

Another related aspect of the economic crisis has been the public expenditure cuts. These have affected the provision of services - housing, transport etc. - and have forced both trade unions and community groups on to the defensive, trying to protect their existing living standards and services.

Also, during the last ten years cities have continued to be remade in the image of profit. Old communities have become systems-built multi-rise suburban developments, inner cities have become the haunt of the secondary

VIVALAN

When difficulty in coping with work or domestic responsibilities is a feature of depressive illness, a treatment which causes a lively interest in work, social life and the family.

'Vivalan' is unique, improving mood and restoring drive without daytime drowsiness so that the patient is able to take a lively interest in work, social life and the family.

Listless, apathetic, tired patients who complain of fatigue and inability to concentrate are those most likely to benefit from Vivalan.

The workers' antidepressant.



This ad has appeared in several medical journals in Britain

A number of political economy groups are operating in Yorkshire (Leeds, York, Hebden Bridge, Shetfield and Wakefield). In the main, these groups have

The limited success of much of community action results from its failure to develop an understanding of these wider changes and their significance for social change in a small locality. One perspective that has developed for providing this analysis is that of political economy. This simply means looking at the political and economic factors which underlie changes taking place, how these relate to the way people work and live and what potentialities arise for change.

Labour-force (blacks, the elderly etc.); shopping streets and corner shops have been recreated as 'district centres'; extended family networks have been replaced by 'new town blues' and 'mothers' little helpers'; and local government has been restructured. To combat the problems thrown up by these 'dislocations' we've had: Urban Aid; Community Development Projects; Compensatory Community Programmes; Inner Area Studies; 'partnership' schemes between local authorities and private developers; White Papers; and community action. (Kd. note: see Gidding the ghetto: the state and the poverty experiment; report by National GDP Information Unit, 1977.)

developed as part of the struggle of the workers' Educational Association to make adult education more relevant to the needs of the labour movement.

The longest running of these groups is in Leeds where a class sponsored by the WEA and Leeds University Extra-Mural Department ran for a two-year period. The class runs on a number of basic assumptions:

Forward Labour movement aims

The first is that because of most people's experience of education and because of the way most of further (i.e. post-secondary school non-degree level) education is structured it is difficult to recruit working-class people. The class therefore ran on the expectation that it would attract mainly middle-class, left of centre activists. However, instead of conducting the class with the education of class members as the prime concern, the intention was that class members would be seen as research workers who would collect and structure information which would be relevant to the labour movement as a whole (i.e. that the education of class attenders was of secondary concern and that the main aim of the class was to reach those in the labour movement).

The second set of assumptions was related to the structure of the labour movement. Firstly it was assumed that there were a small number of politically active people in the city who act as front-line educators. The basic problem for these people was that their commitments precluded them from undertaking necessary background research about local conditions. It, however, this information could be given to them they could act as disseminators. It was next assumed that there was a further group of people who were actively involved in trade unions, community and women's groups, and as a result of these involvements were beginning to ask questions about the wider situation. These were felt to be the people that the class were trying to reach in their reports. Thirdly it was assumed that there were many other people in these groups who would also be interested in the content of these reports and who would best be reached through the 'key' people.

Linking struggles

The first year of the course was primarily concerned with a detailed description of the economic base of the city within the context of what was happening at a regional and national level. The second year examined the social base of Leeds, i.e. looking at the way life has changed in cities as a function of the altering economic base. In particular, the class looked at community life as the place where women were involved in the reproduction of labour-power. The class went on to examine the role of community action and its link with the position of women and how struggles in the community needed to be integrated with those in the 'workplace.'

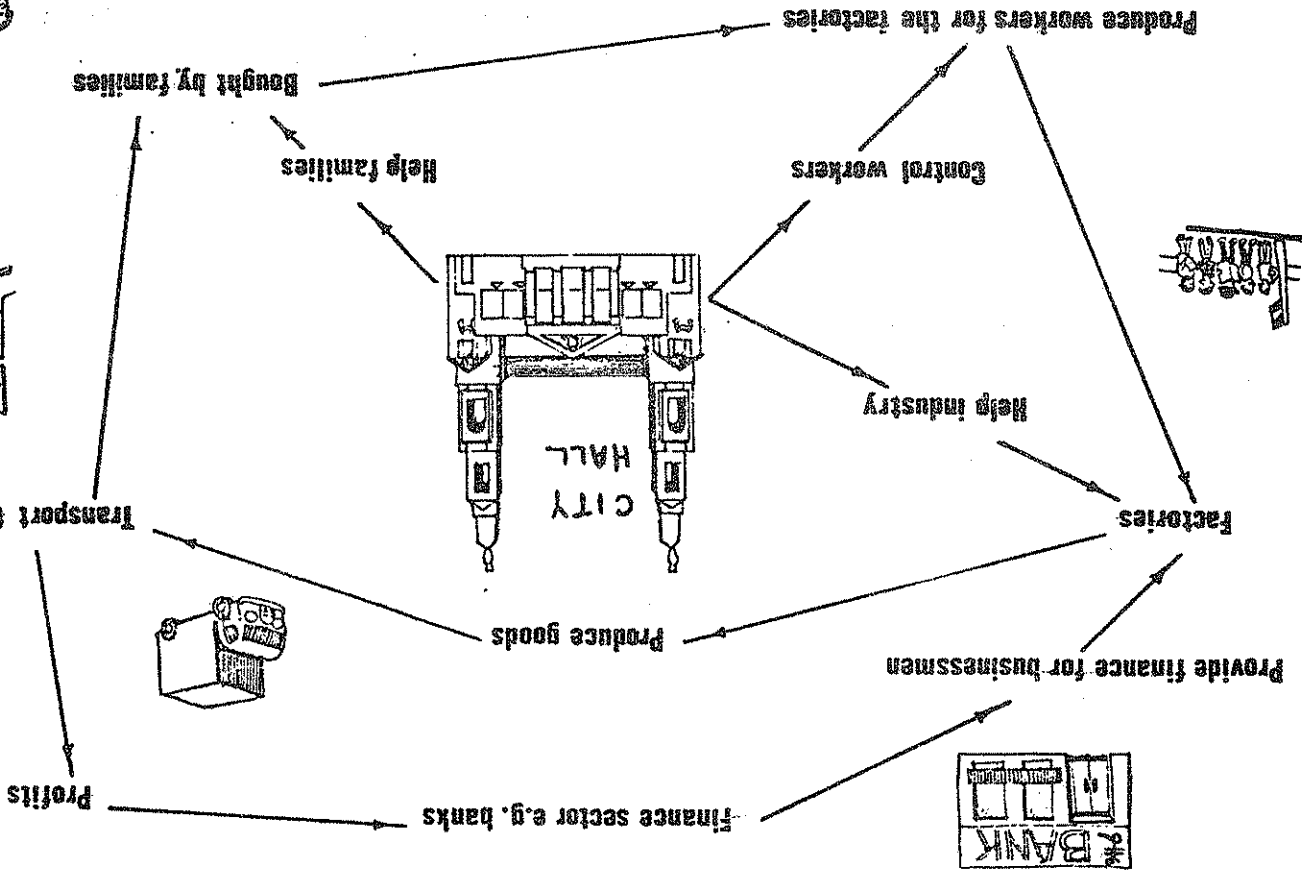
Network of contacts

Because the class has put dissemination of information as one of its main aims, part of the class work has been to build up contacts with as many groups in the city as possible. As a result of class publications, discussions have been held with, among others: the Leeds District Labour Party; the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers shop stewards' committee; community workers of the region; the industrial chaplains' mission and with various

political groups. In addition to the publications (see below), the class, in collaboration with the Leeds University Environmental Theatre Workshop, put on for six shows, a political music hall about the economic base of Leeds.

As the majority of the class members are activists many of the ideas developed in the class have been infused by them into local campaigns, groups etc. A particular example is the Leeds Community Workers' Group assessment of the role of community work in Leeds, and the strategy they are developing for influencing the proposals for the inner areas.

So far, there have been three publications ('The Engineering Industry in Leeds'; 'The Economic Base of Leeds'; 'The Need To Change The Way We Live - The Social Base of Leeds.1') the first one sold all the 500 copies printed and 'The Economic Base' is now in its fourth reprint with more than 1200 copies having been distributed. The Social Base had an initial print of 1,250 copies and is selling well.



MODEL OF HOW THE CITY WORKS
 Diagram reprinted from 'The Social Base of Leeds'

Response

From the mainly informal feedback that we have so far had there seems little doubt that the reports have reached the first group and some of the key people that we were aiming at. We have been less successful in reaching the wider audience in the third group. We arranged a ten-piece, mainly photographic display exhibit of the economic base of Leeds, which was put on briefly in the main shopping centre. We then offered it free to every Working Men's Club in the city, and not one took it up. There are signs, however, that the ideas and information contained in the report are being used by community workers and trade unionists, but it is difficult to assess this in any accurate manner.

There is, for example, a joint community/bus workers' group opposing cuts in public transport, and also a trade union and community information centre, both of which draw heavily on the reports.

What the sales do indicate, however, is that there was clearly a need for this type of information and analysis.

Publications available

The Economic Base of Leeds and
The Social Base of Leeds

- price 30.05p each, inclusive of postage and packing (cheques and money orders payable to Leeds Political Economy Class). Available from:

Leeds Political Economy Class
c/o Swarthmore Educational Centre
3 Woodhouse Square
LEEDS 3
England.

- Ron Wiener.

REVIEW/DISCUSSION: Leeds Political Economy Class, The Need to Change the
Way We Live: The Social Base of Leeds

The Social Base of Leeds is the third report by the Leeds Political Economy Class, "a collective work based on class members' contributions and research; critical comments from the many people who read the draft report and those who helped in its publication." The report was controversial from the start; the North Yorkshire branch of the Workers' Educational Association apparently objected to its content, and so it was eventually put out by the Leeds branch.

This report sets out to trace the impact on Leeds people's lives of the major structural changes which have affected the economic base of the city: the growth and more recent decline of manufacturing industry, and the attendant rise in unemployment; the growth of office employment; the expansion of the state bureaucracy and welfare services, and the recent out-backs in public spending.

It shows why people live in cities and how the way cities are designed and people relate to each other is determined by the two basic functions that cities have: to enable profits to be

The report also shows some of the ways in which people's lives and their physical environment are structured by the motor car itself. The analysis goes beyond the usual radical conspiracy-by-the-road-lobby theory by pointing to the importance of the car industry to the British economy and the scale of direct and infrastructural investment needed to maintain its competitiveness.

(p.6) main shopping outlet for people. of community life around district centres which provide the wasted on goods being distributed and sold. Hence the design people and facilities are together, the less time will be which are based on a rapid turnover of goods. The closer possible - hence the growth of supermarkets and hypermarkets It has also led to new ways of selling goods as quickly as motorway exit points or to ring roads around cities... motorways and the building of new industrial estates close to circulated quickly that has led to the massive expenditure on the interest on his loans. It is this need for goods to be the cash not only to pay for ongoing costs but also to repay of the capital investment, it becomes important for the emp- As the scale of production increases, and with it the size

network: In the section on the city and industrial development the report explains the need for industrial location close to an expanded road

Transport and the Circulation of Capital

There is also much to be learnt from the substantive content of the report, by academics as well as activists, particularly since it emphasizes two elements of the political economy of cities hitherto given inadequate attention in socialist theory and/or treated to the family. I will focus on these in this review, although in the report they are integrated within the overall analyses of the political economy of Leeds.

I believe that this report should be read carefully by 'academic' USG members, irrespective of whether their particular interest lies in urban political economy or elsewhere. For The Social Base of Leeds is an object lesson in how to produce an eye-catching document which successfully integrates theory and empirical material. Even more importantly, it is written in an accessible and jargon-free style yet it makes no theoretical compromises in its analysis. Nor does it slide into the kind of populist sloganeering used in some community-action-type reports to disguise their theoretical inadequacy.

made and to produce and reproduce the workforce... (It) is concerned with the consequences of these relationships on people's lives and with the need for change. (p.3)

Work Relations and the Family

The Social Base goes on to examine the pivotal role of women as mothers and housewives in reproducing the workforce biologically, emotionally and ideologically. It cuts right across the analytical separation of capitalist production relations and processes of social reproduction characteristic of most socialist work in this field to date (a notable exception being Nichols and Beynon Living with Capitalism - see review in USG Newsletter vol 4, 1), with some concise and cogent comments: Within the family the wife and the children provide a place where the male worker can release his workplace frustrations. In most workplace situations people are cut off from one another, being concerned being only a small part of the production process.... They have little chance of participating in the decisions which affect their work and it is the tensions associated with these working conditions that the family has to contain.

As the pace of work and the degree of control over working routines are increased in order to raise productivity levels, these tensions become worse:

Therefore problems which have their origins in the workplace are made difficult to deal with because their effects occur only in the private world of the family. Because people have been led to believe the myth of the happy family, these problems are seen as arising because of the individual's inadequacy to cope with them (Ed. note: see 'Vivalian' ad. elsewhere in this issue). Instead of questioning the conditions that they work under or whether families should be expected to withstand these pressures, most people seek support from the pub, the doctor or the social worker to help them struggle through...

Family tensions are aggravated by the trapped feelings that people get.... The family's welfare is (the man's) concern and this helps to tie him down to his job. It also provides his rationalisation for not helping out with the housework - he's done the real work by bringing in the real wage, she's only looked after the children and the house. But from the point of view of capitalism both jobs are necessary and it is the failure to see that both men and women are exploited by the same force which prevents common struggles from occurring. (p.13)

I have quoted at length from this section of the report because it points toward the kinds of analyses we need to develop (in much more detail, and historically) if the struggle for socialism is to make any significant advance in this country. The power of the trade unions has been shown to be tremendous, but their contribution to the struggle is still (with a few notable exceptions - see footnote) severely hampered by their exclusive pursuit of strategies limited to wage-bargaining and to adjustments within a capitalistically-organised labour process, strategies which fail to recognise the existence of complex interactions between (wage)workplace relations and 'everyday life'. Such economic strategies contribute to people becoming increasingly 'locked into' exploitative capitalist social relations through the ideologies of consumerism, the work/leisure dichotomy and the ideal home/family. On the

other hand the apparent sexism of the trade union movement - which has led many women in particular to limit their militant activities to 'women's struggles' or 'community struggles' in isolation from the labour movement - needs to be examined sympathetically and historically, in the context of changes in the organisation of the labour process, if it is to be understood and transcended.

Although The Social Base of Leeds shows how both the city's spatial form and people's daily lives are structured by the imperatives of capitalist production and reproduction, the analysis employed, far from being 'functionalist' - and hence politically bankrupt, is oriented toward action for change. After a brief evaluation of local trade union activity, community action and the women's movement, the report concludes by arguing that in order to 'change the way we live' a necessary first step is to develop theoretical and practical links between (wage)workplace and community organising. It calls for a collectively-produced 'corporate plan' for the city, designed to start people thinking about ways of organising production for need, not profit. Now this may not appear startlingly original. But in my own limited experience I have come across very few socialist academics seriously concerned with some of the 'issues' given prominence here, while the political significance of working (academically and otherwise) at the production/reproduction 'interface' does not yet seem to be widely appreciated. It is therefore to be hoped that this report will stimulate further debate and that groups like the Leeds Political Economy Class will spring up in other parts of the country.

- Damaris Rose
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 of Sussex, Falmer, BRIGHTON, England.

Footnote: The Lucas Aerospace Shop, Stewards Combine Committee has produced a 'corporate plan' questioning the products on which we work and the way in which we work on them. "They have produced blueprints for the cooperative production of socially-useful products as an alternative to the management's 'rationalisation' - i.e. redundancy - proposal resulting from the falling demand for Lucas Aerospace products.

Yet Another View on the Geography of Women

Recent articles in the U.S.G. Newsletter (Vol. 3 No. 3 and Vol. 3 No. 4) have attempted to answer the question: 'what should we be studying in relation to the geography of women?' Clearly almost any area of traditional geography can be used as a focus for the specific study of women, since human geography (as we know it) has always implicitly concentrated on the spatial and social activities of men - and it is about time that the sexist bias were removed from the discipline.

However, having said this, I personally feel that geographers should evolve in their perspective on women, as has the women's movement itself. Starting from a fundamental concern for equality with men in the world of work, for equal pay and conditions, and for the opportunity to pursue professional careers (which inevitably meant a concern for the few), feminists have increasingly turned their attention to an analysis of the position of women in the world of home, and to the structural constraints which restrict women in general to a subsidiary role in society.

The same should be true of geography. Social scientists (including geographers) have tended to concentrate on the employment patterns of women, on their journeys to work, on the extent of change generated by recent government acts in the field of employment. This focus is, of course, preferable to the former emphasis on women in geography, where they were seen simply as 'household surrogates' - doing the weekday shopping, establishing 'visiting patterns' and helping to develop 'community spirit' in their neighbourhoods. In such studies women were seen as mere extensions of their families, labelled with their husbands' socio-economic status, and acting simply as consumers.

But women are not just consumers, and nor are they primarily career-oriented in general. Most women work at home, and most women think of themselves firstly as housewives. Just as studies by feminists have come to focus on women at home, so geographical studies should begin to concentrate on the point of reproduction in relation to the point of production, rather than on production alone. For it is at the point of reproduction of labour power that the source of women's inferior status can be discovered.

At the very base of differences in activities and attitudes between men and women lies a fundamental differentiation of gender-roles. Women (and men) are socialised into the acceptance of gender-roles based on the cultural ascription of child-rearing tasks to women. The societal acceptance of gender-role differentiation leads necessarily to a structural constraint on the activities of women (and men). This role differentiation itself both supports, and is supported by, the workings of the capitalist system.

Capitalism needs a mechanism by which labour power is reproduced, both in terms of the physical reproduction of new workers, and in terms of the mental and physical recovery of adult male workers. The nuclear family provides this mechanism in a convenient manner, so long as the wife is kept in her traditional role as housewife and mother. This is achieved by increasing emphasis on consumerism on the one hand, and by limiting opportunities to escape from the home (by not providing child care facilities as of right) on the other. (The existence of an opposing need for capital to exploit marginal female labour creates a dialectical situation, worthy of study in itself.) Thus the capitalist system reinforces nuclear family structure and the inferior status of women.

Instead of beginning at the end of the problem - looking for differences in male and female economic activity rates or measuring the relative lengths of journeys to work (important as these studies are) - geographers should be focusing firstly on the beginning of the problem - looking at the 'gender-role constraint' which ultimately determines all the social and spatial activities of women.

In my own research I am looking at the activities and attitudes of a sample of women with young children (under school age) since these can be identified as influenced by the gender-role constraint to the greatest extent. But the need to bring up children and the consequent responsibilities and demands on time and energy mean that the gender-role constraint is a relatively permanent feature of the lives of women - its influence is by no means restricted to the period when children are in the full-time care of their mothers. Thus all subsequent activities (both in paid employment and outside this sphere) are constrained by gender-role differentiation.

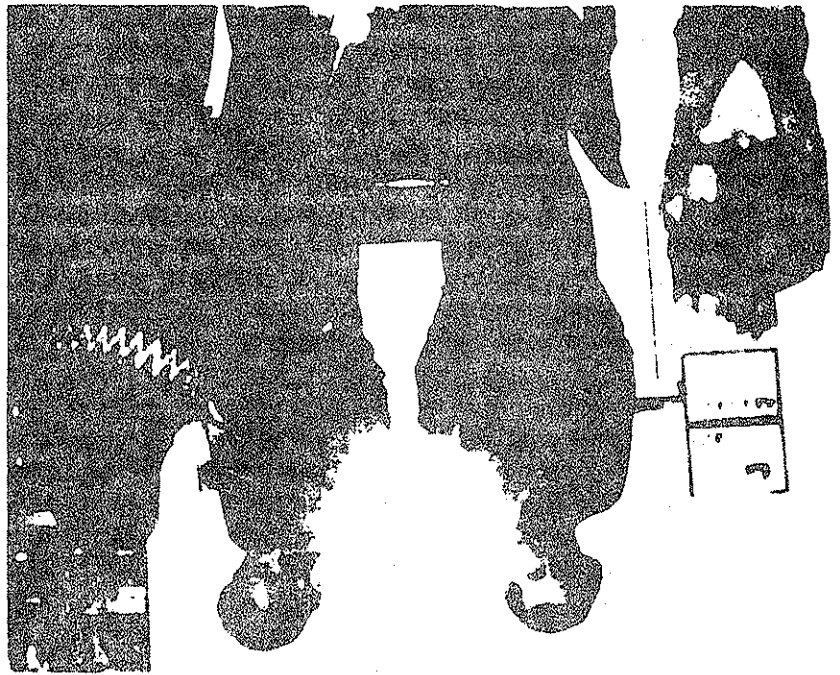
Similarly because society anticipates that all women will at some stage become subject to a gender-role constraint (i.e. that they will have children - and that they will be primarily responsible for bringing those children up) the activities of women before the period of reproduction are also influenced by the same constraint. Thus young women without children are similarly restricted in their employment prospects in their ability to buy homes and in the exercise of leisure opportunities. These restrictions all serve to constrain their behaviour in space.

It is therefore my contention that it is impossible to study the geography of women without first examining the constraint which forms the overriding influence on women's lives (namely, the gender-role constraint), and without incorporating the importance of this constraint into subsequent analyses of the social and spatial activities of women.

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When shall we two
 meet again?
 Under Antipode's
 using star
 and Antipodean
 traveller

- Pictured together at
 a recent USA regional
 meeting in Toronto.



Anarchism Again (Briefly)

Anarchism. Anarchist. These are labels which provoke critical reactions from both ends of the political spectrum. I, too, was critical when I first encountered the anarchist literature - it seemed too idealistic and lacking in strategy for social change, for example - but my views have changed. I now believe that anarchist ideas have much to offer socialism, and socialist geography, and write this short paper to instigate a debate among U.S.G. members concerning its usefulness and the ways in which libertarian ideas can be incorporated into the mainstream of socialist thought. This debate has probably been going on for some time in North America, but if so little has appeared in accessible sources about the pros and cons of anarchism, and this Newsletter is the appropriate forum for the debate to take place. Debate requires the presentation of both sides of an argument therefore I have attempted to sum up the strengths of anarchist ideas, its weaknesses also, and suggest some guidelines to assist us in evaluation of these favourable and unfavourable aspects of anarchist philosophy.

THE STRENGTHS OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT:

The essence of anarchist ideas is that the imposition of external authority upon the individual is firmly rejected and thus anarchists oppose government as manifested in the state. Further, anarchists oppose corporatism and gigantism in all their manifestations, therefore anarchism is critical of multinational corporations, nuclear power stations, high rise flats, urban motorways, the British National Health Service and other institutions associated with the welfare state, the Civil Service etc. etc. Herein lies its strength - and also, of course, its weakness. Institutions such as these must be subject to intense criticism for they are out-of-scale with our requirements for self-identity and meaningful interaction with our environment, and are dominated by the rigidities of corporate decision-making in which people are regarded as objects to be manipulated at will. Moreover, these organisations are hierarchical and anarchism is strongly anti-hierarchies, whether these are institutionalised in, say, the Universities, the Military, the Law or the Corporation, or the more subtle hierarchies which operate in the sphere of relationships within the family, the social group, or within and between cultures. Thus anarchism is strong because it supports individuals in their struggle against the forces of oppression and alienation which dominate modern life.

Other strengths arise from anarchist critiques of the inflexibility and compartmentalisation of modern living. Anarchists are concerned to have us return to more natural rhythms of life in which the clock and the calendar are not allowed to dominate our lives as at present. They are concerned to have us return to being whole men and women rather than the part-persons who adopt the roles of lecturer, student, businessman, wife, son, commuter etc. at different times of the day and night. This wholeness requires a move away from the specialisation fostered by the modern work situation and education system towards a mode of life in which we can work when we feel like working, sleep when we feel like sleeping, play when we feel like playing, create beauty when we are in a creative mood, think when we are in a thoughtful mood, and appreciate that we don't have to work because its nine a.m., sleep because its midnight, listen to music because its the weekend rather than a workday, etc. Perhaps the reader thinks that this way of life would lead merely to chaos rather than human progress, and that these criticisms of modern living are

both naive and sterile, but anarchists envisage a return to simpler, more localised modes of social organisation in which flexibility is not only more feasible than in the current system, but also more desirable. The most fruitful branch of anarchist thought is that which deals with this proposed mode of social organisation, an organisation which is based on voluntary co-operation rather than coercion and force, and communal living in which the monetary system is replaced by one based on need. Thus anarchism appeals to a growing number of socialists because it dares to envisage the future socialist society, even if it is accused of utopianism, and because it offers guidelines to the development of this society. However, it offers guidelines rather than blueprints, recognising that each society has within it the ability to respond to its own historical context and evolve its own specific mode of communal organisation. Once more, therefore, anarchist ideas appeal, for they do not seek to develop a new orthodoxy to replace the present one, an orthodoxy which is often apparent in many of the nations which purport to be socialist. Instead, anarchists seek to encourage rather than dictate, persuade rather than force and avoid the confines of a party structure which can often be reactionary and stultifying in response to unorthodox proposals.

In sum, then, anarchist thought appeals because it is visionary, exciting and dynamic. It proposes an end to systems of organisation, replacing these by decentralised forms of communal living in which spontaneity and creativity are encouraged, the education system is abolished and the processes of learning are placed firmly within the context of everyday life, and technology is used only if it is safe in ecological and social terms. Anarchist thought is strong because it is fundamentally humane, and in tune with many of the people who are struggling throughout the world against the forces of remote and unresponsive authority and power.

AND THE WEAKNESSES:

There are a number of weaknesses in anarchist ideas. There are degenerate strands in the anarchist literature, for example, particularly those texts which interpret anarchism as individualism rather than communalism. In these interpretations anarchism can become mere selfishness, with people doing their own thing in their own time, being unresponsive to the needs of others and dropping out when the wider society is most in need of their services. The anarchist emphasis upon voluntary co-operation can make it particularly vulnerable to critics who maintain that socialism requires more powerful forms of organisation in order to overthrow the very forces of capitalism and the state which are themselves so powerful. Coercion may even be necessary in a socialist society, at least in the early stages of its development, particularly when the masses are still blinded by the ideological blinkers imposed by capitalist society, and in any case anarchism is often itself ambivalent over the use of force in revolutionary change. The association of anarchism with mindless violence is not completely mythical, for example, and there is a branch of anarchist literature which insists that society must be destroyed before it can be reconstructed.

Anarchism can also be subject to criticism because it lacks analysis of the processes which give rise to the corporatism and gigantism which it opposes, and its emphasis upon action rather than upon theoretical sophistication may lead anarchists to attack the wrong targets, attacking the manifestations rather than the causes of the problems which it identifies. Similarly, it lacks an analysis of consciousness - power to the people by all means, but if their views are based upon false consciousness then the devolution of power could lead to a

host of petty dictatorships being created to replace the one which had been overthrown. Likewise, although anarchists seek to abolish the class system there is little analysis of class conflict and class consciousness in anarchist thought, and here too the decentralisation of authority could be counter-productive, allowing the domination of the working class by the bourgeoisie to be continued, albeit in a different context. Indeed anarchist ideas could be readily manipulated by the establishment to deflect attention away from it via the encouragement of public participation, community action groups, workers' control and other modified forms of anarchic organisation, and this too is a major weakness in the anarchist approach. Because anarchists criticise socialist states as well as capitalism states distortion can take place in this respect also, with establishment encouragement of the critiques of socialist states, and by implication socialism itself, and deflection from the more fundamental target of capitalism or any other ism.

Finally, the flexibility and responsiveness of anarchist ideas can themselves be construed as weaknesses, for anarchists do not seek to provide a strategy for social change nor a programme for revolutionary struggle. In this it may well be idealistic in its views of human nature and change. The party, the organisation, the programme, may well be prerequisites for the changes which will be necessary in the societies in which we, as socialists work and struggle.

TOWARDS AN EVALUATION:

Evaluation of these pros and cons will be based upon our evaluation of the usefulness of the anarchist contribution to socialism as a whole. I suggest that a debate takes place to consider the extent to which anarchism is anti-socialist in its obscuring of class relationships and lack of analytical power, whether it can contribute effectively to the ongoing process of socialist struggle and whether it can help us to define our long-term goals. We should also consider the extent to which anarchist views can be incorporated into Marxist analyses and examine libertarian tendencies in states which are already socialist. Was the Cultural Revolution in China an expression of anarchistic tendencies, with Mao unleashing the Red Guards against the party hierarchy and bureaucracy? Are Yugoslavian experiments in worker self-management libertarian in emphasis? Are anarchist views particularly relevant in underdeveloped nations? Let us debate questions such as these more fully, and attempt to combine the energy and drive of anarchism and anarchists, with their emphasis on action, with the theoretical sophistication and organisational ability of mainstream socialism in general - if indeed, this is possible.

Reading: I've deliberately avoided footnotes in order to focus more clearly and succinctly upon the issues as I interpret them, but suggest you read Woodcock G. "Anarchism", Penguin, 1975 reprint, then Woodcock (ed.) "The Anarchist Reader", Fontana, 1977. Then read Kropotkin's books and other references cited in U.S.G. Newsletter 3, 3, 1978, and articles by Peet, Breitbart and Galois in Antipode, 1975 and 1976. Other useful references include those by Baldelli G. "Social Anarchism", Penguin, 1972 (Aldine 1971), Apter D.E. & Joll J. (eds.) "Anarchism Today", Macmillan, 1971, Ward C. "Housing: An Anarchist Approach", Freedom Press, 1976 and "The Child in the City", Architectural Press, 1978, and Reyherabend P. "Against Method", Verso, London, 1975.

Lastly, I've finished the first draft of a long article upon anarchism and geography and would welcome correspondence on these matters as well as responses via this Newsletter.

THE CHANGING EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN BRIGHTON

As very little was known about the changing employment structure of one of England's most famous holiday resorts, Brighton, I undertook a study of the area during the summer of 1978. The project focused largely on recent developments, as these appeared to be creating serious social and economic problems for the town's lower socio-economic groups. Indeed it was found that since the early 1960s a process of de-industrialisation had weakened the town's economic base, resulting in higher levels of unemployment among the area's industrial labour force. These developments had created a 'hard core' of unemployed workers who were unable to find suitable employment elsewhere.

It was important to realise that the employment census data used in this study masked the full extent of the decline in industrial employment. This is because the available information did not provide a breakdown of those involved in the actual manufacturing process as against those involved in white-collar activities. Evidence from earlier studies of two of Brighton's major industrial employers supported the information that I had found, in suggesting that the changing labour process within these firms was leading to a decrease in industrial jobs and an increase in semi-skilled, lower-paid white-collar jobs. This was the result of a change from electro-mechanical to electronic engineering in the firms concerned. These developments altered not only the structure of employment within individual industrial sectors but the overall employment structure of the town.

Although the study emphasised the changes in manufacturing establishments it was evident that a marked change in the structure of services had also occurred. The new industries were 'working by brain' and white-collar work, in contrast to the formerly dominant tourist industry and distributive trades. There has been a shift from a service economy in the classical mould to a new white-collar economy, with education taking a leading place. In describing the town today it can be said that one-fifth of employment is in scientific and professional services, roughly a third in its role as regional shopping and transport centre, a sixth in manufacturing and one-seventh in its tourist role. The main changes have been a replacement of the tourist base by the new white-collar service employment and a shift in the structure of employment within industrial enterprises towards an increased white-collar component.

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Community Studies P/H, Sussex University,
Falmer, BRIGHTON, BN1 9QN.
I have presented here just a brief outline of the project. If anyone would like more details please get in touch at the above address.

Ireland The Debate on Partition

The partition of Ireland arose from the uneven nature of capitalist development in the island, originating as early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The Treaty of 1921, by which partition was recognised, did not hinder the requirements of British capital and so could be promoted as a political solution to what seemed an intractable problem. Since 1921 the situation has changed drastically: the decline of empire has resulted in an economic depression in Britain which has, as a matter of course, spilled over into Ireland. The emergence in Ireland (North and South) of monopoly capital and the requirements of the European Community are rendering partition economically and politically unviable and undesirable. The North and South of Ireland are increasingly taking on the appearance of an economic backwater of West European capitalism.

Throughout these various phases of Northern Ireland's history, partition has been maintained by a series of economic and ideological expedients, varying from employment discrimination to raising the spectre of reactionary Catholicism (1). Understandably, the present situation has necessitated a change in strategy, especially on the ideological level. The constitutional crisis in Northern Ireland coupled with the inability of British government plus the state of public opinion have all coalesced and resulted in the promotion of "independence for Ulster" as a "realistic, pragmatic and democratic" solution. Despite the apparent stalemate in bourgeois political "circles" (an apposite term!), underneath the superficial inactivity is a vigorous campaign to promote "negotiated independence" (2).

The arguments surrounding this debate were the subject of much discussion at the USG/Antipode-promoted conference in Dublin last March (3). Traditionally geographers in Ireland have avoided this sensitive issue with a vengeance; however, it now appears as though the situation will change (4). A significant portion of the forthcoming special edition of Antipode on Ireland will feature a debate on the "Two Nations theory" and so it would appear to be an opportune moment to survey some of the background to this debate.

In keeping with the West's fascination with opinion polls, various surveys have been conducted and the results have been widely publicised, adding much to the call for independence. A 1976 poll, carried out in England by the Centre for the Study of Public Policy at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow (Scotland), established that 72% of the Protestants interviewed were satisfied with direct rule from Westminster while the parallel figure for Catholics was 79%; however, the report concluded that such opinions had to be weighed against the growing volume of support in England for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. The national television network in the Republic revealed that 55% of people interviewed in England supported immediate troops withdrawal for various reasons ranging from the argument that the presence of the troops was too costly (21%), that too many troops had been killed (55%), to the old hoary argument "that it is an Irish problem which should be left to the Irish to resolve". (5) Recently the Daily Mirror, a mass circulation newspaper, advocated British withdrawal, as have various political groups, debating societies, "business" clubs and assorted academics. This cacophony of demands has also been supported in the

Republic by various individuals and political parties.

Various sections or fractions within the Official Unionist Party in Northern Ireland are critically supportive while the two major parties in the South are sympathetic to some form of independence or federation. The Irish Independence Party, the Socialist Party of Ireland and the British and Irish Communist Organisation are directly promoting the North's independence. Even the United States and the U.N. are sitting on the sidelines awaiting developments in this direction. With such political pressure and with the decline in importance in the economy of local and British capital, which is being replaced by multinational monopoly capital which bears no relation to traditional structures, it is inevitable that "independence for Ulster" should become an increasingly heard demand.

Briefly stated, the argument is that since total integration into the UK hasn't and won't work because the Catholic minority won't accept it, and since federation or unity with the Republic won't work because the Protestant majority won't accept it, hence independence is the only logical solution. Furthermore, groups such as the B & ICO argue that the Protestant North constitutes a separate Nation entitled to independence in its own right, and that consequently all socialists should support the right to self-determination. This specific position has necessitated a massive amount of historical revision and has thus led to the emergence of the Two Nations theory.

Two Nations theorists argue that since the inception of a Protestant community in 1600-1700, Ulster has developed an economy, society and tradition which is acutely different from the rest of Ireland, dominated by Catholicism. They further argue that Northern Ireland developed embryonic capitalism from which industrialisation later developed; comparisons are drawn between landlords North and South, arguing that the former were progressive while the latter were not. The particular land-holding structure in the North (known as the "Ulster Custom") fostered security of tenure and thus allowed capital accumulation to occur, on a modest basis initially. By the nineteenth century industrial capitalism had developed in the North East (Lagan Valley) alongside a Protestant 'Nation', both of which had nothing in common with the agricultural Catholic South. Consequently partition was logical and served the best interests of that Protestant Nation. Therefore, the two Nations theorists argue, the war in present-day Ireland is not a war of national liberation but a war to force the capitulation of the Protestant Nation and should therefore be opposed by all socialists. The argument is also made that the "national question" is simply a smokescreen used by the Republic's ruling class to divert attention from working-class economic and social issues in the South. There are variations and differing emphases within the two Nations theory but all contain most of the above arguments (6).

Those who oppose the two Nations theory consist primarily of the Republican groups, the bulk of left-wing Labour groups in the Republic, a large section of the British left and most European and North American groups. Most often the struggle in Ireland is viewed as an anti-imperialist struggle, directed militarily against the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Historically, most deny the nationhood of the Protestant people and argue that the concept of nation utilised is ahistorical and mechanistic. They attack the notion of internal homogeneity among Protestants by referring to various class antagonisms and to the constant fear of the Protestant

ruling class of defections within their own "nation." Protestant workers, it is argued, were won to Imperialism through preferential treatment in employment and social service allocation and discrimination has been used by Unionism to maintain political power in the interests of capital. Consequently they argue that withdrawal of troops, coupled with structural changes in the economy (noted above) will win Protestant workers away from Unionism and into a united socialist Ireland. Among these groups there is significant disagreement and difference in emphasis. Many argue that the solution to the problem lies in Northern Ireland while others argue that only a united socialist Ireland can provide a realistic framework for a permanent solution. Consequently differing strategies are advanced, most of which are now generating extensive debate, such as that which occurred last March at the Dublin conference.

- Colm Regan

Footnotes

- (1) See Farrell, Michael (1976), Northern Ireland: The Orange State, London, and de Paor, Liam (1972), Divided Ulster, Harmondsworth.
- (2) See, for example, various articles in recent editions of the Irish Times, e.g. Sept. 13th and 19th 1978, also Hibernia, Sept. 22nd 1978, and also Studies, Spring/Summer 1978 and Socialist Register, 1972, 1977.
- (3) USG Newsletter, Vol. 4, 1, Aug.-Sept. 1978.
- (4) Apart from the March conference and the forthcoming issue of Antipode on Ireland, Queens University, Belfast are about to publish an occasional paper on "Geography and Nationality" by M. Hesliga (? - typist).
- (5) See Irish Times, Sept. 13th 1978, also text of RTV television programme on British withdrawal screened Sept. 22nd 1978.
- (6) See, for example, British and Irish Communist Party (1972), The Re-construction of Partition, Belfast; also The Birth of Ulster Unionism, 1973, Belfast; and The Two Irish Nations, 1975, Belfast.

Philosophy of Social Science Marxism and Geography

Looking back at Harvey's 'Explanation in Geography' (1969) one can't help being struck not only by its level of scholarship, which set new standards in the discipline, but also by its text-book-like self-assurance in its equation of positivism with science. At the time - like many others, I suspect - I happily accepted that there were no other positions regarding the philosophy of science that needed to be examined. In the years since 1969, of course, this confidence in positivism has broken down and geography's practical and philosophical parochialism has disintegrated as geographers have discovered thriving non-positivist traditions in other social sciences.

With the development of major interests in humanist (chiefly phenomeno-logical) geography and 'radical geography' (not my term), there has been a trickle of short and generally unsatisfactory articles sprinkled with dilettantish references to Huxford and Dillthey, advocating what was understood to be a 'phenomenological' approach. However, these gave one little confidence in their grasp of the rigours of such philosophies - a suspicion which was often borne out by their substantive work with its bland outpourings of arbitrary and speculative interpretations of subjectivity in geographical experie-nces. Indeed, in response to this 'Leaders' Digest (Geography', one almost felt like saying "Come back positivism - all is forgiven!"

In the case of the radical and marxist school, work has been concerned primarily with a substantive rather than a glibly optical critique of positivism. In the case of the occasional polemic in 'Antipode'. Perhaps this reflected the uncertainty concerning epistemology in marxism generally, while it is sure of its opposition to positivism, empiricism and idealism, it has 101 alternative exegeses of historical or dialectical materialism to call upon. In the meantime, the remaining positivists either ignored these alternatives, or, which usually amounted to the same thing, (1) pronounced them as compatible and complementary (e.g. see the Introduction to the second edition of Location Analysis in Human Geography (P. Haggett et al., 1978)).

If these, then, are the 'Three Geographies', they correspond broadly to the three sociologies which have recently been the subjects of a spate of quite similar books on the philosophy of social science. These include Benton (1977), Gatt and Urry (1975), Hadden (1976), Smart (1976), May (1975) and Bernstein (1976). Each of these passes from a critique of positivism (in the first two cases from the standpoint of realism), through a discussion of interpretive or humanist social science to a sympathetic critique and advocacy of critical social science, including Marxism.

From the point of view of geographers, the preoccupation with sociology and disregard of geography in these books is unhelpful, but perhaps not unexpected. In the light of Derek Gregory's 'Ideology, Science and Human Geography' (1978, Hutchinson) it therefore a welcome venture by a geographer into this kind of philosophical discussion. To its credit, this book advocates a

critical, committed approach to geography, one that involves criticism of and efforts to change society, although it says little about the position of marxism in this. Its other strong points are its fresh and interesting account of positivist, so-called, quantitative geography, and its continuities with traditional geography, and its avoidance of the sterility of those debates about the philosophical implications of marxism which centre exclusively upon endless new 'readings' of classic marxist texts and ignore outside developments in philosophy which haven't already been processed by heavyweight marxist theoreticians. However, there are plenty of questionable and disjointed arguments in the book but perhaps its worst failing is not this but its muddled and at times irritatingly pretentious academic style of writing. Intentionally or unintentionally, this has the effect of 'distancing' the reader in such a way that Gregory fails to make the important philosophical ideas which he examines accessible to geographers. Given their importance, it would seem useful to try to make them more accessible and so in what follows, I shall not review Gregory's book but instead outline briefly some of the most significant issues in the literature upon which he draws. In the space available I cannot expect to do more than sketch in a few of these, and even then many of the supporting arguments and qualifications will have to be left out, but hopefully it will be sufficient to indicate their importance for defending marxism as a science of society and revolutionary practise. You will find fuller and better accounts of these issues in the philosophy of social science books mentioned above.

1. The realist critique of positivism

Positivism assumes a unity of method for all science, whether social or natural, and claims that what it believes to be the methods of the latter can and should be used for the former. Most critics of positivism have limited their attacks to the question of the legitimacy of the transfer of natural science methods to social science, but realists also question whether positivist understand even natural science. Positivists interpret 'laws' as statements about well-confirmed, regular successions of atomic events. They lay great stress on the deductive structure of theories, in which particular events or low-order laws can be 'explained' by deducing their occurrence from higher order law statements. For example, if we had to explain why this geography book 'x' is boring we might do so by deducing that this is the case from a law statement ("all geography books are boring") and a statement about the conditions obtaining at the present time ("this is a geography book"). Positivism has little to say about the role of description and analysis of the nature of objects in science for these are overlooked in the preoccupation with regularities in successions of empirical 'events' or patterns in 'data'.

In practise, this 'ideal' combination of deductive theoretical structures and laws about regular successions or patterns of events has to be compromised, for the stable regularities turn out to be extremely rare (e.g. in spatial analysis, the parameters of distance-decay functions always vary in different situations and over time) and no concrete instances ever do seem to be deducible from deductive theories without major ad hoc modification of the latter (as in the case of central place theory). Now, in the comfortable isolation of methodological discussions, positivists usually argue that under certain conditions, if a theory fails to predict or explain a particular event, the theory can be

said to have been falsified and should therefore be rejected. Needless to say, in actual practice, geographers have not followed this rule. In the last decade, numerous qualifications have been made to this doctrine of 'falsificationism', and historians and philosophers of science such as Kuhn and Heyerdahl have argued both that scientists usually do ignore falsification and clinging to their theories, and that they may be justified in doing so. Hence, on this view, it appears that scientists can use theories come what may, regardless of their empirical truth, the rationality of science is seriously challenged. In Heyerdahl's case, this scepticism is pushed so far that he is unable to offer any rational account of why people don't jump from the top floors of tower blocks instead of taking the lifts! In response to this kind of scepticism, it is now quite common to find scientists defending theories as merely useful, conventions, or 'fictions'. Some marxists, perhaps also influenced by this crisis in the philosophy of science, have also dropped any criteria of 'truth' in defending their theories or have argued that truth is produced through practice. The first position is one which enables non-marxists to happily dismiss marxism as an irrelevant fiction and the second is weak because it offers us no basis for distinguishing the 'truths' of socialist practice from those of capitalism or barbarism. In any case, successful use in practice is not so powerful a justification of theory as it at first appears, for we often get the right results for the wrong reasons: even prayer works sometimes.

The little-known realist critique cuts through this crisis by showing that both the positivists and their 'conventionalist' critics share the same misconceptions about the nature of theories and laws, and it is from this common base that the problems of falsification and breakdown in the belief of the rationality of science stem. On the realist account of the nature of theories, a deductive structure of statements is by no means necessary because, apart from mechanics and astronomy, there is generally no reason why relations between things or people should correspond to the relations of logic which exist in deductive structures of statements. In contrast to positivism, realism stresses the role of description in theory and the centrality of analysis of the nature and powers of its objects of study: it does not reduce its objects to atomistic 'events' or 'data'. Laws are not seen as statements about empirical regularities, but as the ways-of-acting that objects have as a result of their natures and powers. Whether such objects actually do produce certain effects depends upon the existence of a particular set of conditions, and it is usually only when these are controlled in scientific experiments that one can expect regular successions of events to result. However, we can recognise the operation of laws even where such regular successions or associations are absent; for example, when we see an aeroplane fly, we don't say 'there goes another refutation of the law of gravity!' We explain these ways-of-acting of objects, or 'generative mechanisms', by reference to the natures and powers of the materials involved. For instance, if we want to know why a geography book is boring it really is no use to be told that it is so because all geography books are boring. Rather, we need to know what it is about the particular analysts which is so unchallenging - does the definition of geography exclude consideration of interesting questions? Is it something to do with the types of people who become geographers? and so on. For the realist, the primary interest of science and its strongest theoretical claims involve the analysis of these natures and 'causal powers', whereas there is much less interest in and commitment to predicting when and

where these powers will be exercised. Scientists are only secondarily interested in predicting when and where a particular piece of copper will conduct electricity: what is important is why it can do so.

Let us see how marxist theory looks on this view. Virtually the whole of Marx's 'Capital' is an investigation of the nature, powers and ways-of-acting of the social relation of capital. Harvey's 'Social Justice and the City' and 'Castells' 'The Urban Question' both contain lengthy discussions on the nature of urbanism, rent and urban problems. Contrast these with those books in quantitative spatial analysis and economics which reduce scientific description to a few preliminaries of mathematical notation - let I be trips, K - capital, L - labour, p - population, etc - and then quickly move on to the development of the deductive structure - the mathematical model, whose functions are supposed to model empirical regularities in patterns of events. Marx's laws and tendencies of capital refer not to empirical patterns but to the generative mechanisms which produce them. The operation of these mechanisms, such as the tendency for the size of firms to increase, always depends, of course, upon the reproduction of capitalist social relations of production, but even where they are reproduced empirical regularities may not result because we still have little control of the conditions under which the mechanisms operate. It is in terms of the claims about such fundamental theoretical elements as 'the social relations of production' that the theory stands or falls. It does not or should not make any claims about, say, the net employment effects of the introduction of some new technology in the future because suchlike are dependent on unknowable future conditions (in this case, the growth of knowledge) and so marxist theory cannot sensibly be judged on such issues. If, however, it could be shown that labour power is not a commodity and that general factors could work with self labour, marxist theory clearly would be in trouble!

(Further reading: R. Harre (1970) Principles of Scientific Thinking, Macmillan London; R. Harre (1972) The Philosophies of Science, Oxford University Press; R. Harre and E.H. Madden (1975) Causal Powers, Blackwell, Oxford; R. Bhaskar (1975) A Realist Theory of Science, Leeds Books; R. Bhaskar (1975) Reverberand and Bachelard: two philosophies of science New Left Review, 94, pp.31-55; T. Benton (1977) The Three Sociologies Routledge Kegan Paul; R. Keat and J. Urry (1975) Social Theory as Science, Routledge Kegan Paul; R. Bernstein (1976) The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory)

2. Interventive social science and the critique of positivism

'Interventive' or 'humanist' social scientists argue that the nature of society is such that natural science methods and approaches are inappropriate for the study of society. Although they are a diverse group, they share a common concern with subjectivity, intersubjectivity, language and meaning, and rules in social behaviour. Positivists (and some marxists) have failed to acknowledge and appreciate the implications of the fact that the objects of study of social science, unlike those of natural science, usually have 'intrinsic meaning structure'. A lump of granite is the same regardless of what we think about it, but our social practices are constituted by the meanings that they have for us. In the social world meaning is not just descriptive of social practices, it is in them. A fascist demonstration and an anti-fascist

demonstration may be virtually identical in outward physical form, but they differ according to their intrinsic meaning. When we say meanings are 'con-
 stitutive' of practices, we do not mean that they 'produce' or 'generate'
 social action, merely that kind of practices they are depends on the
 meanings they have in society. For example, for coins to function as money,
 for bits of paper to function as cheques, it is necessary for their users to
 understand something about their meaning in society. Sometimes these consti-
 tutive meanings may involve misunderstandings, and truths about the real
 nature of society, but they may be 'necessary illusions' for the reproduction
 of particular social forms. As social scientists, we have to understand
 their role because they make a difference to society, but of course we do not
 have to accept them. Positivist variants of marxism, perhaps from fear of
 anything that might smite of idealism, deny that meaning can be anything but
 descriptive, and paradoxically, as a result, produce an idealist picture of
 society in which 'ideas' have no apparent material basis and hang mysteriously
 above and out of contact with practice. Ideology, false-consciousness, not
 to mention our own practice as conscious social agents, are unintelligible if
 we try to deny the existence of constitutive meanings.

Although phenomenology belongs to this interpretive or humanist school and
 has some following in geography, humanist geographers have generally failed to
 grasp the significance of constitutive meanings and rules to society. This is
 generally because they have mistaken intersubjectivity for subjectivity. Their
 preoccupation with the subjective consciousness of individuals has blinded
 them to the fact that understanding, language and meaning cannot possibly exist
 for a single, isolated individual but can only be developed intersubjectively.
 Therefore they characteristically attribute modes of action which are in fact
 social products to the results of the perception of private individuals and
 consequently interpret their consciousness as social and 'naturalized'.
 (Further reading: G. Taylor 'Hermeneutics and politics' in P. Connor (ed)
 (1970) Critical Sociology, Penguin, K-O Apel (1972) 'Communication and the
 foundations of the humanities' in Acta Sociologica, 15, pp. 7-27; A. Giddens
 (1976) 'New Rules of Sociological Method', Hutchinson; E. Gellner 'Concepts and
 society' in B.R. Wilson (ed) (1970) Nationality, Blackwell, Oxford; B. Smart
 (1976) 'Sociology, Phenomenology and Marxian Analysis', Routledge Kegan Paul;
 B. Ray 'Social Theory and Political Practice', George Allen and Unwin)

3. From interpretive to critical social science

We can accept that understanding constitutive meanings in society is
 essential for discovering what is the nature of particular practices and in-
 stitutions, and in this respect it is compatible with the realist concern
 with description in science. But there is much more to social science than
 this and in any case numerous qualifications need to be made about constitut-
 ive meanings. Understanding the latter might help tell us what human actions
 were, but not why they occurred and why in particular amounts, times and places.
 They also tell us very little about social structure and material production,
 that is, our interaction with nature. Moreover it should always be remembered
 that although constitutive meanings are intersubjectively established, the con-
 ditions under which this takes place ordinarily involve an imbalance of power
 rather than one of consensus. In particular in the case of constitutive rules,
 such as the law, they cannot be disregarded without risking punishment of some

kind, and their imposition typically defends particular power structures.

One of the most important insights of a critical social science such as marxism is that it recognizes the interaction between the social and the natural worlds in a way which takes into account their fundamental differences. In particular, whereas nature's laws cannot be disobeyed and nature can only be controlled by obeying and manipulating its laws, social laws can be disobeyed by changing the practices which produce them. However it is the interlocking of relations between people and relations with nature in the sphere of production (in which we manipulate and work upon nature in order to produce our means of life) which makes it so difficult in practice to disobey social laws and change society. If you try to break out of existing structures of social relations it is hard to avoid endangering your means of subsistence because the existing social relations of production are generally the only available means of obeying the natural laws which must be obeyed if you are to survive. Ownership is a purely social category and yet your interaction with nature depends crucially upon whether or not you have ownership and control of the means of production. In pre-revolutionary Cuba, the sugar plantations included vast acreages of good but unused land, while large numbers of peasants had to live on inferior mountainous land which was inadequate to support them. This had the effect of forcing them to sell their labour power very cheaply to the plantation owners at harvest time. The owners would not have had an adequate source of cheap labour if the peasants had been able to take over the unused land. In other words the peasants were forced to obey a mutable social law because to do otherwise would have involved them in trying to disobey an unchangeable natural law in trying to live without adequate subsistence. A critical social science should therefore show and distinguish between social and natural origins of social problems in such a way that their supersession becomes possible.

Many philosophers have agreed that there is no point in science as a special activity unless it goes beyond and questions commonsense but the implications of this for social science have rarely been acknowledged. If all science must involve criticism of ideas and if ideas in the social world are inscribed in practice (including the practice of science) as we have argued, then social science must be critical of its object of study - society. This conclusion would probably be considered outrageous by many in that it happily admits discussions about values into social science, but to try and avoid this is to use an inconsistent and partial concept of critical rationality. In science we choose between 'good' and 'bad' arguments between 'worthwhile' and 'trivial' investigations, but these are not just arguments about the social world, outside because science itself is an activity in society. A science without evaluative content is impossible and since both science and pre-scientific, commonsense ideas are constitutive of social practices, a social science cannot avoid evaluating and criticizing society itself. Therefore the decision to adopt a critical, marxist approach need not be treated simply as an arbitrary one based upon 'personal beliefs', but can be defended quite logically.

(Further reading: B. Fay (op.cit.); M. Horkheimer, 'Traditional and Critical Theory', in P. Conneron (op.cit.); Keat and Urry (op.cit.); T.W. Adorno et al (1975) 'The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology', Heineemann, d. Habermas (1972)

Copies of this notice were taped on the inside of each of the toilets at Ramsey Hall, University of London, during the British Council's Welcome Programme for newly arrived Commonwealth Scholars. It was removed the morning the students dispersed. (We kid you not.)

1. The toilets are for sitting and not standing.
2. Men should keep the black seat upward when urinating.
3. Used paper should be put inside the toilet and nowhere else.
4. Toilets should be flushed every time they are used.
5. Body washing should be done in the bathrooms provided and NOT in the toilets.
6. They should be left absolutely clean and dry for the next person. If necessary use the brush provided to clean the pan and paper to clean the seat.

PLEASE NOTE

THE BRITISH COUNCIL'S BURDEN (circa 1978) ?

We have no articles on Third World Development as such in this issue. However, we are able to publish a world exclusive on

* * * * *

Andrew Sayer
School of Social Sciences,
University of Sussex,
Falmer, BRIGHTON.
BN1 9QJ U.K.

Many of the points outlined in this paper have rarely been employed by marxists, but since they can be used to give marxism a sounder defence and foundation, they are well worth further exploration, especially in a subject area like geography which has only recently encountered marxism.

Knowledge and Human Interests, Heinemann).

BOOK REVIEWS

Belinda Probert, *Beyond Orange and Green: The Political Economy of the Northern Ireland Crisis* (1978, London: Zed Press, £2.95)

Perhaps one of the major weaknesses in recent left-wing publications on Ireland has been the lack of a systematic and rigorous (Marxist) historical analysis. This, in turn, has led to the adoption of confusing and contradictory positions and strategies, especially since 1966-68 when "Ulster" became popular on the left. It is in this context that the publication of Belinda Probert's book, *Beyond Orange and Green: The Political Economy of the Northern Ireland Crisis*, is to be welcomed, particularly as an introductory and useful summary. The book seeks to situate the present conflict in Northern Ireland within the logic of capitalist development and its uneven and contradictory impact. Probert succeeds in large measure, and as such her book deserves to be read by all socialists who seek an understanding of the present situation. Consequently, I will limit my comments to isolating the major framework of the book and to some critical points.

Probert views partition in 1921 as the inevitable outcome of the logic of capitalist development in Ireland. The North-West had, by 1850, embraced industrial capitalism and had become fully integrated into the British industrial economy, while the South and West remained largely agrarian, dominated by commercial farming and possessing little large-scale industry. The North contained an industrial capitalist class, a proletariat and its economy was highly urbanised; its future clearly rested in integration with Britain. On the other hand the South had over 35-40% of its population directly dependent on agriculture, its industries could not compete with those of England and its industrial class sought Home Rule and protectionism as a basic prerequisite for independent capitalist development. Furthermore, Northern Ireland had developed a strong Protestant Unionist ideology while the South was largely Catholic and Nationalist. In such a situation the North chose

loyalty to Britain... not simply because it was subjected ideologically or militarily to British imperialism, but rather because all social classes, including the proletariat, had some interest in remaining within the United Kingdom. (p.45).

The analysis is developed further by examining the early policies of both Northern and Southern governments since 1921; the South attempting to create a centre for independent capitalist development and the North maintaining the hegemony of Unionism through discrimination, chentilism and, of course, the Orange Order. The conjuncture of the present crisis is located in the failure of both ruling classes to assert the dominance of local capital in the face of the growth and penetration of monopoly capital and the increasingly "backwater" status of both areas in an expanded European Economic Community. In the South this has necessitated the abandonment of small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie (so often the base of republicanism), while in the North it has necessitated reforms dictated by local opposition to Unionist hegemony, the requirements of monopoly capital and Parliamentary pressure from Westminster. From this situation has emerged all the differing groups and factions advocating radically different solutions. However useful and challenging Probert's book is (and it does challenge many long held myths), nevertheless it does exhibit some important weaknesses.

Firstly the book lacks a systematic analysis of the roots of uneven development, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The restrictive legislation enacted against Irish trade, agriculture and industry from 1660 is not analysed from the position of mercantilism as a strategy for furthering its aims, especially in England. Probert mentions "jealousy" on the part of English merchants, yet this is hardly sufficient and needs to be integrated with an understanding of British Absolutism and its actions in Ireland. The policies of land confiscation and settlement, the extraction of capital and raw materials and the continued pauperisation of the peasantry are not adequately outlined. Obviously the restrictions of space and time hindered such an approach although this weakness is exhibited in most recent work and consequently severely limits our understanding of and ability to challenge bourgeois and nationalist interpretations.

Secondly, the analysis of the South and of the evolution of the republican tradition is limited. Although Probert announces in the introduction that such an extended approach to these topics is beyond the scope of the work, it weakens her analysis of the influence of class alignments in the South and their impact on the North. Likewise it limits her approach to the I.R.A. and its split in 1969 over gradualism and physical force and the strenuous efforts of some republicans to integrate their traditions with those of socialism. Given the more recent analyses and strategies of groups such as Official Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the newly-formed Socialist Labour Party (all three are all-Ireland parties), a thorough analysis and critique of the republican tradition and of class alignments in the South is vital to the formulation of strategy in all of Ireland.

In conclusion, Probert's book provides a useful introduction to the present situation and is particularly strong on the period from 1880 to 1945. Along with Peter Gibbon's book, The Origins of Ulster Unionism (Manchester University Press, 1975), Probert's work represents an important break with traditional radical or nationalist interpretations and goes some way towards providing some groundwork for a thoroughly Marxist approach. The weaknesses of the book are those which face the left with regard to the Irish question in general, weaknesses which will hopefully be subjected to thorough scrutiny in the near future.

- Colm Regan
St. Patrick's College
Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

Capital and Land is a major contribution towards formulating a general approach to the study of private landownership in a capitalist social formation through providing a framework for analysts. It is an outstanding demonstration of Marxist analysis, particularly in its treatment of the relation between theoretical and empirical analysis and their political implications. Having demonstrated, descriptively, a series of different and specific 'land problems', a theoretical framework is developed. A Marxist approach allows private landownership to be placed within the structure of production and distribution, emphasising the basis of this system in social relations and stressing historical context. It is argued that rent, specifically, is not functionally necessary to capitalist social formations; but, land being a non-reproducible, necessary condition of production, any form of private landownership will affect both the distribution and the production of the total surplus and hence affect capital accumulation. The structural position of rent in relation to the production of surplus value produces contradictory relations with other parts of capital whose nature depends on the precise forms of capitalist landownership. Apparently simple theoretical categories such as rent have very precise and different meanings in different historical situations which must be established by empirical investigation.

Having presented basic descriptive data on rent and land-ownership the authors differentiate three main forms of ownership on the basis of the particular relations of landownership involved and its role within the overall structure of the social formation. 'Former Landed Property' (church, state, landed aristocracy, landed gentry) is ownership which has adapted to the conditions of the capitalist mode of production; 'Industrial Landownership' (agricultural owner-farmers, manufacturing industry) owns land as a condition of production; 'Financial Landownership' (financial institutions, property companies) operates completely within capitalist terms, land being simply another possible sector in which to invest. The three forms are analysed in detail at the empirical (not non-theoretical) level in successive chapters, stressing their historical development, specificity, and significance in a structural sense to the system of production and distribution. Finally, the forms of contradiction between

Finally the authors argue that land nationalisation should be favoured but argue that this does not represent a technical solution nor an aim in itself, but that it is a real arena for class struggle. It should be fought for in the knowledge that its primary effect will not be to end the struggle over land and related issues, but to change the conditions of that struggle - thus policies on rents or spatial allocation would be the outcome of particular conditions of political class struggle. The 'land problem', though changed in form, would still result from the continuing problem of systems of landownership within a capitalist social formation.

A major conclusion of the book is that no distinct fraction of the bourgeoisie based on private landownership and having the strength and/or coherence to change the terms of the class struggle can be distinguished. Rent as a form of surplus value and land as a form of capital are inadequate bases for designating a coherent fraction; this is evidenced by the different places in the overall structure of production and distribution occupied by different groups of landowners (demonstrated by the differentiation of the three main forms at the empirical level), and the different ideologies and political struggles with which these forms are associated.

private landownership and the accumulation of capital are analysed using the three forms of ownership, and the political level examined by focussing, specifically, on the Community Land and Development Tax Acts and their potential impact on the different forms of ownership. It is argued that the different forms of ownership produce distinct contradictions for capital accumulation in terms of their nature, timing, and location within the economic structure, and that it is financial institutions' ownership which currently poses the most crucial problems.

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The Radical Historians' Organization

Department of History
John Jay College

445 West 59th Street
New York, New York 10019

The Boston Editorial Collective of the Radical History Review is preparing a thematic issue on the POLITICS OF SPACE for the Fall of 1979. We would like to encourage you to reflect on this theme as it relates to your own work and to consider working with us on the issue--writing an article or review, or reading manuscripts. The deadline for submitting material is February 1979.

We employ the concept of "space" to include and directly relate two prevalent spatial perspectives: the "political economy of space" and the "spatial sphere of social interaction." The former is essentially geographic; the latter, subjective or interpersonal. A third mode of spatial thinking is visual and architectural. At the center of all three stands the problem of the spatial experience and spatial representation of social power. In academic circles, the concepts have been too often separated so that geographers analyze patterns and functions of aggregate spatial order; other social theorists confine themselves to such psychological dimensions of space as private-and-public or sacred-and-profane; and architectural historians focus primarily on the aesthetics of form. However, we cannot understand the social relations of the city by simply viewing it as the sum of the efficient location of economic activity or by its demography; we cannot understand the family or the experience of the market as transactions abstracted from a specific physical setting; and we cannot interpret the design of buildings apart from their use. Ultimately, we cannot understand social relations apart from the material and built environment.

In working toward a fresh spatial perspective on political interaction, we find it useful to think of space not as an abstract or objective category, but as a social activity (an activity which always takes place in a specific setting). The process of appropriation, domination, reciprocity and resistance makes the shaping of space a preeminently political activity. Our task is to analyze how this shaping process has occurred historically and how it takes place today.

In the issue on the POLITICS OF SPACE we are focusing on specific spatial spheres--the workplace, the market, streets, housing and the family and household, neighborhoods, subunits--as well as on forms of spatial action--the appropriation of private property, the social allocation and control of public and private spaces, city-county transactions, and the mediation of space through movement. We also raise the problem of "alternative" organizations of space.

In order to expand our own space for thinking about these problems, we are encouraging many short articles (10-15 pp.) which by reflecting on a variety of topics from a variety of spatial perspectives allow us to explore the relations among different spheres as well as within them. We begin by encouraging you to think visually about the spatial order and experience which inform your own area of historical investigation.

If you have any questions or ideas about the POLITICS OF SPACE, contact Betsy Blackmar, Jean-Christophe Agnew, or Joe Interante care of the above address. If you have a specific manuscript idea in mind, please send us a one-page prospectus of it. We look forward to hearing from and working with you.

TELL YOUR FRIENDS

Peter L. Owens and Richard House,
School of Environmental Sciences,
University of East Anglia,
Norwich NR4 7TJ,
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and Richard House. Publication by Geo Abstracts, 1978/1979.

ANNOTATED
RADICAL GEOGRAPHY: AN INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. Peter L. Owens

RADICAL GEOGRAPHY

HOW TO JOIN THE USG - BRITISH ISLES SECTION

The British Isles branch of the U.S.G. was set up in Hull, January 1978.

It adopted the aims of the parent body, which are as follows: "The purpose of

the 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; by organising and

working for radical change in our communities and by developing geographical

theory to contribute to revolutionary change. Thus we subscribe to the principle

from each according to ability, to each according to need. We declare that the

development of a humane, non-alienating society requires, as its most

fundamental step, socialisation of the ownership of production." The branch

holds its first A.G.M. and discussion sessions alongside the forthcoming I.B.G.

conference in Manchester and will escalate its activities during 1979. This is

the first Newsletter from it and membership entitles you to all the Newsletters

produced during the year by the full U.S.G.

Correspondence and information are welcome and should be addressed to:

Martin Brennan, King Alfred's College, Winchester. Complete the form below if

you wish to join us. The subscription for 1978 is: £2, students-£1,

unemployed and marginalised-50p and should be sent to Ian Cook, Department of

Social Studies, Liverpool Polytechnic, Walton House, Tithebarn Street, Liverpool.

Please make cheques or p.o.'s payable to the Union of Socialist Geographers. This

covers the 4 1978 newsletters. Rates for 1979 will be reviewed at the AGM.

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General Field of Interest:
Current Research/Special Interests:

(not essential)

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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 May each year.

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

Eric Shepard
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
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Canada V5A 1S6

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

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