

U.S.G.

NEWSLETTER

Union of Socialist Geographers

SUMMER 1976

Double Issue

VOL.1 NOS.4 & 5

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The following people's names should be added to those who have helped produce the U.S.G. Newsletter from Simon Fraser University: Valory Drostle, Ronald Horvath, Paul Jacobs, Jim Little, Suzanne Mackenzie.

The advertisement for teachers in Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) on applies to people from Europe. There has been such a large number of applicants, that North Americans are no longer being considered. (see page 35)

In honor of the bicentennial in the United States of America, we have placed 76 spelling and typographical errors throughout the newsletter. The first person to correctly identify all 76, wins an autographed picture of Jerry Ford bumping into a peanut butter.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

This double issue constitutes the completion of Volume I of the USG Newsletter. It is also the last that will be edited by the Vancouver Local for some time. Future issues will be edited by locals at;

Johns Hopkins(Carolyn Hock & Lotta Catterjee)
 Univ of Cal; Berkeley(Dick Walker)
 Univ of Sidney(Ron Horvath)

Some of the production work will still be done by the Vancouver Local. Please write to the USG at the Dept of Geography at Simon Fraser if you would be interested in editing an issue. Hopefully by rotating the editing we will be able to gain a wider variety of views and gather news items from more places.

The USG Newsletter is very much an experimental medium. Over the year we have attempted to provide as much news and bibliographic material as possible. In addition we have included a series of articles on the Theory of Circulation which contains extensive quotations from the various works of Karl Marx. Our intesion has been to make the Newsletter a working document. We are especially committed to making references available for members who are isolated from places of high socialist geographic concentration.

At the Annual Meeting there was some question raised concerning the relationship between the Newsletter and Antipode. Antipode is a "Journal of Radical Geography". As such it differs from the Newsletter of the Union of Socialist Geographers in two important ways. First, Antipode contains many articles reflecting a variety of 'radical' political perspectives whereas the Newsletter is explicitly for socialist geography. Secon, although the Newsletter has contained on substatial work, it is basically a space for shorter articles. Many of us who have worked on the Newsletter have also written for Antipode. We see the two publications as complimentary. Especially with the increasingly excellent socialist content that has appeared in recent issues of Antipode.

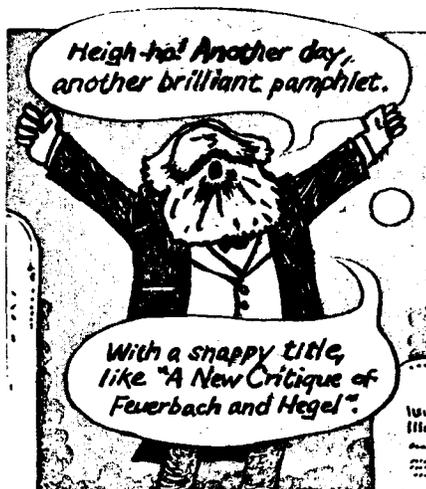
Featured in this issue are: 1. bibliography on women and society by Lee Seymour and Carolyn Hock; 2. gay liberation by Elan Rosenquist; 3. a translation of work by Manuel Castells by Ester Soler; 4. a summary of a thesis on underdevelopment in Kenya by Ben Wisener.

We would like to thank Bob Arnold, Bill Bunge, Ron Horvath and Susan Williams for sending us news from the hinterlands. We need more articles and letters of criticism if we are to make the Newsletter a tool for expanding the Union of Socialist Geographers. WE ALSO NEED YOUR DUES - \$5.00 per year.

We thank all those people that contributed to the production of this issue. The people in the Vancouver Local that have hepled produce the Newsletter over the past year are; Nancy Butler, Bernard Curtin, Nathan Edelson, Michael Eliot Hurst, Bob Galois, Alan Mabin, Manfred Malzahn, Jim Overton, Colm Regan, Elan Rosenquist, Lee Seymour, Alan Wallace, Susan Williams.

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MINUTES OF THE U.S.G. MEETINGS

NEW YORK, APRIL 11-13, 1976

A. SUNDAY, April 11. USG general meeting.

1. Motion for AAG business meeting

David Harvey and Dick Peet presented a motion intended for the AAG business meeting. The intent was to point out that the AAG has, by votes of members, refused to condemn Pinochet as well as CIA geographers, and that it would therefore appear that the AAG is in favour of the repression of liberation movements throughout the world. Harvey asked for comments on the proposed motion. The point was made that both resolutions mentioned were passed at AAG business meetings and subsequently rejected by the membership's postal ballot for which a substantial 'no' vote may have been organised. Only 10 to 15 % of the membership votes in mail ballots, thus the defeats might not represent members' sentiments, and the motion might alienate people. Some people thought the wording should be more mild. It was suggested that the motion had a 'black sheep' feeling, that it should have a less negative flavour, that it should attempt to argue in more liberal rather than strictly radical terms. Others were strongly in favour of the tone of the motion, saying that the antagonising of AAG members was a minor issue; that 'drastic' wording would heighten the contradiction between principles and actions of the AAG membership.

(When presented to the AAG, the motion was ruled 'out of order' by a 'parliamentary expert', providing a rare opportunity for sarcastic applause from the gallery.)

2. Message from Ben Wisner

Roger Hart and Jim Blaut introduced a message from Ben Wisner. He has contacts with the Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) governments. Both countries want secondary school geography teachers (see item elsewhere in this Newsletter). Wisner is 'returning to Africa' but meanwhile is working at getting the USG going more strongly in England, along with James Anderson and others. (Wisner's dissertation is summarised in this Newsletter too.)

3. Women's group in Vancouver

Lee Seymour reported on a women's group in Vancouver which has been meeting since January to discuss radical and socialist feminism and women in history. Topics have included the contemporary feminist movements, anthropology of women, women in the middle ages and under capitalism, capitalism and personal life. Readings include works by Juliet Mitchell, F. Engels, Eli Zaretsky and Mary Beard. Lee asked for suggestions of study material, and discussed the use of the Newsletter for circulation of bibliographies on women (see this issue).

4. Newsletter

Vancouver local apologized for the unavoidable delay in the printing the last Newsletter. An appeal was made for contributions as these have been few. Two proposals were made for future operation:

- (a) SFU people could compile and print one more issue, then hand it over another group for the next year;
- (b) SFU could continue final preparation and printing for another year, while responsibility for issue compilation would fall to different groups.

The second proposal was favoured by consensus. Each issue would be compiled by the people responsible, then sent to SFU for printing and distribution. It was noted that each issue would contain much local content, supplemented by contributions from elsewhere.

- Schedule of issues:
1. SFU - Vancouver local (this issue)
 2. Johns Hopkins - Lata Chatterjee and Carolyn Hock
 3. McGill - this will now be a pre-conference issue prepared by Manfred Malzahn and Colm Regan.
 4. London - hopefully; dependant on contacts made by Harvey and Regan this summer and fall.

5. Organisation of USG

It was mentioned that this AGM had for various reasons not come off right, and it was felt that we should prevent this happening in the future. Reference was made to the lack of follow-up to decisions made a year ago regarding the content of this AGM. It had been expected by some that we were to have had a format similar to last year's (with internal sessions on various topics arranged by the organisers). We were also going to use the format of the AAG meetings to present papers etc. Part of the failure to do this was seen to be lack of communication.

Many people stressed the need for better structure. Several suggested we develop a structure which will encourage people to accept the USG as high priority; including a central committee for whom the USG is very important. Most people agreed on the suggestion of a coordinating committee, but there was dissenting opinion to the effect that we should have more activities before developing more structure.

Discussion moved to a breakdown of existing activities and functions of the USG: newsletter, finances, communication, recruitment, correspondence, annual meetings. A motion was then made to elect a five person-co-ordinating committee of treasurer, general (corresponding) secretary, AGM organiser, and two members at large. The motion was passed after some debate had clarified these roles.

Treasurer: responsible for dues, bank account, other financial matters. Should be someone at SFU since money goes largely to newsletter at present.

General (corresponding) secretary: Should be one person for the whole year. Should handle all new correspondence, including international. Should also function as communications link within USG. Informational function. An issue of debate was whether this position should be filled by someone who has played a leadership role in the past and is known to be dependable and consistent. The counter argument for someone new was based on the need for decentralisation and the spreading of responsibility, however difficult this might be.

AGM organiser: the problem in discussion was that it was not known at the time where the AGM would be or who could get there. It was agreed that the AGM should be associated with the AAG or with the CAG if location is reasonable, preferably CAG because few will go to AAG at Salt Lake. One person noted that the overall organisation of the AGM rather than the specifically local arrangements was the major problem.

Members at large: functions not clearly defined beyond designating them to help secretary and AGM organiser. It will be up to the five people to make use of one another this year.

The results of the nominations and voting which followed were:

Treasurer - Alan Mabin (SFU) by acclamation

General secretary - Paul Susman (Clark) of 2 nominees

AGM organiser - Colm Regan (McGill) by acclamation,
if he agreed (he has, subsequently)

Members at large - Carolyn Hock (Johns Hopkins) and Dick
Hansis (Valparaiso, Indiana) of 4 nominated

It was suggested that people from outside North America be included to encourage international expansion. It was agreed that for the next year the committee needed to concentrate on improving communication in North America, but that others in Europe etc. could form parallel organisation if it seemed practical. This point was speculative and was not discussed at length.

6. Discussion of program for following three days at AAG meetings

There was discussion of the workshop on Marxian perspectives in geography. Since the material had not been received by participants, it was felt that the discussion would have to be introductory. It was decided to set up small working groups after the first session to meet for informal discussion among participants and USG members on topics suggested by these people. People volunteered to do the following: Geography of women, women's relationship to mode of production; accumulation; alienation and human nature in geography; colonialism, feudalism and the asiatic mode of production.

There followed some discussion of 'target sessions' which USG members would attend and participate in.

7. Newsletter content.

There was a request for more course outlines in socialist geography (those who have them please send). Some felt that long finished articles should not be in the newsletter, these should go to Antipode. The Newsletter should have short essays and book reviews. Others thought the difference between the two was less one of form than one of function: the USG Newsletter is specifically socialist. Thus some formal essays are more appropriately placed in the Newsletter (such as Curtin's essays on circulation). The editor of Antipode finds no conflict with the newsletter and sees nothing wrong with essays appearing in the latter. Someone asked if we should not have a more official tie between Antipode and the USG. Consensus was that we have made progress in developing an unofficial tie and that this would suffice for the present.

One worry was that the Newsletter might become too elegant, thereby discouraging people from contributing speculative, mundane or newsy items. We were reminded that the content and form of the Newsletter to date has been largely determined by the lack of contributions from members outside Vancouver, be it elegant or not. It would function better as a newsletter if people contributed to it.

8. Miscellaneous announcements

Mickey Lauria and Brian Higgins of Minnesota reported on the USG local starting there. People are interested in development geography, social conflict, human-environment issues. Informal seminars have begun. Some faculty members are receptive. Lauria argued strongly for the decentralisation of USG structure.

Steve Schwartz reported on his activities in New York. He is neither an academic geographer nor a USG member but is interested and asked for feedback. He works with people who have escaped the tyranny of landlords and Housing Authority and are squatting or homesteading in abandoned areas, working towards community control. His address is 1 Crosby Street, Lower East Side, New York, N.Y. .

The Vancouver local asked to have more announcements of this type sent to them for the Newsletter - these would make people more positive about the USG as a whole and would promote communication.

B. MONDAY AFTERNOON, April 12. General meeting continued.

9. Comments on Minicourse/Workshop

Repeating the course next year would be a mistake if we don't improve organisation. More time was needed for questions. The amount of material presented demanded more time for mere presentation. Purpose of minicourse is to introduce people to the subject, it should remain so; the discussion of advanced topics among members should remain separate. Breaking into small groups after workshop was successful and should be repeated (general agreement). Workshops need written outline as well as bibliography linking concepts to parts of the Marxist literature. As well as bibliographies, the work being done by socialist geographers needs to be made known. We should emphasise

the revolutionary content of Marxist theory. This did not come out strongly and the audience may have been asking questions along this line. We are undoubtedly going to differ in strategy, but it is important to deal with 'new' ideas and give critiques of 'old' ideas.

10. Next year's meetings

Several suggestions were made. Summary of areas of agreement: Possibly a good idea to have something like poster sessions and other ideas the organiser might think of. (*) Beyond this:

(a) Apparently no-one objects to a repeat of a minicourse. The necessary change would be: have more time for discussion, get reading material out early, make more direct references to geography. Continue directing this type of presentation to new people.

(b) Some paper sessions. AGM organiser should call for papers (via newsletter) and if these are forthcoming, sessions can go on. This type of session, whether independently organised or integrated into the AAG/CAG meetings depends on members contributions.

(c) Advanced or internal discussion sessions. The AGM organiser might make suggestions for topics. Internal discussion should take place each day for a few hours. Could include thesis proposals. Sessions should follow on or develop from one to the next, or explore topics insufficiently examined in previous discussions.

(d) A business meeting.

Whereas (c) and (d) have usually occurred elsewhere, perhaps they should be held at the location of the larger (?) conference. It might be a good idea to leave some open periods. Some felt that a good program for 2 days (minicourse day 1, discussion day 2) was preferable to an unrealistic three day thinly spread effort.

(*) "A poster session is where people pin information on papers to a board and discussion happens." - anon.

It was decided that several people would meet the following morning draw up an outline for next year based on the above discussion. This would be discussed in the afternoon.

C. TUESDAY AFTERNOON, April 13. USG general meeting continued.

11. Discussion of AGM for 1977

Again some expressed the fear that we may be setting too ambitious a task. There might not be enough people to do the organising. We should expect the possibility of having to scale down the project.

It was estimated that about 30 USG people would be at the CAG or AAG. Commitments would be needed very soon for papers and for people to help organise sessions.

12. Outline for 1977 AGM

This proposal was agreed on and sent to AGM organiser.

(a) Minicourse session primarily concerned with introducing socialist perspectives to geographers who have minimal understanding of socialist writers. Primarily educational along lines of 1976 while incorporating improvements. Michael Eliot Hurst of SFU has volunteered to organise this session.

(b) Paper sessions will be part of the regular AAG or CAG program. There will be approximately 3 to 4 papers per session. Time allotted for questions and extended discussion. Sessions will take place only if members take responsibility for organising and for contributing papers (which means members should communicate with one another and submit sessions to the AAG or CAG as is appropriate). Dick Walker will organise a session on 'Socialist Perspectives in Geography'. Dick Peet will organise a session on anarchism if the location is accessible to him. It may be possible to do one USG session, one Antipode session, or several sessions on specific topics. IT WAS DECIDED THAT PAPER DEADLINES WOULD BE SIX MONTHS IN ADVANCE.

(c) USG internal discussion sessions. These will be designed primarily for internal discussion rather than for introductory purposes. We could draw up agendas at beginning of sessions or have some sessions with topics decided beforehand, and some open to discussion at the time.

(d) General meeting - for business purposes - hopefully more structured than this year's.

Schedule example: Sunday - all day USG internal meeting, business and internal discussion
 Monday - a.m. - minicourse
 1.30-3 paper session (Dick Walker)
 3.30-5 USG internal seminar
 Tuesday - Antipode paper session, other paper session(s), other internal discussions

13. Short discussion on general topics of interest.

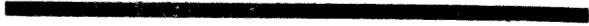
After a long discussion of what we should discuss, we only had time to discuss one of the topics suggested. Perhaps this indicates that topics for USG internal sessions should largely be decided beforehand or at least that we should try to be more cooperative and decisive. People wanted to deal with three things: role of electoral politics in the capitalist state; social democracy; women and family structure; colonialism, wider conceptions of socialism.

Notes on the discussion on women and family structure:
 Marxism analyses wage labour and capitalism primarily; women and children don't have the same kind of wage labour attachment as do men. What is revolution for women, why should they fight for it?
 Governments realise that women are a revolutionary force, many are trying to channel women's energies, making concessions to equality. Marxian analysis has not yet extended far enough - to personal life and unpaid labour. This is not only in reference to women but also to people involved in informal economies functioning within the capitalist framework. It should be remembered that in situations where only the male is working the wage appears to go to the male labourer but is actually going to the family. The capitalist is paying the housewife for her work in reproducing labour power. The housewife is paid for home labour time. It is a family wage, by economic necessity.

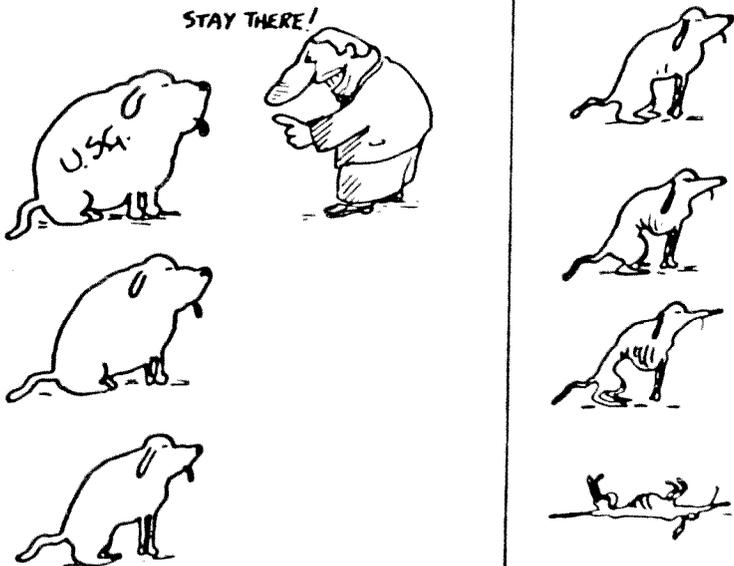
A FINAL NOTE TO THE MINUTES

These minutes have been prepared almost by chance, since few people were interested in the laborious task of recording what was being said at the New York meetings. If we don't have an organised minute taking structure next year there may be no record at all.

----(ed. note: The editors would like to thank Susan Williams, a former member of the Vancouver Local who will be attending Pennsylvania State University, for taking such extensive and excellent notes during the USG annual meetings.)



A system isolated from its environment and hence unable to exchange energy or matter with it - a closed system - has an initial energy supply, but once this is consumed, degredation must inevitably set in. The second law of thermodynamics then applies: in a closed system, as available energy is consumed, entropy increases to a maximum at which point the system dies. (Brian Berry)



*WE NEED:
new members
contributions
dues for 1976-7 (\$5)*

SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVES AT THE C.A.G.

Quebec City, May 1976.

Socialist activities centred mainly on three sessions, two of which were organised by the Vancouver local of the USG and one by Rodolphe de Koninck of Universite Laval. The titles of the sessions were: 1) The Geography of Women: a Socialist Perspective, 2) Space, Class and Dominance: The Canadian Experience and, 3) Dialectical Materialism and Geography.

The session on The Geography of Women examined various aspects of women's oppression from a Marxist perspective. The following papers were presented:

Migration, Race, Sex and Class: A Review Article. - Lee Seymour.
 Women's Place-Women's Space: The View of the City From the Point of Reproduction. - Suzanne MacKenzie.
 Farm Women: Place and Institution in the Rural Landscape. - Alison Hayford.

Unfortunately, the session was not well attended by men or women. Apparently, many people were alienated, apparently, because we started with a socialist premise rather than with a demonstration that such a perspective was necessary or useful in considering the question of women's oppression. Also, the fact that we were women and socialists resulted, we suspect, in many people not taking us seriously. The papers generated comments such as: 'What's the point of doing all this when we all know that legislation is providing the basis for equality?' The classic comment was that, 'You are merely preaching to the converted. What we want are solutions.' Stanley Ryerson (Canadian Marxist historian) replied to this by saying, 'But in my experience the converted always seem to have the most to learn. I have certainly learned a lot.' Ryerson also thought it a pity that the session wasn't translated into French because he believed that the Quebecois perspective on the topic would be different and interesting. The situation seems to be the same in other disciplines, even in those, like History, where the study of women in history is reasonably well established and respected. At a recent History conference the following conversation was overheard: First male professor, 'Womens' history is becoming really important now.' Second male professor, 'Yes, so important that men should get into teaching it.' Women's success or the success of women studying women in all disciplines is still defined by men, on their terms and according to their criteria. In Geography in particular, the study of women by women is still treated as a joke. The more 'enlightened' members of the profession do listen to us but then criticize us for preaching to the converted. Being socialists only allows us to be dismissed more readily.

In the second session, the Marxist theory of imperialism was used to interpret various aspects of the Canadian economy. The session was introduced and concluded by Alan Mabin and the following papers were presented:

Space, Class and Dominance: Some Critical Comments - Colm Regan
 The Metropolis-Hinterland Thesis in Canada - Manfred Malzahn
 Merchant Capital and Backwardness: The Case of Newfoundland - Jim Overton.
 Investment, Control and Ownership Patterns in the British Columbia Resource Hinterland - John Bradbury.

This session was well attended but did not generate a great deal of discussion. Those comments which were received, however, were generally favourable. The lack of response seems to be one of the main problems associated with presenting sessions such as this and it makes it difficult to know exactly how to organize and present the ideas. In this case, a great deal had to be assumed in terms of the audience's acquaintance with basic Marxist concepts and this probably resulted in the arguments being missed, or at best partially grasped, by some people. However, an attempt had been made to get around this problem by using empirical examples and by having integrated presentations which explored a common theme and which used a common theoretical framework. This approach, however, apparently upset some people. 'The trouble with these Marxists is that they all sound the same. Can't they think for themselves?' It sounded very much like the comparisons made between the Canadian and Soviet hockey teams: the one full of individual 'star' players; the other 'moving like a machine'. An encouraging aspect was that we were able to sell 30 copies of the 'Imperialism' package which was put together by the Vancouver local for the AAG conference in New York.

The third session included the following papers:

L'Agriculture dans la Phase du Capitalisme Monopoliste d'Etat. - Monique Piot.

L'Etat et l'Amenagement: Orleans, une ile a vendre. - Marc Dion et R. de Koninck.

La Rente Differentielle et le Developpement Social. - Marc Dion.

Culture, Ideologie et Espace: Notes sur une recherche. - R. de Koninck et Raynald Levesque.

Quelques Outils Theoriques pour L'Analyse Materialiste de L'Espace. - Monique Piot.

This group of people and their friends were kind enough to help accomodate the USG members in Quebec.

U.S.G. CONFERENCE 1977: The Regina Meetings

This statement was written to elicit suggestions and comments regarding next year's U.S.G. conference. It is the result of discussions among ourselves, and with U.S.G. members attending the recent C.A.G. meetings. Neither of the organisers attended the 1976 USG meetings, and therefore we have no first-hand knowledge of people's ideas about the organisation of next year's meetings. However, the minutes as published in this newsletter were read and considered. The proposals presented here should not be regarded as final - on the contrary, we hope for feedback that will indicate the wishes of the U.S.G. On this basis, we suggest the following:

- The U.S.G. conference should be held over a 3-day period beginning immediately prior to the next C.A.G. conference.
- Two major aims should be pursued; discussions on the purpose and direction of the U.S.G. (what have we learned, what are we, now what?), and sessions with formal papers on selected topics.
- As many people as possible should present papers - hopefully all those attending could do so.

- To avoid a duplication of effort, people could participate in both the U.S.G. and C.A.G. meetings by writing two versions of the same paper - one for each of the two different audiences (thereby avoiding having to write on totally different topics). The emphasis, however, should be on the U.S.G. sessions, since our primary aim (for the next year, at least) should be to talk among ourselves.
- During the U.S.G. conference, informal meetings of people with specific common interests can be arranged, to be held during the C.A.G. conference at lunch hours, evenings, or other convenient times.
- Groups or individuals should organize individual sessions. This would involve a number of tasks; coordinating the activities of people writing papers for that particular session, collecting papers and having them reproduced, circulating copies to all participants in each session, maintaining contact with the conference organizers.
- The length of individual sessions would be determined by the number of papers involved, and interest they are likely to generate. The sessions could be divided into two categories; established topics of general interest, and topics that appear to be generating increasing interest.
- Possible topics; Historical Geog., Urban Geog., Women, Transportation, Poverty, Migration, Gay People, Ideology, Imperialism, Rural landscapes, The National Question, the transition of feudalism to capitalism and capitalism to socialism, Cultural resistance to imperialism, Art, literature music, The role of the state, A region (e.g. Appalachia, Canada, China, California, you name it), Race and class.
- Assuming that there is still sufficient interest in a mini-course this could go ahead as well. However, a final commitment must be made very soon by people wishing to organise such a course.

We need responses from EVERYONE, before the next newsletter is put together. Please indicate the following:

- whether or not you wish to write a paper, and on what topic.
- whether or not you are willing to coordinate a session and on what topic.
- ideas about the organization, purpose and planning of the conf..
- number of days, number and length of sessions.
- what topics should be covered.
- how to approach the discussion of the U.S.G.'s purpose and direction (position papers, criticism/self-criticism, or just let it happen).
- things we must not forget.
- whether or not we (the organizers) are completely on the wrong track at this time.

If we hear from only a few people, or even no people, we will have no choice but to proceed as our own judgement indicates. That might be unfortunate for all of us. Even if this proposal is agreeable, please tell us so.

A reminder - past experience indicates that everything takes twice as long as expected. PLEASE HURRY!!

Write to: Manfred Malzahn or Colm Regan Dept. of Geog., McGill University, P.O.Box 6070, Station A, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

NOTES ON GAY OPPRESSION

by Elan Rosenquist

On June 27th, one hundred thousand homosexual men and women marched in the streets of San Francisco. The event, in a city where politicians often recognize the gay vote as the determining factor in elections, went virtually unnoticed by the media. A few months earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court gave the states the right to discriminate against gay people. In Canada, where homosexuality is 'legal', gay men are beaten and arrested for holding hands, have little (if any) job security, can be deported, can be denied housing, etc., etc., etc. (1) Repression and oppression, capitalist society marches on.

A rapidly growing number of gays, having made the connection between sexual repression and capitalism, see socialism as the only possible solution. They have seen that oppression on the basis of sexuality cannot be resolved through bourgeois civil rights (as many 'radicals' would have it). They see socialist theory offer the possibility of human liberation, and see their revolutionary potential as gays. What they do not see is the practice of 'socialist' societies being in accord with the full ramifications of that theory.

Beginning with Stalin, the U.S.S.R. revoked its early position of "absolute non-interference of the state and society into homosexual matters, so long as nobody, and no one's interests are encroached upon". (2) Now, gay men in the U.S.S.R. are subject to imprisonment for 5 to 8 years, "disqualification from political office and even ordinary job promotion", automatic withdrawal of urban work permits, and are sent off "to work at a job in some far flung province, which could be up to 200 miles from the nearest city". (3) Gay women 'do not exist' in the Soviet Union. Queen Victoria's conception of women lacking any form of sexuality prevails here as well.

The Cuban example differs primarily in detail only. The "26th of July Movement had welcomed the participation of gay leftists and cultural figures" bringing many gays into the revolution. (4) After the revolution it was the same tired story. Concentration camps for homosexuals (Military Units to Increase Production) existed in the 60's. Machismo and homophobia were so deep rooted that men would not wear sandals, unless Fidel himself would first set an example for society. (5) Pressure from within Cuba, partly from gay people, and from the American left, resulted in the closure of these camps. But the situation barely improved. The official policy is to exclude homosexuals from any place that might influence the public, be it education or cultural activities. No legal statutes exist per se, but gay people are arrested on unrelated charges and questioned specifically on matters pertaining to being gay. It is unwise to know a homosexual - friends, supporters and families are harrassed.

The Chinese situation is almost unknown. Few visitors ask and the Chinese don't volunteer much information concerning sexual matters. Joshua Horn made the ridiculous claim that homosexuality does not exist, William Hinton stated there is "rather serious repression of gay people". (6) Though it seems to be undocumented, it is generally felt that the repression is so bad that castration of gay men during the Cultural Revolution and, now, life imprisonment, are plausible and probable. Such atrocities are by no means new. (7) But puritanical societies with great stress on the family unit, see homosexuality as a great threat. For such societies to act in contradiction with generally held humanitarian and libertarian values, is the norm, not the exception.

It is possible to go on indefinitely with a catalogue of gay oppression in capitalist and 'socialist' societies. It should be equally apparent that homosexuality can neither be legislated nor physically stamped out. It exists. The oppression that gay people are subject to is part of sexism. To combat sexism, we must look at all its aspects. Women are not its only victims, heterosexual men and gay people are also. The 'socialist' revolutions we have seen provide excellent examples of the failure to grasp, fully, the extent that sexism permeates every aspect of our lives. Many people on the left ask women and gay people to work for the revolution keeping their issues secondary (if that) to the 'whole'. We need look no further than Cuba for the results of that strategy.

Sexism and the struggle against it is both personal and collective, involving not only relations with the opposite sex, but those of the same sex, be they sexual or otherwise. To be socialized in Western society means to take on roles involving power relationships. The 'profound' male academic dominates with his endless 'wisdom'. The woman must play at that same male role to succeed. Neither learns. Others mystify or go to sleep. Equality at work is not alone an answer since the work itself is conducted in a manner in accord with sexist and bourgeois social form.

Homosexuality is denied in all but the brave few. How limited relationships must be when there are walls and castles that dare not be breached for fear of finding a human being lurking within. Homosexual acts are not requirements for ending sexism. But the fear of it, stamped into everyone, and the denial of it, must prevent all but superficial relationships. Our fear of each other is so deep rooted that we must question whether we can really be contemplating revolution without serious and intensive examination of our sexism. Can we communicate with each other at all?

One major contribution to human liberation through socialist revolution is already taking place in the West. We have much to learn from the existing models, but we have further to go. In that process we are beginning to see people examine sexism on not only its economic foundations but on a personal and collective level among all people, not of one sex alone. We are beginning to see that sexism stifles the full potential of each individual in the collective effort. Though it is hard, as socialists, we must grow as well. Or else we will make the same mistakes and cease to work for revolution.

FOOTNOTES:

1. In 1969 Trudeau took the Canadian government out of the bedroom (so long as it: has a minimum of 4 walls, contains no more than two people, age requirements are met - which are different for men and women, ad nauseum). Unenforcable laws were eliminated, no legal protection was given to gay people
2. From "The Early Homosexual Civil Rights Movement 1864 - 1935" by Lauritsen & Thorstad as cited in "Gay Left" No. 2, 1976.
3. 'Ah Lesbianka', "Gay Left" No. 2, 1976.
4. "The Body Politic" No. 19, July/August
5. See "The Youngest Revolution" by Elizabeth Sutherland, Dial Press, N.Y., 1969.
6. "The Lavender & Red Book", The Lavender & Red Union, L.A., 1975 pp. 38 - 40.
7. In Nazi Germany, gay people wore the symbol of the inverted pink triangle before being gassed by the thousands.

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Altman, Dennis "Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation",
Discus/Avon, New York, 1973. \$1.95

(This is about the best examination of the problem, though never quite gets around to defining socialism as the answer - Altman is from Dept of Gov't, U. of Sidney)

Jay, K. and Young, A. "Out of the Closets", Pyramid Books,
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(has become a classic)

Periodicals are numerous but very hard to get. Two of the best are:

"Gay Left" - only two issues so far, but is the best yet.
from 36A Craven Rd., London W2 40p/\$1.50 C.&U.S.

" 'Gay Left' has a twc fold aim. First, to contribute to a Marxist analysis of homosexual oppression: secondly, to encourage in the gay movement an understanding of the links between the struggle against sexual oppression and the struggle for socialism." - The Collective

"The Body Politic" - P.O.Box 7289, Station A, Toronto, Ontario
\$.50 Canadian \$.75 U.S.

More information is available upon request and more would be gratefully received.

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HABITALE

Habitat - Forum, Failure, or Fiasco
by Michael Eliot Hurst

The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements ('Habitat' for short) met in Vancouver in May/June 1976. One of a series of U.N. conferences dating back to Stockholm and its consideration of the 'environment', by way of Bucharest (population) and Rome (food), this the last of the series was to consider housing, water supply and sewage. The conference occurred in two parts. One was the official conference, the other was the Habitat Forum which was the place where non-official organisations and citizens could express their opinions. This organization, where the 'politicians' were confined to an eight block ghetto downtown and the public were co-opted to another site in the suburbs, was based on the Stockholm experience where the public had been seen as a little too demanding and potentially a little too radical. In some important ways the official conference was a success. Third World countries were able to introduce the politics of the 'new economic order' over the objections of those who wanted to keep politics out of the discussion of human settlements. The Forum, however, proved to be the largest international circus the world has ever known. Circus? Think of the images - Mother Teresa, fresh from holding the hordes back in Calcutta, addresses the capacity audience of the conference and appeals for our pennies in her make-shift collecting buckets; of the Vatican treasures and real estate holdings she makes no mention.

- Buckminster Fuller surrounded by his aura of a human scientific esoteria is interviewed on national Canadian television by none other than the Prime Minister's wife. Solutions are sought in a technocratic determinism and naive objectivism which supports the political status quo.

- Margaret Mead, instant anthropologist supreme, persues individualism, limited rights for women and an economic system very little different from that in North America today.

- Lady Jackson (Barbara Ward) rules over all like Gautama, severe, well off, and well funded by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

- And in a closing scene, as the circus tent folds, the Vancouver Tourist Bureau appears on the scene to bewail that there was only a \$16 million delegate rip-off instead of an expected \$20 million affair.

But behind the euphemistic declarations and more simple legerdemain (the open conspiracy that tries to keep the Third World in its place) were some hard facts: continued migration to the cities in three quarters of the world, settlement growth outstripping the logistics of shelter, water and food supplies, and sewer systems, etc.etc. But as a local newspaper commented, "Lets not let politics stand in the way of a good conference." The fact that the Third World is starving cannot be seen apparently for what it is - the results of a world economic system, capitalism, which perpetuates the wealth of the metropolis on the backs of the hinterland. The Third World has long given up coming to these conferences with reforms in mind. They are increasingly dissatisfied with patching up the existing system in

order to benefit us. Many of these countries are now engaged in dismantling that world economic system. Of course its no longer a polite process, and whether they are talking about human settlements or trade and development (as they were immediately before Habitat at a UN conference in Nairobi) they are bound to be political and there are bound to be more attempts to scuttle the boat. Hence the naivete of that local newspaper's appeal or the pathetic maneuvering of conference chairperson Barney Danson (also Canada's Minister of Urban Affairs). The Third World clout was well and strongly organised at the official Vancouver conference against all colonial attitudes.

The whole proceedings were conducted by an ex-U.N. bureaucrat. Long time corporate executive Maurice Strong with his experience in Dome Petroleum, Canadian Industrial Gas, and the Power Corporation and Petro-Canada as well as the Canadian International Development Agency, did his job well.

The conference was blessed with various international "intellectual personalities" who shunted their wares between Jericho and the New Jerusalem. Of course, the conductors of this discordant symphony carefully chose all participants for their bland Liberal pro-establishment and often neo-Malthusian viewpoints.

Thus Lady Jackson proclaim's "we still have a chance." - the forward movement of the environmental and conserving issue is a profound step ahead in our thinking" repeats neo-Malthusian Lady Jackson. Posters spring up downtown in the appropriate red colour to support her, renewing that old red-herring, that population growth is the cause of all our problems. Nowhere do we hear from Lady Jackson and her entourage that the lack of shelter, water and sewage systems are caused not by overpopulation, but by theft - theft of land, theft of resources, theft of control from people. Yet Lady Jackson goes on putting her faith in private property, small businesses and mixed economies.

The problems we confront are however caused by such exploitative economic systems. One million people in Calcutta do not lack shelter each night because there is not enough wealth to go around to build them houses, supply them with accessible fresh water, etc. As we spend astronomical sums every year on armaments, corporate profits and land gains, only a tiny fraction is spent on better housing. But that is not to argue for another UN charity organization to appease the liberal consciences of North American stockholders.

The solution has to be total - people must control the economy, and resources of their own land, whether it's Palestine, India, the Philippines, or the so-called First and Second Worlds.

The UN confence in neither section really addressed this point. World shelter is not a people problem to be solved cosmetically. It is the problem of economic systems which cause land and resources to be developed for the profit of a few at the expense of the majority. Shelter cannot be provided by Lady Jackson's land lease reforms, only a total change can do that. We already have, as the audio-visual presentations did show, all the physical solutions to providing more shelter in an increasingly urbanized world; we have the money, as armament spending and corporate profits attest; what we lack in most of the world is the political will to apply them equitably.

HABITAT FORUM: IDEOLOGY

by Lee Seymour and Jim Overton

Three main themes emerged from the Habitat Forum, the non-Governmental section of the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements. These were that both the general problems associated with the 'Third World' and the more specific ones identified at the Conference - of housing, water supply and sewerage could be solved by:- 1. self help, 2. technology and, 3. changed values and attitudes. The three of course are not mutually exclusive.

The emphasis on people being able to raise themselves out of a state of poverty, homelessness and unemployment by individual effort, especially when prodded or guided from above, is of course an important part of the dominant bourgeois ideology in capitalist society. This has the effect of persuading people that it is not the structure of the system which produces poverty, and that solutions are possible through personal effort. This is, of course, tied in with the advocacy of technology as having the potential to solve the world's problems. The emphasis on alternative and counter culture technology at the forum was striking, focussing on alternative energy sources in particular. Technology is made a fetish of. It is seen not as a social relationship and a fundamental element in an economic system where production is for profit, but as an independent factor. This failure to analyse the forces which determine what kinds of technology will be developed and introduced in society, that is to examine the political economy of technology, leads to the point of view that solutions to problems lie in persuading people to change the technology used in society rather than changing the social relations. The nature of technology is but one manifestation of these social relations. So the Conference was side-tracked into emphasising clean water and sewerage provision for all of the world's inhabitants. Whilst no-one would deny that these are worthwhile and fundamentally necessary achievements, they are yet another diversion; the basic economic realities, the exploitation by the capitalist class of the resources and labour of the underdeveloped countries is never questioned or threatened. Partly because of the deliberate absence of politics at the forum, the solutions advocated at best remained idealistic. In the realm where ideas are born, interact and triumph independently of the material reality which they relate to, then the debate becomes merely a battle of words.

Thus from Margaret Mead we heard that a 'new religion' was in order, while Barbara Ward advocates a new set of priorities in the world, from an emphasis on economic, profit oriented values to those based on human needs; from spending on excess consumption and armaments to providing housing and food for all. All of these so called 'solutions' are simply a demonstration of a superficial analysis of the nature and causes of world problems, a kind of naivety which must vanish once one begins to enquire into the basic realities of the capitalist economic system which demands consumption, growth and profitability and the ideas attitudes and technology which go along with it.

POEM

HOUSING

by Tom Wayman, 1976.

To talk to a government
 is always to speak with its tiniest part:
 an employee of its least important branch,
 section, department. What a government says
 in its smallest voice
 is NO. Dozens of offices all across this City
 all government, all speaking
 in their muted, certain way, NO. Together
 they shout out the Word of the Government: NO.

Here we sit in the local offices of the federal government's
 Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
 listening to the young woman explain to us
 she is sympathetic, she knows what the Housing Act
 actually says, but certain priorities have been established
 despite how the Act reads
 and this means we won't be eligible
 for the benefits described in the Act
 despite what it says, and also despite
 what is printed in the Corporation's own brochures, which she is also
 perfectly familiar with.

And when my poor friend Newson demurs slightly
 she stops rattling on about senior citizens
 and about the disabled, to speak against Newson's objections:
 I don't like the tone of your question.
 I don't approve of the Corporation
 and how it administers the Act any more than you do.
 That's why I'm here.

- the logic of which stuns us for a moment
 so I stop planning to lean across her desk,
 whip out a knife and chop my hand off
 shrieking: "Now I'm handicapped! Now I'm handicapped!
 How about a mortgage?"
 But the woman goes on explaining and explaining and pretty soon
 we're back outside again, carefully holding our NO.

And talk to those who believe they oppose
 the government, is to talk to a dream, to tomorrow.
 We drive to a Housing Coalition
 which turns out to be a young man in boots and jeans
 in an even smaller office
 who, we learn, is funded by the Secretary of State
 to co-ordinate some things, and we ask him
 about alternate methods of getting loans.
 He pauses in eating what he says is his breakfast
 - a couple of chocolate-covered doughnuts
 from which bits keep falling down his shirt - and he tells us
 between mouthfuls, our problem
 isn't financial

its really political, we have to see things in the long run, if he only had twenty-five people really committed, in three years they could take over a credit union and thus control its loaning policy. Right now he and some friends, he informs us skillfully licking a crumb off one sleeve are infiltrating a certain provincial housing agency to tackle Central Mortgage and Housing itself. Then will come the real task, he says looking at us hungrily now all his cookies are gone: the provincial government, which is done by taking over the constituency associations. Forget the elections, he advises us. Where you win is at the nominating conventions.

But not being so sure we would win there either, we thank him and get back out to the street.

--Tom Wayman sent a very nice letter to the USG thanking us for our interest in his poetry and bringing to our attention the Marxist Literary Group of the Modern Languages Association. They publish their own newsletter: MLG, Department of Literature C-005, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California, 92037 and are associated with The Minnesota Review, ed. Roger Mitchell, PO Box 211, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.



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(The editors would like to thank Ester Soler for this translation.)

"To fully grasp the revolutionary implications of the urban question it is useful to also turn to the works of M. Castells, D. Harvey, R. Peet, the work of the Union of Socialist Geographers as a whole is becoming an area of research to watch carefully."

--Dimitri Roussopoulos in "Beyond Reformism: The Ambiguity of the Urban Question" in OUR GENERATION, Vol. 11 No. 2.

EYE-OPENER

COLONIES BY ERIC WALKER, 1944.

Mercifully there is no need for colonies to choose between degenerating into eighteenth-century tropical Irelands or remaining in a state of mummified tribalism. The British Government, and men like Sir Horace Plunkett, at long last taught the peoples of the British Isles that suitable legislation and self-help can at least establish a free farming community. Lord Milner again taught South Africa, and Lord Curzon taught India, that official guidance and example can teach good farming to intelligent peoples. Experiments in colonies (and colonial peoples have their fair share of intelligence) have since shown that these methods can teach good farming better, and quite as quickly, as work even upon a model company's plantation or the most admirable settler's farm. Given time many tribal societies can be transformed into communities of peasants and small farmers.

As a rule like feels more at ease and confident with like, and the lighter or darker colour of the skin very often denotes differences that are much more than skin-deep. The exclusion of non-Europeans from European clubs, which is such a grievance in India and some parts of the Asiatic colonies, is very large part due to more pardonable motives than colour prejudice. Critics forget what a club is, especially for men and women who live in a strange and trying land where they often work alongside alien colleagues whose suspicions and resentments are only too easily aroused. The club is the place in which they can be at ease with one another for an hour or two each day. It may be right to demand that they shall open it to relieve political strains or avoid giving pain to fellowmen, but it is only fair to realise that it is asking a hard thing of them to share their refuge thus with others, who may not eat the same food nor drink their drinks, who are apt to be puzzled or even affronted by their jokes and, however personally delightful they may be, are members of communities which observe customs that are unintelligible or even repulsive to their hosts.

KEEPING INFORMED ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The following is a brief guide to a selection of the vast and rapidly growing literature on southern Africa. Its intent is to allow people who have limited previous knowledge of the area to begin reading and to direct others to important items which they may have missed.

Historical Background:

A number of works which cover the historical background from a left liberal to socialist perspective are (by country):

South Africa: F. Troup, 'South Africa: a Historical Introduction' (Penguin)

Zimbabwe/Southern Rhodesia: S. Samkange, 'Origins of Rhodesia' (Heinemann)

Namibia/South-West Africa: R. First, 'South-West Africa' (Penguin)

Angola: B. Davidson, 'In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People' (Penguin)

Current Events:

Probably the best North American coverage is provided by 'Southern Africa Magazine' (c/o Tim Smith, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.). It appears monthly and contains in-depth reporting on most important occurrences. It suffers, however, from its overly individualist conception of events and from its unbalanced stress on the U.S. role in southern Africa (i.e. it ignores the overwhelming importance of the interests of advanced capital of other nationalities). Another news-oriented magazine with less extensive coverage is 'LSM News' (Box 69316, Station K, Vancouver, B.C.). The Liberation Support Movement (LSM) is primarily concerned, as far as southern Africa goes with the activities of the ANC (SA), ZAPU, and SWAPO, but it also has a record of support for FRELIMO and MPLA, so its interest in Angola and Mozambique continues.

Apart from regular newspapers which have dramatically increased their coverage of southern Africa in the past 2 years, there are several papers on the left which give fairly extensive coverage to the area. In general British papers give far more (and better) coverage of events than do North American ones (a reflection of the importance of the area to British capital). Several organisations publish occasional documents on southern Africa which provide much information and occasionally good analyses as well. Prominent among these is the International Defence and Aid Fund (Dept. N, 104, Newgate Street, London E.C.1, U.K.) which has issued monographs on various aspects of South African and 'Rhodesian' society. In the next few years it can be expected that there will be a great output of literature from liberation movements and the governments of the liberated territories. In the meantime, there are the various southern Africa action groups to contact for information.

Information on South Africa in Particular:

Two important sources of information on events in South Africa itself which are readily available in most centres are the publications of the South African Institute of Race Relations, a liberal organisation in South Africa, and the weekly edition of the Johannesburg daily 'The Star'. While the level of analysis is not spectacular, these provide usually well-researched material, especially in the annual 'Survey of Race Relations in South Africa' published by the SAIRR. The periodicals of the banned political organisations which are of course published outside South Africa are also very important. These are:

The African Communist (S.A. Communist Party)
Azania Combat (Pan African Congress)
Sechaba (African National Congress of South Africa.)

More theoretically-oriented journals often carry articles on issues concerning South Africa in particular. A recent example is 'The "White Working Class" in South Africa', by H. Wolpe, in 'Economy and Society' of May 1976. This article contains, incidentally, references to many of the differing analyses of the objective conditions of South African society.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DROUGHT IN EASTERN KENYA

Precis
Ben Wisner

Introduction:

The following is an attempt to pull out of my Ph. D. thesis (1) the results of direct significance for marxist/neo marxist theory of underdevelopment, embracing data on the articulation of modes of production, reproduction, marginalisation, and some results tending to clarify several issues in the political economy of spatial relations (critical discussions of such concepts as 'resource', 'environmental deterioration', urbanization-peripheralization', and 'growth poles') in the Kenyan context. Results relevant to current discussions of imperialism and crisis are also summarized. This precis is meant merely to elicit interest and to make known to fellow workers the existence of data which bear on these topics. I shall not present any arguments or documentation here, rather invite specific discussion with interested persons.

The Problem:

Originally the thesis problem was formulated with bourgeois humanist simplicity: "What is it that allows some families to protect their children from deterioration of nutritional status during drought periods while others fail to protect their children?" The aim was to isolate a 'package' of 'adjustments to drought' at the household level which would then be encouraged by the appropriate Kenyan Ministries both directly (e.g. through provision of credit, seed, what have you) and indirectly by removing obstacles placed by existing governmental practices (inadvertently) in the way of the efficient functioning of 'traditional adjustments to drought' (e.g. land consolidation programmes in fact often reduced risk spreading benefits of cropping multiple plots, etc.etc.). No comment on the naivete of such a formulation of 'the problem' is required. Enough self criticism.

In any event, inequalities of access and income in addition to gross regional disparities in infrastructure and social services in Kenya make a nonsense of the above formulation. Moreover, 'drought' is not a 'rare event' or even an 'extreme event' in Kenya. Vulnerability to drought is so high in certain socio-economic classes that there is 'drought' somewhere in Kenya almost every year and serious hunger 'due to drought' affecting at least a million Kenyans about once every five years. In fact significant 'famine relief' has been administered in the pastoral areas of the Northwest non-stop since 1961 and nearly non-stop in the East and Northeast of Kenya for the past five years. In such a light the problem becomes "Can vulnerability to drought be explained by processes within Kenya's political economy?" I remain concerned with the fate of children during drought; however bourgeois humanism is replaced by socialist humanism-- that is, the child 'at risk' and its family are no longer taken as 'the unit of analysis' but are situated in their class position. The individual family struggle against drought is seen as a case of class struggle, since it is through struggle with various Kenyan bourgeois elements and the State over the means of production (land - embracing water and forest resources) that the extreme vulnerability of the semi-proletarianized (marginalized) peasant arises.

Methods:

Multi-stage, stratified random sampling of households along four environmental gradients (high-medium-low rainfall altitude) on the lower slopes and Eastern Fforeland Plateau surrounding Mt. was carried out in collaboration with Dr. Philip Mbithi, Univ. of Nairobi, students of the University, secondary school students from certain of the sites, and students of the Embu Agricultural Training School. Depth interviews (lasting about two hours) were conducted with self-defined heads of household (some female, most male). 610 interviews were conducted. Each 'environmental gradient' was homogenous with respect to 'tribe'. Householders were asked about the impact of the drought (on persons, animals, crops), past droughts, what they were doing (and had done in the past) about droughts. In addition in a sub-sample of households standard anthropometric and dietary survey methods were used to gauge at a point in time (severe drought) the nutritional status of children. A complete soil and vegetation survey was made on one of the gradients selected for intensive study, soil samples being subsequently evaluated in regard to mechanical and chemical properties of relevance to 'moisture holding capacity'.

Archival data was consulted concerning specific historical issues, e.g. the role of cotton in the lowlands; as well as a great variety of secondary sources, prior studies (including Mbithi's previous studies of several of our sites made in the mid-Sixties.

Finally, participant-observation/advocacy methods were used in so far as I participated during this period (1971-2) in the work of the Famine Relief Coordinating Committee of the Office of the President; GOK Working Party on Environmental Data for planning; and consulted for the National Christian Council of Kenya on several 'resettlement schemes' in the East and Northeast.

Results:

VULNERABILITY to drought is increasing in 'the wide arc' of Kenya (about 80% of its land area) to the East and to the North of the Highlands. About 4 million Kenyans are 'at risk', but especially those with household incomes below 60 Kenyan Pounds a year and who are recent immigrants to these lowland environments. Migration due to landlessness in the areas of higher rainfall (above 35 inches per annum) and volcanic soils is responsible for swelling numbers of highly vulnerable people in Rift Valley Province and the dry hinterland portions of Coast Province. Eastern Province is also effected, but migration takes the form of the poorest people moving from the highland portions of Eastern Province (upland Meru, Embu and Machakos) into the drier lowland parts of Eastern Province. Point population increases near localized lowland resources (water, heavy soils) can be up to ten times the national average demographic increase. Such population movement is part of a general process of MARGINALIZATION of the peasant. Many (up to 70-80%) of the household heads participate in a casual wage cycle which takes them during drought periods to the adjacent highland areas where they work for below the average rural wage. Continued subsistence farming by wives and other family members allows this system of migration for less than the subsistence wage to continue, providing the minima required for REPRODUCTION of labour at the point of production.

The peasant modes of production were found to be very well adapted to drought periods; however ACCESS to the full range of some 75 possible adjustments to drought was severely constrained by income: 1,310,000 'poor' and 'very poor' households (incomes 90-69 Kenyan Pounds and below 60 Kenyan Pounds yearly) had access to fewer than 46 adjustments (61% of the possible range of adjustments); while Kenya's 308,000 rural households (top 11%) earning over 300 Kenyan Pounds a year had access to more than 65 adjustments (87%)>

Even more important, the DOMINANCE OF THE C.N.P. in Kenya tends in various ways to destroy the peasant modes of production. PEASANT MODES OF PRODUCTION are destroyed because the social relations on which they depend are eroded. Data shows that mutual aid, food gifts, livestock trusteeship, tribal land tenure, and extended family care of children are all declining. The forces of production of the p.m.p. are also attacked. Male labour is siphoned off at times that critical field operations must be carried out; land is lost to the landed bourgeoisie through sale of 'uneconomic' holdings; land is lost to multinational and Kenyan capital through the maintenance (and expansion/clearance of 'squatters' from) vast game parks. Hence the drought adjustments characterizing the peasant mode of production become impossible. Access to alternative 'modern' set of adjustments is denied. Caught in the squeeze between destroyed (or at any rate significantly distorted) 'peasant adjustments' and unobtainable 'capitalist adjustments', these marginalized or semi-proletarianized households suffer very high vulnerability to drought and correspondingly high famine potential. This trend is evident in many ways, but is starkest in the nutritional data. Sites on the higher slopes (coffee/tea zones) of Mt. Kenya had only around 10% of the children below 80% of their standard weight-for-age. In the lowland sites these rates of malnutrition ranged from 30% to as high as 60%. The families in the lowlands who were able to maintain the nutritional status of children during a drought period have, generally, access to some non-farm source of income (wage migration, crafts, charcoal burning) and/or access to localized soils of high moisture holding capacity.

Investment in tourism continues at a high rate in these lowland areas. FOREIGN INVESTMENT in tourism seems to be preferred at this time to investment in agribusiness (in contrast to the pattern in Ethiopia, Sudan, and the Sahelian countries). Thus the edges of the game parks in Kenya's lowlands are increasingly becoming intense loci of CLASS STRUGGLE. Forest reserves and other STATE LANDS also are potential poles of class struggle (in ironic contradistinction to the so-called 'growth poles' much loved by bourgeois regional planning). Forest reserves in the lowlands are all on insular hill masses, the bases of which often have springs and soils of high moisture holding capacity. They are thus understandably highly prized resources within the drought adjustment system of the peasant modes of production. However Kenyan capital wants to hold on to the forests as their timber resources appreciate (compare the profits to be made under capitalist RENT mechanisms by holding buildings like Centrepoint empty; compare also the Western attempt to run down OPEC oil reserves as quickly as possible before running down North American or North Sea reserves). Kenyan capital also wants to exploit the timber, especially as charcoal for Nairobi Mombasa (with very high urban growth rates) and

for the Middle East (where there is a very high effective demand). We can expect attempts to exploit the fear of 'desertification' to establish modern ranching for beef export, but not immediately and not on Sudanese or Sahelian scale. VEGETABLE production with irrigation for the export market and for the tourist tables in the game lodges is another point where the peasant and capitalist modes of production are in direct contradiction. Green peppers grown in Machakos are air-freighted to London (compare haricots vertes grown in Upper Volta air-freighted to Paris. For that matter, compare Nile perch fished, cut, and dried by 'famine destitutes' on the shores of Lenya's Lake Rudolf, eaten mostly by Zairean urbanites).

In Kenya there is a coincidence of topography, space economy, and history. From 1903 until about 1953 white settlers defined a core area of white large scale farming powered by African labour from adjacent, peripheral 'reserves'. as Colin Leys argues, around independence (but beginning with the swynnerton plan to draw Africans in the highland reserves into the cash crop economy about 1954) this 'core' of white highland farming was Africanized and expanded (with the development of a small coffee bourgeoisie in the ex-highland reserves and in upland meru and embu). The 'periphery' from which the cheap labour was drawn was correspondingly expanded and today includes much of the 'wide arc' of dry lowland where live many of the peasants pushed out of the highlands in the scramble for land that has ensued following independence. This is not to assert that everyone in the ex-reserves is a happy kulak who exploits everyone in the peripheral lowland plateaux. However Gunder-Frankian flows of labour and raw materials are certainly 'uphill' from the lowlands in to the highlands. So far all 'rural development' attempts to counteract such 'backwash' effects with 'spread' and 'trickle down' (including the creation of 'growth poles' and the designation of 'special rural development areas' have failed to reduce drought /famine vulnerability. Even a technically superior drought escaping maize seed (Kenya's attempt at an African green revolution) has apparently bogged down at the 'diffusion of innovation' stage because of the enormous constraints already on the poor farmers of the lowlands.

Finally, this all raises the issue whether or not Kenya's particular environmental crisis is not related to the crisis of capitalism on a global scale. I seek the aid of colleagues in helping to spell this out. At the level of global review of frequency and severity of natural disasters in general (not just drought and not just Kenya) others and I have produced evidence that marginalization is taking place in most underdeveloped countries and that generally vulnerability to disaster is increasing. (2). But this is only part of the picture. How does it relate to trends in the global arms economy? How does it relate to, for instance, Samir Amin's chronology of the development of the capitalist mode of production (3) or to the so-called 'organic crisis' of capitalism? There are many complex feedback loops: while monetary crisis in the metropoli may have drastic repercussions in the satellite states, metropolitan (often international) capital can often profit from the economic chaos thus created in the satellites by exploiting the situation to move in with agribusiness (e.g. the sahel and Brazil). But just what is the nature of multinational agribusiness?

Such are just a few of the questions this precis must leave unanswered. I throw them open to my colleagues and comrades.

(6 April 1976).

FOOTNOTES:

1. 'The Human Ecology of Drought in Eastern Kenya,' unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Clark University, Worcester, Mass., 1976 (Inshallah). Some thesis results have been published, e.g.:- (with P. Mbithi) 'Drought in Eastern Kenya: Nutritional Status and Farmer Activity,' in G.F. White, ed., Natural Hazards, Oup, 1974. (with R. Kates) 'The Role of Agricultural Drought in a Developing Country: Examples from Tanzania and Kenya,' in M. Pecsí and F. Probald, eds., Man and Environment, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1974. (with P. O'Keefe) 'Drought in Africa: The State of the Game,' in P. Richards, ed., African Environment: Problems and Perspectives, International African Institute, London, 1975. (with O'Keefe), 'Underdevelopment in East Africa: a Kenyan Case,' Environment in Africa, no. 4 Dakar, 1976. 'An Example of Drought Induced Settlement in Northern Kenya', in I.M. Lewis, ed., Abaar: The Social Drought, International African Institute, Environmental Review Unit, Emergency Report No. 1, London, February, 1975. 'Man-Made Famine in Eastern Kenya: The Interrelationship of Environment and Development,' Institute of Developing Studies Discussion Paper, University of Sussex, forthcoming.
 2. A. Baird, P. O'Keefe, K. Westgate, B. Wisner, 'Towards an Explanation and Reduction of Disaster Proneness,' Univ. of Bradford, Disaster Research Unit, Occasional Paper, No. 11, August, 1975. (with O'Keefe and Westgate) 'Marginal People in Marginal Places', New Society, forthcoming. (with O'Keefe and Westgate) 'Taking the Natural Out of Natural Disaster,' Nature, forthcoming. (with O'Keefe and Westgate) 'Global Systems and Local Disasters: the Untapped Power of Peoples' Science,' Disaster (Journal of the London Technical Group), forthcoming.
 3. Samir Amin, A. Faïre, M. Hussein, G. Massiah, La Orise du L'Imperialisme, Paris, Edition de Minuit, January, 1975.
- Ben Wisner welcomes comment on his dissertation based on this summary. His address is 57 Broadhurst Gardens London N.W.6.

TEACHERS WANTED IN MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINEA (BISSAU)

Ben Wisner has informed us that both these countries want secondary school geography teachers. Two year contracts; Portuguese or other languages not required as they will teach you. Pay is quite decent. Interested people should write to the following, using Ben's name as a reference: Mozambique and Guinea Information Centre 12 Little Newport Street London W.C.1

AVAILABLE NOWSTUDY PAPERS ON IMPERIALISM

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5. Notes towards a theory of accumulation on a world scale.

Prepared by the Vancouver Local of the Union of Socialist Geographers for the workshop on Marxist Perspectives on Geography at the 1976 New York meeting of the Association of American Geographers.

For a copy send \$2.00 to: Union of Socialist Geographers Department of Geography Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

ADVICE FOR CONTRIBUTORS

By Our Neasden Correspondent

Avid readers of journals will no doubt have seen the "Advice for Contributors" section carried at the back each issue, which informs the would-be author of next quarter's world-shattering revelations how to use the obscure and incomprehensible footnote system ("I.B.G." is the worst one, followed by "A.A.A.G." and "Geogr. Rev."), how all weights and measures should be in grams and metres (with an avoirdupois conversion to save everybody from having to work out how many yards there are in 4.7 Joules), and how, to preserve the excellence of the particular journal, your paper will be submitted to the scrutiny of a panel of referees. These referees, whose names are rarely revealed, have an average age of 96, are very hot on spelling mistakes and where you ought to use Capital letters, will spot a half-degree error in the North symbol on your map, but couldn't tell a calculus from an abacus, who, when asked to consider a closed system, think of the Circle line, an open system, the Metropolitan, and when reading of black boxes visualise Anthony Barber on budget day. (1)

However, despite the attentions and vigilance of this august (december would perhaps be better) body of academics, the quantitative revolution (2) has brought to the journals a new style of paper, which all intending whiz-kids should know how to write. So here is the BAILE'S "Advice for Contributors" to the new Geography.

Firstly, papers should be short. Gone are the days of Hartshorne filling a whole issue of A.A.A.G. . with his personal nightmares. Nobody nowadays has that much to say, and, more particularly, nobody anymore uses space-filling maps and photographs of naked women from the upper Congo as padding (but see section on visual aids). Even if somebody has got a lot to say, it is in his interests to present it as 36 different papers, each summarising the last and each, of course, with 35 built-in references (see section on visual impact). Six pages are plenty, considering that you have two for diagrams, one for introduction, one for conclusions, one for implications, and one for references.

Secondly, style. You must be punchy. A style to emulate is that of Bill Bunge who uses the royal "we", poses rhetorical questions, damns anyone who doesn't agree with him, and carries nomothetism to the point of making ridiculous generalisations about anyone and

everything. This has the effect of causing anyone born since "Anschluss" to cry "stimulating", "brilliant", "devastating", "the man's a genius", and anyone born before then to write letters to the "Daily Telegraph". (c) German words and phrases should be used at all costs - if you don't know any, make them up. Likewise, the odd bit of Latin may go down well - "a posteriori" is favoured by some, particularly since in England, but most go for the "a priori", except for the Irish, who are usually "sine qua non".

Thirdly, the use of formulae. There are only three Geographers in the U.K., Bruce Atkinson, Mike Kirby and Alan Wilson, who actually understand them, and none at all in Ireland - - they're too busy writing their own. Perhaps a research student might spot a "faux-pas", but most people just pull rank on such low forms of life. The formulae should be included in each section, the abstract, the diagrams, and in at least one footnote* Don't be shy about any formula - go to town (central place) on it, frame it, number it, expand it, derive it, integrate it, segregate it.

If you are really being whiz, you will now use some data to empirically justify (31) your formula. (N.B. Never use the word empirical, except when referring laughingly to work done pre-Q.R.+). But don't commit the reactionary sin of actually going out into the field to collect your data. Derive it from some pre-Q.R. paper; better still generate it on a computer. This has the added advantage of filling another two pages of your article, plus the computer program as an appendix.

It goes without saying that you will have a computer analysis, nay, several analyses, scattered throughout the paper. You should also state in at least three lines the computer system used. An example would be:

I.C.I.sytem 1067C mark IV
 on-line digital three disk
 C.P.U. modulating a.c./d.c.
 2000w. hardware with high-
 speed gas servo-assisted
 Borg-Warner fully automatic
 lineprinter, linked via Telex
 and C.I.E. to Atlas off-line
 software t.o.c. plotter.

You of course omit to mention that this machine is now outdated by the mark V transistorised Honda model, but hope you can get another paper out on the dangers of analysing data with a mark IV when everybody has forgotten (if they ever remembered) that that's what you used.

Turning now to visual aids, (47) you will always have a couple of chunks of computer print-out, to make the whole thing seem "hot from the press". An essential too is an utterly incomprehensible three-dimensional diagram, of the type pioneered by Chorley (1968, 1971). This is particularly useless for demonstrating the open-system black-box nature of your research problem (fig. 1). If you must put in a map, call it a distribution of locations, or a co-ordinate model of reality.

Finally, visual impact. If you have obeyed all the instructions above, your paper will look, and be, whiz, but here's a checklist:

- the title should be one word, or more than 37 words.
- the following well-known phrases and sayings should be liberally scattered throughout: Polarized, multifactor, behavioral, perceived, syntax, semantic, logistic, stochastic, paradigm (lost and regained), non-stationary, environment, silent majority, freudian, canonical, maximum likelihood, negative feedback, negative binomial, law and order, parisonomy, sage, rosemary and thyme series, homoscedastic, quality of life (Cont. p. 94).
- the following should be avoided at all costs: region, area, man-land, map, geography, qualitative, Dudley-Stamp, areal differentiation, empirical.
- Bibliography should occupy log $2 n/2$ pages, where n is the total number of pages, and should always contain Harvey (1968) and Bunge (1966). "Scientific American" references are tolerated, but definitely not "Reader's Digest".
- Acknowledgements: depends on whether you want to appear humble or not, or whether you owe anybody any money.

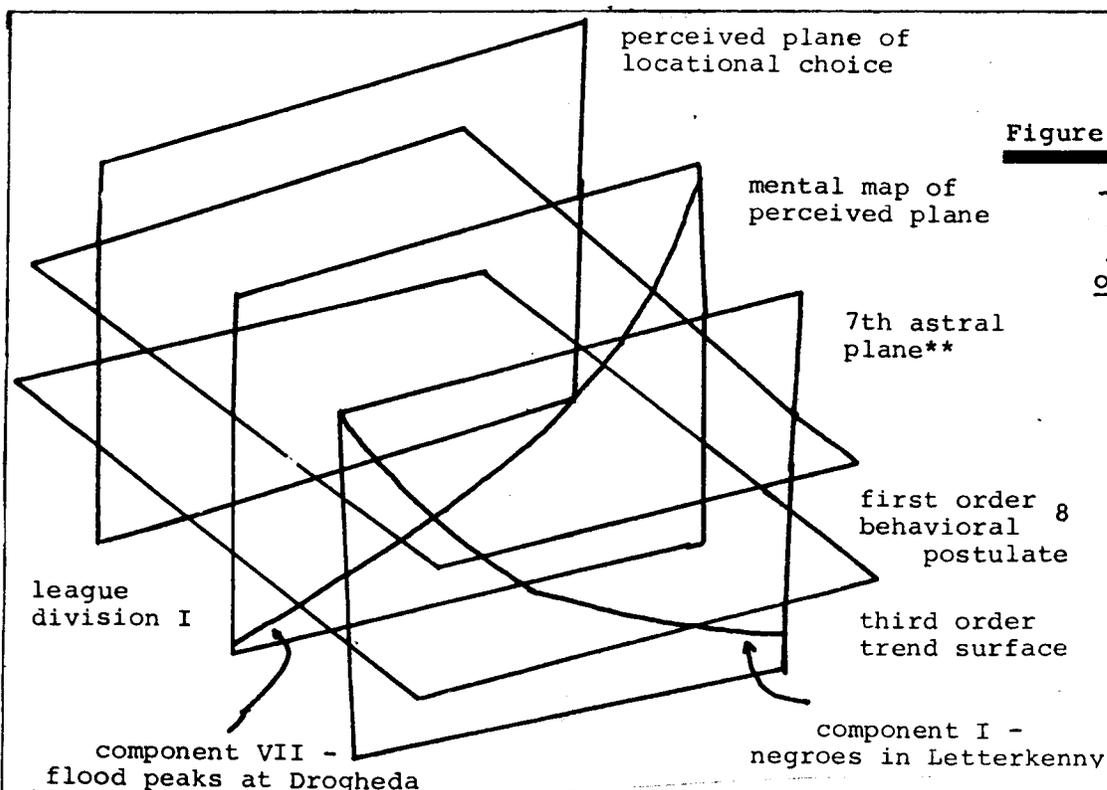


Figure 3. An attempt⁵ to deline graphically⁶ the multifac systemic synergisms impl in the heuristic propert of socio-economic syndrom

This, then, is the instant guide to success. Follow this and a chair awaits you at Bristol, Cambridge, or U.C. London. Ignore this, and, well, I've heard New Guinea isn't a bad place to be - certainly no one suffers from a swollen head out there - quite the reverse.

FOOTNOTES:

1. HANSARD, op.cit., in litt., p. 94.
2. e.g. Cholrey & Haggett (1963), Haggett & Chorley (1964), Chorley (1964), Haggett (1966), Chorley, Haggett, Stoddart, Bored, Old, King, Cole, Curry, Chips & Cobby (1967).
- c. a little-known Fascist political broadsheet, owned by E. Heath of Cowes.
- * $\log_e p.d.x.$ or as Woldenberg (1968) rewrites it $\left(a \cdot \sum_{i=1}^n b_i^c \cdot \frac{dt}{dy} \right)$
31. avoid splitting your infinitives.
- + quantitative revolution - see footnote 2.
47. maps and diagrams
5. a little modesty helps
6. draw
7. always make your title self-explanatory
8. never spell behavior with a u - it's non-u.
- ** significant at the -5% level

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- DAVIS, W.M. (1984) "The Complete Works of R.J. Chorley". Chorley Press, Chorley, Lancs.
- Einstein, A. (1916) R.J. Chorley's "Theorie von relativitie". (with an afterword by Fred Hoyle). Cambridge University Mutual Admiration Society.
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"So long, partner!"

SOCIALIST PRACTICE FROM TWO HEMISPHERES

40

POLITICAL ECONOMY IN AUSTRALIA

by Ron Horvath

Over 1500 people registered at the first Australian political economy conference at the University of Sydney on June 18-20, 1976. The conference is the outcome of a struggle to establish a political economy program at the University of Sydney which has been going on since at least 1970. Some 35 sessions, and two dozen workshops, were held on such subjects as "Marx's Theory of Money", "Understanding the Australian Ruling Class", "On Method in CAPITAL", "The Political Economy of Education and Social Inequality", "The Political Economy of Housework", etc. Some of the speakers included Sam Bowles, Ian Gough, Ted Wheelwright, Herb Gintis, Geoff Fishburn, and Henry Ergas.

All sessions proceeded on the assumption that the participants did not have a substantial understanding of Marx, and the level of critical discussion was impressive indeed. Perhaps the most notable achievement was the degree to which representatives of the labour unions participated in the sessions.

Because of the conference, we should expect to see the struggle to establish political economy broadened to include other institutions in Australia.

Note from Ronald J. Horvath

"We are settled in our new home below the equator. Our boxes have arrived, classes are going (well), and we are all feeling good about being in Australia. If you are in the neighborhood ..."
(Ron can be reached at the Department of Geography, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, 2006, Australia)

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPEDITIONS: An Analysis by William Bunge

Sisters and Brothers,

Perhaps it is not too late to enter into the 'Debate' on the effectiveness of the Vancouver Geographical Expedition. While I was only there for a brief period, I did get some impressions that might be worth passing on. The personnel of the house was a campus-oriented group. The conversations were typically those of students and their concerns. All neighbourhoods have organisations even if they are

'underground' informal ones and this was not the center of action and thought in community work, which Engels termed 'the point of reproduction', the projects are suggested from the get-go by the community. Indeed, even before a check list of projects is decided upon the community must invite the group to move in. Finding an empty house and the rent money is not the major problem. In Detroit at least my house was part of the community as the blacks replaced the whites in the neighbourhood, making me one of the oldest residents. In Toronto we spent months, first finding a sympathetic church and then some neighbourhood groups to allow us to live among them. The hostility and suspicion lasted a year even after all the care we showed. In addition, we asked what the community considered their problems to be, not 'don't you find this thesis interesting?' not even a Marxist analysis (which helps alright) can yield concrete definitions of community problems. In the Cristy Pits region of

Toronto, the community put forward its own agenda of problems only some of which were geographic. For instance, their concern with the schools and their worries over citizenship problems were not geographic and we announced our incompetency. We were not tempted to try something we knew nothing about. (I can just hear hyper-political types argue the opposite. My answer: did Bethune try and improve China's agronomy? Stick to your trade. If you are an incompetent geographer, then you probably are an incompetent everything else so just go home. Do not go 'political'). Geographers, especially Marxist ones, must control themselves and recognize that some Marxists specialize in Marx's own subjects, such as political economy, and others do not.

There are many paths to truth, even socialist ones, other than, say, political economy. Does this endanger democratic centralism? Does this deny the dictatorship of the proletariat? Nonsense. The political levers should be in political hands, but to put politicians in technical roles making technical decisions is incredible. The community provides the leadership of expeditions, not some house mother or father. If the expedition houses are in working class communities, then this class is the boss.

In science, things must work in the material world of the general? Or for my favourite group out of recognition of the mix of Marxist and Darwinian world crisis, what did the VGE do for the world's children? It is without any sense of crowing, or lording it over the VGE, but look what both the DGE and I and the TGE have been able to do. The Detroit effort is still being cranked out and with new data on the shrinking of children's heads due to starvation (three million in the United States) and the location of children with rickets (three per cent of Detroit's poor children) and so forth plus the publication of THE CANADIAN ALTERNATIVE, Detroit might start rolling again in a tactical ongoing way after first absorbing and then shaking off the effects of the extreme repression of the Nixon Administration.

Most of the personnel of the Expedition is dispersed, some into foreign exile, some badly injured if not destroyed especially through drugs, and some re-converted to the system - not many of these, it is a pleasure to report. The Toronto effect seems to be even more profound and massive, at least in potential. Community groups and personnel are still very much in contact. Community organizing is on an upswing and key personnel in the old Expedition are key personnel in the general movement. There has not been the artificial rupture in large part caused by repression, that was encountered in the U.S. Besides the organizational and practical effects of these two expeditions, the intellectual production has been high. Two books have been published plus numerous articles and another book, 'The Socialist Reconstruction of Geography' (a how-to-do-it book in some detail) being processed and a medium sized article, 'The point of Reproduction: A Second Front', the final editing of which is under way.

In the Sixties, working class control was simply called 'community control'. This has been the overwhelming feature of the Detroit-Toronto efforts and the primary lack of the Vancouver one. The VGE gave one the impression that the intellectuals talked a lot and the community either said nothing or the intellectuals never got within ear shot.

It is a shame that the VGE did not listen to the Torontonians effort. It is hard to figure out why. The VGE spent time in Toronto with us. It is as if they were smarter than us, or some such. At least that was the impression they gave. When in Vancouver they hardly were open to listening either. Perhaps they were in a different wing of the movement. Perhaps expeditions are more difficult to do than they seem. I am a man who much prefers driving taxi and organizing with my fellow workers. Other professors of geography, or just plain Ph.D's in geography seem to fall apart if they lose their campus base. Perhaps the VGE lacked conviction being led by the thought that exploitation takes place only at the point of production (true) and therefore only effort at the point of production is worth making (false). Since I work at a point of production, indeed, industrial concentration, at the airport, I have never opposed in theory or practice, industrial concentration. I do oppose Point of Reproduction neglect and the failure to mobilize the entire working class not just the worker. Community work often fails as does trade union work at the point of production. Neither can possibly succeed without working class leadership.

For the future - the children.

ORGANIZING IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES : A Report by Bob Arnold

I'm working my ass off in the humid South. We're putting out a double issue (250 pages) of SOUTHERN EXPOSURE on labour in the South and it looks excellent. I've written two short profiles on Alabama and Arkansas for the research section and I'm doing a chart on the largest private employers in the 13 Southern States.

My other area of activity is the Steven's campaign. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Textile Workers Union of America merged in June and the boycott and organizing drive started in full swing by November or December. They've already leafletted many Steven's plants and they've received strong responses from a few.

The AFL-CIO hierarchy has approved in principle, a \$4.5 million budget for the first year of the campaign. That means boycott staff in the twenty largest cities in the country and fifty full time organizers working on Stevens alone.

This is the biggest drive to hit the South in thirteen years. It is important that we press for as democratic a union structure as possible.

I'll be going to towns that have been targeted for organizing to study the local ruling class to neutralize any attacks they make on the union. It'll be good experience - talking to workers, union officials and local capitalists and connecting it to figure out the best way to cut ad campaigns or other actions - marches, rallies, fund raises, etc.

I still manage to read, go to the beach, play volleyball, etc., although never as much as I would like to. In general I feel good about what I'm learning and the work I'm doing.

----Bob Arnold is a former member of the Vancouver Local who is currently working on the staff of SOUTHERN EXPOSURE. He can be reached by writing 201-B Purefoy, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

PUERTO RICAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE OF CANADA

A recent summit meeting of the world's eight leading capitalist powers was held in San Juan, Puerto Rico and held there for a very definite reason. In the Fall the United Nations will reopen discussion on the status of Puerto Rico in the light of resolution 1514 which recognises the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to independence. This however is not a resolution of the Decolonisation committee and is, consequently, a statement of principle with little real effect. Later this year a motion will go before the Decolonisation committee which could have the effect of moving Puerto Rico to independence. In the past the U.S. has managed to table such motions through international pressure, threats to cut foreign 'aid' and so on. It is widely believed that these ploys will not succeed again. Therefore the only means by which the U.S. can safeguard its massive investments in Puerto Rico is through insisting that the whole affair is internal to the United States and as such, without the purvey of the U.N.. The visit of the eight heads of state to San Juan at the invitation of the U.S. is clearly intended to further this move.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, which has many branches throughout the U.S., is founded on the principle of working for the independence of Puerto Rico. In response to Ford's cuckoo style of politics they organised a series of meetings and demonstrations in Puerto Rico and the U.S. to protest the location of an American conference on Puerto Rican soil. The committee also contacted progressive people in the countries participating in the conference to bring pressure to bear on their respective governments and to raise awareness of the connection between the summit meeting and the U.N. issue. Some members of the USG at Vancouver became involved in these activities here and worked in cooperation with a wide range of progressive groups. The matter came to our attention a week before the summit meeting which was held on June 27/28. An ad hoc committee was formed and a public meeting held on Thursday 24. Two leading members of CASA-United Brotherhood of Workers came to address the 65 attendants. The following day a public demonstration was held downtown, addressed by Laura Rodriguez, President of the San Francisco branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). At both events a member of the ad hoc committee also spoke. During the week, a constant programme of hammering at the media for time and space had

some success, and many responded to the call to send telegrams to Trudeau, condemning Canadian participation in the summit. Active support and messages of solidarity were received from groups including Liberation Support Movement, Native Studies Group, Revolutionary Marxist Group, Chile Support Groups, South African Action Coalition, Committee for Canadian Fillipino Understanding, League for Socialist Action, Spartacus Book Cooperative, and others. In the late evenings, with a little beer, the discussions were good.

The summit meeting did take place in Puerto Rico, with Canadian participation in complete contravention of the 1973 resolution. The activities in Vancouver nonetheless served several purposes. They made many people aware of the colonial status of Puerto Rico and of U.S. aggression there. They brought together a wide range of left groups here in Vancouver. They exposed several members of the USG, to the work of active organisation. Finally, they resulted in the formation of a permanent Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee of Canada (PRSCC). This is composed of individuals and based on the same principle as the American committee with which it is not affiliated. It is expected that locals will be formed in Montreal and Toronto in the Fall. We look forward to the spread of the PRSCC and to the liberation of Puerto Rico.

BICENTENIAL MARCH IN SAN FRANCISCO

Our San Francisco correspondent reports a successful Peoples Bicentennial - a celebration of unity in struggle and struggle in unity. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Support Committee were two of the principal organizers of the march and rally. Speakers included people from the Chicano community, the American Indian Movement, working class black women, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the gay community, and many others. All indicated the links between local violence against third world and other oppressed peoples and the international struggle.

METROPOLITAN CELEBRATIONS : Washington and Philadelphia

- The Vietmanese waiters in the local Italian restaurant were wearing stars and stripes bow ties.
- Red, white and blue ice cream sundaes were served and a daiquiri of Puerto Rican rum and strawberries.
- Local prostitutes were said to be offering a \$17:70 cent special.
- Street vendors sold 60 cent Coca-colas in bicentennial styrafoam cups.
- The Declaration of Independence, liberated from the snug safety of its helium-filled atom bomb shelter for continuous viewing, was defended against thieves and ink throwers.
- The French fireworks assembled for the largest display in human history were safe from premature ignition in a concrete bunker under the Washington Monument.

-A 40ft chocolate cake in Philadelphia and a smaller one in the archives waited to be sliced by a Revolutionary War sword.

-The Queen asked to see the Liberty Bell, but declined to touch the crack.

VANCOUVER LOCAL SUPPORT POLITICAL PRISONERS

At a recent meeting the Vancouver Local of the USG decided that it would begin to send letters of support for political prisoners. This decision was made after considerable discussion about the function of the Union as an academic institution. There was a great deal of concern expressed that by supporting certain prisoners or by not supporting others that potential splits within both the Local and the USG as a whole might arise. It was generally felt that we should be able to take positions in particular cases where basic human rights have been violated by authoritarian regimes. Each case would be considered individually in an attempt to both minimize the potential for divisiveness within the USG and in an attempt to maximize the possible impact of any letters of support we send. In general we would only write letters in support of prisoners for whom there is some form of national or international "defense committee". This approach has produced good results for organisations such as Amnesty International in the past.

Even though we will only be sending letters of support in the name of the Vancouver Local, we recognise that our activities will effect the Union as a whole. We therefore urge that anyone with comments in favor or opposing our position write us as soon as possible so that we can be aware of the amount of support or opposition to such activities. We also intend to bring this matter up at the next annual meeting of the USG in Regina.



Office of
The Prime Minister

Cabinet du
Premier Ministre

July 9, 1976.

Union of Socialist Geographers,
Vancouver Local,
Simon Fraser University,
8888 Barnet Highway,
North Burnaby, B.C.
Y5A 1S6

Dear Members:

I write on behalf of the Prime Minister to acknowledge receipt of your telex message urging that Mr. Trudeau not attend the recent economic summit meeting in Puerto Rico. Please note that your position was brought to the attention of the appropriate authorities.

Yours sincerely,

Michel Rochon,
Assistant Principal Secretary.

**THE THREE CIRCUITS
OF CAPITAL**

This is section three of a four part series on Marx's theory of circulation. Although the project is not yet complete, we feel that this preliminary paper by Bernard Curtin of the Vancouver Local might be of use as a general introduction to some of the basic Marxist concepts. Part one, which appeared in Volume 1 #2 of the USG Newsletter defined such concepts as the commodity, use-value, value, exchange value, concrete labour, commodity fetishism and money. Part two, which appeared in Volume 1 #3 of the Newsletter looked at three processes of commodity exchange: barter, simple commodity exchange, and the exchange of commodity capital. Part four, which will conclude the series, contains an examination of the time of circulation, the costs of circulation, and the time of turnover of capital. Problems which capital encounters in the two acts of circulation are analysed as well as the expedients which capital has devised to both abbreviate the time of circulation and widen its sphere.

In this subsection the metamorphoses of capital and its three circuits will be examined. These three circuits are: (i) the circuit of money capital, (ii) the circuit of productive capital, and (iii) the circuit of commodity-capital. A concluding section examines the three circuits as part of the whole movement of capital.

(i) The Circuit of Money-Capital.

Marx's analysis of the circular movement of capital begins with an examination of the circuit of money-capital (M-M'). This circuit receives a more mature expression in the formula:

$$M - C < \begin{matrix} LP \\ \dots P \dots C' - M' \\ MP \end{matrix}, \text{ where}$$

M = Advanced money-capital

$$C < \begin{matrix} LP \\ \text{or } C = LP + MP \\ MP \end{matrix}$$

LP = Labour-power

MP = Means of production

P = The Productive process, or the act of productive consumption

C' = Commodity capital

C' = C + dC or C + c : dC or c = the surplus product created in the production process: dC = The commodity form of dM

M' = M + dM or M + m : dM or m = the surplus value in money form. In other words, m is the money equivalent of c.



Each circuit of capital successively passes through three phases. The circuit of money-capital consists of two acts of circulation

LP
(M-C< and C'-M') and one act of production (P). The circuit
MP

of money-capital opens with the M-C< LP phase. The capitalist
MP

advances money-capital to purchase means of production and labour-power. The capitalist has to calculate the exact quantities of labour-power and means of production he needs to maintain or increase his existing level of production. As Marx puts it, "the quantity and the volume of the means of production to be purchased must be sufficient for the utilisation of this mass of labour" (Marx, 1967, p. 27).

It is important to note that when the capitalist advances money-capital to purchase labour-power or labour creativity, he is not purchasing the labourer. What the capitalist buys is the right to use or dispose of the labourer's creativity for a legally specified or mutually agreed-upon length of time. Marx assumes that the worker is paid the value of his labour-power (i.e., he is paid a wage which is sufficient to produce and reproduce himself and his family at the average social standard of living). Therefore, the worker is not exploited in this act of exchange or circulation with money-capital. This exchange however precipitates the worker into a class relation.

"It is a purchase and sale, a money-relation, but a purchase and sale in which the buyer is assumed to be a capitalist and the seller a wage-labourer. And this relation arises out of the fact that the conditions required for the realisation of labour-power, viz., means of subsistence and means of production, are separated from the owner of labour-power, being the property of another" (Marx, 1967, p. 31).

Although the existence of money is necessary before the capitalist can purchase labour-power, the existence of money itself does not account for this relationship. Marx cites the example of slavery to demonstrate how foolish it is to ascribe the existence of social structures to money. He writes:

"The purchase and sale of slaves is formally also a purchase and sale of commodities. But money cannot perform this function without the existence of slavery. If slavery exists, then money can be invested in the purchase of slaves. On the other hand the mere possession of money cannot make slavery possible" (Marx, 1967, p. 32).

If it is not the existence of money then, what is it that permits labour-power to be freely bought and sold? Marx maintains that it is the separation of labourers from the means of production, hence from their means of subsistence, that permits them to sell their labour-power. As they are divorced from the means of production, they have no option but to sell their labour-power. Under the slave and feudal modes of production only a small portion of the workers were separated from the means of production. Although slaves and serfs did not own the means of production they worked with, they nevertheless consumed some of what they produced. The spatial and legal separation of producers (workers) from the means of production had to wait for the rise of the capitalist mode of production. Therefore Marx argues that:

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"What lies back of M-C< is distribution; not

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distribution in the ordinary meaning of a distribution of articles of consumption, but the distribution of the elements of production itself, the material factors of which are concentrated on one side, and labour-power, isolated, on the other" (Marx, 1967, p. 33).

Such a distribution and not money, is the sine qua non for capitalist production. Once capitalist production becomes firmly established it "... not only reproduces this separation but extends its scope further and further until it becomes the prevailing social condition" (Marx, 1967, p. 33). However, before "... capital may be able to arise and take control of production, a definite stage in the development of trade is assumed" (or necessary). "But the production of commodities", Marx notes, "does not become the normal, dominant type of production until capitalist production serves as its basis" (Marx, 1967, p. 33). The significance of the distribution of the means of production and of the separation of the producers from the means of production is a significance which has escaped the attention of geographers. In other words, a historically specific mode of production is taken as natural and eternal.

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M-C< completes the first act of circulation for the circuit

MP

of money-capital. This act of circulation constitutes a mere change in the form of capital-value, from money-capital into the elements of productive capital. No change in value has occurred.

The completion of this act interrupts "... the circulation of capital-value advanced in the form of money" (Marx, 1967, p. 34). We now leave the domain of circulation to witness the activities of the domain of production, the second phase of the circuit of money-capital. "This movement is represented by

LP

M-C< ... P, in which the dots indicate that the circulation

MP

of capital is interrupted, while its circular movement continues ... " (Marx, 1967, p. 35). The production process is the second phase in the CIRCULAR movement of capital. (It is appropriate to underline the word circular for the circular movement of capital deals not only with the circulation processes, but also with the production process).

The production process consumes means of production and labour-creativity; hence Marx calls it "the act of productive consumption". But the means of production and labour-creativity are not capital in and of themselves. Only in the production process do they function as capital. Means of production and labourers are factors in all modes of production. Marx writes:

"Whatever the social form of production, labourers and means of production always remain factors in it. But in a state of separation from each other either of these factors can be such only potentially. For production to go on at all they must unite. The specific manner in which this union is accomplished distinguishes the different economic epochs of the structure of society from one another. In the present case, the separation of the free worker from his means of production is the starting point ..." (Marx, 1967, pp. 36-37).

What is critical here is that whilst these factors are common to all modes of production, under capitalism they have become separated. It is the capitalist who has the power and the means of reuniting the worker and the means of production in the production process. In the production process: "Productive capital, in performing its functions consumes its own component parts [raw materials, part of the instruments of labour (measured in terms of the wear and tear of machinery, buildings etc.), and labour creativity] for the purpose of transforming them into a mass of products of a higher value than the component parts consumed" (Marx, 1967, p. 37). In other words, during the labour process, workers set themselves, machinery and raw materials in motion. Out of the production process come commodities containing more value than the value of the constituent elements used-up in the production process. The value greater than the sum of values consumed, Marx calls surplus-value. The source of this surplus-value must now be outlined. It will be recalled that the capitalist paid for machines, raw materials, etc., at their value.

The capitalist or his representative appears on the commodity market and buys means of production and labour power, and after a period of time appears on the commodity market again and sells at VALUE the commodities produced by his wage workers. If he buys at value and if he sells at value where do his profits come from? (It is no answer to say that the capitalist buys below value and sells above value. If it were possible continuously to buy below value and sell above value then there would be no need for any capitalist to engage in production). The capitalist must have bought a commodity which has the capacity to create more value than its own value. The only commodity which possesses this capacity is labour power. What is the value of labour power? What it costs to maintain the worker and

reproduce the class of wage workers is the value of labour power. The value of labour-power has nothing to do with a biological subsistence wage. The wage needed to maintain the worker is a social subsistence wage not a biological wage. For example, the Canadian worker is accustomed to the consumption of such use-values as central heating, an automobile, holidays, and so on. For a Canadian worker these are not luxuries; they are necessities. That part of the work-day spent in the production of the worker's subsistence, Marx terms necessary labour time; it is necessary time because upon its performance depends the existence of a class of wage workers. If it is possible to produce the worker's subsistence in three hours does that mean that the worker goes home after three hours labour? It means nothing of the sort. The capitalist did not hire the worker so that the worker could produce the equivalent value of his means of subsistence. The worker was hired to perform surplus-labour for the capitalist. That part of the working day that the worker labours beyond his necessary labour time, Marx terms surplus labour time. This surplus labour time is the source of the capitalist's profit, the shareholder's dividends, the banker's profits, the state's taxes.

Value created during surplus-labour time, Marx calls surplus-value.

"That portion of the working-day ... during which this reproduction [the production of value equivalent to the value of labour-power] takes place, I call necessary labour-time, and the labour expended during that time I call 'necessary labour time'.... "During the second period of the labour process, that in which his labour is no longer necessary labour, the workman, it is true, labours, expends labour-power; but his labour, being no longer necessary labour, he creates no value for himself. He creates surplus-value which, for the capitalist, has all the charms of a creation out of nothing. This portion of the working-day, I name surplus labour-time, and to the labour expended during that time, I give the name of surplus-labour" (Marx, 1972 pp. 28-29).

In sum, during the labour process the worker produces more value than the value of his labour-power. It appears that the worker is paid for the duration of the labour process, but this appearance arises from the wage-form of payment which serves to conceal the surplus-labour that the worker delivers gratis to the capitalist. Significantly Marx notes that the extraction of surplus-labour is common to all modes of production. He states:

"the essential difference between the various economic forms of society, between, for instance, a society based on slave-labour, and one based on wage-labour, lies only in the mode in which this surplus-labour is in each case extracted from the actual producer, the labourer" (Marx, 1972 p. 29).

This is the difference that makes a difference. Hindess and Hirst write that surplus-labour:

"... may be appropriated collectively as in the primitive communist and advanced communist (socialist) modes of production, or it may be appropriated by a class of non-laboures as in capitalism or feudalism. In the second case the mode of appropriation of surplus-labour constitutes antagonistic relations of production and a social division of labour between a class of labourers (wage-labourers, peasants, etc.) and a class of non-labourers (capitalists, feudal lords etc.). The mode of appropriation of surplus-labour governs the mode in which the social product is distributed among the agents of production." (Hindess and Hirst, 1975, p. 10)

When pre-capitalist modes of production are examined, it becomes immediately evident that labourers perform surplus-labour as:

"In the corvee the labour of the worker for himself, and his compulsory labour for his lord, differ in space and time in the clearest possible way. In slave-labour, even that part of the working-day in which the slave is only replacing the value of his own means of existence, in which, therefore, in fact, he works for himself alone, appears as labour for his master. All the slave's labour appears as unpaid labour" (Marx, 1972 p. 55).

Hence, it has been shown that that surplus-labour performed in the production process is the source of the capitalist's surplus-value.

Thus when the production process has been completed, commodities containing more value (C') than the value of their

LP

constituent elements (C<) have been created.

MP

The capitalist has produced commodities not for his personal consumption, but for sale. An outstanding feature of the capitalist mode of production is the fact that most commodities produced under capitalist conditions of production must be thrown on the market. This necessitates an act of circulation, C'-M'. (This constitutes the second act of circulation identified at the outset). M' equals the money-form of the value embedded in C'. Thus the act of circulation, C'-M', constitutes the third and final phase of the circuit of money-capital. The

LP

complete circuit, M-C< P C'-M' consists of two acts of

MP

circulation and one act of production. Changing C' into M' constitutes the act of selling or the realisation of value, and hence of surplus-value.

Having thus broken down this circuit into its constituent parts, Marx now examines the circuit of money-capital as a whole.

LP

When looked at in all its phases, M-C< P C' - M':

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"capital ... appears as a value which goes through a series of interconnected, interdependent transformations, a series of metamorphoses which form just as many phases, or stages, of the process as a whole" (Marx, 1967, p. 49).

Marx continues: "in each one of these phases capital-value has a different form for which there is a correspondingly different, special function" (Marx, 1967, p. 49).

LP

In phase one, M-C< , capital-value in the form of money

MP

functions as money-capital. In the second stage, P, capital-value in the form of productive capital functions to produce value and surplus-value. In the final phase, capital-value in the form of commodities functions as commodity-capital. Marx further notes that:

"The capital which assumes these forms in the course of its total circuit and then discards them and in each of them performs the function corresponding to the particular form, is industrial capital, industrial ... in the sense that it comprises every branch of industry run on a capitalist basis" (Marx, 1967, p. 50).

And it is important to note that:

"Money-capital, commodity-capital, and productive capital do not therefore designate independent kinds of capital whose functions form the content of likewise independent branches of industry separated from one another. They denote ... only special functional forms of industrial capital, which assumes all three of them one after the other" (Marx, 1967, p. 50).

The concept of industrial capital which we find in economic geography is however quite different from that set out here. Manufacturing geography, for example, confines itself to an investigation of only one of the stages, the stage of actual (direct) production. The transformation of C' into M', i.e. the act of selling or realisation of value, is dealt with separately in retail or marketing geography. Hence, the essential unity of capital, the unity of its production and circulation processes is not apparent.

"Capital describes its circuit normally only so long as its various phases pass uninterruptedly into one another. If capital stops short in its first phase M-C, money-capital assumes the rigid form of a hoard; if it stops in the phase of production, the means of production lie without functioning on the one side, while labour-power remains unemployed on the other; and if capital is stopped short in its last phase C'-M', piles of unsold commodities accumulate and clog the flow of circulation" (Marx, 1967, p. 50).

However, capital cannot pass from one phase to another at the speed of lightning. It is therefore necessary that capital remain in each of these forms for varying lengths of time, but capital strives to reduce to a minimum the time it spends in each of its phases. Capital devises contrivances to abbreviate the amount of time it spends in each phase of the circuit. "However a discussion of such contrivances is reserved until the next newsletter (part four of this project).

Some of the distinguishing features of the circuit of money-capital are: (1) the manner in which the most urgent drive of the capitalist, the drive to make money, is graphically expressed. (2) However, the aim of this circuit is to get from M to M' as quickly as possible and the critical importance and significance of production is reduced to an apparent interruption of the circulation process. It is then not surprising that: "[A]ll nations with a capitalist mode of production are therefore seized periodically by a feverish attempt to make money without the intervention of the process of production" (Marx, 1967, p. 58).

Although the circuit M...M' expresses the compelling motive of capitalist production, it also represents how the old bullionists (15th and 16th Century "economists") and the mercantilists viewed the creation of wealth. For the bullionists the creation of wealth arose when a merchant-capitalist advanced gold to purchase commodities at low prices and then sold them in a foreign country at high prices; through this process gold flowed into the country, thereby augmenting wealth. For them, precious metals, especially gold represented the sole form of wealth. The domain of production where real wealth is created did not exist at all. Thus for the bullionists the circuit took the form of just two acts of circulation, M-C and C'-M'.

The circuit M...M' can also be used to describe how the mercantilists viewed economic wealth. For them the circuit becomes M-C...P...C'-M'. They recognised the necessity for production, but since they did not themselves engage in production, they believed that surplus-value or profit originated in the sphere of pure circulation. Surplus-value and profit are realised in the sphere of pure circulation, but as was shown they do not originate there.

Marx says that the circuit M...M' is deceptive and gives rise to all kinds of illusions because:

"The emphasis is not on the self-expansion of value but on the money-form of this process, on the fact that more value in money-form is finally drawn out of the circulation than was originally advanced to it; hence on the multiplication of the mass of gold and silver belonging to the capitalist" (Marx, 1967, p. 62).

Although the circuit of money-capital has inadequacies, it nevertheless points the way towards a consideration of a different circuit, the circuit of productive-capital (P...P) which has already begun its movement within the circuit of

LP

money-capital itself, thus $M-C < \dots [P \dots C'-M']$.

MP

The switch from the circuit of money-capital to the circuit of productive-capital is quite dialectical. Marx notes that it is the easiest circuit from which to approach the whole question of the circulation of capital. He indicates its adequacies and inadequacies, and observes that it contains within itself the beginning of the next circuit, the circuit of productive capital which is, in fact, a superior representation of the nature of capital.

(ii) The Circuit of Productive Capital

Since each circuit passes through the same phases although in different sequential order, there is no need to describe in detail the phases of the circuits of productive-capital and commodity-capital.

This second circuit (P...P) has the general formula $P \dots C' - M' - C \dots P$, or it can be expanded into the form

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$P \dots C' - M' - C < \dots P$. We will consider the circuit assuming

MP

simple reproduction. That is, no accumulation. Thus the $C'-M'$ act of circulation splits up into $C-M$ and $c-m$. Therefore c and m drop out of the circuit of productive capital and enter into the sphere of "the general circulation of commodities" (Marx, 1967, p. 67). In other words, although they (c and m) originate within the P...P circuit they do not stay within it (nor is their money equivalent thrown back into the circuit). The P...P circuit constitutes an advance over the $M-M'$ circuit in that it emphasises strongly the importance of production or economic growth. Ricardo and Marx felt that the stupendous development of society's productive forces represented one of capitalism's outstanding achievements. In fact Ricardo was so obsessed with production that he tended to minimise the barriers that capital encounters in the sphere of circulation. Classical political economy, whose finest representatives were Adam Smith and David Ricardo, was primarily interested in emphasizing the importance of production. Thus the P...P circuit describes well the focus of classical political economy. The emphasis on production represented an advance over the positions of the Bullionists (Monetarists) and mercantilists whose economic conceptions derived largely from the sphere of pure circulation. (Their economic conceptions were penned within the sphere of pure circulation). After all circulation depends

upon production to supply it with commodities; and if the supply dries up the sphere of circulation comes to a halt. Since merchants, prior to the rise of industrial capitalism, bought commodities from and sold commodities to predominantly pre-capitalist modes of production, they never grasped the importance of developing the productive forces.

"Ricardo, rightly for his time, regards the capitalist mode of production as the most advantageous for production in general, as the most advantageous for the creation of wealth." (Marx, 1968, p. 117)

Ricardo criticizes severely all barriers whether institutions, classes, or individuals, standing in the way of the development of the productive forces.

"Thus Ricardo's ruthlessness was not only scientifically honest but also a scientific necessity from his point of view ... [B]ecause of this it is also quite immaterial to him whether the advance of the productive forces slays landed property or workers ... Ricardo's conception is, on the whole, in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, only because, and in so far as, their interests coincide with that of production or the productive development of human labour. Where the bourgeoisie comes into conflict with this, he is just as ruthless towards it as he is at other times towards the proletariat and the aristocracy." (Marx, 1968, p. 118)

Marx then contrasts the P...P' and M...M' circuits:

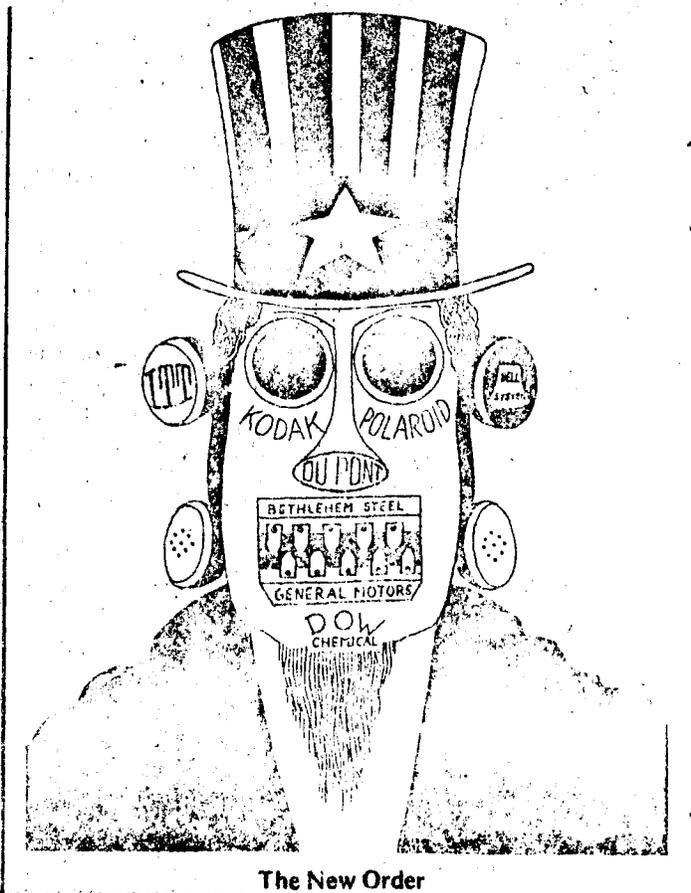
"... while in the first form, M...M', the process of production, the function of P, interrupts the circulation of money-capital and acts only as a mediator between its two phases, M-C and C'-M', here the entire circulation process of industrial capital, its entire movement within the phase of circulation, constitutes only an interruption and consequently only the connecting link between the productive capital, which as the first extreme opens the circuit, and that which closes it at the other extreme in the same form, hence in the form in which it starts again. Circulation proper appears but as an instrument promoting the periodically renewed reproduction, rendered continuous by the renewal." (Marx, 1967, pp. 65-66)

In other words, whereas in the circuit of money-capital, the process of production constituted an interruption between the two phases, M-C and C'-M', of circulation, here the entire circulation process constitutes an interruption between two processes of production.

In the circuit of money-capital, the entire circulation process assumes the form M-C-M (M-C, C-M). In the circuit P...P the entire circulation process assumes the form C-M-C (C-M, M-C), i.e., the form of the simple circulation of commodities. (Marx, 1967, p. 66).

In the circuit of money-capital, M' constituted the goal of the whole circuit, whereas the role of money in the circuit of productive capital is to act as a measure of value and as a means for purchasing new means of production and labour-power. Hence the emphasis on money which was so striking in the first circuit, is greatly minimised in the circuit of productive capital. Two outstanding features of this circuit are:

(1) The whole emphasis is on production. It is clear from examining this circuit that value has to be produced before it can be circulated. (2) The circuit of productive-capital, however, conceals the specific nature of the production process as a capitalist production process. The point of origin is production and the point of termination is production. This is also the case if we posit expanded reproduction, P...P'. The purchase of labour-power is obscured, as is the fact that labour-power and means of production exist in a state of separation from each other. Marx observes that:



"The general form of the movement P...P is the form of reproduction and, unlike M...M', does not indicate the self-expansion of value as the object of the process. This form makes it therefore so much easier for classical political economy [A. Smith and D. Ricardo] to ignore the definite capitalistic form of the process of production and to depict production as such as the purpose of this process; namely that as much as possible must be produced and as cheaply as possible ..." (Marx, 1967, p. 95)

In sum, the circuit P ... P emphasises production, and that the process of production has to be repeated, but it obscures the particular nature of capitalist production. For instance all modes of production (communal, slave, feudal etc.) have to produce and reproduce their means of production and their means of subsistence. Thus the form P ... P or P ... P' (if we ignore the processes of circulation) is applicable to all modes of production. Of course, when we look at the circuits what really attracts our attention is where the circuit begins and ends. The aim of each circuit is to move as quickly as possible from its point of origin to its point of destination, or back to its point of origin. Thus what happens in between these points tends to be obscured.

Having considered the strengths and weaknesses of the P...P circuit Marx moves to an investigation of the circuit of commodity capital [C'-C'].

(iii) The Circuit of Commodity-Capital

Assuming simple reproduction, this circuit assumes the form

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{LP} \\ \text{C}' - \text{M}' - \text{C}' \leftarrow \dots \text{P} \dots \text{C}' \\ \text{MP} \end{array}$$

In this circuit, the two acts of circulation are completed before the production process begins. Therefore, production appears to be an interruption of the circulation process. However, the circuit begins with the clear recognition that the commodity (C') which opens the circuit already contains surplus-value. Thus, the circuit of commodity-capital, with its strong emphasis on commodities pregnant with surplus-value, demonstrates clearly the nature of capitalist production. The M - M' circuit could have been the circuit of either merchant's or usurer's capital. And the circuit of productive-capital (P-P) has a form (P-P) common to all modes of production.

Although the C'-C' circuit is unmistakably capitalist in form (C'-C'), that form, nevertheless emphasises consumption and distribution more strongly than production. The circuit begins with an output (finished commodities) destined after sale (conversion into their money-equivalent) for either personal consumption or productive consumption; likewise, the circuit ends with an output. Therefore, there is a strong stress on consumption, and it would be easy to fall into the illusion, if this were the only form of the circuit one considered, that the whole aim of capitalist production was consumption. Such a belief, would be a serious misrepresentation of the nature of capitalist production.

The importance of distribution is also evident in the form of this circuit. When the C' which opens the circuit has been converted into money, then the circuit:

"branches out into movements of capital and revenue. The distribution of the total social product, as well as the special distribution for each individual commodity-capital, into an individual consumption fund on the one hand and into a reproduction fund on the other is included in this form of the circuit (Marx, 1967, p. 96).

Of course, the importance of the distribution of the final product is not very pronounced in the M-M' and P-P' circuits.

There is a comprehensiveness about the C'-C' circuit in that its form permits one to view the total annual output of individual capitals and the total annual output of all capitals (gross national product). If we add up all the commodities containing surplus-value, then we obtain a view of the total social capital. Marx writes:

"... if we regard the aggregate of commodities annually produced in a certain country and analyse the movement by which a part of it replaces the productive capital in all individual businesses, while another part enters into the individual consumption of the various classes, then we consider C'...C' as a form of movement of social capital as well as of the surplus-value, or surplus product generated by it." (Marx, 1967, pp. 99-100)

In other words, the commodity-capital circuit is the only circuit that begins with an output, and this output is allocated to the different classes after it has been transformed into M'. Some of it will be allocated for the individual consumption of capitalists, labourers, and other claimants to surplus-value, and the remainder is converted into elements of

LP

production C< so that production can begin anew. The C'... C'

MP

circuit, as noted, is a good representation of the total annual output of a country's commodities. In agriculture, it would represent the movement from one harvest to the next (see Marx, 1967, p. 101). When Marx analyses the turnover of the total social capital, he chooses to operate with the C'...C' circuit. This circuit, however, is also an inadequate view of capital in that it stresses the importance of circulation and consumption to the detriment of production.

3:5 Conclusions: The Combination of the Circuits

The above discussion has presented the three circuits of capital. Each circuit has its strong points and its weaknesses; each is but a partial view of the movement of capital. However,

"if we combine all three forms, all premises of the process appear as its result, as a premise produced by it itself. Every element appears as a point of departure, of transit, and of return. The total process presents itself as the unity of the processes of production and circulation. The process of production becomes the mediator of the process of circulation and vice-versa." (Marx, 1967. p. 13)

If we combine the three circuits we obtain the following formula:

$$\begin{array}{l} [\quad \quad \quad LP \quad \quad \quad] \quad \quad \quad LP \\ [M - C < \dots [P \dots [C' - M'] - C < \dots P] \dots C'] \\ [\quad \quad \quad MP \quad \quad \quad] \quad \quad \quad MP \end{array}$$

In this way, the three circuits (M...M', P...P, and C'...C') combined, give us a clearer perspective of the movement of and nature of capital. It is apparent now that the circuits of productive-capital (P...P) and commodity-capital (C'...C') have begun their movements within the circuit of money-capital (M...M') before it has reached its point of destination (M'). The mutual intertwinings of the different circuits becomes clear.

The movement of the total social capital resembles the revolutions of a continuously moving circle.

"In a constantly revolving circle every point is simultaneously a point of departure and a point of return ... Thus we have seen that not only does every individual circuit presuppose (implicite) the others, but also that the repetition of the circuit in one form comprises the performance of the circuit in the other forms." (Marx, 1967 p. 14)

Thus capital is motion, continuous motion. Interruption of the circuit in any of its phases leads to the stagnation of capital.

In summary, then, each circuit by itself reveals a certain feature of the nature of capital. The circuit M...M' highlights the importance of surplus-value in the form of money but minimises the importance of production. The circuit of productive-capital (P...P) emphasises production and minimises the importance of circulation. The circuit of commodity-capital is a good representation of the total social capital but it tends to emphasise distribution and consumption at the expense of production. The stress on continuous production which is an outstanding feature of the capitalist mode of production, is not apparent if only one form of the circuit of capital is considered. Thus, in the M-M' circuit which assumes the form M-C(MP+Lp) ... P ... C'-M', interruptions are evident (of course, they are also evident in the other circuits). However, although such interruptions punctuate the movement of individual capitals and sometimes (in a serious recession or depression) punctuate the movement of a considerable amount of the total social capital, they are alien to the nature of capital. For instance, individual capitalists are compelled to allocate their total capital in adequate quantities to the different phases of the circuit of capital. In

other words, no capitalist can have all of his capital tied-up in one phase of the circuit. Different proportions of his capital will function simultaneously in all three phases of the circuit. He will have to have a reserve of money-capital to pay regularly for raw materials and labour-power and to replace his fixed capital when it has worn out. Some of his capital will be functioning in the production process itself. If this were not the case, then potential value would be lost and actual value (buildings and machinery) would deteriorate physically and morally. And finally, some of his capital has to function as commodity-capital (C'), in the form of inventories to permit him to supply wholesalers and retailers.

This movement of capital through the various phases of its different circuits has, of course, a spatial as well as a temporal dimension. Just as different phases of the circuit of capital function simultaneously side by side, so also do the different functions of capital occupy simultaneously different geographical locations.

" Capital as a whole, then, exists simultaneously, spatially side by side, in its different phases. But every part passes constantly and successively from one phase, from one functional form, into the next and thus functions in all of them in turn. Its forms are hence fluid and their simultaneousness is brought about by their succession. Every form follows another and precedes it, so that the return of one capital part to a certain form is necessitated by the return of the other part to some other form. Every part describes continuously its own cycle, but it is always another part of capital which exists in this form, and these special cycles form only simultaneous and successive elements of the aggregate process" (Marx, 1967, p. 17).

Fluid movements from one phase to another and of the aggregate process as a whole are essential if capital is to function smoothly. Stagnation in any one phase of the aggregate circuit has repercussions throughout the whole circuit. As Marx notes:

If for instance C'-M' stagnates as far as one part is concerned, if the commodity cannot be sold, then the circuit of this part is interrupted and no replacement by its means of production takes place; the succeeding parts, which emerge from the process of production in the shape of C', find the change of their functions blocked by their predecessors. If this lasts for some time, production is restricted and the entire process brought to a halt. Every stagnation in succession carries disorder into co-existence, every stagnation in one stage causes more or less stagnation in the entire circuit of not only the stagnant part of the capital but also of the total individual capital. (Marx, 1967 p. 106)

Marx also notes that money and commodities from pre-capitalist modes of production (and of course, at present from socialist modes of production) enter into the circuits of industrial capital. He writes: "Within its process of circulation, in which industrial capital functions either as money or commodities, the circuit of industrial capital, whether as money-capital or as commodity-capital, crosses the commodity circulation of the most diverse modes of social production, so far as they produce commodities" (Marx, 1967, p. 113). Commodities produced under pre-capitalist modes of production have to compete with commodities produced under more efficient capitalist conditions. Because capital can produce commodities more cheaply (i.e., commodities bearing less direct and indirect labour-time) than pre-capitalist modes of production, competition from capitalist commodities tends to undermine pre-capitalist social formations. The logical and inevitable outcome of this competition is to drive the vast majority of pre-capitalist producers out of production altogether and to force the survivors into capitalist commodity producers.

"No matter whether commodities are the output of production based on slavery, of peasants (Chinese, Indian ryots), of communes (Dutch East Indies), of state enterprise (such as existed in former epochs of Russian history on the basis of serfdom) or of half-savage hunting tribes, etc. -- as commodities and money they come face to face with the money and commodities in which industrial capital presents itself and enter as much into its circuit as into that of the surplus-value borne in the commodity-capital, provided the surplus-value is spent as revenue; hence they enter into both branches of circulation of commodity-capital [M - C and C' - M']. (Marx, 1967, p. 113). And he continues: "What is true of the commodities of others [other modes of production] is also true of the money of others. Just as commodity-capital faces money only as commodities, so this money functions vis-a-vis commodity-capital only as money." (Marx, 1967, p. 113).

As the capitalist mode of production was developing in the west European countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many of the raw materials (especially raw materials such as cotton, indigo, rubber, sugar, tobacco etc., which could be only produced in tropical and semi-tropical regions) particular capitalist industries needed were either produced on slave or capitalist plantations or by pre-capitalist commodity-producers. Thus began a great transformation in most pre-capitalist regions of the world -- a transition from production predominantly oriented towards use to production oriented towards production for the markets of the dominant capitalist countries.

Not only did they become suppliers of raw-material commodities, but they also became markets for the finished commodities, both capital and consumer goods, of the dominant capitalist countries. Therefore pre-capitalist modes of production facilitated in a two-fold manner the accumulation of capital in the dominant capitalist countries. In the process, they themselves were transformed into capitalist modes of production, into subordinate capitalist modes of production. Here lies the origin of the processes which transformed pre-capitalist countries into underdeveloped capitalist countries.

Suppliers of raw-material commodities and consumers of finished commodities from the dominant capitalist countries constitute the dialectical nature of capitalist development and underdevelopment.

" ... it is the tendency of the capitalist mode of production to transform all production as much as possible into commodity production. The mainspring by which this is accomplished is precisely the involvement of all production [both capitalist and non-capitalist] into the capitalist production process. And developed commodity production IS capitalist commodity-production. The intervention of industrial capital promotes this transformation everywhere, but with it also the transformation of all direct producers into wage-labourers (Marx, 1967, pp. 113-114).

Finally, it is apparent that the circuits of capital provide a logical foundation and an explanatory device of enormous power for an examination of the relationships between the strong and weak capitalist countries, both historically and presently. This is not the place to examine these relationships except to urge that unless these relationships are situated within the context of the circuits of capital they cannot be understood scientifically.

Thus far, barter exchange, simple commodity circulation, the circulation of capital, and the three circuits of capital, have been considered. However the analysis has confined itself to the circulation of the forms of value i.e., to changes in the form of the same magnitude of value. We have seen value take on and slough off different forms as it circulates.

However capital has to spend time in each of its phases. Value and surplus-value are neither produced nor circulated instantaneously. " ... the nature of capital presupposes that it travels through the different phases of circulation not as it does in the mind, where one concept turns into the next at the speed of thought, in no time, but rather as situations which are separate in time." (Marx, 1973, p. 548) To use Marx's flattering metaphor, capital " ... must spend some time as a cocoon before it can take off as a butterfly." (Marx, 1973, pp. 548-549).

However in the domain of the real such changes take time and the time of circulation entails costs. The time of circulation equals the time it takes to change value from one form to a different form. For instance, the circulation of capital comprises the two acts of buying and selling. Because no value and therefore no surplus-value is CREATED during the process of circulation, it behooves capital to strive to abbreviate the time of circulation as much as possible. Pure costs of circulation are those costs of circulation concerned with changes in the form of value. Such costs include the costs of buying and selling, the costs of bookkeeping, and the costs of the means of circulation (money). Money, for instance, no matter what function it performs is necessary because the products of human labour take the form of commodities. An additional cost of circulation which requires some comment is INVOLUNTARY costs of circulation. Circulation cannot proceed unless the capitalist maintains what is

called a NORMAL commodity-supply or a normal inventory. The normal inventory cannot be specified with exact precision but it corresponds more or less to the average or normal level of demand. In other words neither production nor buying nor selling can proceed without the existence of a normal commodity supply.

What then is an involuntary commodity-supply? If because of sales resistance the capitalist has to incur additional storage costs, such costs are termed involuntary storage costs. These costs constitute pure circulation costs. In fact any involuntary cost constitutes a deduction from surplus-value. The capitalist who experiences difficulty in selling his commodities cannot demand compensation for this difficulty through raising his prices; if anything, difficulty in selling will compel him to either lower his prices or spend money on advertising -- a cost of pure circulation and hence, a deduction from his profits.

The total time of production and circulation of a capital, Marx terms the turnover time of capital. Time of turnover is an important concept because the more frequently a capital can turn itself over, the more value and surplus-value it produces and realises. Different parts of capital turnover at different rates. For example the value of the raw materials and labour power expended during the production process turns over after the completion of a production and a circulation period. Fixed capital, on the other hand turns over much more slowly. The value of fixed capital turns over gradually or piecemeal. Thus the capitalist has to wait longer to recover the value of fixed capital. The value of fixed capital circulates piecemeal in the commodities in whose production it has participated.

As the capitalist mode of production develops, more and more of the total capital becomes fixed capital. Therefore the time of turnover of capital tends to lengthen. However, fixed capital may be abandoned before it has yielded-up all of its value.

The abandonment of fixed capital before it has transferred all of its value into commodities occurs because of the frequency with which capitalists introduce innovations to cheapen the value of commodities. Competition compels capitalists to introduce innovations.

Fixed capital also impedes the locational flexibility of capital. If millions of dollars of fixed capital have been sunk in a plant at a particular location, then capital cannot easily abandon that location. Although the particular location may no longer be a suitable or "optimum" location, the value of the fixed capital may impede the desire of the capitalist to relocate. Locational inertia is related to real concerns, and is not as some behavioral geographers would have it, a function of the personality structure of the capitalist.

To conclude, this section of the project on circulation has examined the circulation of capital, expressed in the three circuits of capital. Unless, the circulation of capital is viewed as the unity of the three circuits, the real nature of capital remains hidden. Attention was also drawn to the important concepts of the time of circulation of capital, the pure costs of circulation (i.e., costs of circulation arising from changes in the FORMS of value), and the time

of turnover of capital. It should be recalled that, although transportation or REAL circulation costs and normal storage costs are necessarily closely intertwined in the domain of the real, they are, nevertheless, separate and distinct from pure circulation costs (transportation costs and normal storage costs are real production costs); however, it is essential to separate them conceptually. In the next section, the problems (barriers) which capital encounters in the sphere of circulation and the contrivances it devises to overcome them will be analysed.

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LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES

The main purpose of this journal is to bridge the gap between Latin American and non-Latin American scholars. Primary emphasis on theoretical issues and individual countries. Very strongly influenced by dependency theory and also by the work of Andre Gundar Frank. The journal has over 40 editors including Cardoso, Corrodi, Quijana, Stavenhagen, Bonilla, O'Connor and Chilcote, to name but a few. This journal is published three times annually (Spring, Summer, Fall) Subscription rates: Individuals \$10.00 (Low Income \$7.50) Address: Latin American Perspectives c/o C.M.S.I. Box 792, Riverside, California. Journal first appeared in Spring 1974 and recent issues have included the following.

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The Crisis of Contemporary Capitalism, pp. 84 - 99.

Novack, George

The Law of Uneven and Combined Development and Latin America, pp. 100 - 105.

In case the reader wants to go to the Cayman Islands, this information supplied by the *Financial Times* will be quite useful:

The Cayman Islands, 200 miles from Cuba, must have the densest population of banks to human population of any country in the world. On the Cayman Islands are 13,000 people, 170 banks and trust companies, and 5,071 other companies. Banks are multiplying at the rate of six a month, and companies at the rate of 120 a month. Maybe it is the climate that attracts people to these West Indian islands, or maybe it is to escape from the tax and company laws of other countries.

(Supplement on the Cayman Islands, 5 August 1974)

QUEST

A feminist quarterly representing a collection of political persuasions including Marxists. All of the editorial group identify themselves as socialist women concerned with issues pertaining specifically to women. In their own words:

"Quest: a feminist quarterly is seeking long term, in-depth feminist political analysis and ideological development. Quest is not an end in itself, but a process leading to new directions for the women's movement possibly including such concrete forms as regional or national conferences, a national organization or a political party. We, the editors, are all women who have been in the movement for several years and have reached a point where each answer leads to more questions. We have been through various ideological and activist metamorphoses and end up feeling that our overall perspective is still not adequate. Where has the struggle brought us? Closer to real economic, political and social power for women? Closer to self-determination for all women? We do not have all the answers ourselves and expect that feminists across the country and the world will contribute to the process of seeking."

The journal maintains a permanent staff which is ultimately responsible for the final publication. In addition a development committee is selected for each issue to read and edit on the assumption that a better product will result from additional viewpoints being incorporated into the work process. This is particularly important since QUEST strives to be a political forum for exploring differences and similarities in ideologies and strategies among various groups in the womens movement.

QUEST exhibits both the advantages and disadvantages of the forum approach as evidenced by the range of topics dealt with in previous issues. THEORIES OF REVOLUTION (Fall, 1975), ORGANISATIONS AND STRATEGIES (Winter, 1976), and MCNEY, FAME and POWER (Fall, 1974) are examples of issues dealing specifically with questions of socialist theory and practice. They represent some of the most sophisticated contemporary handling of issues and controversies pertaining to the situation of women in advanced capitalist countries of any journal currently available. By comparison the issue on WOMEN and SPIRITUALITY (Spring, 1975) was a real let down, dealing with such contemporary cosmic concepts as witchcraft and spiritual power, whatever that is.

In general QUEST is recommended reading for those interested in issues pertaining to feminism and socialism, an area overlooked in much of the radical literature currently available. As a political forum, articles are occasionally published which are not germane to this topic, from this authors viewpoint, but by and large the journal maintains its socialist focus. A list of future issues is presented below along with the mailing address for those interested in obtaining copies, subscribing or submitting articles for publication.

QUEST: a feminist quarterly,

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Future Issues

KALEIDOSCOPE ONE (Summer, 1976) Vol. 111 no. 1.

Are we connecting our lives to our ideas? This issue will be an open forum for substantive response to our first two years of publication and for your input to help chart our future. We seek discussion of topics and ideas that you consider vital, as well as commentary on previous articles.

COMMUNICATION and CONTROL (Fall, 1976) Vol. 111 no. 2.

The selection and transmission of information is an index to power in mass society: feminists must analyze how this power affects women and determine how we can use it to better political effect. Areas for articles include: the role and functions of media in our society; communication and art; communication and political organization; feminist forms of communication.

WORK, WORK, WORK (Winter, 1976-77) Vol. 111 no. 3.

Work is an essential part of our lives: of our survival, our self identity, and our group identification. Crucial to feminist vision are new ways of viewing and organizing work. Areas for articles include: What is defined and rewarded as work-for men or women; how does work affect our self-concept, especially in regard to class, race, and sex; what are the feminist modes of organizing work. (Copy deadline: August 15. 1976.)

RADICAL PHILOSOPHY

The Radical Philosophy Group grew out of the convergence of two currents which had been largely formed by the student movement of the 1960's - on the one hand, discontent, especially among students, with the sterile and complacent philosophy taught in British universities and colleges; on the other hand, a revival of interest in theoretical work on the left and a recognition of the need to confront the ideology enshrined in orthodox academic disciplines. The Radical Philosophy Group has always contended that these two problems can be tackled together - that philosophical enquiry into fundamental issues must lead to the exposure of conservatism masquerading as formal reason.

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SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

Editors stress the importance of analyzing its history and current situation with the objective of social reform: "With an appreciation of region/nation interrelations, we seek to offer imaginative strategies for social change. Our goal is to provide ideas, analyses, facts, and programs...to translate information into action for progressive change." It has excellent layout and graphics, exceptionally good articles on Southern labour history, the military, resource exploitation, to name a few.

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE is published quarterly by the Institute for Southern studies, 88 Walton St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga. Address for subscriptions: P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514. Subscriptions are \$8 per year.

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THE REVIEW OF RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS

The Review of Radical Political Economics is published quarterly. It is distributed to all members and subscribers of the Union for Radical Political Economics. Membership costs \$35 (contributing member), \$25 (high income member), \$8-10 (low income member), \$1 (additional household member). Non-member subscriptions are \$15; \$7.50 (low income). Library and institution subscriptions are \$30. Subscription information is available from URPE, 41 Union Square West, Room 901, New York, New York 10003.

The Review of Radical Political Economics contains many articles, reviews and analytic notes on a variety of topics concerning modern capitalism. It has published several special editions on radical economics course outlines, bibliographies, and 2 special issues on Women and the Economy. Suggested future special issues include the Political Economy of Health Care, Socialist Experiences, Urban Issues, The Accumulation of Capital, The Working Class, and The Internationalization of Capital.

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NOTICE

At the New York meeting of the USG it was agreed that the newsletter after this one would be prepared at Johns Hopkins by Lata Chatterjee and Carolyn Hock. Please send all material for that issue to these at the Dept. of Geography, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD. The final date for receipt of material will probably be in two months time, i.e. sometime in September.



MITRO

—Miroslav, Gabor



ALL POWER
TO
THE PEOPLE !