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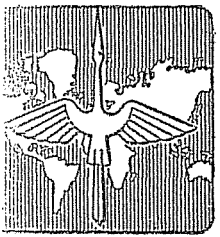

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Workers, Peasants, Artisans and Mothers

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INTRODUCTION

Given the extent to which national and international reform strategies assume the necessity of some kind of trade union concession, compromise or cooperation with the 'real poor' to avoid revolution in under-industrialised societies, and given the extent to which national and international revolutionary strategies have stressed the importance of the 'worker-peasant alliance' to bring about structural change, it is odd how little analytical or theoretical attention has been devoted to relations amongst the labouring poor in peripheral capitalist societies. Two recent radical collections of writings on what both still call 'the third world' nonetheless enable us to obtain an overview of this terrain. They should also enable us to identify the problem that neither of them quite does. Ray Bromley and Chris Gerry (1979) deal not so much with labourers as with labour, and this only within the cities. But in dealing with 'casual work' in the cities of the 'third world' they are obliged to consider in detail at least the economic relations between this massive category and that urban minority in regular wage-employment. Robin Cohen, Peter Gutkind and Phyllis Brazier (1979) are concerned with both 'peasants and proletarians' (main title), although their focus is primarily on the political 'struggles of third world workers' (sub-title). Although the first concentrates on the city and on economic relations, the second on the urban-rural nexis and political relations, they do between them appear to cover the whole set of relations which I have characterised as under-analysed and under-researched. I therefore intend to consider in turn what light the two collections throw on the economic-productive, socio-cultural

and political-organisational relations between the unionised or unionisable working class on the one hand, and the 'casual workers', the peasantry and women amonst these, on the other. Following this I will consider the implications of each for political practice and theoretical approach. For the sake of economy, the first work will be referred to mostly as B&G, the second as CG&B, and page references will be to each accordingly (e.g. B&G: 121). The complete contents of each work are presented in the bibliography for reference.

1. ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In terms of the economic relations within the urban sector, what comes over most strongly from Bromley and Gerry is the intimate interrelation of large-scale foreign and local capitalist production on the one hand, and even the smallest-scale artisan production on the other. Says Kowarick (Marginality in Brazil):

> ... it is a question of a unified structural form of accumulation of a capitalist type, which brings together unequal and combined forms. As it expands, it can just as easily recreate 'archaic' forms of production (notably craft production) as create new forms by which 'traditional' activities are inserted into the social division of labour ... These types of work are not only constantly stimulated by capitalist development but also structurally articulated with it (B&G:69).

This structural articulation is clearly presented as that between dominant and subordinate sectors.

In his own contribution, dealing with forward and backward linkages of petty production in Dakar, Gerry shows the extent to which even some 'traditional' crafts are dependent upon inputs (and imports) from large capitalist producers. Both Chris Birkbeck

(Garbage Collectors in Colombia) and Alison Scott (Petty-production in Peru) show this as an hierarchical relationship, with distinct differences in production relations between levels. Thus Birkbeck reveals that the 'self-employed' wastepaper picker in Cali is integrated, via two other levels and types of enterprise, into Carton de Colombia. The latter is a multinational-dominated and capital-intensive monopoly, employing skilled and highly-paid labour. Beneath it come local-capitalist packing-warehouses, much smaller in scale, with less-skilled labour, largely dependent on the multinational. Beneath these are satellite warehouses, commonly owned by small capitalists, employing unskilled labour unprotected by labour legislation.

Although the extent of integration/dependence is unmatched in other industries or countries examined in the collection, Scott's study of manufacturing, construction, transport and commerce shows the same fundamental relationship in existence. In manufacturing there are artisans, outworkers and wage labourers, linked by a series of subcontracting relations to petty-, medium-, and large-scale capitalist enterprise:

> There are artisans with differing degrees of autonomy over the production process, and outworkers who have none, yet to some degree all these producers own their implements of production. In both these categories there are workers who, strictly speaking, should be classified as employers since they utilise wage labour, although they are not fully capitalist entrepreneurs since they are themselves direct producers and also employ family labour. This complexity is repeated in other economic sectors (B&G: 115).

In terms of the process occurring in the petty-production sector, Scott, Gerry and Rob Davies agree: it is one of a simultaneous proletarianisation of the majority and 'capitalisation' of a tiny minority. Proletarianisation is not only a matter of the current structural dependency, making apparently independent artisans into virtual wage labourers, but one of tendency, Scott believing that 'autonomous production is declining in viability, forcing those workers into more dependent forms of production' (B&G: 126). Gerry (Petty-production in Dakar) agrees:

> Such relations may lead to formerly 'independent' petty producers losing all but nominal control of their production, themselves becoming little more than wage-workers, even though a pretence of autonomy is kept up on both sides ... [T]his process may be partial, intermittent and, in the present context, sometimes appear to operate in reverse. In this latter case, the process of proletarianisation has not ceased, but has merely become more covert ... Nevertheless, the fundamental mechanisms of exploitation (both through the labour process and the market) will be the same as in the factory ... (B&G: 246).

Gerry adds the 'small but noticeable' trend in the direction of 'capitalisation'. But, like Davies in his study of Rhodesia, he stresses the limits to such a development not merely in the numbers who can benefit from it but the distance they can travel. The transformation is to petty capitalism, not to large-scale industrial production.

The interest of large-scale capitalism in the existence of petty-production, services and commerce is presented in related fashion by several authors. Davies argues (B&G 98-100) that petty-commodity activities keep capitalist-sector wages low in various ways, including the self-supporting reserve labour army it provides, and the low-cost wage goods and services it produces. Given the more direct inter-sectoral relation-

ship in his case study, Bromley is able to demonstrate more clearly the manner in which his 'self-employed' garbage collectors contribute to capital accumulation at the multinational level. The existence of the four levels, and the increasing number of competing units at lower levels, provides both for flexibility during market fluctuations and for a lowering of the cost of labour. With respect to the latter he is able to calculate that inclusion of the garbage collectors within the MNC would increase the cost of wastepaper to the company by 300 per cent.

The common tendencies discovered across the third world do not imply a common situation. Kenneth King argues (B&G: 218) that the gulf between factory and workshop is greater in Africa than in India. Gerry's material suggests that there is also far less integration of petty production into large-scale capitalist production in Africa than in Latin America. Although there may not be enough evidence in the collection to make inter-continental comparisons possible, it would seem reasonable to hypothesise that - rather than destroying petty production - the process of peripheral capitalist industrialisation simply increases the levels and the incorporation of petty and small-capitalist enterprise.

If B&G reveals the inter-relations within the urban sector, Cohen, Gutkind and Brazier reveal (if in less economic detail) a wider series: (1) between peasant labour and wage labour; (2) between women's labour and wage labour; (3) between petty-entrepreneurial urban and wage labour and, finally, (4) between different strata of wage labour. Let us take these in turn.

Behind the contemporary relationship between peasant and wage labour lies a long history of the subordination of agricultural production to capital accumulation on world scale. This is revealed in the editorial introduction to the sector on 'Workers on the Land' which reminds us of three early historical forms in which agricultural labour was so subordinated: through slave production; through the combination of household production and migrant wage labour; and through the formation of a rural proletariat. The intimate relationship between changing forms of agricultural and industrial production are clearly shown in Josh DeWind's study of the transformation of peasants into miners in Peru. At one time, the division of communal land into tiny smallholdings (minifundios) drove peasants to the mines to earn enough to be able to return to their smallholdings. At this time mine production methods only required such labour. Later, the undermining of even minifundio production drove peasants into the fulltime labouring that the mining now needed. Since the minifundios evidently could not produce a surplus to feed the mine labour, the US mining companies were themselves encouraged to create enormous agricultural estates (latifundios), on which labour was employed at low wages to produce low-cost food for the mine labour! Indeed, it appears that this general development was not simply a result of the general development of commodity production and exchange in Peru, but was in part a direct result of company policy - destroying surrounding minifundio production in order to buy up land cheap. Regrettably, DeWind does not deal with the minifundio labourers or their relationship with the miners.

The inter-relation of women's labour and wage labour is dealt with in items by Carmen Deere (Rural Women's Subsistence Production) and Helen Safa (Working-Class Women in Puerto Rico). Says Deere:

> Whereas capitalist development in centre economies has often increased women's participation in the wage-labour force, and hence, in the capitalist production process, capitalist expansion in the periphery has often intensified women's economic participation in noncapitalist modes of production (CG&B: 133).

Whilst she does not deny the importance of female wage labour, Deere does stress the role of women in subsistence agricultural production, in petty-commodity production and circulation. The articulation of this female role with that of the male semi-proletarian permits the costs of the production and reproduction of wage-labour to be borne outside the capitalist mode, women's labour thus subsidising low capitalist wages. Whilst the implication of this (as, indeed, of DeWind's item) might be of increasing role divisions created by increasing 'commoditisation', Safa shows a somewhat different (and more industrial) situation. As part of the US empire Puerto Rico has been through two phases since the 1940s, one of export-oriented light production, and one of export-oriented heavy production. Women provided a cheap labour force during the first phase, constituting nearly half of the industrial, administrative and service workers in 1970. Of course, even when women were employed equally with men, they were concentrated in the lower-paid jobs, thus creating divisions within the wage-labour situation. The second phase, requiring highly-skilled labour, threatens female employment more than male. Evidently, women play more than one role in the accumulation of capital at the periphery. What remains is their oppressed position,

and the exploitation of this by capital. The different roles, and the changing cycles, suggest the necessity for historically- and locally-specific analysis. As with the peasant-worker relationship, there may be periods and places at which the interests of men and women are more evidently and more immediately linked.

The inter-relationship of the working class and the rest of the labouring poor is shown in the second of the two contributions by Ken Post, which deals precisely with the worker-peasant alliance. Concerned, like Kowarick, with the economic structure and processes underlying observable differences in production forms, Post first notes that

> Entrepreneurial capitalism penetrates precapitalist economies first by linking their modes of exchange with its own; in so doing it both disarticulates them from their modes of production, by destroying village crafts by competition, then rearticulates the modes of exchange into new market systems dependent on imported goods. Once the penetrated economy is thus incorporated into an [externally]-oriented capitalist cycle of production and reproduction, it is possible to introduce capitalist organisation into the mode of production itself (CG&B: 271).

He then traces the relationships of contemporary peasants with other classes in a manner that can, I believe, be usefully summarised in the following table:

	Rural	Urban
Pre-capitalist origin	Peasant	
	Petty-commodity producers/circulators	
Capitalist origin	Reserve army of labour	
	Agricultural wage labourer	Industrial wage labourer

Post suggests the crucial role of petty-commodity production (both rural and urban, part-pre-capitalist and part-capitalist in origin) in the passage of the peasant to urban wage labour, as well as the crucial role of agricultural wage labour, bringing the wage-labour relationship into the rural area. Post sees the importance of agricultural wage labour as possibly easing the worker-peasant linkage at an ideological and political level. With the petty-commodity sector the implication appears to be somewhat different: it acts as 'a focus of articulation for the dispossessed peasants alternative to the urban working class' (CG&B:275). Although, in practice, neither of these economic relations is followed through in Post's later discussion of political/ideological linkages, his tracing out of them may encourage us to do so. Moreover, his distinctions between peasant strata, and within the petty-commodity sector by mode of origin, help to overcome the traditional dichotomising opposition of these to a working class with which they are intimately related. One shortcoming of Post's approach, however, may be that he takes here the peasant as the centre of his analysis. Perhaps this is natural in an analysis of the economic relationship and economic process, one which has been historically a matter of proletarianisation - or at least of de-peasantisation.

Post does, it is true, raise questions concerning role mobility and role rotation. But it is DeWind, with his focus on mineworkers, who reminds us most forcefully of a crucial economic process - that of de-proletarianisation, the movement out of wage employment and back into the 'other ranks' of the labouring poor:

> The proletarian socio-economic status of many miners is modified by their access to land, technical skills and money - each of which can be used to get out of the mines and return to agriculture or engage in some other petty-bourgeois economic activity (CG&B:167).

With a 20 per cent annual turnover (1969) the Cerro de Pasco corporation was creating or recreating every five years as many petty-commodity producers as its total workforce! Whilst most of these may have returned to their tiny plots of land (presumably providing a more politicised peasantry), others became commercial farmers, traders, craftsmen, transporters. The existence of the petty-commodity sphere as an alternative to wage employment (enforced or volunteered for, aspired to or realised) requires examining for its alternative implications. On the one hand it could imply a limit on working-class consciousness amongst the proletariat, on the other a spreading of working-class consciousness and capacities among the rest of the poor.

DeWind divides his mineworkers into 'proletarians' and 'modified' proletarians on the basis of the 'partial' or 'temporary' worker status of the latter. On the other hand, Adrian Peace (Industrial Protest in Nigeria) insists, simply, that

> The Nigerian industrial worker is a proletarian. As a member of a propertyless, contractual labour force, the worker's class situation is, in this respect, essentially the same as that of British or American counterparts. Workers' situations contrast sharply with those of farmers and entrepreneurs, the two largest occupational categories in Nigeria today (CG&B:419).

In the spirit of an historical and relational analysis, neither position is quite satisfactory, although one understands each author's motives for taking it. Each is thinking of <u>the proletariat</u>, whereas what they should be focussing on is <u>proletarianisation</u> - a process that occurs on both sides of the compo nd wall or the factory gate.

This last crucial point becomes evident in a section of CG&B which deals with migrant workers in the central capitalist economies. Despite the apparent irrelevance to peripheral capitalist economies, these studies draw dramatic attention to the kind of differential proletarian status with which B&G is concerned. Although treatment of the migrant/native proletarian relationship frequently falls only too easily into the kind of dichotomic opposition I am concerned to surpass, the studies do permit us to see this as just a particular form of that general process of working-class division which is continually reproduced by capital and state. The general process is the use of socially or politically disadvantaged labour (disadvantaged sexually, regionally, religiously, racially, ethnically, nationally) to work in the worst paid jobs, the worst paid industries, to act as a reserve army of labour, and to undermine the well-organised part of the working class. The relationship of the organised working class to migrant labour is both one of its internal relations and of its external relations since the migrant is a man (or woman) of two worlds. With the immigrant, of course, the problem arises of the international relations of the organised working class. Adrian Adams' study (Senegalese peasants as French immigrant workers) reveals the long historical and geographical chain that links the depressed Fouta Toro with the building sites of Paris. Capitalism needs and exploits internal divisions within the working class, the division between worker and non-worker, and the national divisions between workers. This suggests the existence of a single long-term general interest amongst labouring people. It also suggests that the overcoming of divisions within the national working class requires the overcoming of those amongst the labouring poor, and those between national contingents of the working class.

Having considered at length the issues of economic relations as the basis for both immediate interest conflicts and long-term common interest, let us consider their expression in ideas and attitudes.

2. SOCIO-CULTURAL RELATIONS

Given the extent to which Bromley and Gerry is concerned with the economic relationship, the collection has little to say on socio-cultural relations except by implication. The overall image projected is one of the individualism, competitiveness, and apathy of the petty-producers (Sarin, B&G: 1959; Gerry, B&G: 248), and the conservatism and self-interest of the regularly wage-paid. Although distancing themselves somewhat from the term 'aristocracy of labour' the editors in fact twice present organised wage workers in this manner. In their introduction they talk of some groups of workers 'for whom the defence and increase of relative privilege takes precedence over solidarity with less privileged groups' (B&G: 9). And in their conclusion they talk of

> a select group of coopted workers who contribute substantially ... to the continued impoverishment of their less-favoured colleagues among the casual poor (B&G: 309).

The focus of Cohen, Gutkind and Brazier on protest implies that their collection does have more to say on attitudes and ideology. We may consider in turn what we can find here with respect to women, peasants and the rural poor, the urban poor generally, and the organised working class.

Deere's assumptions about women's role in peripheral capitalist economies suggests a conflict in immediate self-interest and consequent consciousness, with no prospect of its bridging: the man is a member of a class in collective conflict with capital, the woman is interested

only in access to land. Safa at first appears no less pessimistic:

> Participation in the labour force may be a sufficient condition for the formation of class consciousness in men, but I would argue it is not sufficient for women, who suffer from sexual subordination as well as class oppression. Class consciousness is here defined as a cumulative process by which women (1) recognise that they are exploited and oppressed, (2) recognise the source of their exploitation and oppression, and (3) are willing and able to organise and mobilise in their own class interests (CG&B:443).

Continued responsibility for the home and household labour not only exhausts women workers, it makes their family role primary, implies isolation, dependence on men (or on the state, where security benefits are paid), and openness to the mystique of Marianismo (the Virgin Mary role - caring, suffering, but silent and protected). Safa does not, however, consider the domestic and familial orientation of working-class women as simply negative. She suggests that even the idealisation of the home (and community) sphere of non-capitalist human solidarity provides a growth point for the self-activation of women ... and of men! We will have to reconsider this when dealing with implications for action, since she is here making proposals rather than analysing evidence.

As far as rural mass consciousness is concerned, contributions to CG&B discourage generalisation. Speaking of post-independence Algeria, Ian Clegg distinguishes sharply between the radical agricultural proletariat and the conservative peasantry:

> The peasants were fighting for what they regarded as their inheritance, a heritage firmly rooted in the Arab, Berber, and Islamic past. Their consciousness was rooted in the values and traditions of this past, and their aim was its re-creation. Revolution, as a concept, is alien to peasant consciousness, while the peasants' relationship to the environment remains one of passive endurance rather than active transformation (CG&B:239).

However, Sidney Mintz (rural proletarian consciousness in the Caribbean) believes peasants to be more revolutionary than rural proletarians:

> It is the peasant sectors of Caribbean societies that have often been viewed as possessing and even sometimes exercising the revolutionary potential Marx attributes to the industrial proletariat; and while rural proletarian sectors in the Antilles have repeatedly demonstrated their capacities for political response and political action, only rarely have they shown their proletarian consciousness as a revolutionary force (CG&B:193).

While Clegg would seem unduly deterministic here, hardly providing for the role of peasants in anti-capitalist revolutions, Mintz would seem to be erroneously generalising from peasant roles in anti-imperialist revolutions to anti-capitalist ones. Surely, the limits or potentials of the consciousness of either can only be judged once we have considered their organisational articulation and the roles played by each within national and social uprisings. Moreover, their consciousness has to be compared with that of the relevant urban proletariat since - as Clegg shows for post-independent Algeria - the industrial proletariat was not so revolutionary either, and - as Mintz fails to show us - the transition from anti-imperialist to anti-capitalist revolution in Cuba was dependent precisely on the urban working class.

The scepticism of B&G toward the consciousness and capacity of the urban petty-entrepreneurial sectors seems shared by CG&B. Says Clegg of the 'sub-proletariat',

> They are denied the uneasy security either of the traditional values of rural society or of employment in the industrial economy. This mass ... is involved in a desperate daily struggle for existence ... It is this very desperation and extreme deculturation which deprives them of the ability to act on the external in a conscious manner. Subjectively, the sub-proletariat is not conscious of itself as a social organisation: its total deprivation of social or economic self-identity makes of it a series (CG&B: 239).

This individualisation within the petty-commodity sector provides a powerful stimulus toward an identification with saviours from above, rather than collective self-organisation. Post's study of the popular uprising in Jamaica in 1938 reveals this quite clearly. The uprising, taking place at an early point in the organisation of a still tiny urban proletariat, came rapidly under the ideological influence of two leaders, one with an entrepreneurial background and style, the other with a more 'salaried middle-stratum' type. Once again, I would like to be more cautious than the cited authors in disposing of the non-waged or irregularly-waged urban poor. Outside the workplace they share so much with the regularly employed that they would seem to be more immediate allies of, and more open to the influence of, the working class than the peasantry can be. Certainly, if the urban petty-bourgeoisie has as much influence on the urban working class as many of the contributors to CG&B suggest, the possibility for working-class hegemony over the petty bourgeoisie must also exist.

'Working-class consciousness', of course, varies amongst the working class over time, and at any one point of time. It is subject to changes in the forces and relations of production, as well as to deliberate manipulation by management, state and various political movements. Consciousness may 'lag behind' action, or exist as an unexploited potential. Much of this is evident from the various items in CG&B. Thus Alan Angell's study of Chile 1870-1930 reveals the prevalence of guild, anarchist and socialist ideas amongst different types of worker, as well as the gradual movement from the first to the third with the passage of time. In Shanghai in the 1920s (Chesneaux), the Communist attempts to create solid unions and to organise popular insurrection had

to overcome anarchic attitudes amongst a working class barely separated from rural or urban craft labour. On the other hand, studies of Indian and Ceylonese workers (E.A. Ramaswamy and R. Kearney) suggest the extent to which parliamentarianism has grasped and held the regularly-employed there.

But the success of efforts of the privileged classes to ideologically dominate the organised working class, and to separate it from other sectors, should not be considered to be without danger to the privileged. In the mines of Peru, the Cerro de Pasco corporation used the most sophisticated methods to incorporate the workers ideologically. The major target was precisely the domestic and residential sphere. Social workers (1) helped to 'solve some very real problems', (2) 'tried to inculcate their own middle-class values in the workers', (3) policed the company-owned houses to make sure they met company standards, (4) told women how to keep house, what to buy, how to handle their husbands' income, etc.:

> Ironically, the company's attempt to create a stable, economically independent, and well-adjusted labour force ... only increased the difficulties and frustrations of living on wages and the market, and had done more to provoke strikes and political criticism than to create labour peace (CG&B:166).

This was true not only of the workers, but also of their wives!

> Rather than make the women happy, the social-work programme humiliated them by making them feel as though their rural way of life was inferior. Then it frustrated them by teaching them to want and need more than they could afford to buy... Added to this indignity was the knowledge that the company was pressing them to change their lives out of its own self-interest (CG&B: 165-66).

In this case we see - on a small geographical and compressed time-scale - both the methods employed by national capital and state to incorporate the regular wage-earners, and the contradictory implications this can have.

The eventually counter-productive nature of such manipulation does not deny its current possibility in dividing and controlling the working class. Despite breaches made in racial divisions during the 1973 strike wave in South Africa (Institute of Industrial Education), these still clearly operate to weaken even the non-white working class of that country. Racial or national divisions within the working class are not unique, but they do present the problem of intra-class division so clearly and crudely that bourgeois theorists are blinded by them and unable to see them for what they are, or to recognise any countervailing tendencies. This is not, of course, true of Manuel Castells. He presents the problem in its many-sidedness as

> the major trump card in capitalist expansion; and as the bogey scapegoat of the bourgeoisie always ready to feed the fires of xenophobia and racism; as a pretext for a reluctantly renewed charity; as a myth in mobilising the European left; and as a source of confusion for trade unions and political parties (CG&B:353).

Unlike the charitable liberals, Castells recognises that xenophobia exists not only 'against immigrants but also in the opposite direction' (CG&B:370). The question of if, and how, the left, the unions and the political parties can overcome such divisions must be dealt with below.

3. POLITICAL-ORGANISATIONAL RELATIONS

The pessimistic impression that Bromley and Gerry give of the attitudes of the urban poor is, no doubt, drawn from the limited evidence it presents concerning organisation and action. Sarin's account of the long struggle of petty-traders in Chandigarh to protect and advance their own interests against the big traders and state reveals both their resilience and their essential weakness:

> The contradictory nature of the political consciousness of the poor and the cut-throat competition they must endure, place severe limitations on the potential for...changes... One of the main conditions made by...market traders for the acceptance of resettlement was that others should be prevented from using the same channels they themselves selves had used to acquire a certain degree of security within the legal framework...As the leader...pointed out, the smaller and poorer traders could at best succeed in only reproducing their existing conditions. Yet, even when assistance of a particular form was provided, it was principally the richer ones who benefitted from the intervention of the authorities (B&G:159).

Birkbeck tells a similar story, mentioning the attempt to set up a cooperative of garbage pickers which failed after one year due to its poor administration and the pricing tactics of the paper companies, and stressing such obstacles to unionisation as lack of political skills, geographical dispersal and the multiplicity of direct exploiters (the purchasing companies). He adds:

> The history of trade unionism amongst Cali's low income occupations (such as street sellers or small-scale transporters) tells a story of personalism, corruption, and an ideology that is subservient to that of the 'managers' of the system (B&G: 180).

As far as the regular wage-workers are concerned, we have two somewhat conflicting pieces of evidence, although no explicit argument is developed from either of them. Birkbeck mentions that the well-paid workers within Carton de Colombia have been represented by a union for thirty years without one strike occurring, the company being prepared to sack militants even if this requires heavy compensation payments. To avoid unionisation within its own warehouses, the company was prepared to pay substantial wage increases. In the Chandigarh case, a union whose members were resident within illegal settlements organised a strike against their clearance.

The evidence here is, of course, thin. It is most convincing in the case of the petty-commodity sector, which is shown as incapable of effectively defending a

collective self-interest. As for the securely-employed wage-earners, these are shown as not only capable of defending a collective self-interest (Carton de Colombia), but also of taking action serving the interest of non-wage-earners (Chandigarh). The failure of isolated action by petty-producers, and the commonly limited action by the securely-employed wage-earners suggests to me the necessity of combined action by both. We can consider this matter again in the following section.

But first we must consider what Cohen, Gutkind and Brazier reveals about organisational relations amongst the labouring poor. Since this collection is primarily concerned with protest it should have lots to say. The editorial introduction to the section on 'Strategies of Working-Class Action' (CG&B:219-221) does indeed deal directly with such political inter-relationships, and it enables us to consider these precisely in terms of worker relations with others. Furthermore, it identifies a series of alternative 'strategies' which the following studies show the organised working class as following. These are (1) upward identification to one or more parliamentary parties (Ramaswamy on an Indian textile union); (2) economic or political strikes (Kearney on Ceylon); (3) workers' self-management (Clegg on Algeria); (4) the worker-peasant alliance (Post). It adds, as a possible fifth, identification with a populist or working-class party. Unfortunately, the presentation of these as alternative strategies does not really help readers to come to terms with the material presented in the particular section or elsewhere in the work. This, it seems to me, requires working-class organisation and action to be analysed according to (1) period, in terms of world and local capitalist development, and the self-organisation of the class itself; (2) socio-political situation, whether

traditional authoritarian, liberal or modern corporatists; (3) organisational articulation, from the strike committee up to the socialist-revolutionary party; and only then (4) the 'strategy', better conceptualised as a level of struggle.

If we first consider working-class organisation under the historical rubric, I think we can identify problems specific to an early, middle and advanced period of class formation - even if certain situations may concertina the time scale. The initial problem is that of a separation of working-class organisation and action from forms typical of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie. In terms of organisation this requires the creation of trade unions free of the kind of guild characteristics that marked the 'mutualist societies' at the beginning of unionism in Chile (Angell). In terms of action it requires a surpassing of the urban or rural riots typical of early protest in China (Chesneaux) or Jamaica (Post). At a second stage, the problem seems to be one of avoiding or overcoming domination of worker organisations and activities by petty-bourgeois or middle-stratum politicians. This domination was the fate that awaited the early unions in Jamaica in 1938, and which Ramaswamy and Kearney show for contemporary India and Ceylon. Whilst the workers and unions may be assured of some protection under this mantle, the overthrowing of the peripheral capitalist order evidently requires a third stage, the establishment of working-class hegemony over the petty-entrepreneurs and the peasantry. Peace suggests that the Lagos factory workers had such a hegemonic position and played such a role in 1970. There was popular sympathy with a major industrial strike, and worker discontent with the general social order in Nigeria. But this in no sense suggests to me hegemonic working-class desires or capacities, any more than their action

can seriously be considered 'a minor insurrection against the prevailing order' (CG&B:431). Under Communist leadership, such hegemony was briefly established in Shanghai in 1926 - but only over the urban petty-bourgeoisie and student youth, not yet over the peasantry (Chesneaux). In the Algerian case, Post suggests that the 'turning point' of the revolution was mass urban protest, and that estate labourers played an increasingly important role in rural areas, but he concludes that 'the main thrust of the revolution was generated by the articulation and interplay between workers and peasants' (CG&B: 279-80). Such an articulation, however, does not imply working-class hegemony <u>over</u> the masses, any more than did the dramatic factory occupations that followed (Clegg). The ease with which bureaucratic control was later established over the factories and unions in Algeria testifies to the fact that the movement had not reached the third stage.

The necessity for distinguishing between socio-political situations in which workers organise and protest is because of the different significance it can give to such apparently similar phenomena as the creation of a national union centre or the organisation of a national industrial strike. Authoritarian (pre-liberal) regimes, colonial or national, tend to drive workers to identify with the rest of the poor, as well as to unify the industrial and political struggle. Shanghai 1926, Jamaica 1938, Algeria 1959-60 demonstrate this. So, incidentally, does the early 20th century in Puerto Rico, when unions were under socialist leadership, and women were active in worker protest. Liberal regimes encourage the division of industrial from political struggle, the incorporation of the former into industrial relations rituals, the latter into parliamentary ones. By these

means, liberalism also encourages division of the organised working class from the rest of the poor. The Indian and Ceylonese evidence is convincing here. The articulation of basic working-class stuggles with those of the urban poor and peasants (often in their own associations) now frequently takes place through the middle-stratum leadership of parliamentary parties. Corporatist (post-liberal) regimes do not so much encourage structural divisions between fractions of the working class or sectors of the labouring poor as enforce them. Indeed, enforcement becomes necessary when liberal encouragement fails. Corporatism also denies, however, that free competition which disguises bourgeois hegemony over the labouring masses. In this situation, effective industrial action is likely to be treated as insurrection even by radical corporativist regimes, thus again forcing workers to broaden their horizons to include the rest of the labouring poor. DeWind shows the beginning of such worker education, when the Peruvian miners rejected the 'participatory' organs offered by a radical military regime, demanded immediate nationalisation and improved conditions, and were brutally repressed for their temerity.

In terms of organisational breadth and sophistication we can work up from the 'invisible' workgroup, delegation or strike committee (pre-union or extra-union), through the trade union in its myriad forms, to the labour, radical nationalist or populist party with a special appeal to workers, and finally to the socialist-revolutionary party. The first type we find not only in early colonial Lagos (Anthony Hopkins) or Rhodesia (Charles van Onselen), but in contemporary South Africa (where visible organisation would endanger strike leaders) and in comtemporary Lagos (where there was an implicit division of labour between

the workers who 'spontaneously' struck, and the union leader who negotiated the settlement). The limitations of this organisational form should be self-evident. The variety of the union, the next higher form, is suggested by three distinct types - each with its own specific structural, ideological and strategical forms - which coexisted in early 20th century Chile. The capacity of the union to act not only for the working class but as a kind of proxy for the labouring poor is revealed by Peace in his Lagos case. Both the capacity and the limits are suggested by Castells when considering union response to the problems of migrant workers in Europe. The economic and ideological split between migrant and native workers

> is often reinforced by the corporatism and blindness of trade unions, which, under the pretext of defending the jobs of nationals, fail to understand the real strategy of capitalism in this manner. They collaborate, in fact or in intention, with big capital in its policy of regularising and controlling (ultimately with police help) immigration. Trade unions are sometimes afraid to counteract the xenophobic attitudes of part of the labour force (under the influence of the dominant ideology) and end up reinforcing the situation which they themselves denounce, or give lip service to denouncing... Trade unions are often reinforced in their attitudes by the suspicion and anti-unionism of many immigrants (due not to excessive consciousness, but to a lack of consciousness!) ...(CG&B:371).

Although this is an extreme case, it does reveal the general limitations of trade unions, based, as they must be, on the working class as it is structured by occupation, industry, region, nationality. The labour, radical nationalist or populist party can articulate worker protest beyond industry and at the level of the state. We see the origins of such labour politics with the two leaders struggling for domination of the popular movement in the Jamaican case. We see the domination of such parties over labour in the case of India, Ceylon...and

France! This domination is dealt with implicitly by Castells when he condemns

> The frequent preference for welding class alliances at the cost of the unity of the proletariat [since] this implies an acceptance from the outset of the submission of working-class interests to those of the intermediate strata. This, then, is an attempt to explain the strange passivity of the labour movement toward its immigrant fraction. The persistence of this fragmentation may be both a basic reason for the political weakness of the labour movement and the result of a strategy of alliances engendered by the interests of other classes (CG&B:378).

The general limitations of non-revolutionary 'parties of labour' are here given concise expression. As for the socialist-revolutionary party, the only clear case we are provided with is the Chinese one, with the Communist Party surpassing nationalism, isolating the local bourgeoisie, providing leadership to the student youth and petty-bourgeoisie as well as to the workers. However, in the French case, Castells presents us with two Marxist groups (or groupuscules) each attempting to link native and immigrant worker interests, each with its own analysis and strategy, but working together under the pressures of a general mobilisation of the workers. Evidently, it is only under socialist-revolutionary leadership (or leaderships) that the working class can be effectively united nationally and internationally, and that workers can be effectively united with the rest of the labouring masses on a national scale.

Only now can we reconsider the 'strategies' initially offered us by CG&B. Now it is possible to re-order them and interpret them in terms of ever-widening scales of worker action. We start, then, with the strike, which can be political or even insurrectionary but which by its nature permits action by the tiniest fraction or stratum of the working class. We move then to the political party, which by its nature demands national-level activity

and demands on the state, and which at least permits cross-class alliances. We then move to the worker-peasant alliance (or should it explicitly include women and the urban poor?) as the class relationship necessary for the overthrow of peripheral capitalist society, and we end with workers' (or should it be producers'?) self-management as the form essential to the combating of capitalism at enterprise level, and to preventing bureaucratic hegemony once capital is overthrown.

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

Although Bromley and Gerry represents a general reaction against development strategies based on national and international stimuli to the 'informal sector', several of the collected studies take place under the assumption that this is possible. Fortunately, only McGee (poverty in Djakarta) seems to believe that

> there are a variety of policies which city governments can adopt which rest also upon a positive action towards the urban poor (B&G:64).

Given the horrifying story he has just told of military units that confiscate, burn, destroy and eventually dump slum dwellers outside the city, his continued optimism carries little conviction. (Indeed, if I am not mistaken, he has somewhat toned down an even less convincing reformism in a previous version of the same paper.) The general impact of those papers that do deal with policy is one of an overwhelming and convincing denial of the progressive potential of such strategies. They are, rather, ridiculed as 'simplistic' or 'romantic' by Savin (B&G: 159), or treated as suicidal by Gerry, who considers that if third world governments continue with present policies toward the labouring poor 'their days will be numbered' (B&G:248).

The overall pessimism with respect to positive state policies, and the threat of mounting mass discontent in Gerry's account, is not matched by any evidence that the labouring poor are capable of toppling the regimes nor any advice to them on how they might be able to do so. It must be the continued orientation (either positive or negative) toward the state as the only possible political power, which leads the editors of this work to precisely that 'blatant idealism' they hope to avoid:

> if we are to move from a world in which the manifest objectives have a strong chance of success...a revolution in policy making is essential ...[which]... could prepare the ground for the attainment of authentically developmental objectives which would match the aspirations and potentialities of the mass of the population...(B&G:307).

The orientation of the Cohen, Gutkind and Brazier collection toward protest action of the labouring poor prevents them from succumbing to pessimism or prophesying an apocalypse as the only alternative to it. But the generally sober and cautious assessment of the capacities of the workers and others is unfortunately not generally paired with the kind of detailed and practical policy advice that traditional servants of the state offer to governments. Nonetheless, there are some explicit or implicit positions taken, and there are others that I would like to draw out from my reading of the material. I will deal with these in turn at the level of the political/organisational, the social/cultural and the economic/productive.

At the political level, as I have already suggested, we need to think in terms of two sets of relationships: the external and internal relations of the working class.

The external one is what has been traditionally called 'the worker-peasant alliance'. Now, although Post makes explicit reference to this in his theoretical

contribution, his own material, that of Chesneaux and of Safa - as well as most of the B&G collection - makes it quite evident that the problem cannot be dealt with in these restricted terms. It is evidently also a problem of relations of the organised working class with the rest of the urban poor (Post, Chesneaux, Clegg, Safa) and with women who are both in and out of the working class (Deere, Safa). This comes out most clearly in Safa, whose work also contains the most explicit prescriptive elements in the volume:

> Any attempt to develop class consciousness among working-class women must attack all three areas where women are subordinate: work, the family and the community... Viewing class consciousness from a feminist perspective permits one to question whether the narrow focus on work roles is even appropriate for men in the Latin American working class. As the marginal labour force in the cities grows larger, due to capital-intensive industrialisation and continued rural-urban migration, it also becomes harder for men to find stable employment or to identify with their work roles... Under these circumstances, it also becomes difficult to develop class consciousness among men in the work place, and it may become necessary to explore men's family and community roles as an alternative (My stress, PW) (CG&B:456).

Even if we might wish to replace 'marginal' by 'petty-commodity', and 'alternative' by 'additional', the essential implication is the necessity for political alliance of the organised working class with movements of women and of the massive and permanent petty-commodity producers/circulators, this evidently requiring action in both the domestic and the community sphere. The problem is thus not the worker-peasant alliance but the worker-peasant-woman-'urban poor' alliance.

Now, in dealing with 'external relations' it has been impossible to avoid dealing with internal ones: 'working-class women' are both inside and outside the working class; and the 'urban poor' are petty-commodity producers/

circulators, and the reserve labour army, and casual wage labourers. The connection between solidarity in the working class and solidarity of the working class is evidently not just a moral or ideological stance: the one is an aspect of the other. Nor can these exist without international working-class solidarity, which must also be understood dialectically. International working-class solidarity is evidently not simply an aspect of working-class organisation and action, it is its most advanced form, and therefore the standard against which the present level of working-class organisation and action must be measured. But the material in the CG&B collection makes it plain that international working-class solidarity is a necessary form for the existence of the external relationship between the organised working-class in the central capitalist economies and the peasants and other petty-commodity producers at the periphery. The interpenetration of these relations and their implications for organised labour come out most clearly in the studies of migrant workers. As with the women, it is struggle and the sensitive interpretation of it which reveals the new truth. What does the 'migrantist perspective' of Adrian Adams show us? What began as a state-supported friendly society of Senegalese workers in France developed into an autonomous organ of class struggle for all Black African Workers, encouraging them to join French unions at work, organising actions against landlordism and the French state. But,

> these rights as workers, to be sought with the essential cooperation of French trade unions, take second place to what they demand as Africans: changes...which enable them to work in their own country. They mention, in particular, such things as the development of agriculture ...through dam building and irrigation; the mobilising of all citizens for collective tasks, including literacy

classes; an end to fraud and corruption; and the desirability of processing raw materials locally...This implies a reversal of priorities...such as could only be envisaged in a resolutely non-capitalist perspective (CG&B:323).

Thus, immigrant workers (and one could extend this to migrants within the periphery) articulate within themselves the role of worker and peasant. That they *are* both does not mean that the organised working class recognises the opportunity offered for international working-class and international worker-peasant solidarity. The reaction is customarily *protectionist* (from American business or European social-democratic unionists) or *assimilationist*)from European 'marxist' ones). Says Adams:

> The principle formulated by French trade unions...concerning the equal rights of immigrant workers in France are entirely honourable...But it is always a question of rights *in France*, of assimilation to the *French* working class. Similarly, the Communist Party urges workers' solidarity and sedate progress through proper channels *in France*; the Socialists speak of men living as brothers *in France*; and certain *gauchistes* seek to use the immigrant lumpen-proletariat to spark off insurrection *in France*...Unless they learn...to see France and the French influence through African eyes, the solidarity the proffer will be worthless (Stress in original) (GG&B:327).

The clear implication here is the necessity for international and internationalist organisation and action. Yet this notion is questioned, if not rejected, by Castells (CG&B:376-78), who argues that (1) working-class struggle is a struggle for state power, (2) other classes with which the working class must relate are not similarly international, (3) the 'capture of power' for the 'transformation of social relations' requires alliances and strategies determined by national history, and that (4) although, at the organisatonal level, migrants are part of the labour movement in both countries, at the class level they are a fraction of the working class only in the receiving country. It follows from

this for Castells that

> The confrontation of each state requires a separate strategy to develop alliances and class struggle at the political level. It is obvious that there is a Holy Alliance of international capital. But the idea of an international struggle is no more than an idea. Today there is no united world proletariat confronting a single opponent. The unity of the proletariat will be built in the struggle, through the convergence of interests uncovered in the practices of the struggle. Given the uneven development of the class struggle in relation to each state, each proletariat must necessarily develop its own strategy. To talk of an international working class 'on the Common Market level' is either an ideological position, expressing a desire without helping concretely to bring it about, or an economistic position which identifies the context of negotiations with the Europe of big capital (CG&B:377).

It seems to me that some of Castell's premises are dubious and his conclusions are therefore doubly so. The premise concerning the migrants could be turned almost upside down: migrants are, after all, a fraction of the peasantry in their lands of origin, members of the labour movement mostly in the receiving one. (The case mentioned by Adams is exceptional: only a tiny minority of migrants would be in bi-national movements.) Furthermore, I am not sure of Castell's two-stage concept of socialist revolution: first state power, then transformation of social relations. We will have to consider this later when discussing relations at the level of production, but we may note in passing the historical experience that the struggle for state power to transform relations of production leads to destruction of the capitalist state and the capitalist class - and their replacement by nationalist-bureaucratic power over state and economy! Internationalism is therefore an essential part of the struggle to overcome the nation state obstacle to socialist transformation of capitalist societies. Recognition that 'inter-nationalism' is today compounded in equal amounts of empty ideology and narrow

unionist demands only poses before us the problem of filling up the ideology and broadening the demands. The refusal to recognise the significance of what Adams (and Castells himself) uncovers and to create relevant international organisational structures means in practice to leave these in the hands of the empty ideologues and narrow unionists - not to mention the devices of international capital, oppressive nation states, and their common tool, the ILO.

So much for the political and organisational. What of the social and cultural level? The first quotation from Adams provides many of the necessary programmatic elements. Others are suggested by Safa - the necessity to transform the residential community and the domestic relations. Castells himself reveals the necessity for the fight against racism and - by implication - for balanced regional and national economic growth. Such a popular-democratic programme, however, is likely to be reduced to piecemeal and partial incremental reforms, leaving the fundamental underlying structures of oppression and exploitation in place, unless there is a spelling-out of Adams's 'resolutely non-capitalist prespective'. The failure of bourgeois and national revolutions to achieve liberty, equality and fraternity has been due to the fact that they rested on liberal assumptions (as well, of course, as the fact that they came to be dominated by capitalists and bureaucrats!). The working-class programme must therefore be specifically socialist. But this socialism must be one that incorporates all the popular demands if it is to capture the minds of the masses. And the socialism must be demonstrated in the democratic and egalitarian behaviour of the socialist parties and unions, the party and union leaders, creating today a popular culture with which to combat the anti-human values spread by multinational media and state. All anti-imperial-

ist and anti-capitalist revolutions have seen waves of popular cultural activity, of women's liberation, of cross-ethnic, inter-regional and inter-national solidarity - as well as a surge of socialist ideology to provide a comprehensive explanation of the nature of the world and how it can be transformed. But again, if this mobilising and liberating ideology is not to become a demobilising and manipulatory mythology, will it not be necessary to experiment with and demonstrate its implications for production relations before the 'capture of power'? Is it not, indeed, an essential means for preparing the masses to do this? The question arises out of the problematic worker-state relation in independent Algeria and in Popular Unity Chile. In both cases the notion of a new worker role at the point of production arose during radical-democratic struggles, in both cases it found some official state form, and in both cases its implications seem to have been ambiguous. Thus Francisco Zapata shows us mineworkers (traditionally thought of as the militant backbone of the Chilean labour movement) reacting against worker participation:

> These workers were concerned about the survival of the union structure which they perceived as the principal means of the defense of their interests. The process of direct worker participation in the management of state enterprises...led the miners to believe that the very existence of the union was threatened (CG&B:479).

Unfortunately, Zapata's information is inadequate to enable us to see exactly what was happening in this case, but it appears as if workers deeply socialised by the old worker parties into the practice of industrial unionism and parliamentary politics (see Petras 1974) were here reacting against a project aimed primarily at increasing production of the recently-nationalised mines. In Algeria (as elsewhere in Chile), the occupation of factories and estates was a worker initiative, but here

it became formalised by the new state, emptied of content and used against the workers. Having concluded thus on the Algerian experience, Clegg draws out general implications:

> It is at this point that the relevance of autogestion as a form of revolutionary organisation must be called into question...Apart from those that were crushed by counter-revolution, workers' councils have tended to experience the same history. Thrown up as a basic form of political and economic organisation at particular points in a class struggle, they have been rapidly institutionalised and emptied of anything but a purely ritual content. Their fate has been singularly uniform, whether within a formally socialist or capitalist society. They have failed to create any lasting form of political or economic organisation external to the point of production and have been eventually confined to this area (CG&B: 246).

Thus, in the one case we have participation apparently introduced from above and rejected by the workers, in the other we have workers' self-management thrown up from below but captured by the state. Clegg's conclusion is, at first blush, convincing. Yet his pessimistic conclusion (he does not offer a 'correct' alternative strategy) begs more questions than it answers. Why have workers' councils so often been thrown up by the workers? Has not institutionalisation and ritualisation been the fate also of other forms of worker political and economic organisation? Is self-management at the point of production worth nothing? Does it have no implications for the raising of worker capacity and consciousness? If it has some implications, are these more or less than the trade union, parliamentary and cooperative activity appreciated by the great Marxist scholar/activists? Does the past failure of attempts at a worker-controlled economy and polity tell us anything more than the difficulty of the project?

In putting these questions I do not wish to imply that I have answers at hand. But I wish to suggest that the separation of the anti-imperialist or anti-capitalist struggle for state power from power at the point of produc-

tion, and the presentation of the latter as something which cannot begin until after the 'success' of the latter, means an acceptance of capitalism's separation of 'the political' and 'the economic'.

If capitalism is in essence a system of labour control, then we must understand all its instances in terms of labour control. The power of the capitalist state begins and ends in the enterprise. The power of the state (as power alienated from the masses and used against them) begins and ends in the unit of production. The very phrases 'self-management', 'workers control' (or even 'workers participation'?), raise the question of power over production. By way of contrast, the classical demands on wages, employment and conditions are concerned with relative effort in production or relative shares of the product. (This is too crude. The opposites here as everywhere interprenetrate: demands for more employment, improved conditions reduce the prerogatives of capitalists and managers; demands for control are inspired by and aimed at more employment, better wages and conditions.)

Furthermore, I wish to suggest the significant implications of labour self-management for the alliance of the organised working class with the rest of the labouring poor. Demands expressed in money or income terms tend to pit one section (as well as one fraction of each section) of the labouring poor against the other, and to be settled in favour of those with the best position in the capitalist market, the best level of organisation in the capitalist polity, the best social position within a capitalist culture. The continued and continually recreated inferiority of women despite all working-class achievements is a result of this type of struggle. In demanding control over their own productive

capacities, workers (who are those best placed to do this) are demonstrating to others - and teaching themselves - the necessary alternative relationship: social production socially controlled. The implications for the agricultural, the communal and the domestic sphere are clear.

Further, it does seem to me that the strategy of self-management provides the linkage between the demand for political democracy (increasingly comprehensible and meaningful to the masses facing decreasingly democratic capitalists) with socialism, something that has always been for the workers an unknown, unexperienced and foreign quantity. Even when the masses in the past have 'become socialist', their concept of socialism has been an imagined condition, a negation of their present one of exploitation and oppression. This explains why the masses (and their leaders) have often invested post-capitalist societies with socialist characteristics that they clearly do not have. If such socialist utopias turn out - once 'the capture of power for the transformation of social relations' has been achieved - to be bureaucratic infernos, this is precisely because socialism has been conceptualised as a state (in both senses of the word) rather than a movement. This suggests to me the necessity to politicise the industrial (or agricultural, community, domestic) struggle by raising it to one for self-management, and to 'socialise' the political one by making it not one for party power over the state apparatus but for a labour self-managed administration.

These ideas are not worked out in a manner convincing even to myself. They are simply some initial thoughts thrown into the strategy vacuum left by a scepticism and caution with which I am in considerable sympathy. A dialectical interpretation of - for example - the implications of the Yugoslav and Chilean experiences for worker

relations with the rest of the labouring poor could provide us with a better understanding of the potential of such a strategy. I think that they would show us the liberatory value of workers' self-management in so far as it is a project carried out by the labour movement, in struggle against capital and state. This has to be stated clearly, since one can find socialist scholars who see workers' self-management as the strategy for transition to socialism in the central capitalist, centrally-planned and peripheral capitalist ecoomies, but who address their message in at least the last case not only to the labour movement but to 'radical' governments, 'progressive' managements...plus (in practice) those unions approved by and approving management and state! Such schemes (as their tri-partite appeal should suggest to those familiar with an ILO view of the universe) become just another 'development strategy', not a self-liberatory movement. They are likely to be seen as such by militant workers, who will then turn back to limited but familiar party politics and economic unionism!

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY

I have suggested that Bromley and Gerry is in general inspired by a rejection of the traditional assumptions underlying the reformist/idealist strategies for 'informal sector' development at the capitalist periphery. There remain a number of studies that take place within the old assumptions, although in such cases the theoretical assumptions are mostly left implicit. At the other limit there are a series of attempts to surpass traditional theories. I think that such attempts can be divided into two groups, one of which represents a sophistication of the old theory, the other an attempt

to replace it by a Marxist one.

The first is that of Bromley and Gerry themselves, where they reject the dichotomic opposition of formal and informal sectors, proposing instead a 'continuum stretching from "stable wage-work" to "true self-employment"' (B&G:5). We thus get a typology stretching from (1) true or indefinite-period wage work, through (2) short-term wage-work or casual labour, (3) disguised wage-work (e.g. outworkers, commission sellers, (4) dependent work (dependency for credit, rental of premises or equipment, for supplies or sales), to (5) true self-employment. Such a typology of labour (which can be applied by analogy also to enterprises) permits, B&G argue, an examination of the relations between large and small enterprises, between enterprises and workers, between the state and the labour process more generally. Why the role of the state? Because of the significant role played by <u>law</u> in distinguishing between wage-work (category 1 and - to some extent - 2) and non-wage work (the other categories). It is, more specifically, <u>legislation</u> which marks category 1 off from the rest. The 'normal' wage contract provides for some or all of the following:

> minimum wages, regularised working hours, fixed overtime payments, 'minimum notice requirements' for both employer and employee, paid holidays, sickness benefit, redundancy pay, life insurance, and even access to subsidised consumer purchasing, mortgage, and public housing arrangements (B&G:8).

Loss of work is <u>'normally'</u> (their emphasis) compensated for

> by various forms of social provision (sickness benefit, various forms of insurance, redundancy pay, pensions, unemployment benefits, etc.) (B&G:7).

B&G's replacement of a dichotomic opposition by a spectrum of employment statuses is certainly 'more realistic'. Their introduction of the role of law in the structuring of the total labour process is an important innovation. What is still open to question is the manner in which both innovations are used to divide - in dichotomic opposition - 'stable wage-work' from all other types of labour. They do qualify the opposition by their use of the word 'normal' with respect to the security of the 'stable wage-workers', but they then use this implied status to contrast it with 'the remainder of the continuum' (B&G:5). The linking argument between this and their qualified labour aristocracy conclusion is the following:

> The tendency of government to respond to pressure from trade unions, associations of civil servants, the armed forces, the police, and other organised groups of workers with a degree of job security, and the pressures exercised upon governments by international organisations (and particularly the International Labour Office), tends to lead to an increasing provision for regulated job security. At times, provision may be extended to new groups of society, but the stronger tendency is for provision to remain concentrated upon a minority of workers, and to be improved for them, further differentiating this group from the casual workers. In many cases, industrial trade unions, the armed forces, and other organised groups who have attained a degree of job security, tend to behave as vested interest groups, concerned to preserve and improve their privileges, rather than to express solidarity with the large numbers of less privileged workers engaged in a variety of forms of casual employment (B&G:9).

I will raise a number of questions about this reconceptualisation before considering whether the Marxists have found a more adequate approach. Firstly, whilst B&G recognise the problematic nature of the security and privileges of indefinite wage-work and the increasing instability of wage employment in the third world (B&G: 15-19), they nonetheless use this as <u>the</u> criterion on

which to base an opposition. Secondly, whilst they recognise the relationship between categories 1 and 2 (both wage-work, both recognised in law), they fail to recognise a crucial further one, i.e. that both are engaged in collective, cooperative labour. Thirdly, in discussing the political mechanism by which relative security is achieved by certain sectors of the wage-labour force, B&G group trade unions not only with civil service associations, but also with the army and the police! This parallel is merely asserted since, of course, there has been no discussion of the distinctions between all types of indefinite wage employment. Had B&G done so, they might have been able to continue their spectrum of relative labour security right through up to top managers and capitalists, and they surely would have distinguished ordinary workers and their organisations from two types of wage labourer whose function (and not only in the third world) is to repress wage labourers! Is this the price of attempting to make bad theory 'more realistic' instead of reconstructing it?

The major effort at reconstruction is made by Alison Scott. She is concerned not only to surpass the conventional theory but also to develop a Marxist conceptualisation of certain labour relationships that were of only peripheral importance to the classical Marxist scholars. She argues in favour of a 'social relations of production' approach as providing categories that are both theoretical and historical. Under the wage-labour system, all three essential elements of every labour process (productive work, the subject of work, and the instruments of work) are purchased in the market and controlled by the capitalist. The difference beween the wage and the value of labour power is surplus value, the source of capitalist profit. The need to increase surplus value required in-

creased proletarianisation of the population, increased compulsion of labourers, and/or increasing specialisation and mechanisation of the labour process. Self-employment can be conceived as consisting of ownership of the means of production by the direct producer, low division of labour, and little specialisation in the production process. This exists as a subordinate form uner all historical modes of production. The variations between self-employment and wage-labour can be considered as 'stages in an historical process rather than as separate theoretical states' (B&G:111), and they therefore combine characteristics of both extreme forms. In terms of the historical process, we can recognise (1) domestic industry, in which the production process takes place within the peasant household that produces the raw materials, (2) artisan production, in which production is for a personal client, instruments are owned by the producer, and in which a linkage with commodity production can be effected through the process of circulation in the purchase of tools and raw materials, and (3) outwork, where merchants subordinate petty producers by control of inputs or outputs, and pay the producers on a piecework basis. It is in the shift of the basis of capital accumulation from absolute surplus value (extraction of more labour effort without technological change) to relative surplus value (mechanisation and higher productivity) that 'we find the remnants of self-employment swept away in favour of wage-labour'. If control over means of production is crucial to Scott's definition, how does she handle the mass of those engaged in petty trade and services? She argues by broadening 'means of production' to 'means of securing a livelihood', i.e. to that which is 'necessary for the labour process to take place' (B&G:120). And she then suggests that all

those in the petty-commodity sphere are subject to the subordination by capital in two senses and in three forms. The two senses are: first, that the dominant force in the relationship is the interests of merchant or industrial capital; second, that the nexus of dependence is provision of capital crucial to artisan or outworker survival. The three forms are: loss of access to markets, loss of control over the labour process, and extraction of surplus.

Whilst Scott's reconceptualisation and underlying methodology seem to me most fruitful, and extremely useful in specifying (as she does) the complex forms of dependency and subordination outside capitalist wage-employment, she only uses this as a basis for explaining the individualism of those in such positions. Her concepts and methodology, in fact, are insufficient for analysing ideology and organisation of the labouring poor. For the possible additions we will have to turn to Cohen, Gutkind and Brazier.

In considering the theoretical implications of this latter work I shall seek precisely those elements that appear consistent with Scott rather than analyse or criticise the various positivist, liberal, merely radical or implicit Marxist items that it contains. Such a decision is facilitated by the fact that it is only a few Marxist contributors to the work who have attempted explicitly theoretical exercises.

The traditional assumption (Marxist as well as non-) that the working class is male is seriously undermined by the assertion of the specific role of women within the wage labour force. But Safa's study is primarily analytical and of one form of articulation of women into peripheral capitalist economy. Deere is concerned

with a Marxist 'theoretical framework for the analysis of rural women's contribution to capital accumulation'. Her argument is that,

> family structure and the attendant division of labour by sex are key to the extraction of surplus from non-capitalist modes of production. In particular, the division of labour by sex characterised by female production of subsistence foodstuffs and male-semi-proletarianisation allows the payment by capital of a male wage rate insufficient for familial maintenance and reproduction. The articulation between modes of production, based on the familial division of labour by sex, thus allows the wage to be less than the cost of production and reproduction of labour power. This inequality is then reflected in a low value of labour power within the periphery, which either enhances peripheral capital accumulation or is transferred to the centre via unequal exchange, financial imperialism, or other forms of surplus expropriation (CG&B:133-34).

Deere's study is useful in showing (in a manner analogous to that of Scott) the chain that links the labour of rural women to capital accumulation on a world scale. Its limitations would seem to me to be the following: (1) her tendency to slide from recognition of this as <u>one</u> form to <u>the</u> form; (2) her conceptualisation of rural women's labour as <u>non</u>-capitalist; (3) her failure to spell out the implications for consciousness, organisation and protest action. Without going into detail, let me comment on each of these limitations (I here recognise a debt to Veronica Bennholdt-Thomsen 1978).

(1) Any adequate theorisation of women's labour at the periphery has to deal with <u>all</u> its forms, particularly the most modern and most dynamic. Despite the continuing discrimination within these, they surely provide the best conditions for women to become conscious, to organise and to take effective protest action.

(2) Given the extent to which capitalism created housewife labour, given capitalism's continued reproduction of this and other extra-wage labour forms, and given its continued need of these forms, the characterisation of them as non-capitalist seems as dubious as pre-capitalist - a characterisation that Deere herself rejects. I wonder, however, whether we do not need rather to see 'subsistence production' (as some are defining and generalising it) as something related to pre-capitalist society, to capitalist society, and to post-capitalist society. The aim of revolutionary socialists, after all, is not to destroy work for direct consumption, or to replace artisan labour by wage labour, but to surpass the wage labour relationship. Although both domestic and artisan forms are currently used for capital accumulation, they both retain the direct human to human relationship that socialists wish to see universalised. As Safa suggests, the family relationship is not only a negative one.

(3) What are the implications of housewife labour for consciousness, organisation and protest action? As with Scott's labourers, the housewife under capitalism believes primarily that she is producing things (in her case people), whilst she is actually producing a commodity: labour power. The implication? She must be made aware of this. As with Bromley and Gerry's labourers, the politically significant fact concerning housewife labour is its lack of legal status and regulation. The implication? Legal recognition will make visible what is invisible, allow housewife labour to be redefined through struggle as household (i.e. also househusband) labour, and the household (as an individualising and confining institution of social control) to be replaced by broader human relationships. Both Deere and Safa stress the

distinctive female perceptions of self-interest, but these tend to be seen negatively as dividing and opposing women to men. But in so far as women are primarily aware of male oppression, of familial and communal deprivation and exploitation, one cannot do other than work from these toward a general understanding of exploitation and oppression. In so far as women are primarily aware of oppression and exploitation outside the wage labour situation, their struggles will help men to rise from factory- or wage-consciousness to consciousness of the total nature of capitalist exploitation that can only be overcome by struggle against all its manifestations. I hope that these few reflections will already suggest to readers the value of theorising women's labour for the common liberation of men and women.

It has already been stated that Post, implicitly if not explicitly, deals with the urban poor as well as with the workers and peasants, and that he is concerned precisely with the theory necessary to understand their political alliance in revolutionary situations. It has also been noted that Post's analysis is peasant-centred rather than worker-centred, and that it fails to deal directly with ideology, organisation and leadership - those elements that can and must transform a common <u>situation</u> and common <u>interest</u> into an <u>alliance</u>. But I believe that there are more critical shortcomings, shortcomings Post shares with what is a definite tendency in studies of labour at the periphery (compare Davies 1979, Cooper 1979), and which is therefore worth some attention. The shortcoming becomes first apparent in Post's use of the concept 'articulation', which is meant to help us understand the alliance. Specifically, it is used of (1) relations between modes of production at the periphery, (2) relations between 'substructure' and 'superstructure'

(his distancing quotes), (3) the class alliance in terms of these two relations. That it fails to help us understand these is, I suspect, due to Post's conflation of two quite distinct commonsense meanings of the term ('joining' and 'expressing'), and his addition to these of several problematic meanings of his own (CG&B:268). Indeed, the meaning of the concept seems to change as Post applies it to the three relations! 'Articulation', in short, appears to be a portmanteau concept carrying within itself the whole set of laws necessary to a Marxist worldview. Post even derives 'contradiction' - surely a higher-level concept in a dialectical worldview - from 'articulation'! Like a portmanteau, the concept can carry a lot of baggage, but it makes an unwieldy substitute for a set of tools. My feeling is that Post needs the concept because he conceives of the world as consisting primarily of structures (modes of production, classes, parties, states, ideologies) and then has the major conceptual problem of getting them to inter-relate, move, transform and be transformed. His assumption (fundamental to a structuralist interpretation of Marx) makes the mode of production the determinant of the worker-peasant alliance. And since Post is required to separate and oppose 'substructure' and 'superstructure' (with or without quotes), his mode of production is reduced to the economy, and his determinism then becomes an economic one. Post is, of course, aware of this danger and is concerned to overcome it, which is why he distances himself from the substructure-superstructure opposition of popularised Marxism. He therefore presents the latter as not simply an effect of the former, but also as effecting it. Hence, 'articulation' with its many meanings and ambiguities.

There is in my view nothing wrong with accepting the existence of separate capitalist structures and analysing their laws of operation. The error lies in (1) treating structures specific to capitalism (e.g. the mode of production) as if they existed analogously in pre-capitalist formations (c.f. Gould 1979); (2) treating the structures of capitalist society (which is the great historical divider into 'economic', 'political', 'domestic', etc., institutions) as if they were the fundamental modes of existence of matter - ontological rather than sociological categories (c.f. Laclau 1977).

This may be obscure and my argument cannot here be developed except by analogy. A billiard player can - and in a sense must - think in Aristotelian categories: the red ball is not the white ball. He can - and in a sense must - operate according to the laws of Newtonian physics: red strikes white (the fact that white strikes red again does not - pace Post - convert this from Newtonianism into Marxism). But, for science, neither this logic nor these limited laws of being are adequate. One needs half-a-dozen or more other sciences to fully analyse the properties, qualities or relations of the billiard ball. And it requires a dialectical logic to understand this many-propertied phenomenon. So much for negative critique.

Castells's item, which does not deal directly with the periphery, seems to me to offer a more fruitful understanding of Marxist method and analytical procedure. Castells moves from economic analysis to that of class and politics, ending with an explicit policy position. It seems to me that this is correct strategy in two senses. Firstly, one is moving from the most determined area of labourer existence (capitalist production) to the most determining (that of the labour movement).

Secondly, one is demonstrating the linkage necessary for Marxist social analysis between theoretical analysis and political prescription. Castells does not understand the mode of production as separate from politics/ideology. He incorporates the latter into his analysis of the former:

> The utility of immigrant labour to capital derives primarily from the fact that it can act toward it as though the labour movement did not exist, thereby moving the class struggle back several decades. A twenty-first-century capital and a nineteenth century proletariat - such is the dream of monopoly capital in order to overcome its crisis. How does this happen? Not because of any presumed submissiveness of immigrants, whose many struggles in recent years have shown a degree of combativeness, however sporadic and limited. Rather their legal-political status as foreigners and their political-ideological isolation lead to the basic point: their limited capacity for organisation and struggle and their very great vulnerability to repression (stress in original) (CG&B:363).

In other words, the mode of production includes/assumes/requires certain political/ideological characteristics of its labour force. And when the traditional labour force (in this case the European) turns itself into a working class and the working class develops a labour movement capable of restricting the free play of capital, then modern capital has to seek out a labour force which it can treat as individual wage earners (the migrants). What Castells does in his mode of production analysis is to concentrate on its economic aspect, whilst not forgetting its political and ideological ones. His analysis deals in turn with the general laws of the capitalist mode of production, laws relevant to its historical development, and laws relevant to its business cycles.

So far the Castells strategy goes beyond that of Scott only in the extent to which he has made explicit something that was implicit in her treatment - the

capitalist requirement for labour with certain ideological/ political characteristics. But a mode of production analysis such as that of Scott concentrates on production relations, thus inevitably abstracting from social relations more generally. Thus, at a certain point, Castells reaches the 'limits of a purely economic analysis, based on the logic of capital' and turns to analysis of the 'relationship of immigrants to existing social classes' (CG&B:368), i.e. to class analysis.

Class analysis implies a concentration on the relationship between class position and class consciousness. Intimately linked, on the one hand, to analysis of production relations, it is as intimately linked on the other to political/ideological ones. This is implicit in Castells, who distinguishes the fractions of the French bourgeoisie in terms of their need for migrants, the migrants as a specific fraction of the French working class. The specificity of the migrants is due precisely to their political and ideological discrimination, giving them different immediate interests, as well as different perceptions of self-interest to the rest of the working class.

Political analysis implies concentration on the struggles of classes for control over society. This requires analysis of organisations and actions in the light of mode of production and class analysis. Castells does not specify that he is moving from the one to the other here, but he does in fact move in an ever-more political direction, dealing first with immediate class struggles and finally with the 'political struggle between classes' for power over the state. It may be noted that he does not separate out 'ideology' or 'cognitive practice' for analysis, although this is, in fact, dealt with in all three or four parts of his study. One can easily imagine another strategy in which one would deal in turn with the economic, the political, the ideological, the domestic/

familial spheres, although there is always the danger in doing this of freezing these practices into structures and institutions, and thus failing to understand the capital-labour relations at enterprise level, for example, as simultaneously economic, political, ideological, domestic/familial, etc.

CONCLUSION

In order to round off this paper it is necessary to go beyond a critique of structuralist approaches to the worker-peasant alliance, and beyond the suggestion of a more-dialectical approach provided by a study of inter-working-class relations in an industrialised capitalist society. But to do this requires also passing beyond the bounds of the two collections considered here since, as was said in the Introduction, neither of them directly deals with the alliance I am interested in studying and neither of them could therefore have presented the necessary categories or research strategy. In attempting to surpass this material I wish to refer to Jeremy Gould's paper (1979), which is itself in part concerned with surpassing a structuralist approach to the analysis of 'development'. The new problematic, says Gould, is

> not that of the 'articulation of modes of production' but of strict analysis of concrete forms of the capitalist mode of production... and its specific economism (the logic of value) in the process of its subsumption of non-capitalist social forms under this logic.

Gould considers that much revolutionary analysis of the third world has been tied to the logic of European capitalist development and thus to its categories and radical alternatives. This has, he says, not only reduced analysts to considering the revolutionary potential of at best 3-20 percent of the population (national bourgeoisie or working class), but

has ruled out of the sphere of serious debate a great number of politically and theoretically important avenues of thought. By this I am referring to those attempts to approach and conceptualise the non-urban, non- or quasi-proletarianised citizenry on its own terms, on the basis of its own discontent and objectives, in order to harness indigenous forms of consciousness, protest and cooperation to an anti-capitalist struggle (My emphasis, PW);

Gould states that the working class struggle against the capitalists is 'the main locus of overt, organised anti-capitalist struggle', but believes that it does not provide the only front of struggle, nor that this contradiction should necessarily dominate or even manifest itself in every situation. We need to go further than this in order to

seek out aspects of the 'non-capitalist' social structure which can play a positive role in deflecting the onslaught of capital.

I believe that Gould is in error in his belief that we can conceptualise the non-working-class categories of the labouring poor in their own terms, because these are not even potentially capable of conceiving the nature of the logic of value, far less of conceiving the necessary alternative to capitalism and of fighting effectively for it. (If it is as difficult as we all know it to be for those labouring within social production for private profit to understand the nature of their exploitation and oppression, what chance of getting those outside to do so?) For the same reason Gould is wrong in not working from 'the main locus of overt, organised anti-capitalist struggle'. The non-working-class categories of the labouring poor can only be understood in their relationship to their 'subsumption', and Gould himself defines them negatively or relatively as 'non-urban', 'non-proletarian' and 'quasi-proletarian'. I believe, however, that Gould's insistence on understanding those outside the capital-worker relationship on the basis of their own discontents and objectives, of recognising

the capacity of these to resist capitalism and of harnessing them to the anti-capitalist struggle is justified. As for the 'populist, romanticist, adventurist and voluntarist' error against which he unsuccessfully defends himself, I understand this in terms of a healthy reaction against a Eurocentric (or Russocentric?) model of transition from peripheral capitalism in which the attitude towards the peasantry was determined by the perceived need for industrialisation and state-building at great speed and at any cost. The consequent transformation of the peasantry, the urban petty-commodity producers and the women into a factory and office proletariat implied a manipulative and negative attitude toward their own discontents, objectives, consciousness, and forms of protest. But the leaders of this project repressed also the proletariat in their quest to 'catch up with and surpass' capitalism. The problem, therefore, is to create a worker-led alliance which not only liberates the peasant from the idiocy of village life, the woman from domestic drudgery, the petty-commodity producer from petty-bourgeois individualism, but which simultaneously liberates the worker from a factory-dominated view of the world, raising the working class to a hegemonic view, by which it can subsume within its demands the needs of the whole of labouring, exploited and oppressed humanity.

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