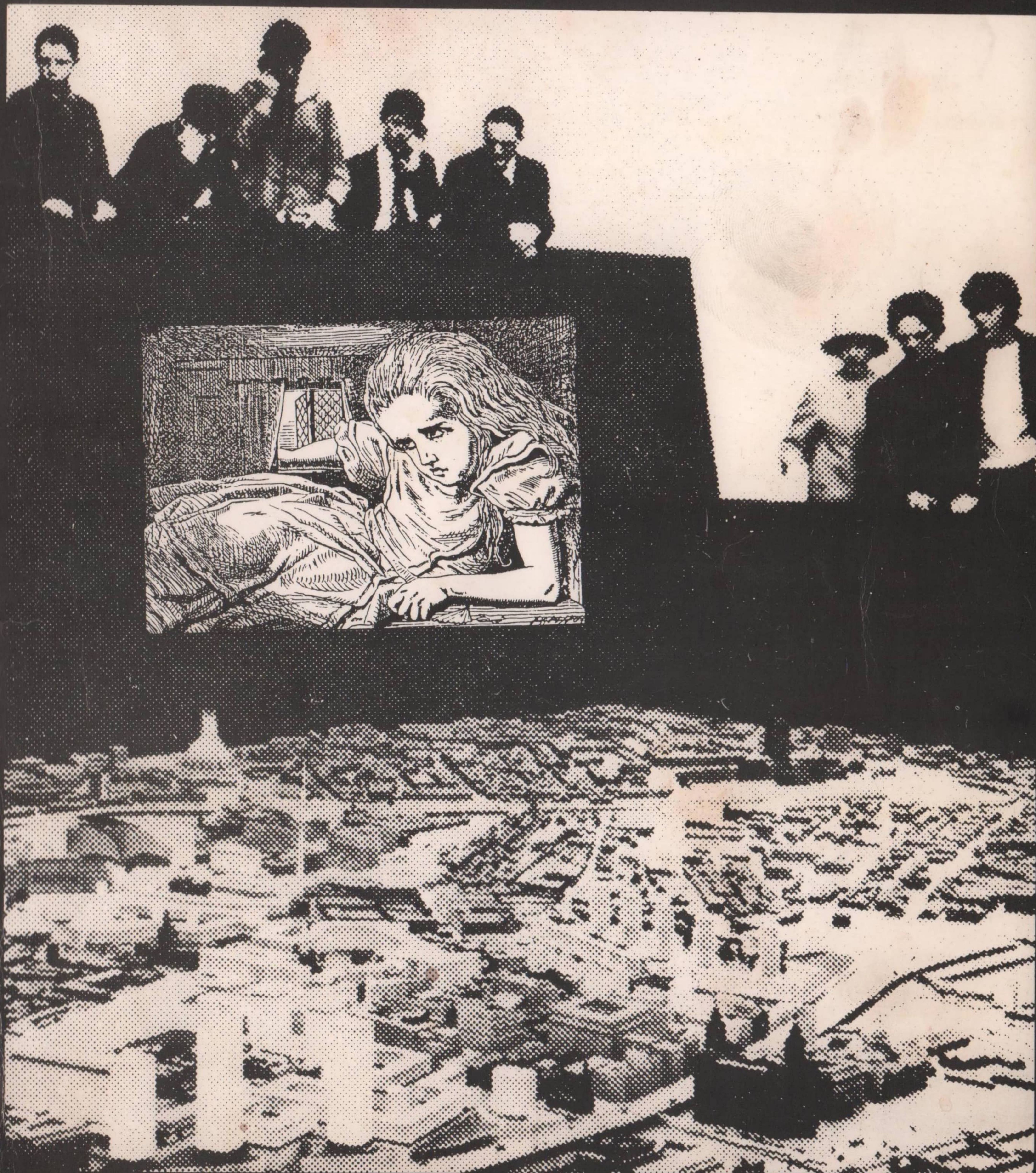


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NO RESERVATIONS

HOUSING, SPACE AND CLASS STRUGGLE



DEDICATION

This magazine is dedicated to the memory of Yolanda Ward, Elizabeth Magnum and Eleanor Bumpurs - and to all those who don't feel at home anywhere but want to feel at home everywhere.

CONTENTS

House Mix	2
The Soft Cell	5
Spatial Deconcentration	6
The Occupation of Art and Gentrification	16
Your Pink Half of the Drainpipe	24
Fire and Ice - Space Wars in Zurich	25
Squatters Resist - Notes on Stamford Hill Evictions	29
Om Sweet Om - A Cautionary Tale of Stonedhenge, Convoys, Mutoids etc.	31
Rebuilding Workers	33
Short-Life Housing	39
Notes on The City	41

INTRODUCTION

This magazine is a collection of articles (mostly written by us but with some contributions from other sources) which we hope will shed some light on the escalating crisis of housing and social space and the forces involved in the struggle over that space. Our general intention has been to identify the different plans capital has for social space in the present economic cycle, and the struggles that these plans throw up.

Since the birth of capitalism its development has been dependant (among other factors, of course) on the forced appropriation and exploitation of social space and its reduction to a commodity - from the theft of common land 'at home' to the whole imperialist programme worldwide.

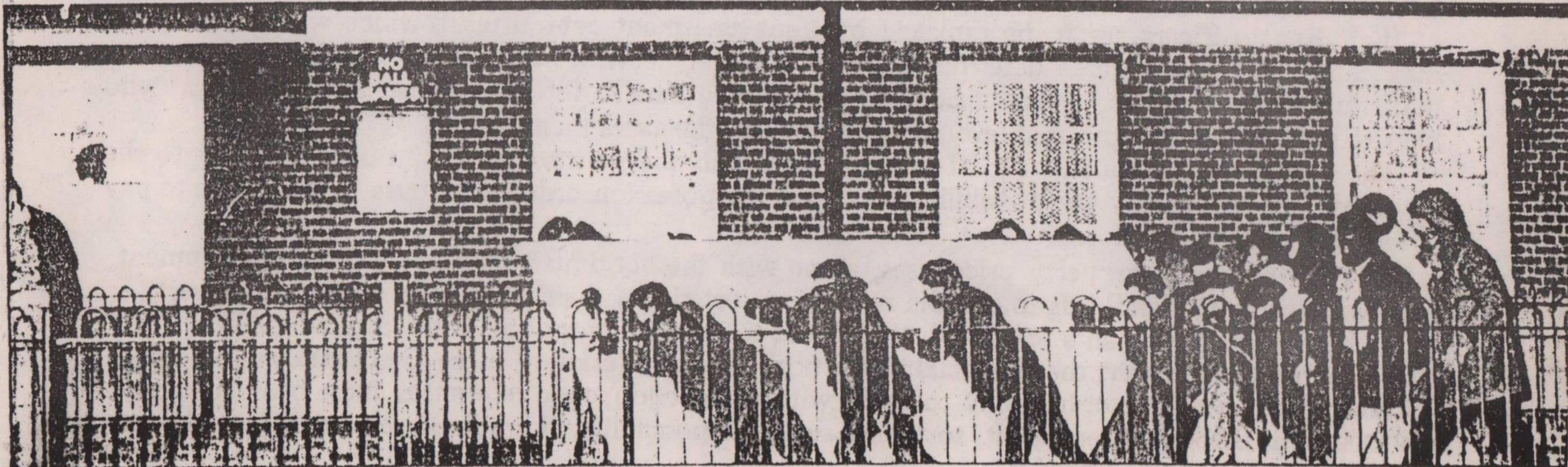
As with wages, capital tries to reduce our space too, to the minimum 'necessary' for us to reproduce ourselves as workers, that is, as atomised individuals, mere appendages of the capitalist machine. The fact that this space and this wage are inadequate for us to live, to reproduce ourselves as human beings, is for them a question of 'law 'n' order' and its offshoot psychiatry. For us it is part of the same struggle - the fight against social atomisation can only succeed as part of the resistance to the economic squeeze, to exploitation and oppression in all its forms.

And now, even though the squats, council estates and fragily mortgaged homes we occupy cannot be considered 'ours', this terrain is also under attack from all sides. By a series of seemingly gradual steps (whose outcome is vague even to them) the State is trying to present homelessness/housing insecurity as an individual problem, in order to mask the fact that their new forms of attack on us are part of a global economic restructuring.

While this is definitely a global phenomenon, we have tended to concentrate here on what we know of its effects in the 'developed world'; obviously there are definite consequences for us here of the space being made available by the widespread transfer of manufacturing industry to 'underdeveloped' countries. Hopefully the recent example of Venezuela where, in protest at bus-fare rises, suburban slumdweller travelled in to loot city centres, will cause a few nightmares for capital in those countries.

NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE
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SQUATTERS prepare to defend their homes

HOUSE MIX

Some effects of the Housing Act and other current housing changes

1) Council Housing

Council Housing is being drastically cut back. First the state brought in, then expanded council tenants' (and only council tenants) 'right to buy', assuming of course that they a) could afford it and b) lived somewhere worth buying.

Then they squeezed council resources, particularly for housing, so that they couldn't develop new stock or carry out many repairs. To deal with this shortage, councils have put up rent, sold off property, increased attacks on squatters and tenants in arrears, closed offices dealing with the homeless, refused help to sectors of the homeless (in particular Irish and Bengali) for supposedly being 'intentionally homeless'.....

The new Housing Act (1988) continues this process.

Firstly, estates in some areas have been designated to be taken over by 'Housing Action Trusts' though after much fuss they have condescended to let tenants vote first. HATs are made up of state appointees, and their role is to do up estates and then sell them off after 3 years. While it would obviously be nice to have our estate done up, it will be the new landlords who will benefit, by being able to charge 'market rent' taking the renovations into account - ie a hell of a lot more than current council rent. The London Docklands Development Corporation and the London Residuary Body (which took over from the GLC) have shown how worthless any promises from state appointed bodies are - the former by ignoring their promises of rehousing to those uprooted by redevelopment (one group that did manage to force rehousing out of the LDDC are so close to the main road they made way for that they might as well not have moved, and their homes bear no relationship with the rosy pictures painted for them), and the latter ignoring those temporarily moved out for renovation, selling the properties instead.

On other estates private landlords will be able to organise votes to take over directly. With abstentions counting as votes for sell-off, and with the squeeze on resources making council ownership even less attractive, many estates will probably go private, with the same rise in rents. Meanwhile councils are being made to either contract-out services to the private sector or cut their own services so they are even cheaper, so partly privatising the remaining estates and probably further running them down.

Already the government is working on its next Housing Act which is expected to make it compulsory for councils to act as though they were private landlords (to charge market rent and evict everyone in arrears) while further cutting their resources.

Council housing has been around for 70 years now, brought in at the end of WWI in response to the massive rent strikes in Clydeside and to the demands of the returning soldiers, encouraged by news of revolution from Russia and Germany. It was brought in to stop us taking everything, and now its being taken away.

2) Private Tenants

The Housing Act frees private landlords from many of the restrictions previously placed on them. Existing tenants will lose out slightly but new tenants will suffer from major cuts in security and increases in rent. What security there has been in the past has often been a formality as isolation has discouraged tenants from demanding improvements, supporting each other etc. when faced with the possibility of eviction or a rent rise. The artificial lack of housing encourages tenants to accept landlords' attempts to bypass their formal security in exchange for actually having a home.

'Fair Rent' officers are to be replaced by 'rent assesment committees', which will fix, if asked, maximum rents for the area determined by the market, ie with no pretence at fairness. And these maximum rents will also be the maximum for housing benefit for the area, so that claimants who have to take property above that level, will have to pay the extra themselves.

The Act increases the number of reasons for which the courts must hand over property to the landlord, and takes away the possibility of suspended possession orders that gave tenants time to pay off arrears to avoid eviction.

The recent massive property price rises, along with the continued increases around development areas, will encourage landlords to use the new act to get rid of their tenants, to do up the property a bit for higher income tenants (or to use this threat to squeeze more out of the current tenants). The price rises have also meant that financial institutions have been taking a more direct interest in buying and renting out bedsits etc. but only to those with a stable job, good references and a bank account - they take rent through direct debit, so taking away the possibility of holding back rent till repairs are carried out, or till we can afford it.

3) Housing Associations

Housing Associations can be effectively divided into two main groups. The smaller ones, co-ops, short-life associations etc. were mainly set up from the late 60s to try to control the threat of squatting, and have been funded (directly and through nominal rent) by local government. But with the squeeze on local state resources, this funding has been slashed, leaving the associations to the mercy of the market. The bureaucrats that run most of them are taking up the challenge, putting up rents, cutting back on repairs and trying to attract private capital. As they tend not to own any property, they will only be able to survive with private backing - either they'll be eaten up by large landlords, including larger Associations (who will use, then throw out the bureaucrats, like the scum they are), get taken over by collections of interested local businesses (particularly, for example black businessmen and women running black housing associations) with few resources, or they'll collapse, leaving the members as squatters.

The larger ones historically come out of Victorian charitable trusts, set up to separate and house the 'deserving poor' to encourage their morality, particularly hard work. They own their own properties and are subsidised by central government. These grants are continuing, in order to encourage these Associations to take part in new developments, but are being progressively cut back, and in some cases will have to be paid back, so they too, and especially the new developments, will be on the market. Recently two housing associations joined, to become the second largest in the country, because, 'the bigger we are, the more investment we can attract.'

Neither type fits the picture that the state has used to encourage the sell-off of council estates. The extent to which they have been groups of people happily organising their own housing needs has been the extent to which they have been sheltered from the market - precisely the space the state is destroying, and using them to destroy.

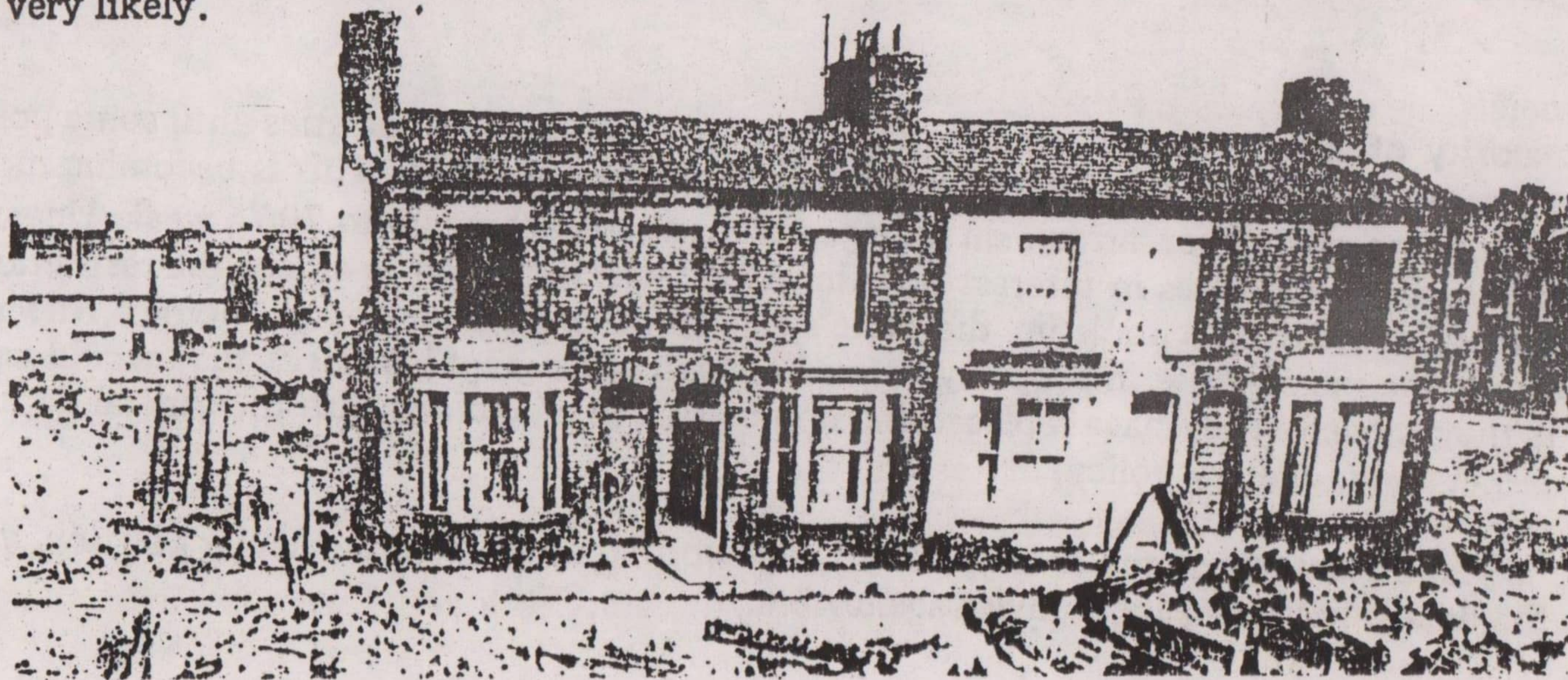
4) Squatting

The run-down of housing in the inner cities, while adding to the need for squatting, left a lot of property empty for squatting. This 'squatting stock' is being increasingly destroyed, sold-off, used to house homeless families etc. and the Housing Act, while forcing councils to either use or sell off empty (including squatted) property, also encourages private landlords to put their property on the market, by removing restrictions.

Meanwhile the number of homeless is increasing, and will increase more quickly once landlords get their hands on council estates. Those who resist eviction for arrears will effectively be squatting, and for those evicted there will be little immediate alternative to squatting. And with the great reduction in comparatively safe council property, private property will increasingly have to be squatted, which means being more organised, serious and in larger groups, as private landlords more often use threats and violence to avoid the time and trouble of legal eviction. And if there aren't enough homes, because capital prefers to build offices and shopping centres, we'll have to try squatting them. While the squatting of council property has been used to divide us, with the state portraying squatters as queue jumpers, stealing homes from 'those who need them', the move to private property will tend to break this propaganda and this division.

5) Claimants

So far, most claimants have been partly cushioned from rent rises by housing benefit. Recently housing benefit was cut so that all claimants had to pay at least 20% of their rates, but this is a comparatively small proportion, and was done more to encourage claimants to join the state's campaign against 'high-spending' councils. The new Social Security Bill plans to cut money paid for board and lodging to those in hostels. But this still leaves a lot of the unemployed, especially in the inner cities, in a position where the level of rent means that they gain little or nothing by taking a badly-paid job. This situation is obviously absurd from the point of view of the state and bosses, trying hard to 'encourage' the unemployed to accept whatever crap jobs are on offer, so further cuts in housing benefit seem very likely.



'GET STUFFED!'

TENANTS have challenged Environment Secretary Nicholas Ridley to a face-to-face meeting on the estates he wants to take out of council control.

But they have warned him to bring police protection if he takes up the offer.

About 120 tenants on the Gloucester Grove and North Peckham estates, Peckham, met on Tuesday night to discuss Government plans for a Housing Action Trust to take over their homes.



Ali Balli.

The meeting soon turned into a council of war, with tenants warning of riots and Government officials being 'ripped to pieces' if they come onto the estates.

North Peckham Tenants' Association chairwoman Sandy Cameron said, "The Home Secretary has already said this estate is ready to go up in a riot.

"At the same time they're

Tenants in riot warning to Minister over HATs

by GERARD SAGAR

putting a HAT into the area to light it up.

"I think they want us to riot so they can send in the police and the army to run us out of our homes.

"They don't like us sitting so close to the banks in the city."

Gloucester Grove TA chairman Ali Balli was cheered when he said, "Stuff 'em - we ain't going to move. If they want a fight they can have one."

John Mitchell, from Hulme Tenants' Alliance, Manchester, said his estate had successfully fought off a HAT.

He added, "When we met the Government minister we didn't drag him across the table and kick him in.

"We sat down and told him what we wanted. We had our facts straight and made it clear a HAT wouldn't work."

Mr. Mitchell said a letter to tenants from Nicholas Ridley announcing the HAT was a 'lie.'

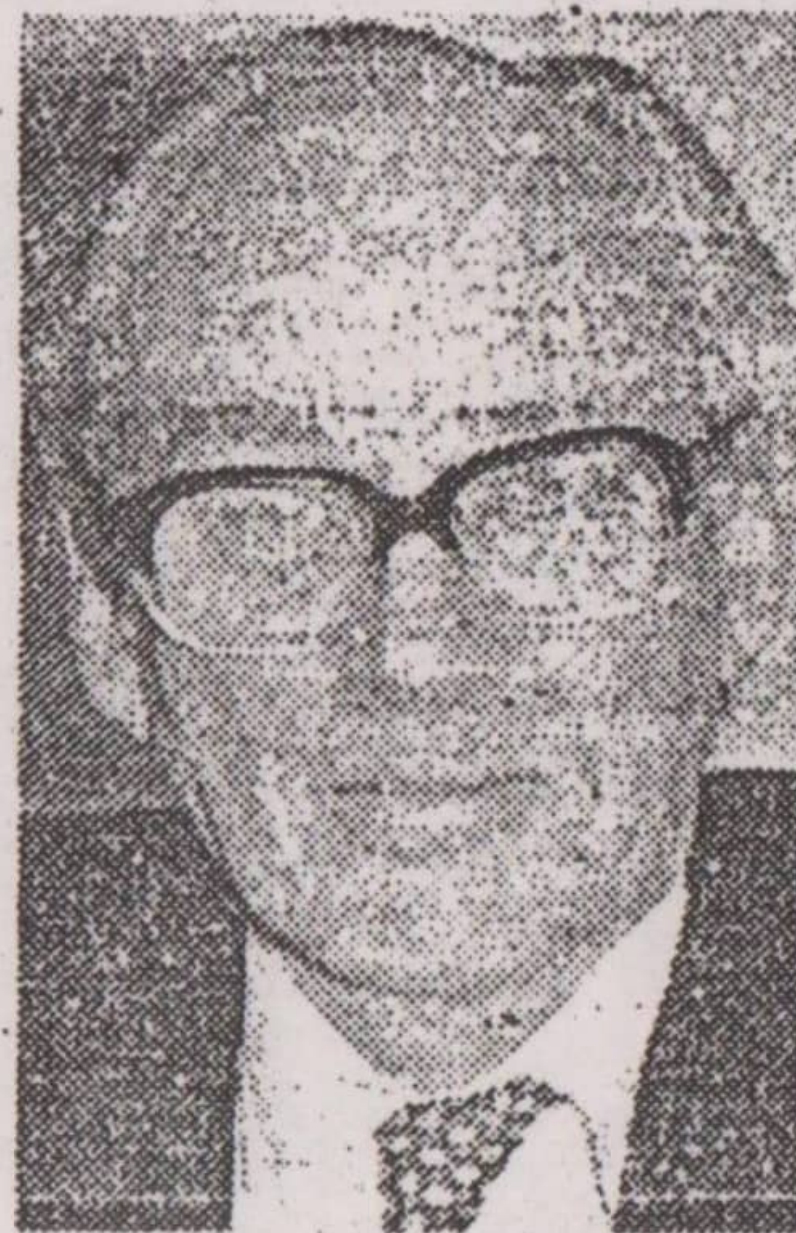
He added although the letter promised rent rises would stay in line with council rents, the legislation going through Parliament said rents would have to reflect the value of work done by the HAT, which is expected to spend £20 million.

Mr. Ridley has already said threats of violence will not stop HATs being set up.

After meeting Lambeth tenants who gave similar warnings, he said, "Don't think this kind of behaviour will persuade me not to make a HAT."

The North Peckham TA sent a letter to Mr. Ridley on Wednesday, inviting him to a public meeting on the estate.

DON'T LET THEM GET AWAY WITH IT.



Nicholas Ridley.

But this doesn't mean claimants don't have housing problems. Recent changes in DSS regulations have ended the payment of deposits and it can take weeks to get money for rent, which landlords tend not to like, while other cuts in benefit make it even harder to pay for other necessities without taking it out of the rent money. Unemployed council tenants are likely, along with black tenants, to be on the most run-down estates, which will either be left with council (with no resources to improve them) or bought with the aim of replacing the tenants as quick as possible.

6) 'Home Owners'

The vast majority of 'home owners' are effectively renting from building societies until some point in the distant future, and without the rights or hassles of having a landlord. This is becoming more obvious as the numbers evicted for arrears on mortgages rise, now reaching up to 700 a week. Unemployment and the massive increases in interest rates have hit those who tried to escape the restrictions of renting, especially those who took up the state's special offer on their council homes. And for most home owners the massive rise in property prices has been of no great benefit as they would have to pay more if they moved. They have replaced the domination of a landlord with the general domination of the market and monetary policy.

The above is just an outline of the changes. If you are worried about your particular position, you should check the details with your local advice agency, etc.

THE SOFT CELL

On 9th of May 1988, the prison (1) in the middle of Nantes rediscovered its function: locking men up, reducing them to the condition of 'digestive tubes', killing them socially. The prison architect Jean-Marie Lepinay, supervisor of the renovation, explains "We've tried to put forward the idea of cells which would be as clean as possible, to encourage good habits, and an attitude of cleanliness."

What is this cleanliness a question of? When the screws wash their brutality in the blood of their prisoners! Remember Bruno Sulak (2). Remember Georges Omo, assassinated in this same Nantes prison during the night of 1/2 May 1981 by those who could not tolerate his dignity.

In talking of cleanliness Lepinay is perhaps referring more to the 'White Torture' (3) which has been developed in French prisons since Peyrefitte's QHS (4) and Badinter's and Chalandon's (5) isolation quarters. This is what a prisoner thinks about it: "Through his special sections, Badinter, surgeon of 'social' justice, offered one of the most refined face-lifts to the death penalty. The body is no longer of interest, it is a person's identity that they want to crush, it is the will that they want to kill. Accompanied by a lot of humanising 'reforms', they inject their lethal mental poison, they abolish quick execution so as to use a torture more efficient and particularly more profitable, politically speaking."

But one more kind of death penalty isn't Lepinay's problem. It's not his concern. He is an architect: "This prison," he says, "at least a century old, was the last of a series which included La Roquette. A genuine example of the old system which we wanted to leave visible. The other demand has been to reassimilate the prison into its environment and to point out the positive nature of the changes to a building previously regarded as a blot on the landscape."

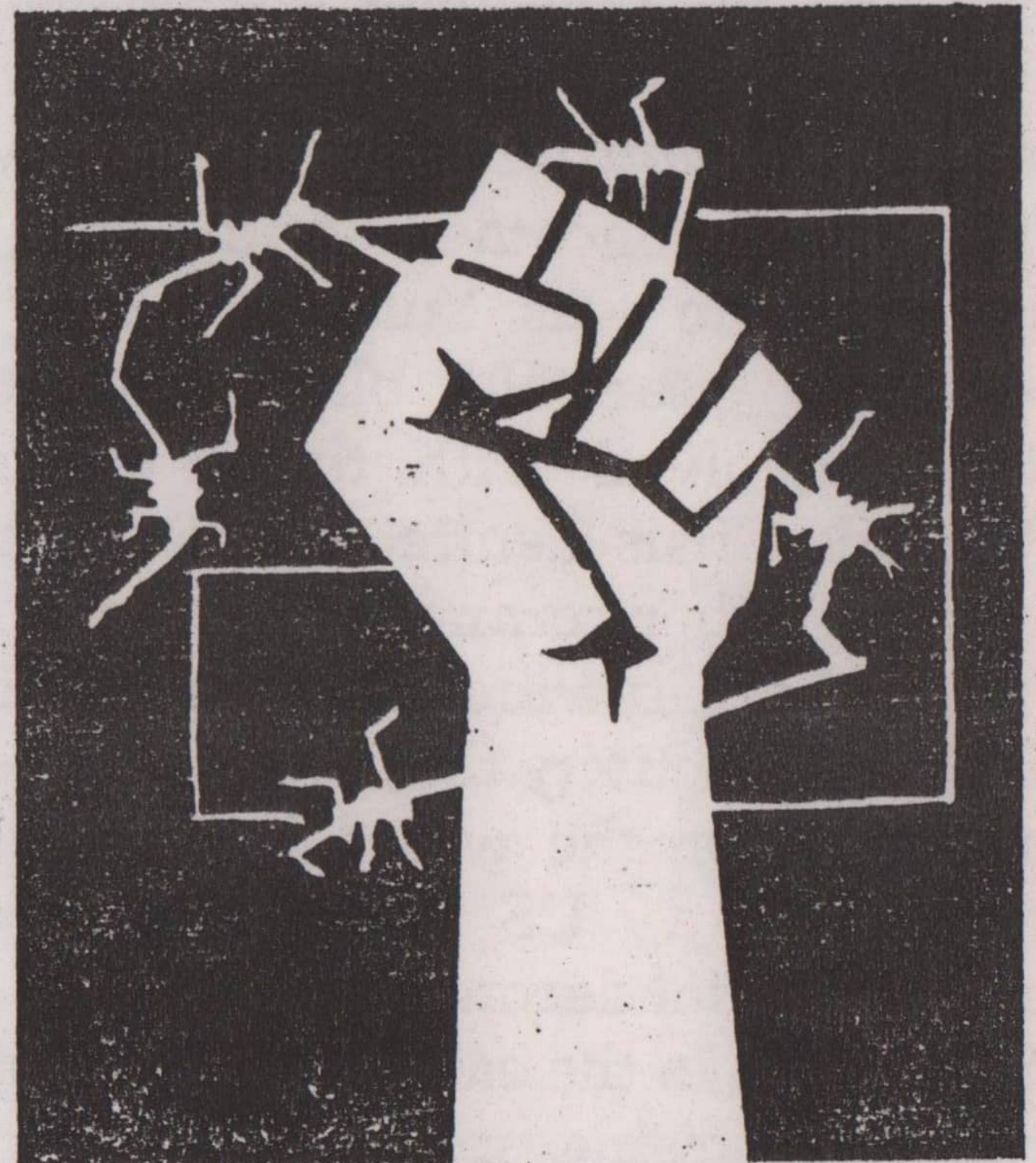
We can reassure Lepinay that the prison will not be a blot on his very repressive landscape, (a cop shop, courts), it will only be that for those destined to rot in the place, in the same way that the massacre of the Kanaks isn't at all harmful to the functioning of our beautiful 'democracy', but only to those who are sacrificed to it.

Lepinay made some publicity for himself two years ago, by feigning support for a Pole imprisoned in his own country.

To these builders of death camps, these gravediggers of freedom, this same Pole Czeslaw Bielecki had replied in advance, and his remarks

have lost none of their relevance: "At last, after a year of verbal battles, we must begin to suppress the collaborators, because nothing weakens a people subject to constraint more than the impunity of this scum. Invoking moral sanctions against this filth is a mere gesture. Only concrete intervention, (what kind? Let the imagination roam....), can exercise a good influence on them...." (C. Bielecki - Solidarnosc Walczaca no. 19/49 15 May 1983)

Comité 'Saint Maur, Ensisheim', (6) Nantes 17 May 1988. This first appeared as a wall poster.



- 1: For remand and transfer prisoners plus mainly short-term servers (less than three years).
- 2: Bruno Sulak was a robber and burglar famous for the precision of his planning and his avoidance of using weapons even when he carried them. He escaped from jail several times. He was killed by screws during an escape attempt in '85. (The official version was suicide.) Shortly afterwards in the massive French prison riots, prisoners held up banners and shouted slogans saying he had been murdered by screws.
- 3: White Torture; The use of sensory deprivation and total isolation to try and psychologically break you, as opposed to more traditional methods of physical torture.
- 4: Peyrefitte; Home secretary under the presidency of Giscard d'Estaing.
QHS; High Security Quarters.
- 5: Badinter; Home secretary from '81-6 under Mitterand's socialist government. On taking up office he said he would abolish QHS, but he developed them further.
Chalandon: Home secretary ('86-8) under Chirac.
- 6: Both Saint-Maur and Ensisheim are prisons for long-term prisoners which were almost totally destroyed in riots during the winter/spring of 87/88.

SPATIAL DECONCENTRATION

INTRODUCTION

We begin with a murder - that of Yulanda Ward in Washington, D.C. at 2am, November 2, 1980. She was shot to death in what now appears as an assassination disguised as a street robbery. She was not robbed but her head was pushed over the edge of a car and shot; her three companions were robbed but not otherwise harmed. The weapon of murder appears to have been a .357 Magnum, not exactly a street-crime weapon. According to the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund and other groups, her murder has been followed by either thorough police incompetence or a systematic cover-up and non-investigation. Moreover, the police have attempted to stop the independent investigation of her murder, even though 'grapevine' inquiries report that she was murdered by 'out of town' hired killers.

Why be concerned with this one murder? Who was Yulanda Ward? She was a 22 year old black community activist involved with the Washington, D.C. Rape Crisis Centre, the Black United Front and other community groups, most notably the Citywide Housing Coalition. It is this last activity that could have led to her death, for she was a key activist in uncovering a US government plan labelled 'spatial deconcentration.'

Some time in the early 80's she wrote an article publicising information she had collected about the plan. It was based largely on material that is publicly available, especially the 'Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disobedience', otherwise known as the Kirner Commission report. A large portion of this document was, however, based on materials which were not publicly available, specifically a number of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) department files which Ward and her friends allegedly stole from the HUD office in Washington, D.C. The files allegedly stolen have never been published, nor are they included here.

Her article was first published as part of a collection of notes for a national housing activists conference held in Washington some years ago. Shortly after this publication, Yolanda Ward was murdered.

We reprint the following article on spatial deconcentration for two reasons. First, its information is valuable while its analysis begins to uncover many important political points about the organisation of space under capitalism. Second, if Yulanda Ward was assassinated, we wish to alert others about it and urge them to assist the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund in investigating the reasons for and perpetrators of the murder. In this way we hope that our increased vigilance will help stop any violent state repression of the type suspected in this case.

This article focuses on Washington, D.C. but the spatial deconcentration program is nationwide. The precise patterns and plans may vary from place to place, the essential operation is constant: to remove the threat posed to concentrated capital by concentrated masses of urban poor.

Yulanda Ward was murdered in D.C. In other cities local organisers for the Grassroots Unity Conference, of which Yulanda was a member and which has been combatting spatial deconcentration, have been attacked physically and verbally - burglaries, false arrests, threatening phone-calls, verbal attacks by government officials. Nonetheless, and necessarily, the struggle continues.

SPATIAL DECONCENTRATION

by

The Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund

Housing activists in Washington have long battled with indifferent city officials, individual and organized, and the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade as we sought to halt the displacement of masses of Blacks and other poor or working class minorities from the inner cities to the suburbs. Since 1972 campaigns have centered around rent control, condominium and hotel conversions, land speculators, and government bureaucracy. We clearly understood the process of gentrification (replacing poor inner city residents with middle and upper class "gentry"), and perceived the underlying economic basis on which the process rested with land speculators vigorously exploiting inner city neighborhoods. The displacement of Blacks and other minorities from the inner city was thought to be a product of the capitalist housing market, which provides housing only for those who can afford it. It was not until 1979 that we discovered and began to research a Federal government program called "spatial deconcentration", the hidden agenda behind the phenomenon of displacement. We discovered that displacement had an economic base to be sure, but more importantly, it was a means of social control--a means to break up large concentrations of Blacks and other inner city minorities from their communities. We have witnessed the forced evacuation of more than 50,000 poor inner city residents from the city each year and their subsequent replacement by an affluent class. We understood the role of the government and its officials as it aided this process by creating laws that benefitted landlords and speculators while impoverishing tenants, but it wasn't until Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) documents began to surface using the words "housing mobility" and "fair housing" that we began to understand the magnitude of the masterplan to rid the city of its inner city poor and working classes. To fully understand this program we had to examine its history, the atmosphere out of which it developed, and its objectives. After this, we had concrete answers for why 50,000 poor people a year are being driven into Prince Georges, Montgomery, Prince William, and other suburban jurisdictions increasingly further away from the inner city, while central city neighborhoods are allowed to decay until speculators and middle class whites move in to take them over.

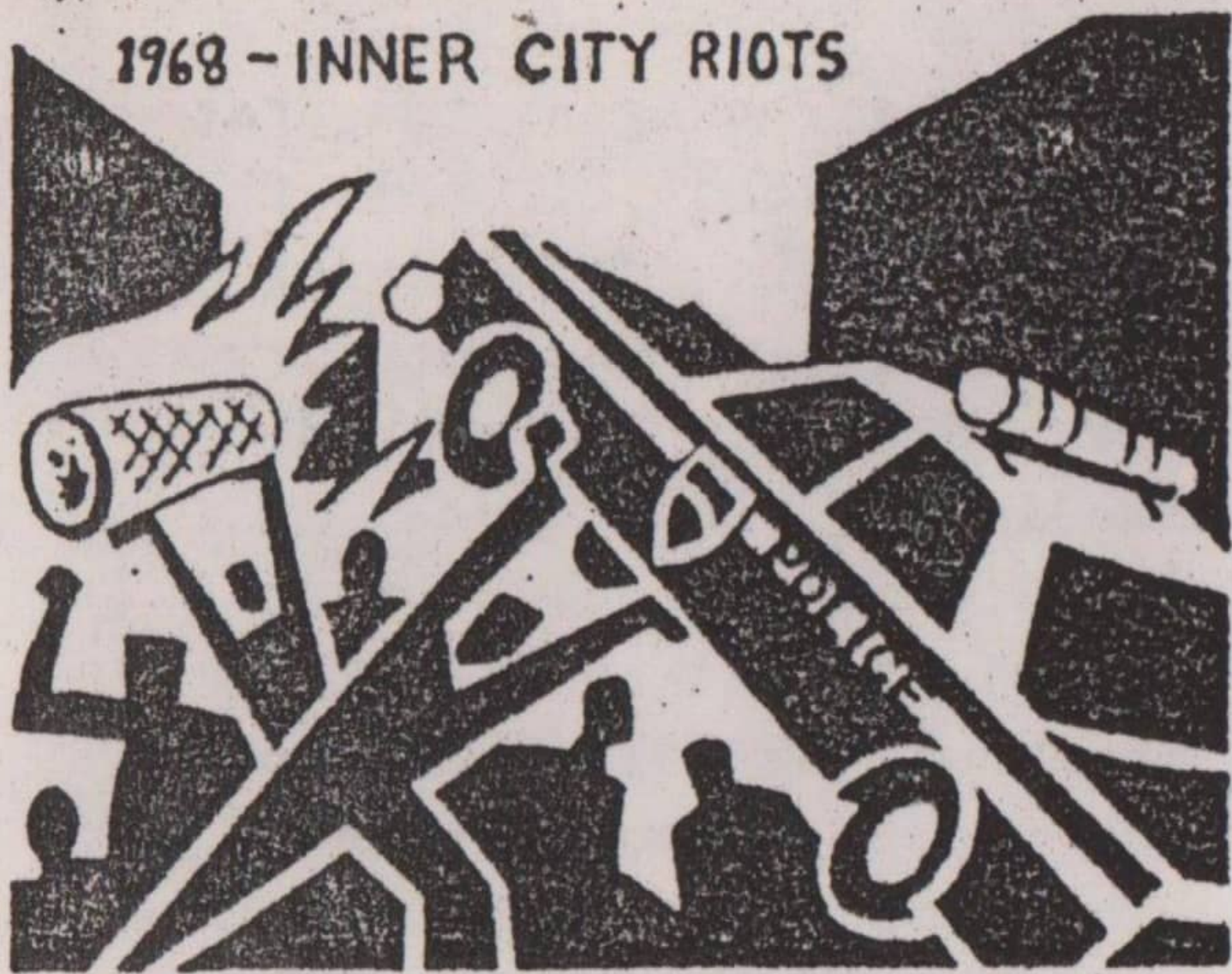
The riots that rocked American cities in the 1960's provoked lengthy governmental studies to investigate the riots and to make recommendations on what could be done to prevent civil disturbances by oppressed minorities. President Lyndon Johnson appointed a special commission, the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) in 1968, composed of police and army specialists, FBI and CIA agents, and civilian consultants who worked at "thinktank" institutions like

the Brookings Institute, the Rand Corporation, and the Urban Institute. The commissions, clearly connected with the Pentagon, the State Department, the CIA and the FBI, felt that large concentrations of Blacks in the inner cities represented a threat to the security of the United States and had to be removed from the cities immediately. Thus, the Kerner Commission's recommendation was that low income housing projects and the Blacks that lived in them, should be relocated from inner city neighborhoods to sites outside the central city. This would break up the concentrations of Blacks within the central city and thus disrupt their potential to erupt into violence in response to their economic conditions. The commission recommended that Blacks be systematically placed in outlying suburban counties and dispersed, so that the counties themselves remained white dominated, but the Blacks would be isolated and broken up, neutralizing their violent potential. The death this same year of Martin Luther King and the subsequent riots hastened the government's determination to control Black people in the inner city. The Federal government acted on the Commission's recommendations and began, in 1969, a program called "spatial deconcentration" which to date, has received a Federal investment of over 5 billion dollars.

The enactment of the program required the coordination and cooperation of many government officials and capitalists, and due to the large sums of money being offered by the government, received widespread development and support. Metropolitan areas in America have witnessed how banks and insurance companies have red-lined central city neighborhoods while real estate speculators have milked what profits they could from these communities, further hastening the deterioration as thousands of housing units were demolished, abandoned, or taken off the market for any number of reasons. As the artificially created energy crisis worsened, the inner city became an attractive option to the middle class that fled to the suburbs in the 50's and 60's. Redevelopers and banks began redevelopment or "urban renewal" projects which have caused the displacement of hundreds of thousands of inner city residents of Washington and other urban cities over the past ten years. Due to a housing shortage as artificially created as the energy crisis, the victims of urban renewal are forced to relocate in the suburbs, thereby eliminating their political presence within the central city.

The workings of the spatial deconcentration program are simple. First, the Blacks have to be driven out of a neighborhood and placed in suburban jurisdictions that are forced to take them, or co-opted with bribes of large Federal grants. In Washington D.C., in order to drive people out of a particular inner city neighborhood, the Federal government, along with the D.C. City Council and the Mayor, eliminated the housing in neighborhoods by giving landlords incentives to abandon their buildings, or remove rental units from the market by specially designed rent control

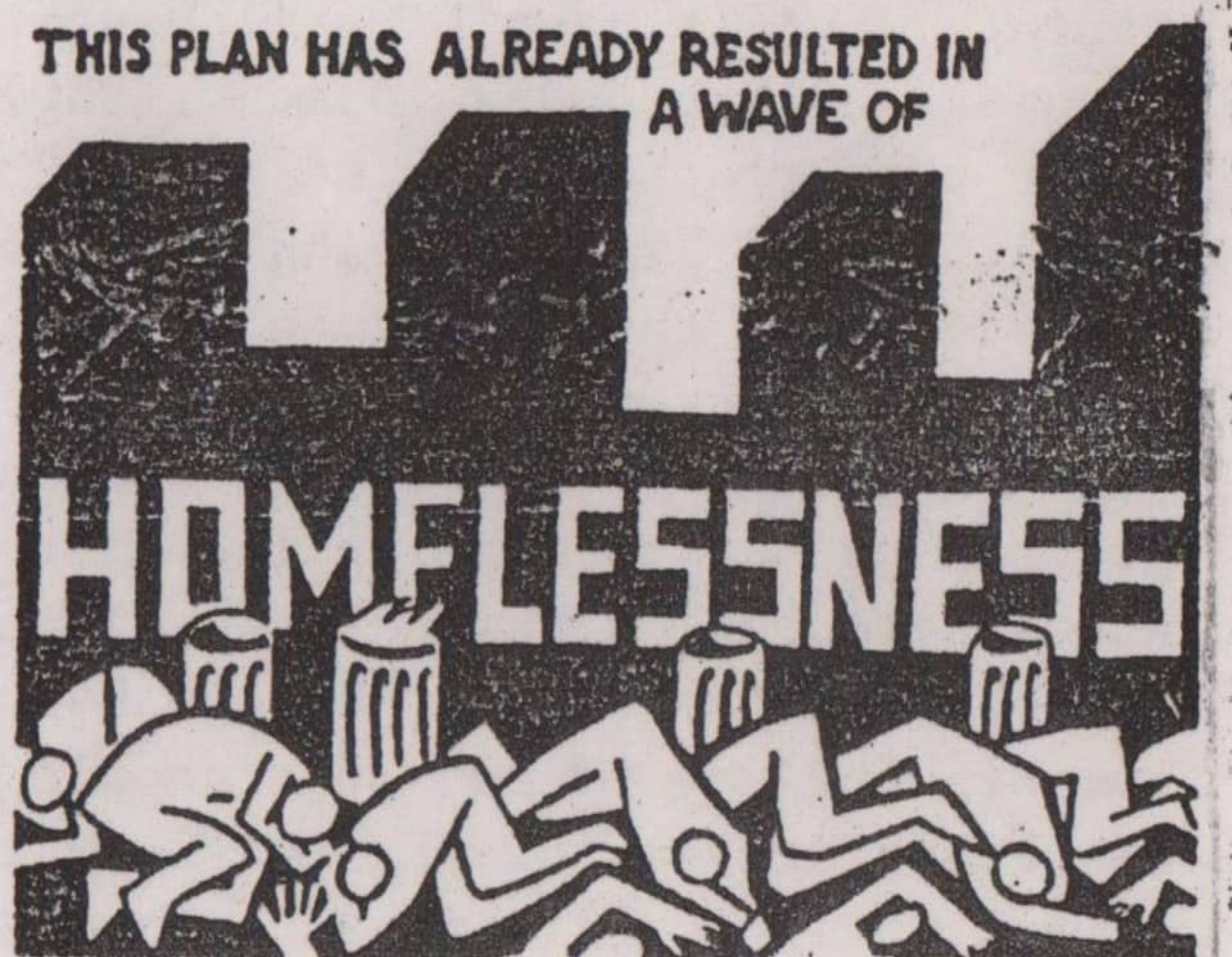
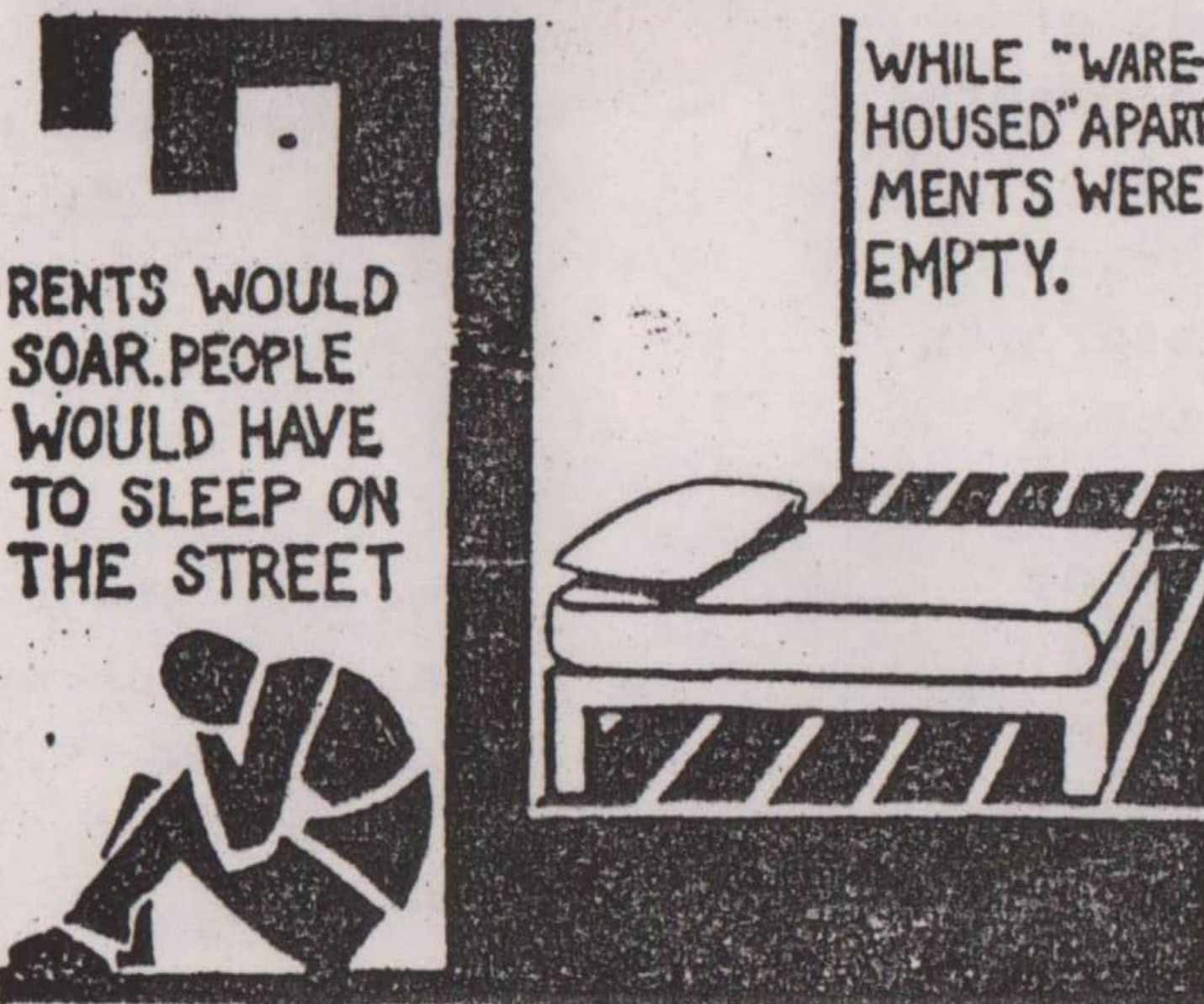
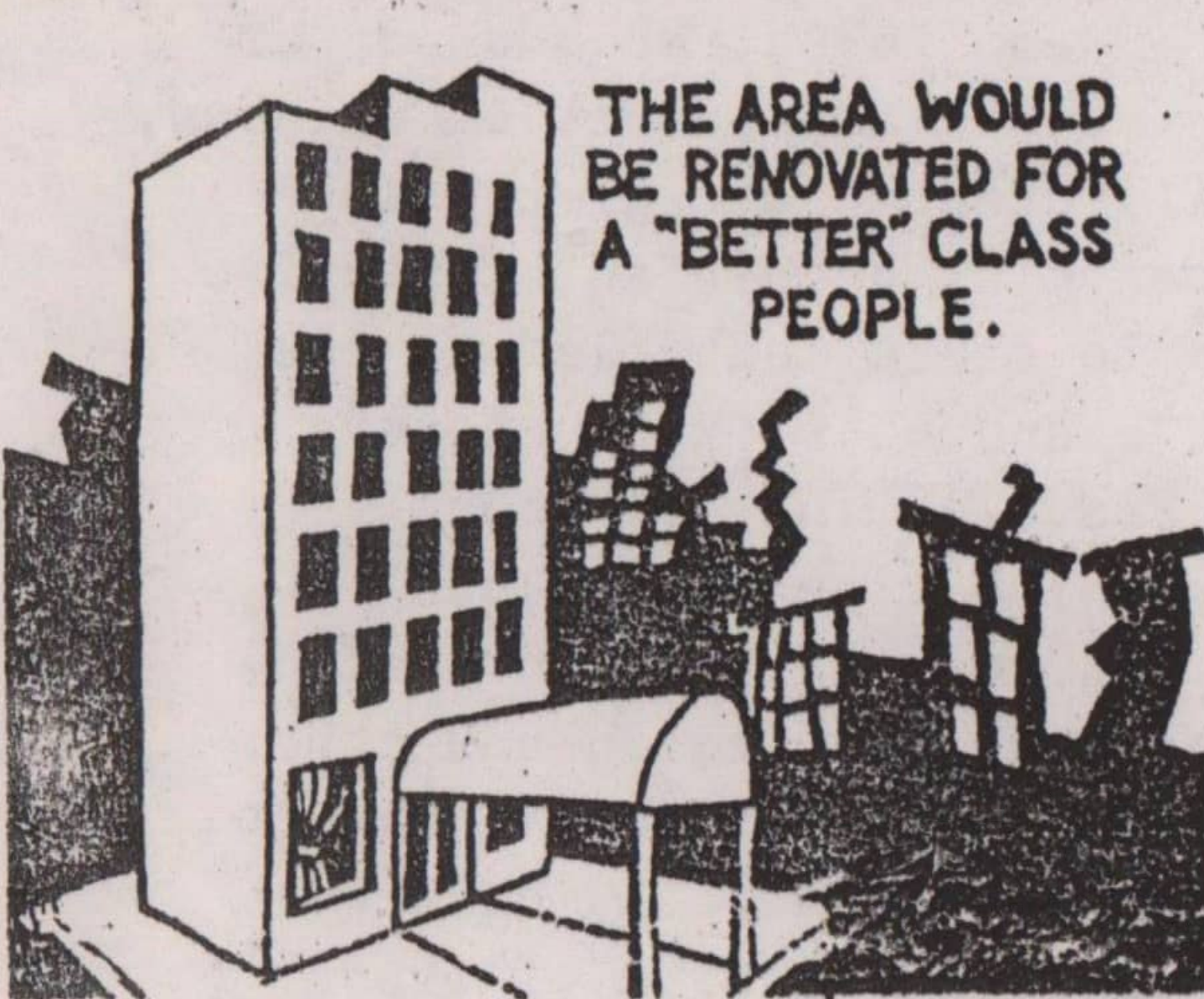
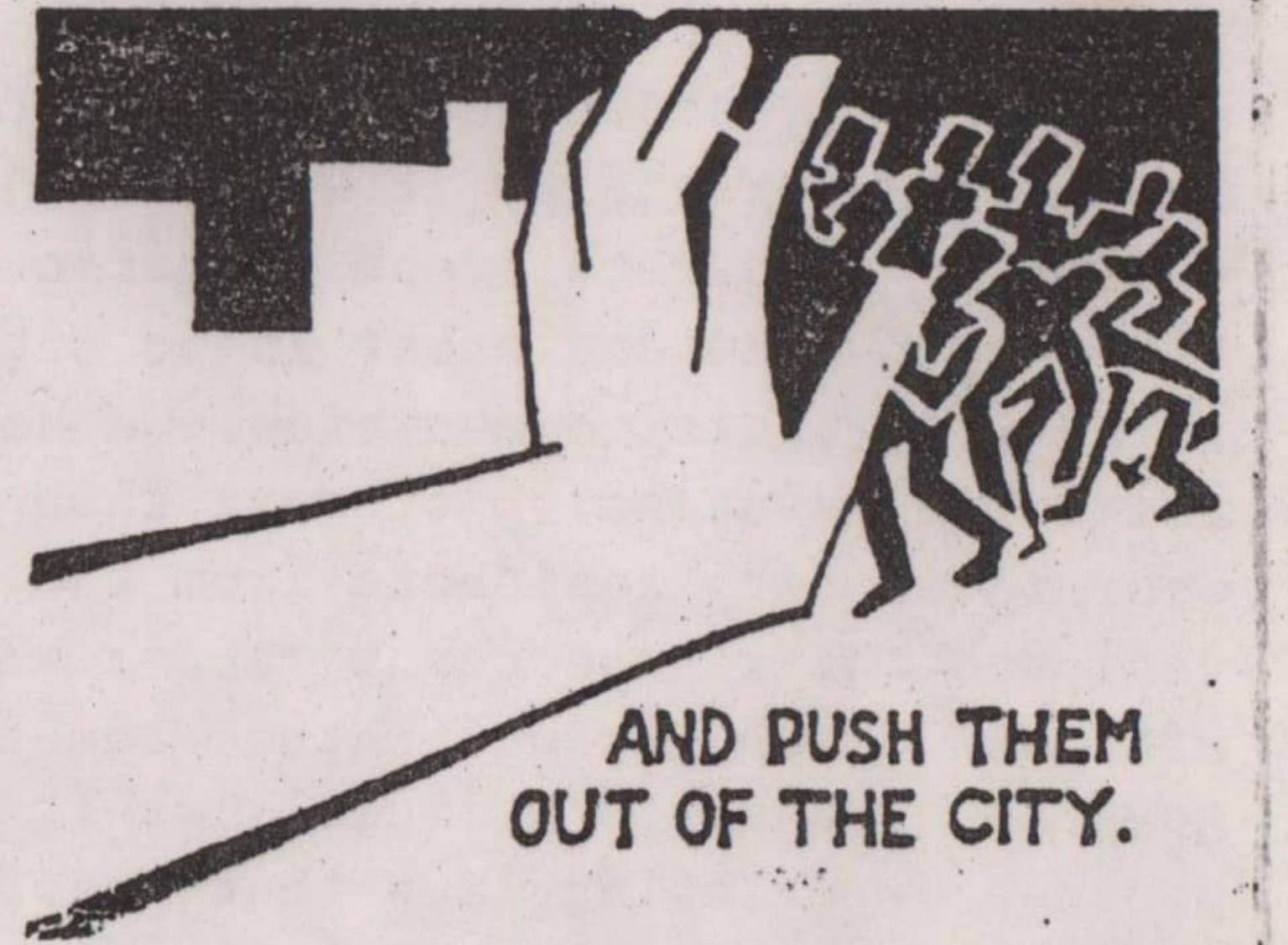
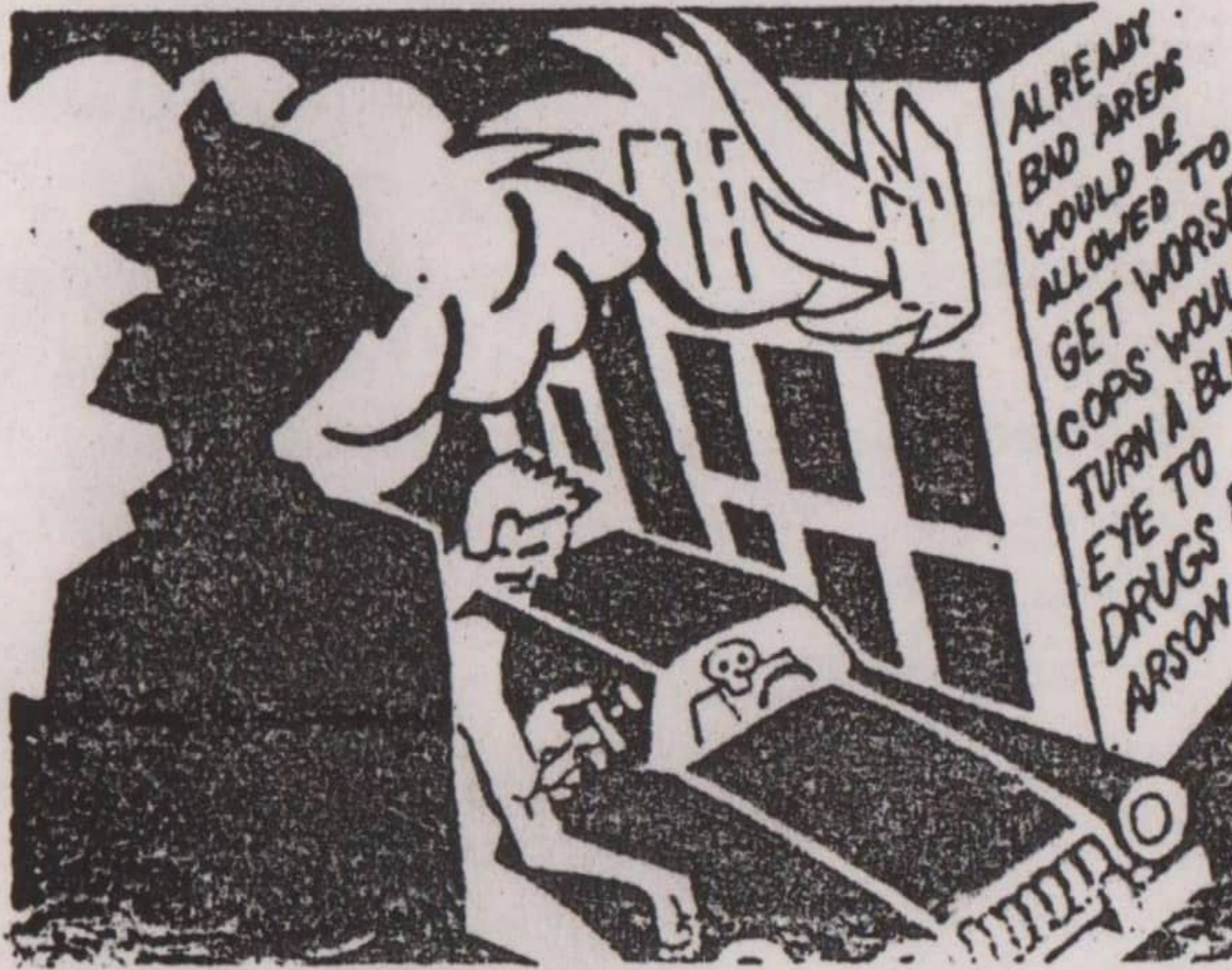
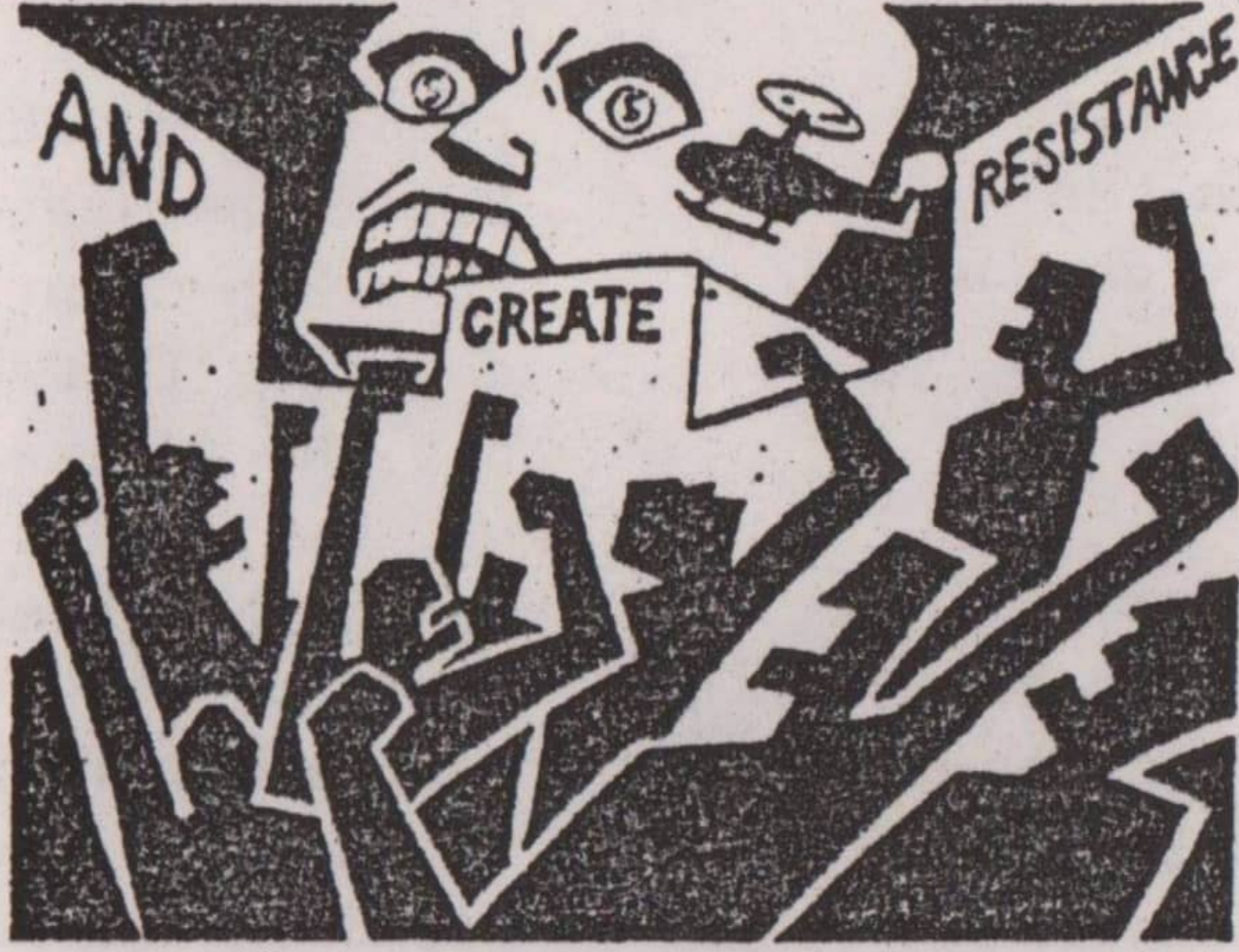
1968 - INNER CITY RIOTS



A COMMISSION WAS SET-UP TO STUDY THE RIOTS.



CONSISTING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MILITARY, BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT.



Graphics by Seth Tobocman

and conversion laws. We witness this practice in action by the continuous loopholes found in all of our rent control legislation that allow landlords to abandon their buildings, convert them to condominiums, or generally remove them from the market. Second, the government closes down all of the public housing it has sponsored since the 1930's, thus forcing the displacement of the poor people living in them. For low or fixed income homeowners in the community, property taxes are escalated and housing services are decreased, thus also impoverishing this group of people. Once the housing is eliminated, then other services that support the community are cut back--the public transportation is rerouted or a subway is built that totally bypasses the community. Available schools for the children are closed down in the name of budget cuts; hospitals are relocated to 'improve health delivery systems'; jobs are taken away as businesses are offered inducements to relocate in other areas. The entire community is destabilized to force the people of that community to want to move as their lifestyle deteriorates. Yet, poor people can't just pick up and move just because a neighborhood has gone down. Moving takes money, and this is where the government plays its most visible role.

In 1974 Congress enacted the Housing and Community Development Act, which revamped the Revenue Sharing and Urban Renewal programs. One section of the Act specifies that one of its main purposes is "spatial deconcentration" of impacted neighborhoods in the inner cities. The next year, the Federal subsidy program, Section 8, was enacted by Congress. The creator of the Section 8 program was a civilian member of the Kerner Commission called Anthony Downs who also developed the entire theory of spatial deconcentration for social control in his 1973 book entitled *Opening Up the Suburbs*, Section 8 was specifically aimed at the poorest of the poor and was a rent subsidy program that allows tenants to pay a maximum of 25% of their monthly income for rent with the government picking up the tab for the rest. Of course, like most subsidies, the real estate interests are guaranteed profits while the tenants have to wait on long waiting lists to register for the privilege of guaranteeing these profits for landlords.

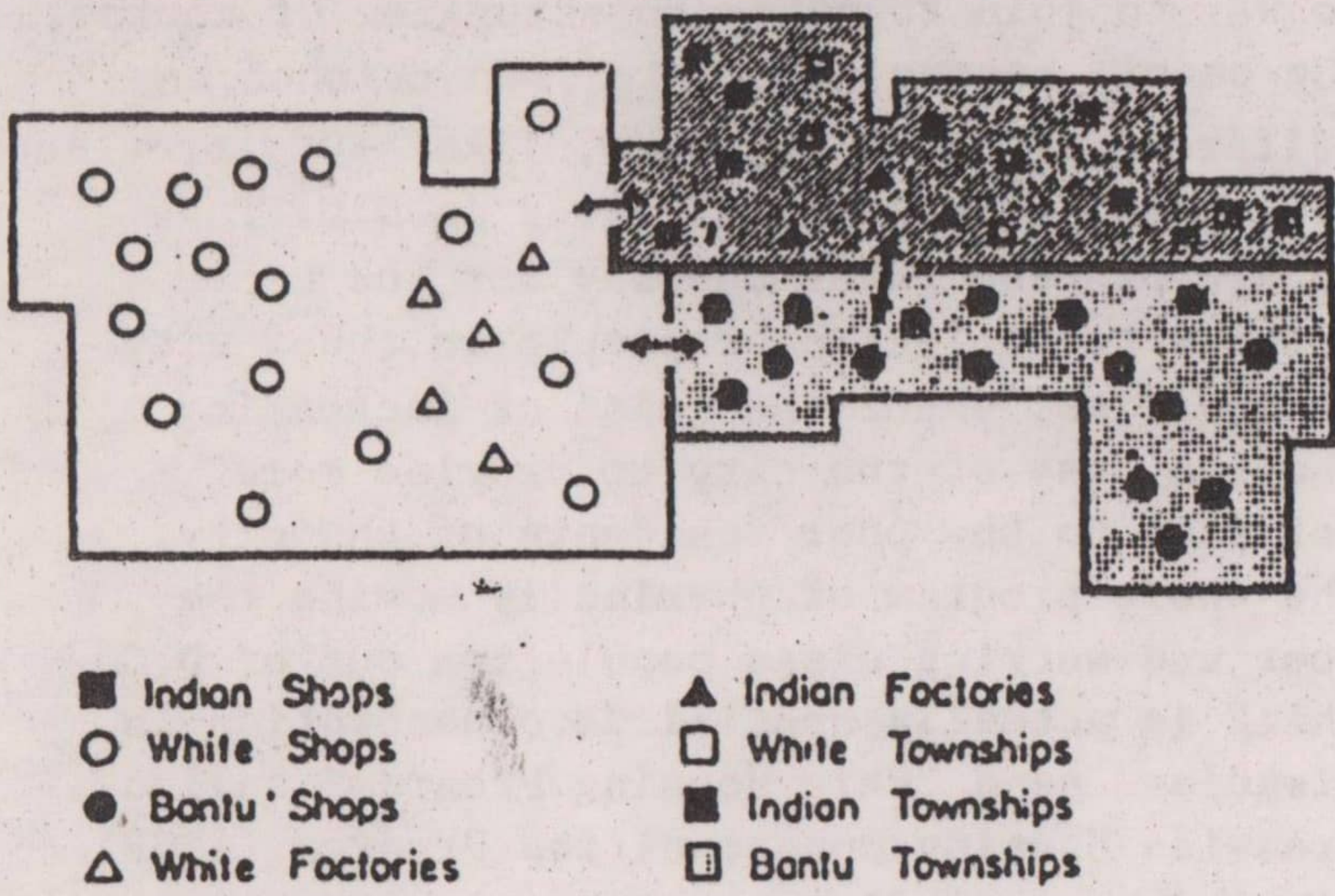
So when poor people are forced into a position of having to move, they are granted Section 8 certificates which appear to ease the burden of not having a place to stay. However, the catch to the Section 8 program is that by using it, you no longer have a choice in where you can live. The new "housing mobility" created through Federal subsidies actually eliminated freedom of housing choice because at the same time HUD is giving Section 8 certificates to the suburbs, they claim there is not enough money available to keep people in D.C. They will give Section 8 certificates to families in D.C. but allow them to use them only in specifically selected suburban counties, not allowing the people to

stay in D.C. to be close to the jobs, the Metro, the culture or the human services. This forces them out to the suburbs where there is no way to join together to struggle. Of course, the people become even more impoverished as welfare assistance programs, like AFDC, provide even less income than allotted in D.C. This entire process paves the way for the upper classes to replace poor people in inner city communities, under the guise of increasing the tax base of the city to provide more services to the poor residents of the city. The whole program of physically moving the poor and working class population out of D.C. which is actually spatial deconcentration is disguised as a "Fair Housing Program" called Areawide Housing Opportunities Program (AHOP). Simply put, you disperse the concentrations of Black and poor people in D.C. where they could erupt into a dangerous force to challenge the ruling class of the city and form a political base to threaten indifferent and sold-out officials. The program creates small pockets of poor people, isolated in the suburbs, available to work when the economy needs them, but separated and alienated, like the South African Blacks who are forced to live in *Bantustans* that surround rich white settler cities.

The spatial deconcentration program has played a major role in the transformation of Washington, D.C. from a riot-torn, abandoned inner city to a fast growing executives' paradise. Since Washington's primary industry has always been the Federal government, now more so than ever, a large executive class is being drawn into Washington by attractive real estate, the energy crisis, and the cooperation of Federal and city officials. Meanwhile, unemployment for the poor and working class escalates; the few of them who receive training and jobs are limited to clerical or blue collar jobs with little or no upward mobility. Fewer and fewer jobs are available to the poor in the inner city, and to counter the effects of the program, the city government must create job programs (designed to fail) in order to pacify the remaining population. In addition, we have a city which is experiencing record-breaking commercial construction (office buildings, the Civic Center, etc.) yet has a critical shortage in that basic human necessity, shelter. This condition was created by the fact that Washington was one of the original cities targeted for implementing the spatial deconcentration program in 1969. The program has been operating here for eleven years and is the concrete basis for the advanced stage of displacement we are experiencing.

The implementation of the spatial deconcentration program for the Washington area (AHOP) required the authority and financing of the Federal government, the participation of private industry, and the cooperation of local governing bodies. The application of the program to Washington was undertaken by the Washington Council of Governments (WashCog) which is the inter-jurisdictional body for the metropolitan

Idealized Urban Racial Arrangement as Envisaged in the Group Areas Act!



area, composed of elected officials from Washington, Virginia and Maryland and, again, consultants from thinktanks like the Brookings Institute and the Urban Institute. WashCOG began administration of the program by enlisting the support of the District officials to create the inner city conditions that would force people to move. These officials ensured that neighborhoods that were already devastated by the riots were left to decay and support services were cut. Next, WashCOG had to persuade suburban officials to accept the flow of Blacks who would be forced into their communities. Most of the persuasion was accomplished through Federal bribes in the form of Community Development monies. The impetus for the persuasion came with the Fair Housing Laws passed by Congress. They ensured that under the mask of "integration" white suburban neighborhoods would have to accept poor Blacks from the inner city. Suburban communities were also granted other bonuses as they received more public transportation (the Metro), increased social services (from the Federal payments) and were assured that there would always be white dominance in the suburbs since the Blacks would be dispersed over large areas. Prince Georges' county was the first area country to buy into the program. We now see the county government moving to halt the flood of Blacks into the county, fearing Black dominance.

The next phase of the program requires the persuading of the poor people in the inner city that life is better in the suburbs. The Section 8 certificates now come into play, as housing counselors, usually springing from government-sponsored community groups, urge people to relocate wherever their Section 8 certificate placed them, which is always in the suburbs. Apparent community groups, like Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association, support the objectives of the program by assisting tenants in obtaining Section 8 certificates, and omitting to warn them of their loss of housing choice. In fact, MWPFA sponsored

a HUD workshop entitled "Increasing Housing Opportunities in the Suburbs" in May 1980. The hidden punch line to the workshop was that to increase housing opportunities in the suburbs, you must first decrease them in the city, which is the essence of spatial deconcentration. The government has made increasingly larger grants available to train community housing organizers, so that they may learn to properly administer Section 8 programs. Many of the grassroots housing groups in Washington are dependent on Section 8 contracts for their survival, and will refuse to recognize and discontinue the role they play in the program.

The monetary benefactors of the spatial deconcentration program are the real estate interests. Land values in the inner city skyrocketed, while suburban developers made tremendous profits from developing the communities which will house the Blacks being driven out. Owners of buildings who have Section 8 tenants are guaranteed profits that will be paid by the Federal government, and usually can obtain loans for renovation from the government at interest rates 5-8% lower than the regular market. For example, a large, sprawling apartment complex in Silver Spring, Montgomery County, Maryland recently accepted a large number of Section 8 tenants from Washington D.C. In return, the owners of the property were granted large loans to renovate the property. The owners only have to allow Section 8 tenants to stay in the building for five years. After that, they can convert to condominium, luxury apartments, or whatever they want, because they've tripled the value of the property with the renovations paid for by the government. However, after the five years are up, the poor tenants who moved into the building will have to move again. They will not ultimately benefit from the renovations, and furthermore, will be forced even further away from the inner city.

An investigation is proceeding into Yulanda Ward's death. Assistance, inquiries and contributions to the investigation should be addressed to:

*The Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund
P.O. Box 21005
Washington, D.C. 20009*



POSTSCRIPT

The two featured articles, *Fire and Ice* and *Spatial Deconcentration*, both deal with the question of space in capitalist society. Like all social categories, it has two sides. In this afterword we wish to briefly discuss some of the implications of the space struggle previously described.

I. Planning

Spatial Deconcentration reveals the method capital increasingly relies on to overcome the "crisis of social democracy" in the U.S.: *planning through the market*. One of the age-old secrets of capitalist magic is the knowledge that in any relatively diffuse market of competing strangers a few billion dollars can direct the market "forces" to attain planned ends without the institution of an overt monopoly. This trick is the essence of all stock manipulations, the control of large corporations by minority stockholders, etc. Equal and randomly opposing forces cancel each other out while a marginal but relatively more organized force can ultimately determine the situation.

The rapidly changing housing patterns in dozens of U.S. cities reveals the effectiveness of this type of state planning. In the last decade the production and reproduction space of this country has been completely transformed with almost no open, concrete governmental action: no highways dividing ghettos from the rest of town, no housing projects, no bulldozers to sit down in front of. This method of planning through the market is not so "precise" as the detailed state plan of the U.S.S.R. but it has the asset of appearing not to be a plan at all. Thus the state has the *advantage* of not offering itself as a *target* of resistance in an area where its police powers are vulnerable: where people live.

Surely capital does not have "it all planned" in some conspiratorial and foolproof pattern. Those are the dreams of total defeat. On the contrary, capitalist planning has many defects:

- 1) plans presume control of the future but the class struggle is not pre-determinable;
- 2) planners may have conflicting interests and may try to impose contradictory plans;
- 3) temporal pressure may cause the plans to be technically inadequate;
- 4) "exogenous" natural events may disrupt plans.

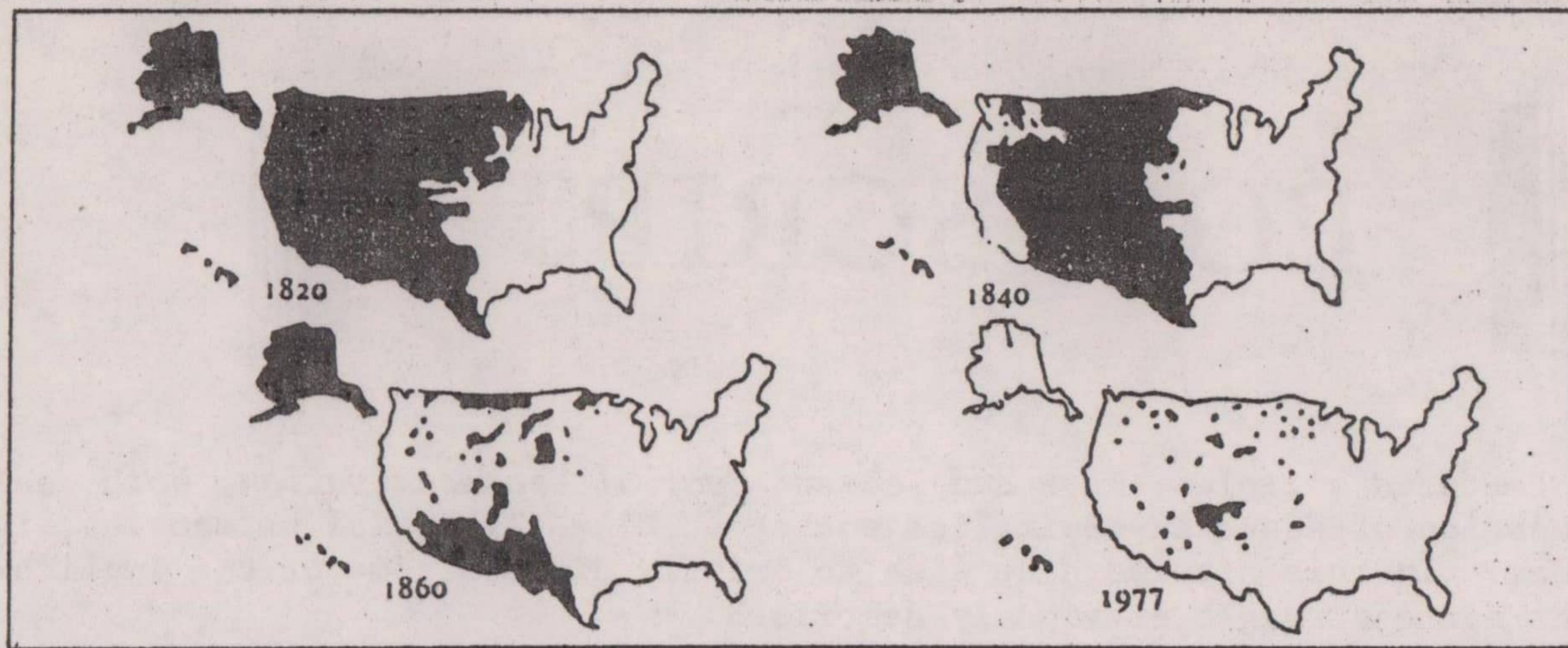
But the primary and essential failure of planning is the one remaining "anarchy of

production": the unplanned desires of working class struggle.

Class struggle, however, is not only the principal disruption of capitalist planning, it is its ultimate cause as well. Planning is needed as capital attempts to continually reorganize the production/reproduction process in ever more "round-about" spatial and temporal arrangements to escape and incorporate working class resistance to work. The future *will not* be like the past--this capital knows--and so the future must be controlled because the present has an essential element of indeterminacy. Thus, the need to plan inner city housing patterns escalated as urban blacks rejected the existing social and geographical arrangement by literally burning it down and threatening to burn much more--capital's "downtown".

We have, in previous issues of *Midnight Notes*, discussed capital's creation and use of time. The capitalist arrangement of space is also crucially important. Capital, especially through its ability to monetarize itself, can now move at light speed to a more "hospitable" climate; but it is always interested in the minutiae of work-life patterns in any environment it decides to land on to maximize the productivity of spatial relations. The working class, on the other side, is continually attempting to subvert the capitalist planning of spatial relations and creating anti-work spaces (sometimes even in the midst of the factory). Such are the conflicting tendencies of the space war continually erupting in capitalist society.





The diminishment of Indian lands since the European invasion of 1492, when all of what is now the United States was inhabited by Indian peoples.

"They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land, and they took it." Red Cloud, chief of the Oglala Lakota

II. Space

The differing types of state planning of U.S. and European capital have roots in their radically different relations to space. U.S. capital has internal room to move, European capital does not. This simple fact has deep consequences.

The ability to expropriate huge areas at relatively little "cost" made it possible to maintain a relatively "anarchic" planning of production. Indeed, it was essential that capital be able to use this space in order to escape class confrontation. On the other side, the very "emptiness" of North American space, due to the lack of pre-capitalist structures that could easily be turned into fixed capital, required an almost obsessional study and planning of social relations, reproduction and other aspects of the psychological organization of human behavior. "The Land Question" has always been at the center of the class struggle in the U.S. (as the American Indian and parts of the black movement have reminded us recently). For land is not only the repository of potential wealth but it allows for *motion*, it makes it possible for capital to elaborate a strategy of advance, flanking and retreat.

In England, France, Germany and other northern European countries the tendency of the working class in the last century has been toward a fixity in space. With the exception of Hitler's dream of "spacifying" Europe, the class "deal" which helps ensure for capital a more stable work force demands in return a less mobile capital. As a result, the institution of social democracy has an articulation and weight it never has had in the U.S.

In Washington, D.C. and other U.S. cities, the blacks since the great southern land expropriations of the 30's and 40's, have held the inner city terrain as "its own" (not in the sense of "ownership" but in the sense of "occupation"). The population density was high and the material wealth in the space was low, nonetheless, this space provided terrain for organization of power--bars,

corners, churches, stoops, lots, streets, kitchens. A common politics and struggle could emerge out of this commonality of terrain. At first, this massification in a specific space was clearly functional to the place blacks were to occupy in the division of labor in the post-WW II economy, but then this concentration reached critical levels and became dangerous. As the black struggle turned from demonstrations to riots to armed struggle in a space adjacent to high concentrations of capital something had to give, "spatial deconcentration" was clearly called for.

The Zurich struggle is the reverse. Here a new interest, a new cultural/reproductive sector developed but has had no space for itself. For the struggle in Zurich is not a "housing struggle" at all but a struggle for a space *empty of capital*. The problem is not an absolute lack of housing but the lack (or better, the refusal to allow) a type of housing that could generate an anti-work space. The power of this movement and its threat arises from the *location* of its desired anti-work space: at the center of the monetary center of world capital, not in the Alps but near the computer nodes and telephone systems that form the intricate circuits so essential to the light speed of capitalist circulation. Though there is no gold in the streets of Zurich, it lies buried in tunnels a few feet beneath the rioters.

U.S. capital was faced in the 1960's with a similar problematic that Swiss capital must confront now. Not only with respect to the black ghetto adjacent to the Federal governmental center, but with respect to the white youth "demonstration culture" whose tactics were quite similar to the contemporary Swiss "icebreakers". Capital, thus, had to destroy both the black struggle and the "counter-cultural" anti-war rebellion.

Washington, D.C. was the perfect city to plan this campaign because it was born as a city to thwart revolution. The wide boulevards

of the downtown area were designed to prevent and crush a proletarian revolt in the early nineteenth century Napoleonic city planning style. It was a huge construction of "defensible space" built always with the idea of cavalry maneuvers. As the "home" of the state it demands meticulous planning and police "housework" particularly in any period of intense struggle. The whole place is bugged and crawling with agents from every repressive department of the government. (This was graphically revealed to the movement during the Chicago 8 trial in 1969. Far more evidence came from wiretaps in D.C. than from anywhere else even though D.C. was not the "home base" of any of the defendants and the "scene of the crime" was 1000 miles away!)

After the M.L. King riots in 1968 the state deliberately let the ghetto stay burnt down at some cost to its international "image". This was the first step in its slowly evolving "deconcentration" policy towards the blacks.

During that period mass demonstrations of largely white youth against the Vietnam war continually filled the city. For example, there were mass "trashings" in November of '69 and huge demonstrations after the massacres at Kent State and Jackson State. But what really disturbed the government were the Mayday demonstrations of 1971. They were organized with the express purpose of paralyzing and "shutting the city down" by blocking commuter traffic on the highways going into the city. These demos hit a nerve and the veil of "civil liberties" tore. The state responded with literal concentration camps where thousands of demonstrators were kept "illegally". This was also the year of Attica and the violent liquidation of many black militants.

This physical repression paved the way for the "oil crisis" and the "politics of scarcity". In D.C. a housing "shortage" developed that appeared to give objective necessity to the increase of rents. The "free market" began to displace the remnants of the youth movement most easily, for after all they were more mobile than blacks. Some "heads" straightened up and became entrepreneurs with shops and condo developments but most simply moved on or altered their life style (from "communal" to "family" to "single"). The blacks and their struggle remained.

III. Race space: high & low

The displacement and spatial deconcentration of blacks is being accomplished through the money form. As Mayor Koch of N.Y.C. says, "Everyone should live where they can afford to live." But what determines affordability? Surely there exists a hierarchy of wages, and inasmuch as blacks and other "minorities" (immigrant or native) are unable to assume the full range of positions in this hierarchy but are forced overwhelmingly to occupy the bottom of the wage ladder, then they have a qualitatively different relationship to this hierarchy. This wage hierarchy gets mapped point for point into the layout of a city, while changes in the hierarchy lead immediately to spatial changes.

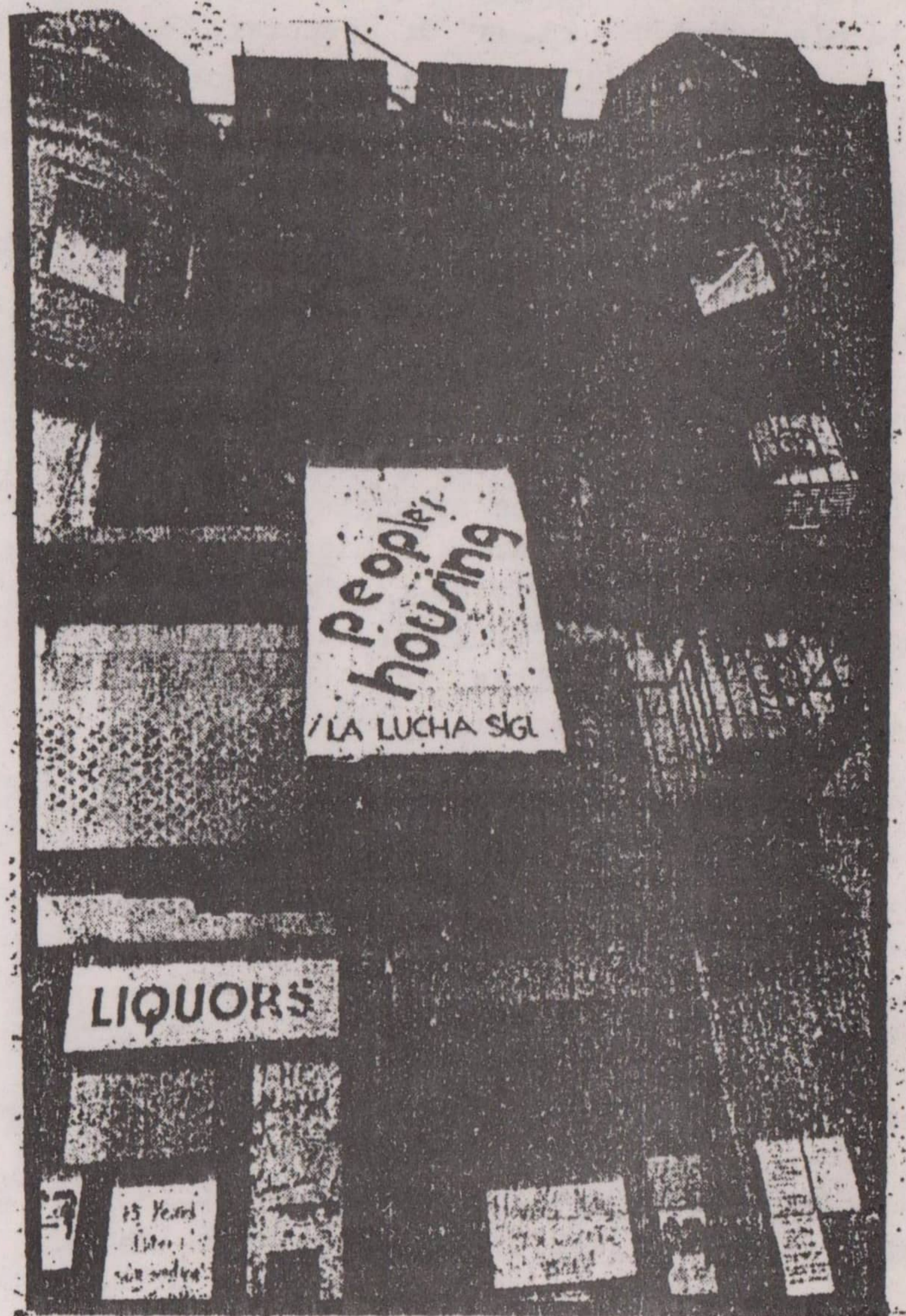


photo by Belle Keva

Ironically, capital echoed the black struggle to "escape the ghetto" but in its own key: "Go, but go when and where we say." Even the tactic of arson, so potently used in the black urban riots was turned against them by real estate operators who used fire to drive black tenants and squatters from the now "valuable property". In response, but also continuous with the previous struggles for spatial autonomy, many blacks are now defending the "ghetto". For a ghetto can be a source of strength if it is not a place that keeps you *in* but one that keeps your enemy *out*.

In the late 60's and early 70's blacks sought to open up the full range of the wage ladder and thus eliminate the particular qualitative relation they had to it. The state responded with "anti-discrimination laws" and "affirmative action programs" and for a brief period real gains were made. Study of wage distribution in that period would show an increasing homogenation of wages as well as their average increase. But the crisis of the 70's largely erased these gains with one important new twist. Wages within the working class as a whole have become increasingly dispersed, but this is true among blacks as well. This

has showed up in the significant expansion of a black "middle class" of corporate and governmental bureaucrats and well-waged workers who were to provide "leadership" to an ever larger and increasingly poor black working class.

The Miami riots of 1980 revealed the bankruptcy of this "leadership" since the "community leaders" were largely ignored by the rioters. But these riots also revealed the increasing subtlety and power of this ability to use wage hierarchy to organize space in a way that would limit and repress struggle. Throughout the 70's the black ghetto in Miami was increasingly isolated from the "downtown" and "hotel" strip by buffer zones of Cuban immigrants and poorer whites. Thus this riot was not a "commodity riot" like many of the 60's but was bottled up and became a "people riot". While the Miami riot did not explode into a black versus white versus Hispanic race war, the potential for one has been exacerbated through the capitalist strategy of crisis in general and its mediation in spatial composition.

Space, then, is not only the geographic organization of capital and the working class--communities, ethnic neighborhoods; plant locations; transportation networks, etc.--but also the reflection of the hierarchical relations within the working class as well. Further, it is deployed in a quasi-military manner for the class struggle *is a war* and the mere physical arrangement of the "armies" is crucial. Thus, an important aspect of the spatial deconcentration policy is that the removal of blacks from the urban center will lead to their disaggregation. They will be spread out in the white suburbs or isolated in micro-ghettos in white worker enclaves at the edges of the city proper. This disaggregation will make them increasingly vulnerable to KKK-style terror and intimidation.

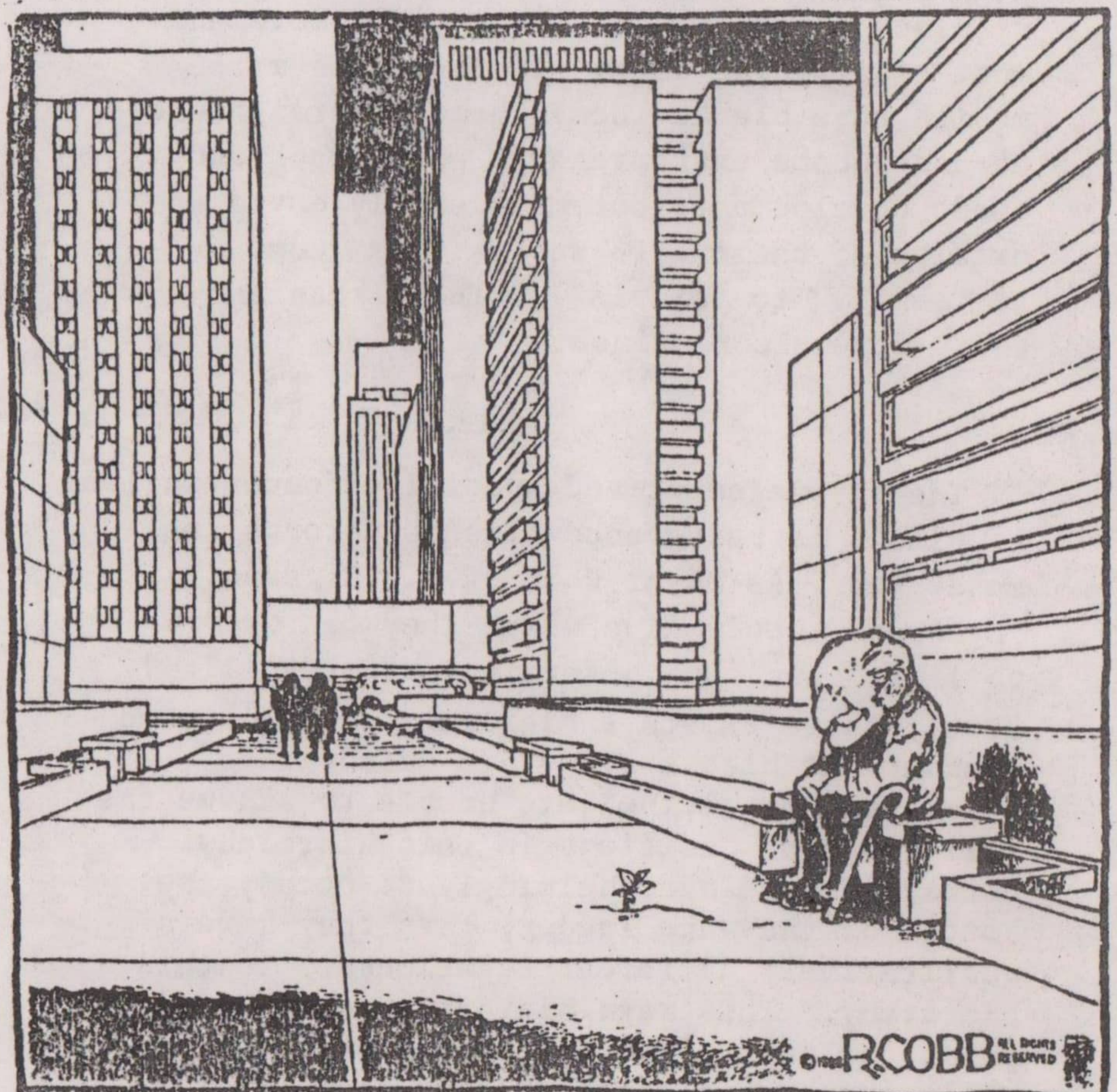
As long as blacks, hispanics and the "new immigrants" are kept at the bottom of the wage hierarchy there will be little choice. Macro-ghetto, mini-ghetto or "integration"? None of these "choices" is a solution so long as blacks and other people of color do not have the power to define their own desires and needs and have the space to realize them. This lack of choice has its historical base in slavery and Jim Crow for the blacks, but the existence of the wage hierarchy that lies behind it is no historical accident.

Though a racial and sexual identification of specific types of work with given "races" and sexes aids in capitalist control it is not absolutely necessary. Surely one can imagine a capitalist society where blacks are on the top and whites on the bottom. But a capitalist society without a wage hierarchy is impossible for capital must organize the division of labors and skills and must recognize the different quantities of capital invested or, better, incarnated in persons. The hierarchy of wages arises from this simple principle of capital-

ist "justice". Capital finds the qualitative dimension of systematically infusing different amounts of value in different workers based on the workers' permanent bodily characteristics to be an enormously useful tool of control over the working class as a whole by complexifying and intensifying the reproduction of the hierarchy.

The international flows of capital, the control of immigration, the social stereotyping that identifies work with self, all indicate the deep value capital places on an ethnic, racial and sexual hierarchy. The mechanism through which this hierarchy is produced is simplicity itself. If certain "job slots" are reserved only for a specific type of person (incorporating a given type of capital) then less competition exists for those "slots". If black workers are systematically excluded from these better paying jobs then whites do not have to compete with blacks for those jobs, meaning that any particular white has a better chance of "rising" on the wage ladder. The most visible example of this mechanism is in South Africa; the operational principle is no different though many times more subtle and diffuse in the U.S.

The drive of blacks to shatter the racial hierarchy has met a good deal of white resistance (as well as some white support). But aside from the open racists and anti-racists, there are many whites who claim simultaneously to support equality of individuals and reject any demands for reparations in any form. Their line goes something like this: "Slavery and Jim Crow were wrong, but they don't exist any more and neither I nor my ancestors were here when they did." This has been a mass sentiment in the crisis, a "reverse discrimination" equality that is not racism per se but rather a profound capitulation to capitalist double-think. For if a white man refuses the "guilt" of historical oppression he must not then claim the rewards gained from that oppression as the products of



his own, individual qualities. For example, if a white student has attained a piece of knowledge that is salable as a commodity, that knowledge is not a quality of the student but a product of the accumulated wealth generated by the class struggles of the past. Though the student might not be responsible for exploitation in the past, neither is he "guilty" of creating the knowledge, tools, and experience that arose from the exploitation.

The capitalist system, however, encourages each individual to believe these attributes are due to his or her own efforts, and that one is rewarded (paid) solely for these attributes. In a period when the most powerful form of productive force is the accumulated knowledge of past generations stretching back perhaps a million years, we are seeing a revival of "I made it to the top on my own merits" thinking!

Thus when white workers refuse to support or actively resist the demand of black workers for higher wages they accept the racism that is an essential part of the capitalist hierarchy of labor powers. Clearly, then, many white workers do have concrete reasons to support the perpetuation of blacks as an "underclass". The price they pay for their racism is very high and obvious, for it allows capital to

undercut their wage struggle by continually threatening them with the use of black, lower paid labor. So why does racism continue? People are not stupid and it doesn't take a genius to see the "costs" as well as the "benefits" of racism. Do the "benefits" outweigh the "costs" for white workers? No. If computed in a hypothetical, economic calculus, anti-racism is certainly a better maximizing strategy. So why don't whites follow their "reason"?

The answer to this lies in a deeper place: every worker knows that a serious class unity would so undermine the exploitative relations that capital must act violently to preserve itself. Such a unity would have the most serious of life and death consequences and it is fear of these consequences that keeps many from acting. To destroy the hierarchy of labor powers is to literally step out of the system of "costs and benefits" and open up entirely new possibilities. Many refuse to take the risk that can't be measured. Thus, though racism and sexism as well is the basis for keeping all wages lower--for the hierarchy starts at the bottom with the unwaged--it continues. On the other side, class unity is the primary weapon the working class can wield against capital and so any revolutionary action must address the *materiality* of the labor hierarchy.

MIDNIGHT NOTES

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CONCLUSION

Although in the past there was a strategy at a local level of using council allocation policy to concentrate different ethnic groups in certain estates and areas of London - eg Broadwater Farm, Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel, Kings Cross - there doesn't seem to have been a central state policy in this direction. For various historical reasons, US-type ethnic ghettos have not existed in modern times on mainland Britain. Where we are being deconcentrated in London, it is primarily on a class rather than an ethnic basis, although some ethnic concentrations are viewed as more of a threat by the state than others.

The present policy of deconcentration in London is largely a result of state influence on private real-estate investments and state legislation on housing rights - notably HAT schemes and Urban Development Corporations - and is certainly not the result of free choice (through 'right to buy') or completely free market forces.

While its inevitable that we will reconcentrate (or be reconcentrated) elsewhere, at present neither we nor the state know where this will occur.

I'm stranded on that road
That goes from sea to sea
One hundred thousand others
Are stranded same as me
One hundred thousand years
One hundred thousand more
And I ain't got no home in this world any more'

The US state has met some resistance from scared whites and other parts of the state in implementing spacial deconcentration, as illustrated by the case of Yonkers. Yonkers, New York State (population 194,000, including 11% blacks who are presently concentrated in a south-west suburb) is a large New York suburb whose council was ordered to build a thousand low-cost public housing units and end its policy of racial segregation, after 8 years of struggle against it. The controversy recently hit the headlines when a court imposed fines on the council, starting at 100 dollars and doubling daily. When the fines reached one million dollars, and workers in essential services such as garbage collection were being threatened with redundancy, enough council members changed their votes to allow a desegregationist policy to be passed.

The battle, led by the NAACP* on one side and town councillors supported by white residents on the other, has focused attention on similar racist policies across the US, where amenities in rich white areas such as parks and swimming pools are reserved for residents with ID cards.

'Have we been fighting the wrong battle in this war? For years our confusion about the nature of gentrification has led to disillusionment and bitter dissensions - creating uncooperative situations within our groups. Its a CLASSIC : divide and conquer. We've been fighting under the assumption that the struggle is local and economic only. We've known that the government is not an innocent party to city problems, but Ward's evidence proves the close connections between it and private market forces in driving the minorities and the poor out of the cities. Its a national program and its underlying causes are political.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR US?

It means that we are at war with the government. We can not expect HPD, HUD, City Hall or the federal government to obey their own laws or to honour their own agreements. It is their goal to drive us into the river. This is why we lose in court even when the law is on our side. We should be suspicious of any deals the government wants to make and perhaps of those in our community they make them with. In the long run, they don't want to help us out, they want to throw us out. Often they will make concessions to one part of the community in order to pit it against another faction. The only time we will really get the kind of living conditions we want is when we're so organised and unified and uncompromising that we once again constitute a threat. That is to say, when they have to worry about being thrown into the river.' - Our Land magazine

*National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, a black reformist civil rights organisation.



THE OCCUPATION OF ART AND GENTRIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

Initially we intended to write an article analysing the role of art in transforming a run-down working class area, Lower Manhattan, New York City, for the benefit of capital. In the course of our research and discussion we realised that what was happening in Lower Manhattan wasn't an isolated incident, but part of an increasingly significant capital accumulation process with art as a major protagonist, and involving a widespread transformation of urban space. We believe there is a general global tendency of culture to act as an element in the regeneration of the inner cities, adapting itself in different ways to different places. There seem to be two strategies at work: a) Art as state-manipulated gentrifier as in the Lower East Side, and b) Art as a fresh base for accumulation in areas ravaged by the decline of industry. (In the latter case the UK is closely following the US experiment in Pittsburgh and Chicago and applying them over here.) We hope to summarise b) in the conclusion while the part of the article devoted to Lower Manhattan concentrates on a). Because we believe that art is an integral aspect of the development of capitalist social relations we found it necessary to include some general observations on the role of art in capitalist society by way of an introduction.

'In art, the world of the artist is set before one's eyes as an Object, a world which the artist has brought forth and concentrated from the full power and richness of his own inwardness, a world which will satisfy every real need and longing.'

- Max Stirner (1)

MALIGNANT CULTURES

Culture sells the promise of advancement by appealing to a 'classless creativity' which everybody supposedly possesses and needs to express. The US TV program 'Fame' promotes this myth: the coming together of kids from 'both sides of the tracks' - ethnic slums and white suburbia alike - in an allegedly harmonious unity where everybody is 'equal', each individual succeeding or failing according to their own artistic talent. Both teamwork (bit-parts, chorus lines) and individual advancement (starring roles) are promoted, the bourgeois theatrical forms reflecting the dominant organisation and values of bourgeois society. Art and culture are now more democratised than ever; the worse the present crisis gets and the fewer job opportunities there are for a greater number of people, the more necessary it becomes to soak up at least a small fraction of this surplus labour force into cultural careers, or into the service sector*, and to contain the rest with illusions of escape. In facing up to the proletariat's

*I.e. the people who are employed in servicing cultural consumers ; also, a lot of people with artistic aspirations can be found in occupations such as bar staff, waiters/waitresses etc.

increasing refusal of the restrictions of steady, legal full-time work, capital is employing a mixed strategy including on the one hand forced labour schemes, and on the other the allure of personal success in the cultural field which can be presented and internalised as not being alienated labour, but as an act of self-fulfilment, whereas in reality culture means the production of capital's most sophisticated means of control and submission of both consumer and producer. Just as our concrete relationships are mediated by objects as commodities, so our emotions are mediated by culture, by their hollow representations. It's worth mentioning that two of the most lucrative art/music movements, punk and rap/graffitti art, which in their heydays both stimulated flagging profits in the music biz, initially emerged from the ranks of black and white dispossessed youth (although in the case of punk there was always a disproportionate art-school influence).

Artists can often get away with appearing to be 'outside' class relations; they and their products are seen as an expression of 'everyman' or the human essence. This gives them a unique facility to worm their way into poor neighbourhoods as the cultural vanguard of a social fragmentation created by gentrification.

THE THIN END OF THE RED WEDGE

In any capitalist society, art merely embodies the ideology appropriate to the given level of production. The Constructivists are a good illustration of this. They emerged in Russia as an avant-garde art movement at the end of the Civil War in 1921, immediately aligning themselves closely with Bolshevism and put their various talents in the service of the state and its changing economic needs. They began by promoting the benefits of the New Economic Policy, Lenin's strategy to reinvigorate the economy by a partial return to free enterprise. By 1923, when the success of private industry was seriously threatening the state's profits from the sale of their own commodities, Mayakovsky, a poet, and Alexander Rodchenko, a Constructivist photographer, combined to form an 'advertisement constructor' team to promote state goods. So for the next two years Constructivists dedicated themselves to not only promoting Bolshevism economic policy as a progressive force in the formation of a new social order, but also acted as an advertising agency with the state as their major client.

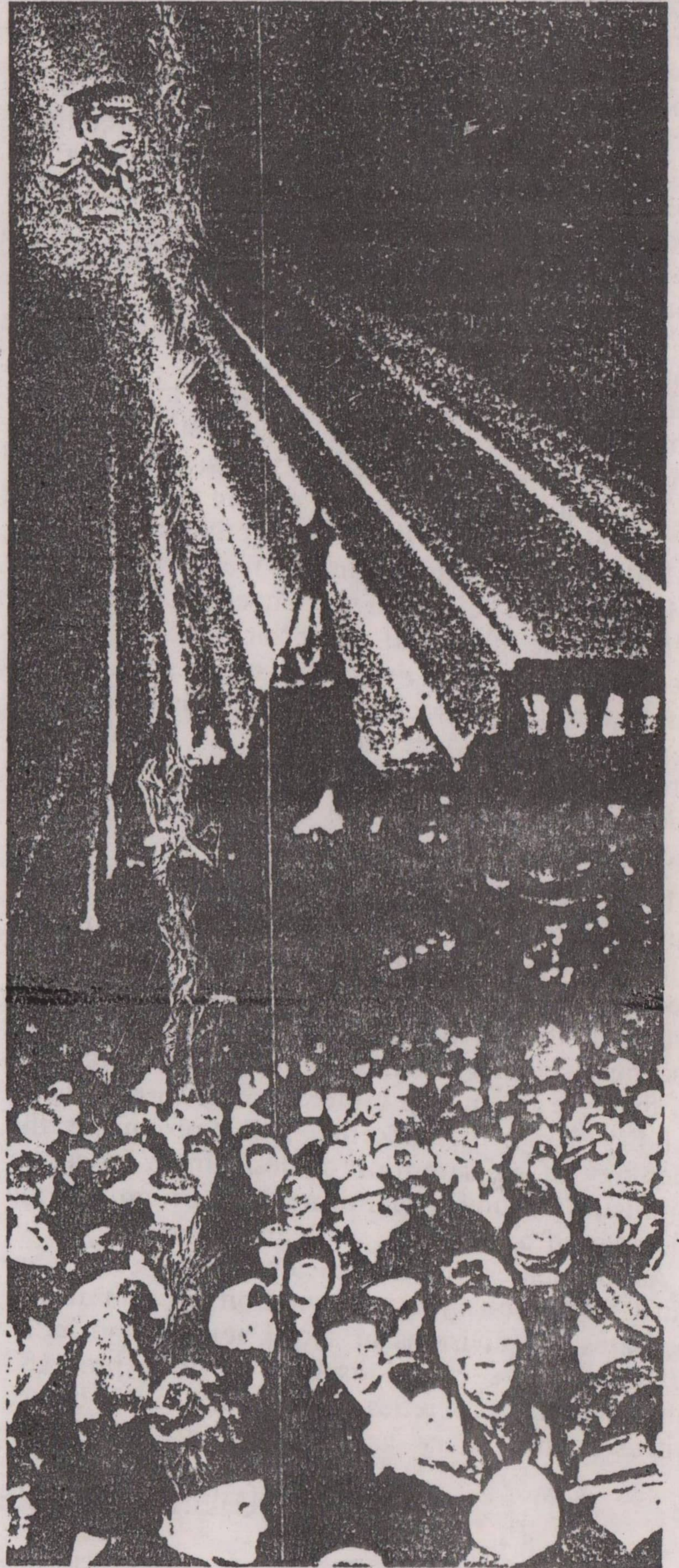
During this period many of these artists also became involved in designing commodities, through 'production art', including such gems as plates printed with the slogan 'he who does not work does not exist'.

'Our gravitation towards the principle of 'construction' is a natural manifestation of contemporary consciousness which derives from industry.'

Alexander Rodchenko (2)

'Art must not be concentrated in dead shrines called museums. It must be spread everywhere - on the street, in the trams, factories, workshops and in the workers' homes.'

Vladimir Mayakovsky (2)



Apotheosis of a Leader

At the time of Stalin's 70th birthday, a slide of him was projected onto a huge searchlight, which was in turn focussed on a low cloud over Red Square. The result was photographed for the cover of *Ogoniok* (Moscow), No. 52, December 1949.

When the state consolidated sufficient domination over the market, around 1928, and the NEP was abolished by Stalin who went on to enforce the collectivization of agriculture and the Five Year Plans which set ever higher production targets, the Constructivists were replaced by the Socialist Realists.

The Socialist Realists essentially continued the Constructivist project in terms of style and approach, but with different tasks and priorities, reflecting a changed economic reality, ie since the state no longer had to compete in the market with private industry, the socialist Realists could concentrate on selling the benefits of Stalinist accumulation, for example by aestheticising tractors which symbolised the industrialisation of agriculture (and the dispossession of all classes of peasants). In the climate of extreme austerity and with the abolition of 'consumer choice' in the post-NEP period, Socialist Realism preoccupied itself with marketing the ideology of production while actual production was enforced at gun-point.

Western artists have traditionally sneered at Constructivism and Socialist Realism for being crude and utilitarian, NOT ART, when in fact they demonstrate the essence of the function of art, but too blatantly for Western tastes; not only on the economic level but also on the social level - in 'one-class' Russia, the Constructivists were the 'voice of the proletariat'. In the West artists either claim to be the voice of a specific class or the voice of the people in general. In both cases their role as specialists depends on the general suppression of creativity throughout society, however the bourgeoisie can only reproduce themselves by maintaining generalized alienation through such means as art, whereas the proletariat can only combat its own alienation.

In the West today art continues to perform the same function at a different level of production and within a different economic framework. Most people over here who receive artistic training (apart from the privileged minority who can survive as 'pure talents untainted by commercialism' - as they see it) end up either in some form of commodity design or marketing, thus promoting the ideology of consumption or designing YTS ads or sophisticated police recruitment ads promoting the ideology of production, work and the state.

As an element of this society, art is a force against revolutionary transformation, in that it perpetuates the divisions in social activity and individual/collective consciousness. In both pre- and post-capitalist societies, culture/art will be so diffused into every aspect of daily life that it

would become unrecognizable as a separate category. In some African tribal languages there are no words for specific cultural activities, ie the same word is used to describe both music and life itself.

BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT HOUSING SITUATION IN NEW YORK CITY

There are now about 100,000 people homeless in New York City while at the same time over 80,000 city owned apartments have remained empty in recent years. over 90,000 people have been evicted and SWAT* teams have been used to remove people. Two women, Elisabeth Magnum and Eleanor Bumpurs, have been killed by cops during evictions. While there is a 15year-long waiting list of nearly 175,000 people for public housing the city is progressively selling off their housing stock. Also, over half a million apartments in NYC have been abandoned since 1970, the result of an aggressive disinvestment, criminal cut-off of services and arson. Pig Mayor Koch of New York has said in the press that homeless people living on the street should not be given spare change because they will only 'spend it on drink and drugs'. Those living in the streets, parks and shanty towns, are subjected to regular brutality and harrassment by the city police force. The Koch administration has also attempted to clear the streets of vagrants by having them committed to mental institutions. In 1986 the US government declared hundreds of military bases ready to be filled with the homeless. Not surprisingly most of the homeless have rejected this 'offer'. As the 'Our Land' magazine put it - 'Can we remain silent while the homeless are driven out of public places and parks, and Amerika's new concentration camps are readied? How soon will these camps contain Aids-victims, pot smokers, draft resisters and 'communists'?'

*The first SWAT team (Special Weapons and Tactics) was formed in 1966/7 in Los Angeles and took part in such forays as the full-scale assault on the Black Panther headquarters in 1969, and in 1974, the fierce attack on the Symbionese Liberation Army. SWAT also collaborated in the bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia in '85 - killing 6 adults, 5 kids and destroying an entire block of houses.



"Appreciating is the sole diversion of the 'cultivated'; passive and incompetent, lacking imagination and wit, they must try to make do with that; unable to create their own diversions, to create a little world of their own, to affect in the smallest way their environments, they must accept what's given; unable to create or relate, they spectate. Absorbing 'culture' is a desperate, frantic attempt to groove in an ungroovy world, to escape the horror of a sterile, mindless, existence. 'Culture' provides a sop to the egos of the incompetent, a means of rationalising passive spectating; They can pride themselves on their ability to appreciate the 'finer' things, to see a jewel where there is only a turd (they want to be admired for admiring). Lacking faith in their ability to change anything, resigned to the status quo, they have to see beauty in turds because, so far as they can see, turds are all they'll ever have."

Valerie Solonas' SCUM Manifesto was written in 1967 and published in 1968, the year she shot and wounded Andy Warhol.

An academic survey carried out in the early 1980s concluded that, 'There is very substantial abandonment in New York City, displacing (directly, indirectly or through chain effects) between 77,500 and 150,000 persons a year.' The figures for displacement through gentrification are given as 'between 25,000 and 100,000 persons a year in the current period.' (3)

'HOLBEIN AND THE BUM'

The gentrification of Lower Manhattan in New York is an example of the effects of the de-industrialisation of the inner-cities which is taking place worldwide, with the decline of blue-collar work and the rise of white-collar work (of course doing white-collar work doesn't necessarily mean you are not a proletarian): 'This shift from blue-collar to white-collar industries makes the economy of the city, according to the New York Times, even more incompatible with its labour force. In 1929 59% of the labour force was blue-collar; in 1957 the percentage slipped to 47%. By 1980 less than one third of the total workforce in the United States consisted of blue-collar workers' (4) The class occupation and use of previously industrial space has been progressively transformed. One of the spearheads of this process has been the art movement - both individual artists and gallery owners. Artists initially moved into the area attracted by cheap rents for large spaces ideal for art production, ie warehouses, lofts and light manufacturing space.

The process began with Fluxus and more recently has been extended into the Lower East Side by a ragbag of radical art tendencies. The Fluxus art movement developed from the late 1950s onwards, gradually centering itself in SoHo (south of Hous-

ton Street) Village, an area immediately west of the Lower East Side, during the next ten years. A central feature of their activity, initially financed by a rich NY business family who were also art patrons, was using loft space to realise their self-indulgent fantasies about art environments. The following excerpts illustrate how 'radical art' expects itself to be regarded purely on the level of its ideology and abstract intentions which mask its real social and material function:

'A new life. Ruhm's Wien built of the letters in the German name for Vienna - Hollein's aircraft carrier as a city for 30,000 inhabitants - Oldenburg's alteration of the Thames - My super highway as a cathedral environment - are all utopias containing more breadth and visualisation of present day thought than the repressive architecture of bureaucracy and luxury that imposes restrictions on people.

Everything is forbidden.

Don't Touch!

No Spitting! No Smoking!

No Thinking!

No Living!

Our projects - our environments are meant to free men - only the realisation of utopias will make man happy and release him from his frustrations! Use your imagination! Join in... Share the power! Share property!' 'PURGE the world of bourgeois sickness, 'intellectual', professional and commercialised culture...

(...) PROMOTE A REVOLUTIONARY FLOOD AND TIDE IN ART,

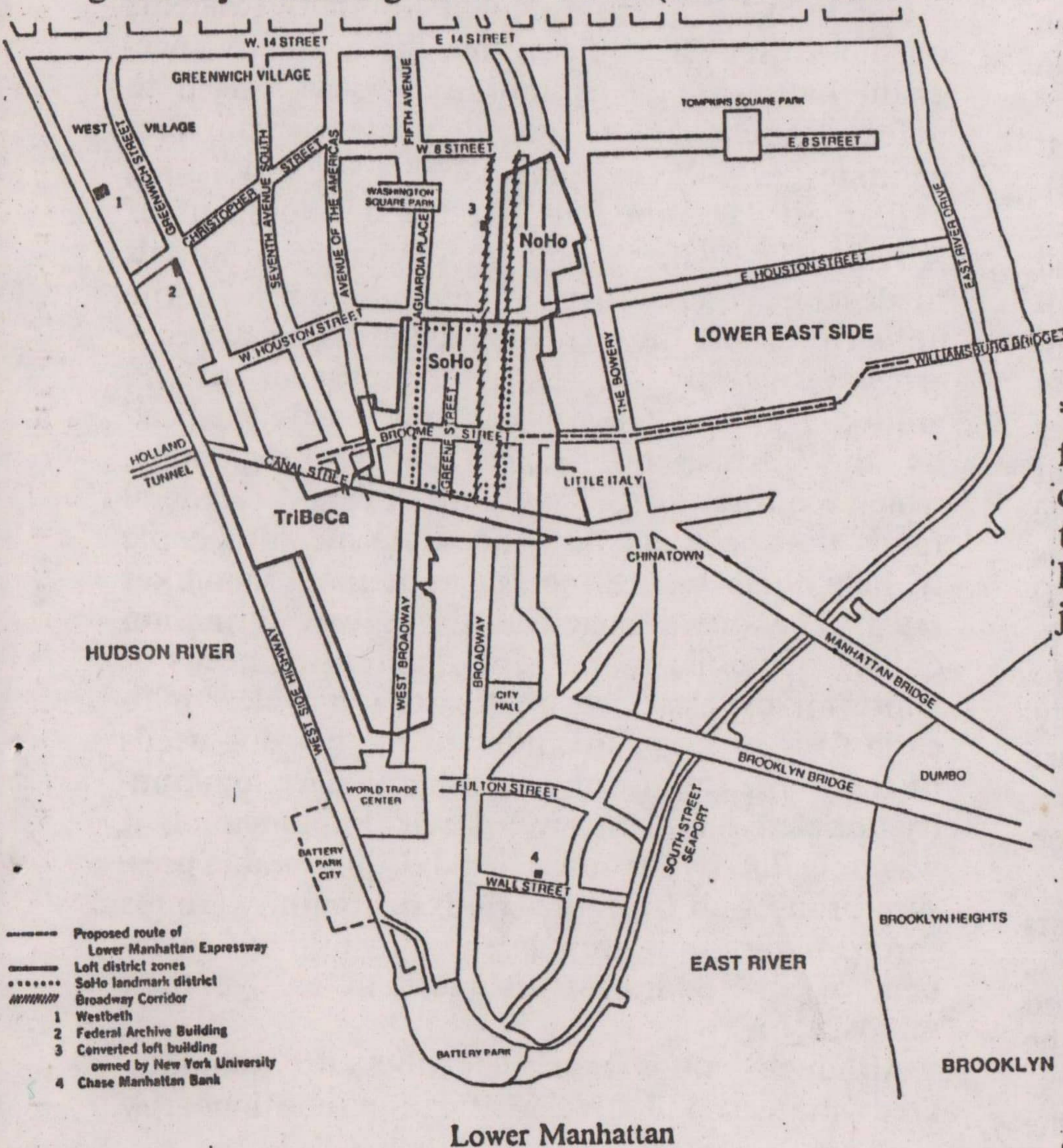
(...) FUSE the cadres of cultural, social and political revolutionaries into the united front and action.* (5)

Despite these fantasies of a liberating reconstruction of space in the service of the masses, we should point out that Maciunas, one of the leading Fluxists, was a real estate speculator, whose initial activities in this field were financed by rich art patrons.**

More recently, in the Lower East Side itself, specifically residential space was made available by

*In the book which these quotations are taken from, 'The Assault on Culture', the author contradicts his own title by perpetuating the illusion that the intentions that the artist declares through his/her self-expression are more relevant than the objective social effects of their activity.

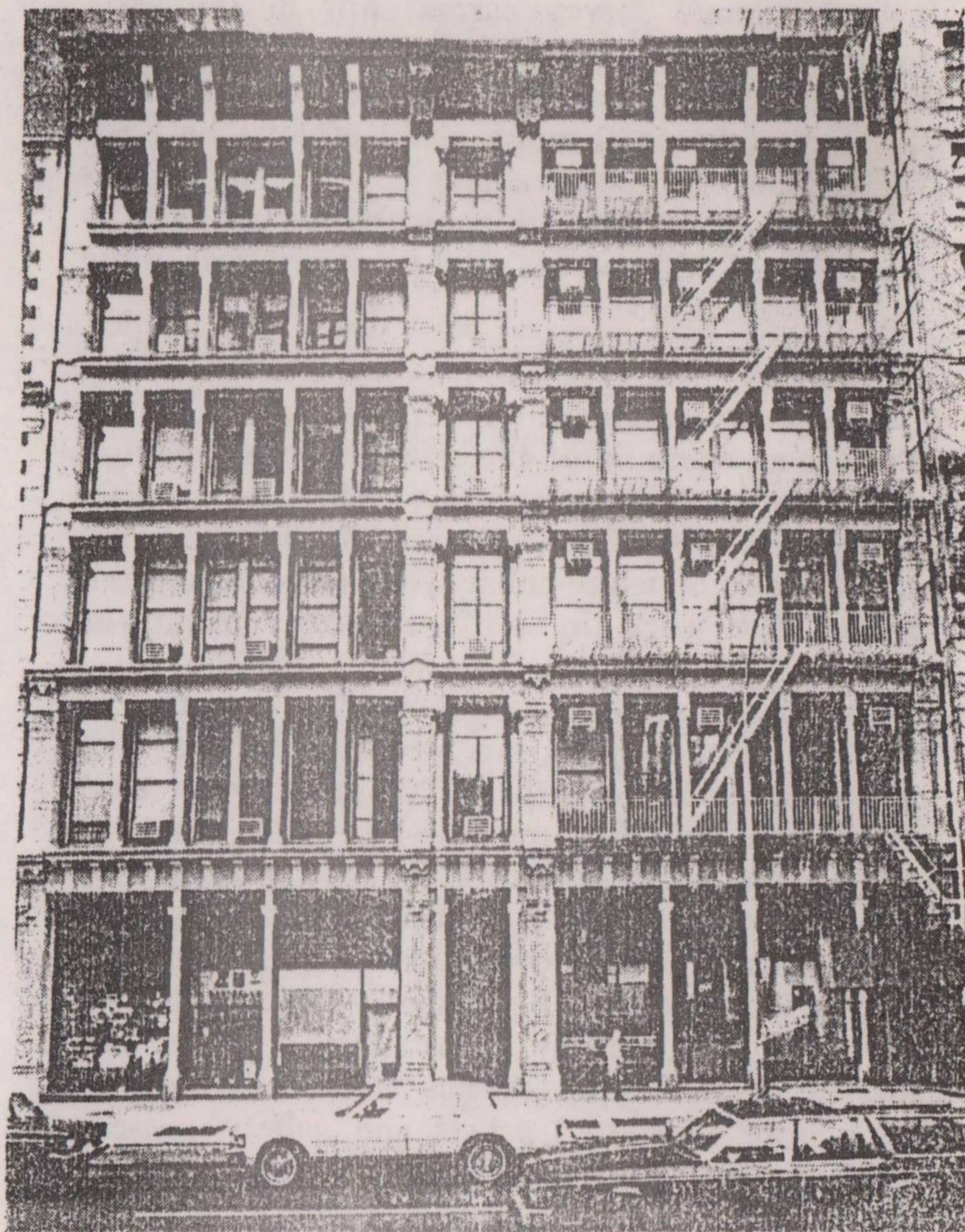
** For reasons of space this article does not deal with other early related attempts to encourage an arts presence, such as the state's subsidised artists' housing schemes of the 1970's and changes in local state zoning regulations so as to promote residential/artistic rather than industrial use of property. There were also the efforts of the West Village middle-class homeowners and the SoHo Artists' Tenants Association who used their political/cultural connections to further their own interests. (For details see 'Loft Living' by Sharon Zukin, particularly chapter 5)



working class people moving out of the area because of landlords' neglect of property, evictions carried out often by means of intimidation (ie fire-bombing people out of their homes) and the police turning a blind eye to such activities as well as drug Mafia operations and high levels of street crime. The artists were pioneers of gentrification in this new frontier for the middle class, by creating an art scene and community, combining the use of their space for living, producing, performing and exhibiting. These artistic events and the cultural ambience attracted middle class art consumers which in turn created a market for other cultural needs - yuppie bars, restaurants etc. It was inevitable that the galleries would take their place in this new scene, packaging in their catalogues the bohemian thrills of the area: 'The Lower East Side enters the space of the ICA catalogue in three forms: mythologized in the texts as an exciting bohemian environment, objectified in a map delimiting its boundaries, and aestheticised in a full-page photograph of a Lower East Side 'street scene'. All three are familiar strategies for the domination and possession of others. The photograph, alone, is a blatant example of the aestheticisation of poverty and suffering that has become a staple of visual imagery. At the lower edge of the photograph a bum sits in a doorway surrounded by his shopping bags, a liquor bottle and remnants of a meal. He is apparently oblivious of the photographer, unaware of the composition in which he is forced to play a major role. Abundant graffiti covers the wall behind him, while at the left the wall is pasted over with layers of posters, the topmost of which is an advertisement for the Pierpoint Morgan Library's Holbein exhibition. The poster features a large reproduction of a Holbein portrait of a figure facing in the direction of the bum in the doorway. High art mingles with the 'subculture' of graffiti and the 'lowlife' represented by the bum in a photograph which is given a title, like an art work: First Street and Second Avenue (Holbein and the Bum). While its street subject has long been popular among art photographers, this photograph is inserted into the pages of a museum catalogue for the purpose of advertising the pleasures and unique ambience of this particular art scene. Only an art world steeped in the protective and transformative values of aestheticism and the blindness to suffering that such an ideology sanctions could tolerate, let alone applaud such an event. For this picture functions as a tourist shot, introducing the viewer to the local colour of an exotic and dangerous locale. Holbein and the Bum is intended not to call attention to the plight of the homeless but to fit comfortably into the pages of an art catalogue unveiling to art lovers the special pleasures of the East Village as a spectacle for the slumming delectation of those collectors who cruise the area in limousines.'(6)

Incidentally, a lot of the original pioneer artists who didn't make it have been priced out by the success of a project that they helped initiate and may move on to begin the process elsewhere to the cost of their unfortunate new neighbours.

The state subsidised housing for artists in the



Loft Buildings converted to apartments, 1982.
(Photograph by Richard Rosen)

Lower East Side as it became aware of the attraction of an art environment in creating the conditions for international investment. One example of this is AHOP; 'The alignment of art world interests with those of the city government and the real estate industry became explicit to many residents on the Lower East Side during the ultimately successful battle which community groups waged to defeat Mayor Koch's Artist HomeOwnership Programme (AHOP). In August 1981, the city issued a Request for Proposals for the development of AHOP. The requests solicited 'creative proposals to develop co-operative or condominium loft-type units for artists through the rehabilitation of properties owned by the city.' The cost of AHOP, around 7 million dollars, was to be partly financed by the Participation Loan Scheme Programme, which consists of 25 million dollars of federal funds designated for low/moderate income people to help them secure mortgages at the low market rates. The city's eagerness to allocate 3 million dollars of public money for the housing needs of white middle-class artists was seen as a clear indication of the city's attitudes to the housing needs of the poor. Despite the fact that the art community lobbied hard to have AHOP implemented, it was defeated in February 1983. Considerable pressure brought to bear by various community groups forced many supporters in the art world and members of the Board of Estimate to change their minds.' (7)

Although in this case such a blatantly manipulated strategy failed, gentrification continues by

other means. It is no coincidence that the Lower East Side is just down the road from one of the worlds biggest finance centres. It is obviously preferable for capital to have a 'safe' gentrified area next to its financial heartland than a potentially explosive population for whom the banks are obvious targets for revenge.

'GENTRIFICATION IS CLASS WAR: FIGHT BACK!'

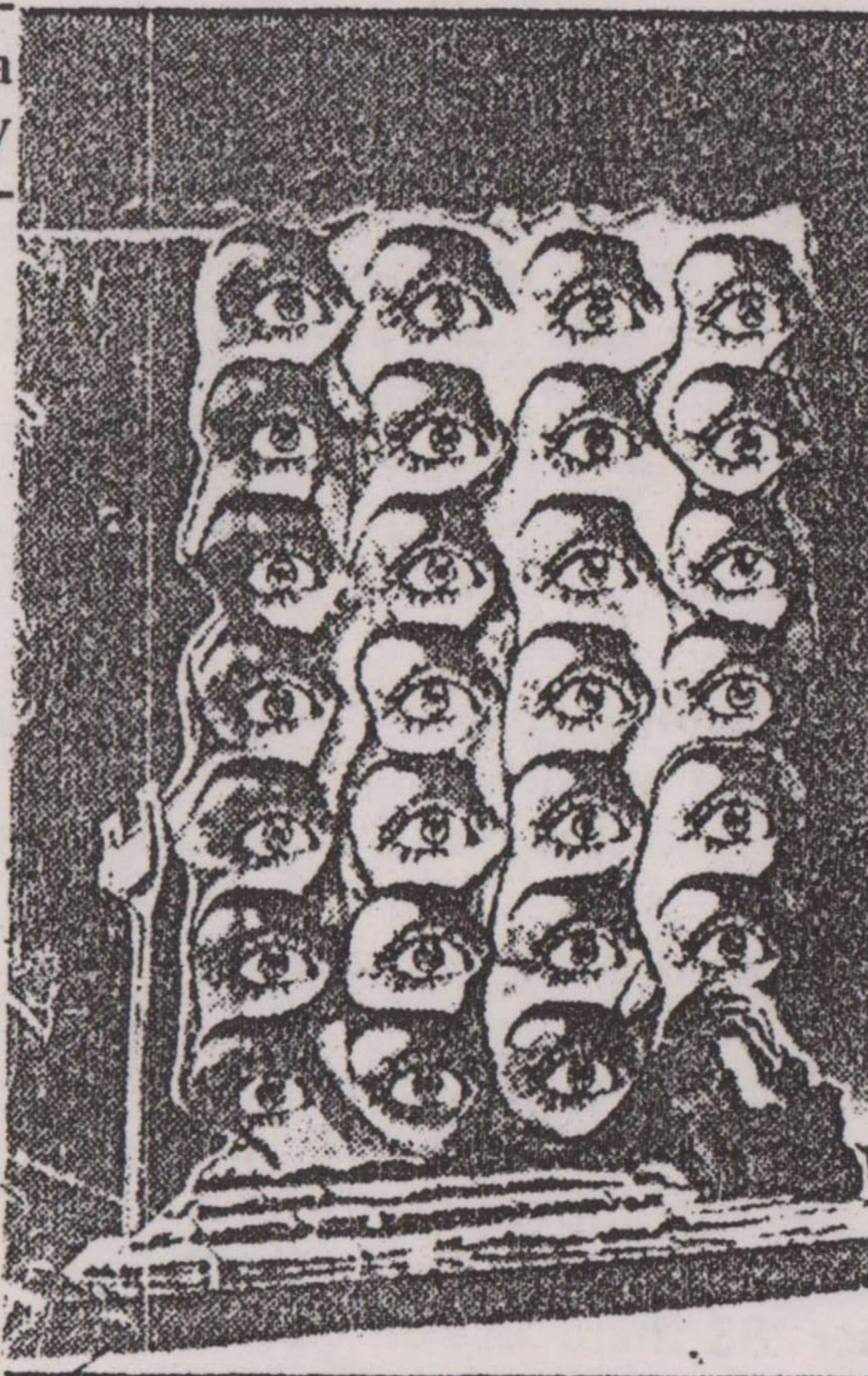
Tompkins Square park in the Lower East Side (or East Village, as the settlers now call it) is surrounded by burnt out derelict houses, a few remaining tenants and yuppies in condominiums. It had been home to hundreds of homeless people (and was used for open-air gigs) up until a police decision to impose a 1am curfew, some time in July 88.

This was apparently because of neighbourhood associations complaints about noise - which means it was most likely an attempt to appease yuppies and real estate speculators, concerned at the potential devaluation of their properties caused by the presence of 'undesirables' on their doorstep. In the weeks leading up to the riot on the 6th/7th the police began periodically clearing the park at 1am. A small rally held on the 30th July to protest the curfew was broken up by the police who arrested 4 people and injured several others. This led to the calling of a rally on the 6th August. By 11pm on the 6th, a hundred cops, some of them on horseback, were waiting inside the park for the demonstrators. Soon after, several hundred people turned up behind a banner that read 'Gentrification Is Class War: Fight Back.' They came into the park, marched around for a while and then most of them went back out on to the street. By 12.30 the park was closed. Shortly afterwards the police were pelted with bottles and they brought in reinforcements, including a helicopter. The cops then charged the crowd, sparking off a riot that lasted several hours. 31 people and 13 cops were injured. 9 people were arrested on charges of riot, disorderly conduct etc. Because of widespread anger at the savagery of police attacks on the crowd Mayor Koch was forced to lift the curfew on August 7th. The next day 800 people met in a church near the park to discuss what had happened. People in the meeting expressed hostility not only towards the pigs themselves but also to others who co-operated with them - for example, the Guardian Angels.

On 9th August 600 people marched to the 9th Precinct police station where the cops refused to talk with them. On August 13th a day of protest took place during which 13 people were arrested. William Brevard, a local black labourer, comments on the events:

'There are deeper problems to this situation. Some people complain about the homeless but what does it show that there are homeless people who have to come here at all? What happened here is a side of America that's not being shown. This isn't a race thing - forget about race. You see black and white among the home-

less here. This is about the people who don't have anything - against those with money.'(8)



ROOMS WITH A VIEW

An architect with an eye for the surreal has translated a drawing by Salvador Dali into a design for a hotel (left), writes Carmel Fitzsimons. Frenchman Philippe Garzillo says he has Dali's approval to adopt his 1976 drawing 'Architecture of the Eyes.' The project has received financial backing from British investors who believe clients will enjoy the 'exotic' qualities of the building. Negotiations are under way for a site in Spain and construction will begin next year. The interior will have a 'surreal' decor. If it is a success, the backers plan to establish a chain.

THE REVOLUTION WILL BE TELEVISED

There were no TV news camera teams present while the riot was going on. We're not sure whether this was because the cops stopped them from getting into the area or whether they just voluntarily complied with a police request to stay away. But at least one person did manage to record the event on film.

Paul Garrin is a young fashion photographer and video artist who lives on the Lower East Side, very near to where the riot occurred. On seeing the riot begin, he went and got his video camera and found a ledge above the street from which to film the riot. He managed to film for a few minutes before a group of cops (some with their identifying numbers covered) who were beating somebody up, spotted him filming them at work. They then turned on him, beating him and smashing the camera, although the film was not damaged.

The next day (and for days afterwards) his video-film of the riot was being shown on all the main TV news programs and Garrin was interviewed on TV news and chat shows. After this he received several phone threats from anonymous cops on the NY police force, which he recorded and also publicised in the media.

Garrin said that he climbed onto the ledge where he filmed from 'to avoid confrontation'. From the beginning of his involvement in the riot he wanted his role to be that of an observer and recorder, through his camera lens, but not that of a participant in the 'drama'. He was probably immediately thinking of the possibilities of capitalising on the images he was recording, whether as saleable news footage or as material to be incorporated into some of his arty videos. He has since profitted financially by fulfilling both these possibilities. His career in photography and video art has surely taught him that every time he picks up a camera what he rec-

ords has the possibility of becoming a saleable commodity.

While his film is a useful peice of evidence for those fighting legal cases against the cops, and for exposing police lies, its use to him is as a means of self promotion, profit from viewing royalties, and career advancement through greater media exposure. If he had been cleverer he could have avoided becoming a target for police threats by either sending his film to the media anonymously or by insisting his name was not revealed. But obviously he could not miss this opportunity to self-publicise and further his media reputation.

In one interview Garrin claimed he was against the personality cult being built around him by the media, because it distracted from the real issues of police violence and homelessness, yet his own actions in regard to the media effectively encouraged this.

Part of Garrin's art activities is working as a 'technical whizkid' for video artist Nam June Paik, an ex-member of the Fluxus art movement which helped begin the gentrification of Lower Manhattan. During October-December '88 there was an exhibition of Paik's video arts at the Hayward Gallery in London. Also on display were some of Garrin's own videos. One of these contained footage of riots around the world, includin Tompkins Square park. Another one was a collection of TV coverage of this riot, including Garrin's film and him being interviewed on several TV programs. Within a few months of it happening the riot has been packaged and aestheticised as an art commodity by the same artists whose activities and presence helped create the gentrification process that the rioters were fighting against.

CONCLUSION

1

The traditional manufacturing base of the inner cities is in progressive decline for several reasons: the movement of heavy industrial production to 'Third World' countries with cheaper labour costs, the increasing automation of certain sectors of the labour process and the need to centralise financial administration and dealing in parts of the inner city.

At the same time as this, there is a parallel process of administrative sectors (at least those that aren't dependant on split-second business decisions) being farmed out to towns and suburbia (see 'Rebuilding Workers') which in turn creates new potential for valorizing the space they have vacated in the inner cities.

2

This shift in the accumulation process has meant an increasing incorporation of cultural consumption as one of its major features.

In Pittsburgh, the previous US steel capital, state and private investors have initiated a large-scale cultural redevelopment project: the state realises its profits from an amusement tax levied on theatre tickets and parking ticket revenues, while in the private sector for every dollar spent directly on cultural consumption, 3.4dollars is spent at other retail outlets - shops, hotels, restaurants etc. British capital has been closely following experiments such as this and initiated something similar in Bradford - with a proposed £100million development of the city centre, a possible Northern base for the National Theatre and the V&A's Indian art collection. A preservation order has been slapped on remaining Victorian wool warehouses, one of which is being turned into a £350,000 art gallery and workshop complex. Parallel developments are taking place in Liverpool and Glasgow, amongst others.

3

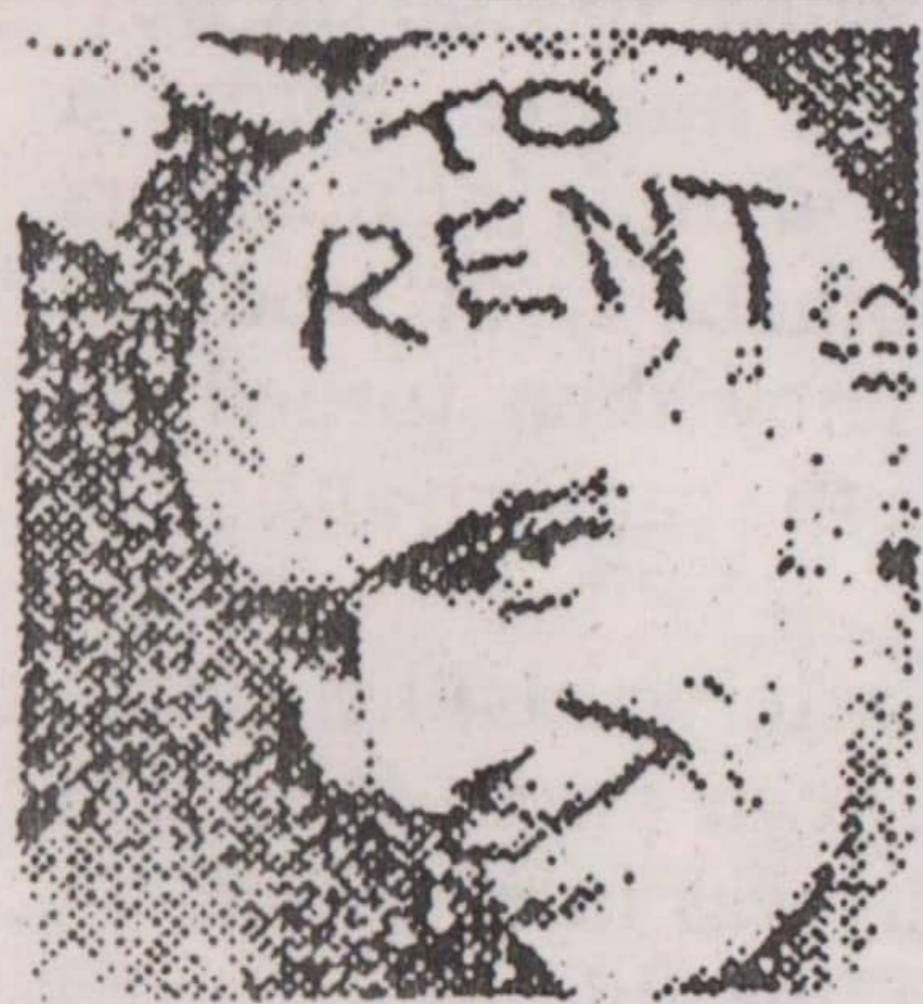
It's not only in the inner cities that this process is at work, but in any ex-industrial areas which not only have buildings and space that can be re-valorised, but also a high proportion of unemployed proletarians who can be drafted into the service sector for low wages.

In Hemsworth, a mining village whose pit was closed after the miners' strike, an inland beach was created with thousands of tons of sand being dumped round the shores of a local lake. This 'seaside resort' 40 miles from the coast has generated a tourist industry in place of the colliery.

4

In this article we've concentrated on Lower Manhattan as an example of how the State and big business has used avant-garde art to reclaim territory that had become unprofitable.

As we can see in the New York AHOP programme the role of artists hasn't been organic/spontaneous but they have been utilised by an alliance of State, real estate and big business elites to act as the thin end of a wedge that will destabilise and ultimately



Gary... well ahead

Man with

head for

business!

ENTERPRISING Gary Mason is really getting ahead in the world-by putting his bonce up for sale!

Gary was jobless when he hit on the idea of shaving his head and selling the space to advertisers.

Now the hair-brain scheme has taken off, with companies paying £30 to have their name painted on Gary's head.

The 21-year-old, from Redditch, Worcs said: "I'm surprised nobody has thought of doing it before!"

displace working-class communities. For instance, in Manhattan, the cultural element has the effect of enhancing the value of surrounding financial areas, not only by removing the threat of a large, dispossessed angry, 'undesirable' population with nothing to lose, but also provides the amenities for the refined cultural tastes of the financial elite.

5

In London neither of the strategies outlined in this article seem to have been deployed, with the possible exception of Notting Hill.* Here it seems to be more a case of pioneer yuppies bringing in their cultural baggage with them, including retail outlets for middle-class tastes which in turn creates an attractive environment for other yuppies to move into. This process is encouraged by estate agents manipulating the market.

6

In a period of low economic growth art is one of the few expanding industries. Art and property as commodities share a characteristic which is of great importance to capital in the present climate of recession: they can both be constantly revalorised. Where property has a specific use value (ie as dwelling space) art does not; art has become a pure embodiment of capital, along with its social and ideological function: 'Now where the merger of art and business is most complete a nauseating contradiction arises between a businesslike need to proclaim creativity (in reality its opposite) as distinct from the cynical amassing of money. Capitalists exploit others but rarely conceive of themselves as just plain robbers..... In the mid-'80's the figure of the auctioneer is the one that compels attention in the two foremost capitals of art: London and New York. The paradoxical combination of sniffy pedantry and a keen eye for price slots in with the trend towards global equitization and soaring real estate values in the major financial centres. With banks beginning to set up art advisory services, art has become an investment outlet as never before, attracting money in search of quick gains and appreciating assets.' (9) The ideology of art defines

itself as a purely creative activity furthest removed from the dirty dealings of the market place but in reality art embodies the crazy logic of capitalism in its clearest form - the total domination of exchange value over use value.

7

The only radical function for art that we know of is the one proposed by Bakunin in the Dresden insurrection of 1849 when he advocated, without success, taking the paintings out of the museums and putting them on the barricades at the entrance of the city to see if this would have stopped the firing of the oncoming soldiers.

* The pamphlet 'Once Upon A Time There Was A Place Called Nothing Hill Gate..... By Paddington Bear' (available from BM Blob, London WC1 3XX) deals in some detail with (amongst other things) the role of art in the gentrification of Notting Hill.

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- (3) 'Abandonment, gentrification and displacement: the linkages in New York City' by Peter Marcuse - in 'Gentrification of the City' edited by N. Smith and P. Williams
- (4) (6) & (7) 'The Fine Art of Gentrification' by R. Deutsche and C. G. Ryan in 'The Portable Lower East Side',
- (5) 'The Assault on Culture' by S. Home
- (8) 'The Militant' 26/8/88 (an American Trot newspaper)
- (9) Introduction to 'Pravda 3' - BM Blob





The notorious Cutteslowe Wall, Summertown, 1938 (*Oxford Mail and Times*)

Excerpts from "The Suburban Semi and Its Enemies" by Paul Oliver and co.

The Dunroaminers' desire to segregate his environment from areas of council housing was vividly illustrated, in 1934, by events in the North Oxford suburb of Cutteslowe. An area of private housing, called the Urban Housing Estate, was built on land purchased from the city council who themselves developed a council estate on adjoining land. Originally, the two estates were linked by a pair of roads, but soon disputes arose. A resident on the private estate complained of chalk graffiti and 'children and dogs everywhere' in the council estate. Claiming that links with the council housing lowered the value of their own development, the builders of the Urban Housing Estate constructed walls, seven feet high with iron spikes, across the roads at the estate boundary. Passions ran high; one city councillor, taking the part of the council tenants inconvenienced by the walls, said that on visiting the site he had seen 'this high wall with barbed-wire entanglements and behind it, cut off like wild animals or savage creatures, there was a collection of citizens. . . . The people are herded behind walls and barbed wire like Germans in a concentration camp.' Though the council tried hard to get the walls removed, the Dunroaminers of the Urban Housing Estate were equally determined to see them stay. It was not until 1959 that they were finally demolished.

The Cutteslowe walls made it clear that by 1934 Dunroamin and the council estate had become very different environments, each, at least potentially, hostile to the value implications of the other. This fact was made all the more striking by two fundamental *similarities* between them. First, they both grew from the housing experiments of the Garden City movement, as summarised in the Tudor Walters Report. Secondly, they housed residents who, in objective terms, were often more similar than their marked differences of self-image would have allowed them to believe; even the people who lived on opposite sides of the Cutteslowe walls were not dramatically different, when measured against the Registrar General's 'objective' categories of social class. Well over a third of the private residents of the Urban Housing Estate fell into the same 'skilled occupation' category which encompassed the majority of Cutteslowe's council tenants.

Fire and Ice: Space Wars in Zurich

The following interview was made in April 1981. The interviewee is a man from Zurich who has been involved in the Swiss anti-work movement for some time before it became "a focus of international attention." He might not be typical since this movement has been known for its suspicion of language--its demonstrations are usually banner-less--while he is quite articulate. But he's been there.

MIDNIGHT NOTES: Did you have a feeling in the spring of 1980 as to what was about to come down or was it a big surprise to you?

HERR MULLER: It was not a surprise, there were already a lot of struggles going on around housing and against traffic.

MN: The traffic demos, what were they about?

HM: There is a highway crossing a neighborhood where old leftists and new autonomous people live; it is a commuter highway and it has an underpass; there was a lot of pollution coming from it. The street was barricaded and a whole "game" was invented by the future, to-be movement and by the police. There was the old slogan: "For Life Against Concrete, Pollution, Cars." People were saying, "We have a right to live in this area and we are going to do whatever it takes to get it."

MN: So it was a demand for space.

HM: Yes, space is one of the most expensive commodities in Switzerland.

MN: Give some examples of rents.

HM: In the place where I used to live, an old type place, we paid \$200* for a four room apartment. Now for a two and a half room apartment we pay \$600. Half the space and twice the rent.

MN: Is this very common?

HM: Yes. There has been an explosion of rents in Zurich this last year.

MN: Why did you leave your old place?

HM: The owner changed and we got thrown out. They're now rebuilding these houses. They chop up the large apartments, make smaller ones and charge double.

MN: Sounds like Boston. What relation does this have with the struggle around the community center?

HM: It's not a community center. It's called "Autonomous Youth Center". The relationship? I'd say it's an organizational one: the same people who pulled the struggle around traffic and housing were among the organizers of the first struggle around the center, the cultural struggle. Because the whole thing was about culture, having a space for our culture, which was mainly rock, punk rock. People wanted a place where they could play that kind of music and just hang out together. You see, they have closed down all the bars and other places where we used to hang out, one

after the other. First you don't have a place to live and then you have the same problem with public space. It's getting expensive as well, concert tickets are now \$10 and more.

MN: So everybody was saying we need a place where we can do things and do them cheaply.

HM: Yes, and we can do it ourselves. We can play our own music and listen to our music without having to pay.

MN: Was the Autonomous Youth Center already there?

HM: No, the whole thing began in the spring of 1980 after this prologue had been played in traffic. There had been a referendum in the city about credit to rebuild the opera house. They got \$40,000,000. Then there was a little demonstration to protest this in front of the opera house one Friday evening. 200 people, those who were into other kinds of music, showed up. At this point, the authorities made a mistake, they sent the police in riot gear; the demonstrators felt provoked and started throwing rocks. The police responded. There were a lot of people around in the neighborhood, like Greenwich Village, so when something started developing a crowd gathered and it just escalated.

Suddenly you had two thousand people that same night and the "game" started: if you could not attack the police, you fled and while fleeing you smashed shop windows. You acted your response against the windows. The next people who came by saw that the windows were smashed and they could take things out and so the looting followed. The next day it made the news, "RIOT AND LOOTING IN ZURICH". That had not happened in Zurich for five hundred years; clearly something new was going on in the city. People kept gathering in the same place and there were more and more people on Saturday and Sunday nights.

MN: Who are these people?

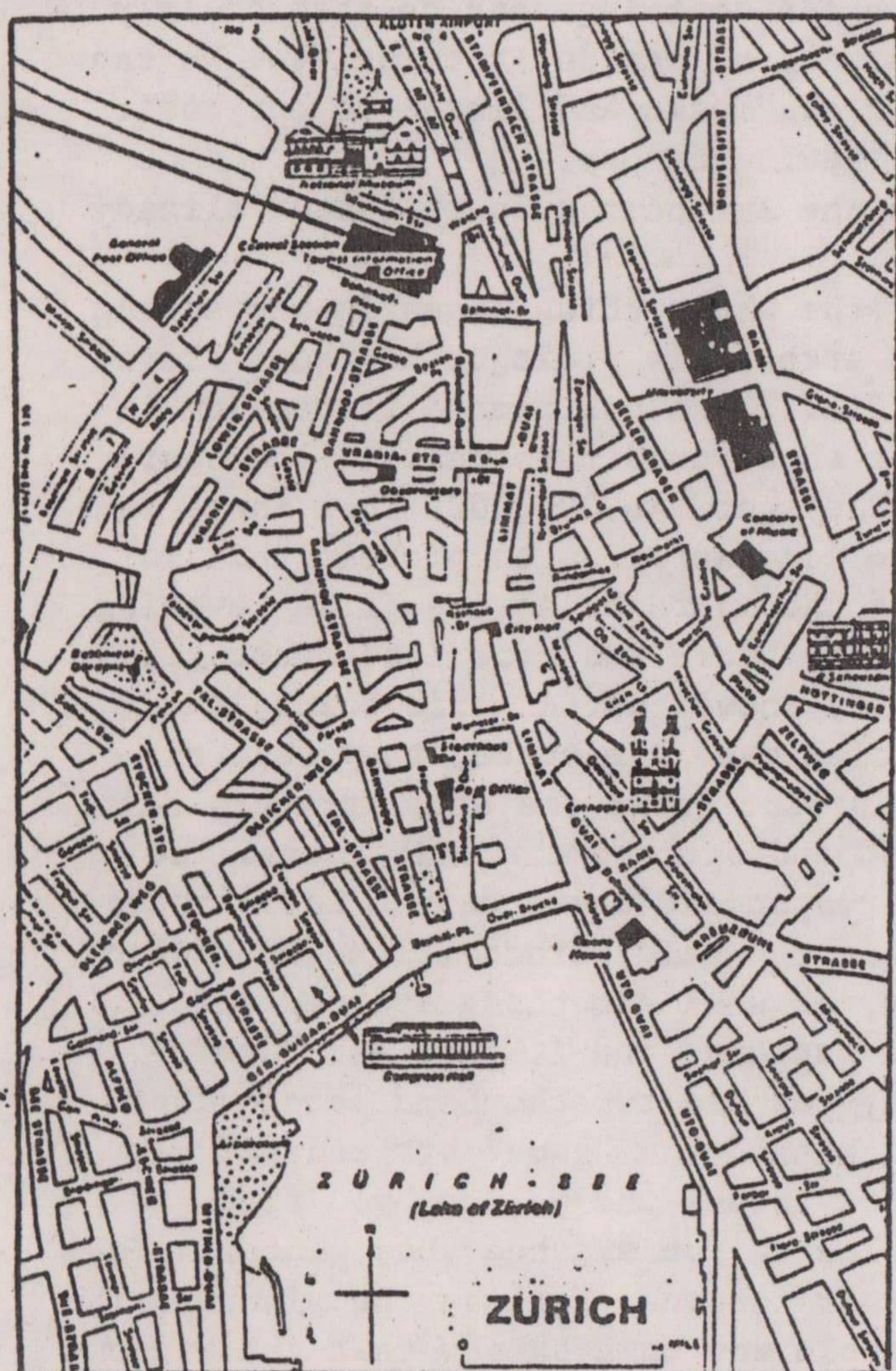
HM: What do you want to know? Their sociological description, how they get their money?

MN: Everything.

HM: It is a proletariat in the broad sense that they work for a wage; you don't have to worry about that. Old time Leninists should be satisfied. But what kind of proletariat is this? It's a mixed, socially diffused proletariat; they are not tied down to any job but they move from job to job. Sometimes

*£1 = about \$1.75

they get into unemployment (which is hard to do in Switzerland), but most of these people have gone through this experience. These are the kind of people who know all the possible ways of getting money, including money from the state. They are community people. It is easier to define them by how they reproduced themselves than by how they get their money. Some of them have their own business. Others work in printing shops and newspapers, but they are not stable jobs. A lot are apprentices, young workers who will never become foremen (small "bosses" over immigrant workers) as Swiss usually do. Then you have the second generation of Italian and Spanish workers. You have ages ranging from 14 to 45; you find everybody including a lot of people from the ideological industries: like TV, radio people, social workers, teachers... nurses.



MN: Tell us something about how the demos go.

HM: Basically you have a rally (announced or not), march through the street and at a certain point you start... somebody (I never did) starts making a barricade, throwing things onto the street. You can always rely on somebody doing it and they could always rely on somebody joining them. The police has a theory about this. They say there are 300 guys who do it, 300 who cover them and 300 behind those who just stand around and watch what's going on. The police want to get all these three categories of people in jail. These are the three essential elements of their so-called "by-stander theory". In fact,

those who make the barricades could do nothing if they were not covered by the movement. Everybody is a by-stander, but that's why the by-standers are there... to allow the barricades to be built. They're not real by-standers.

MN: Is this going on everywhere in the city?

HM: There are certain areas, especially the main street, Limmatquai, along the river, Limmat. It's a very popular neighborhood, because it's always full of people from the outskirts. As if you had a river going through the Village, you would have a lot of things going on around that river. You stop traffic, which was what the prologue was about. You take whatever you find because it's not a barricade you defend. It's not like the Commune, nothing serious, it's just to prevent the cars from moving. Occasionally, the barricade was burnt to keep the fire between you and the police. Then the police intervenes. When they come, they disperse you, but then the whole routine of window smashing and looting starts again.

MN: The geography of the city must have helped out, with the alleys and small streets.

HM: Yes, at first it was very important, but later the police changed tactics. At first they came with 200 or 300 cops and made just one mass. They made something like a counter demonstration, they had one front line while you were much more into guerrilla movement. You could split up whereas they stuck together. But later on they split up too into little groups of 5-10 together and they were chasing you.

The demos at the street level are a weekly or bi-weekly affair. Then you have a more "actionist" level, like those little groups, who independently of a demo taking place, move around doing something on their own. Sometimes you'd read about it in the paper: "Several dozen windows smashed in the downtown area". This of course without any immediate connection with a demonstration. Maybe it's a reaction to the frustration after they closed down the youth center. You also have attacks on construction firms that are connected with the housing problem. There have been firebombings of depots where machines and materials are kept. Fire is always being used. That's why the slogan of a film that just came out is "Zurich is Burning". This, the most secret level of the movement, causes millions of dollars of damage. They have no mandate, they do it on their own, you don't know who's doing it. But they leave leaflets on the place saying, "This is because you raised the rents."

MN: So is there a connection between these types of struggles and the movement?

HM: There is with the hard-core, hard-liner type. Lots of people in the movement reject it, others like it. But it has not officially been disavowed by the movement. There has never been a decision that this

is wrong. On the other side you have the Social Democrats who pose as our friends. But they move on the institutional level and just use the movement as their strength in the party power game. They tell the other parties, "We want our share because we represent the movement." That's like the Walesa game: trying to represent a dangerous force within the institutions. The Social Democrats have not been given a mandate by the movement, but unlike the hard-liners, they have been disavowed.

MN: Is this movement all about the Youth Center?

HM: No. People didn't even know that there was such a building in the first place. There are two buildings in question actually. One is a former ITT factory, the "Red Factory", that has been recycled. It was empty and movement people wanted to struggle for that building but it was a little outside of town. The city was not ready to give it. Meanwhile, they found out by accident that there was a building very close to the main railroad station which is in the center of the city. They said we want that *and* the other one. Then the whole struggle concentrated on the building in the city center. It had been a Maintenance Department depot where they kept snow plows and the like. The city did not even expect that anybody would like it. If you look at it it's really nothing. A 19th century building, useless. They found out they wanted that building and there was a lot of struggle around it. The city gave them the building and they actually started using it very well.

MN: When did they get it?

HM: This was in June 1980. Right after the first riots. It was really quick because the city council thought that the whole thing would be over with this, that there would be just some alcoholics and drug addicts hanging out in that place suffocating any kind of activity. It almost happened but not quite. Their problem was that the center really started functioning, centralizing all kinds of other struggles around housing. It became a meeting point and that was very important. People got a taste of it. It's not just the problem of space, but *empty space* you can use in your way, unoccupied territory.

MN: Was the center used to organize squatting?

HM: Yes. Near the center there was one house squatted by alcoholics and drug addicts, as well as three or four others in other parts of the city. But new squattings were planned for the Fall. A lot of organization was going on around getting cheap housing. One of the major initiatives had to do with an old city housing project (called Rebhugel) built in 1919. It was two blocks long. One-fourth was still inhabited but the rest were empty apartments just waiting to be renovated.

MN: You were involved in this squatting... how did it work?

HM: We did not have any theory about whether we would get it or not, we just decided to

move in. One morning, at 10 o'clock exactly, we were about 100 people and we moved in after using crow bars to open the doors. We had some furniture and other living stuffs. Just the basics, a bed and mattress. We moved in and it was really nice.

MN: How about lights and water?

HM: We had people who knew about it, within two or three hours everything was done. Usually it would take days to do it legally. Within four hours we felt at home and we felt that nobody could ever throw us out. But after five hours, lots of police arrived, equipped with tear gas and everything.

MN: When did they find out you moved in?

HM: They knew from the start. There was a whole legal process of accusation and warrant that was done. It took five hours to mobilize the police. We fled, we did not defend it. We even had to leave the furniture. The problem was that we did not have any tactics no plan about what we would do if the police came. We were just telling the police that we were ready to move in, that we were going to do it, but we were not going to fight with them. The fight was the next day, on the territory we could choose in the city. There was a demonstration on housing in the center of the city and it was one of the most violent. The point is not to accept the terrain where you cannot do it. It's like: we want those houses but we didn't have to defend those houses because we couldn't. But we could defend those houses in a place where the authorities were much more vulnerable.

MN: How did you get along with the people who already lived in the project?

HM: At first the people were really hostile, but in two hours they liked us. A guy who was in the same house where we were was furious, he started throwing our furniture out of the window. "Get out! Get out!" But by the afternoon we were already discussing how we could fix this and that. His wife had already found a lot of girl friends among the women. They had been very lonely but they only found out because we were there. They found out what they had missed, within three hours that problem was solved.



MN: After the demo the next day, were you able to go back?

HM: No, we could not. They put a stinking substance into all the apartments, you could not use them. They sabotaged the use of them.

MN: What about the people that were living there?

HM: They were pissed off. It stinks like fish. It was chemical warfare. You could not use those apartments, there was no point. It would have been just symbolical. Now, just recently, some of the squatters did get some other apartments. The city is starting to give some housing, some apartments which they refused in the beginning.

MN: How does the movement get together, how does it make decisions? Are there parties, unions, any other type of organization?

HM: Some are in parties and unions, but the whole organizational mechanics lies in the general assemblies. They meet on Wednesday or Thursday at the "People's House", an old social democratic conventional hall. There are between 500 and 2000 people, usually there is no schedule, just a lot of people talking, microphones, everybody saying what they're feeling, a lot of people attacking each other. Women attacking men, hard-liners attacking "softies", some saying, "We've had enough of this window smashing, it doesn't pay" and the hard-liners saying, "You would not be here you softies if we hadn't started this way, for the soft line had been around for decades." Decisions are always made by vote like "Next Saturday we're going to make that demonstration, to accept this kind of proposal." There are two or three rules which are always respected: there is never a delegation, never a committee in charge of the whole thing, there is never any kind of negotiation on the demands.

"The Concrete" as they say or "The Iceberg"... that's the city, money, capital. It's just another name for capital, "The Ice": solidified, coagulated work, dead work. It's a quite adequate Marxist terminology.

MN: So the police are the "Polar Bears"?

HM: Yes. You could not be in Zurich finally and not feel that there was oppression, the state, capital. You were lost before; everybody was lonely and depressed, everybody felt handicapped. Then suddenly you felt that they were really there, that they existed, you could feel the attack, the ice, the coldness. That was the point of no return.

Certainly the police would not kill you. But they would not let you live either. They would not give you the space where you could live. Yet they would not kill you, they would keep you alive, but frozen.



POSTSCRIPT TO ZURICH

The above article is a much edited version of an article that appears in Midnight Notes Vol II #2 (see back for address). The complete article contains many other interesting points. We reprint this article because it deals with a struggle for space that was not merely about having rooves over our heads, but recognised the need for collective space both in immediate physical terms and in terms of space for individuals and the movement to develop and grow. We need room to breathe, and we would like what we breathe to be air.

We do not agree with the class definition used - ie the inclusion in the proletariat of those who own businesses and those from the ideological industries, and from our experience would expect that the difference of interests has by now become apparent in Zurich. In Milan, for example, the difference has been shown by ex-'comrades' opening trendy shops and bars as part of the gentrification of a formerly proletarian area, taking their place alongside a heavy police presence.

P.S. June 1988; riot cops use teargas to evict a large squat in Basel, Switzerland. A referendum was held to decide whether the squatters should be allowed to stay or whether a park should be built on the site. The vote was narrowly in favour of the park, with a majority of around 5%. Warning, democracy can make you homeless!

SQUATTERS RESIST

NOTES ON THE STAMFORD HILL ESTATE EVICTIONS

Like most evictions that are resisted (in Britain, at least) the Stamford Hill estate resistance was not generally conceived as an all out attempt to prevent being moved, but more as a gesture of defiance against those who maintain and impose homelessness. It would have needed thousands more determined people than the 300 or so who were present to have made any serious defence of the estate.

The only concessions won from the council were that the families evicted were rehoused. But there were other positive aspects to the event. One of the best things was the support given by those people not squatting on the estate, but who recognised the resistance as being in their common interest and a part of their own struggle. These included tenants living on the estate. This was partly because the presence of squatters on the estate for the past 4 years, and the contacts and friendships developed during this time, had enabled people to overcome the suspicions and fears that often divide squatters and tenants. This mistrust is based partly on the media image of squatters as scrounging layabouts who are liable to squat your house while you're out shopping. Also, when squatters move into an area it is often seen by tenants as a sign of the terminal decay of their neighbourhood. Squattable property tends to be concentrated in run-down neglected areas, especially those due for redevelopment.

A difference in lifestyles is inevitable between those in permanent housing and those squatting who have to move every few months. This is also reinforced by council housing allocation policy which is almost totally for families with children, while they have no legal obligation to house single people. This is one more way of keeping us divided and ruled by creating an illusion of competing separate interests and a hierarchy of need and merit. All the bureaucratic crap about housing queues and waiting lists is only to enforce an artificial scarcity of living space, while at the same time there exists an actual surplus of useable living space. The subversive aspect of squatting is that it exposes this contradiction.

HAIRSTYLES AND WHOLEFOODS

Some groups of squatters tend to encourage their own isolation. The experience of being marginalised has led some to attempt to make a virtue of their alienation by constructing a cult of moralistic lifestylism, creating an identity which is defined by emphasising what makes them a little different from everybody else - ie the particular forms their alienation takes. In the best moments at Stamford Hill, such social separations were challenged and weakened - and in the worst moments they were reinforced.

While most tenants on the estate passively supported the squatters, a few, especially youths, became actively involved. Some youths from the surrounding area came to help out, and a group of

Tension grows at council squat

7/3/88
by Caroline Davies

MORE than 200 squatters barricaded themselves inside a council estate today to stop police and bailiffs evicting them.

Up to 200 police were on standby for the mass eviction, due to begin this morning.

The squatters set fire to a car at the mouth of the Stamford Hill estate in Hackney as a warning that they would resist eviction. They blocked off entrances to the estate with makeshift steel barriers, skips and rubbish bins.

Hackney council wants to clear 120 flats which, it says, are inhabited by squatters.

The squatters have been preparing their resistance over the last three days. They stressed they did not want a "Broadwater Farm type of confrontation."

Many of the 100 protesters who gathered outside the flats from 3 am today came from other parts of London to support the resistance. Most wore scarves over their faces to protect their identity, and many were believed to belong to Class War and other anarchist organisations.

One said: "We don't want to get violent, but it depends what the police do."

"I heard the police came on to the estate this morning and two people were badly beaten up. They had 30 vans parked all along the High Road."

The eviction question has caused rows at recent council meetings, which have been repeatedly disrupted. Last week two dozen protesters leaped from the public gallery and had to be evicted by police.

The squatters are being supported by the Stamford Hill Tenants' Association.



people who had seen TV news coverage of the event travelled down from Liverpool to be part of it. Some local kids donated a nicked car to be used as a barricade. While the resistance was still going on, squatters abroad organised demonstrations of solidarity in Amsterdam, Denmark, Berlin and San Francisco. A few homeless people with nowhere else to go also turned up.

Of those facing eviction, there were only about 30 squatters on the estate still occupying their flats, plus 200-300 people, the majority young squatters from other areas in London, who had



EVICTED... police remove a demonstrator following the attack on housing chairman Brynley Heaven in the town hall

Evening Standard picture: STEVE KING

Squatters in council punch-up

A COUNCILLOR was recovering today after he was beaten up by a mob of squatters during a meeting at Hackney Town Hall last night.

A gang of around 15 youths kicked and punched Labour councillor Brynley Heaven after they stormed past security guards and burst into the town hall chamber. Five people were arrested.

Mr Heaven was saved from serious injury by fellow councillors who fought off the attackers in a mass brawl in the chamber.

He was freed from the mob by police officers on duty at the town hall because trouble had been expected after the eviction of squatters from the Stamford Hill estate yesterday morning.

Mr Heaven was not badly hurt in the attack, although his glasses were broken.

Mr Heaven, the Labour-controlled borough's housing committee chairman, has masterminded a drive to evict squatters from council homes to make way for families living in temporary bed-and-breakfast accommodation.

come to help resist the eviction. The thirty remaining squatters had publicised the resistance by way of leaflets, posters and word of mouth. Their basic minimum strategy seemed to be to use the threat of a potential violent confrontation, and the resulting bad publicity for Hackney Council, as a weapon to either stop the eviction or gain rehousing from the council, but at the meetings during the resistance their stated policy was that the cops should not be violently provoked and that violence should only be used in self defence. The site meetings, although 'democratic' in form and appearance, unfortunately often tended to be dominated by an 'invisible inner circle' of a few local anarcho-squatters (the old anarchist informal hierarchy rearing its ugly head once again) creating an atmosphere that made it more difficult for others to contribute to discussions.

This strategy meant that the resistance became a waiting game - waiting for the cops, waiting to see how aggressive they would be. The issue of violence was solved by circumstance rather than the arguments or 'policies' people had about it; the balance of forces (500 riot cops versus 200-300 squatters and co) and the defensive limitations of the estate made it clear to all but a few that a riot or any violent offensive against the cops would have been quickly and brutally suppressed. The handful that kept saying they wanted to riot never actually did.

Some people held illusions about the role of the media. It was said that a media presence would make police violence less likely. How many miles of film of police violence needs to be shot before people realise this is not true? The cops can always prevent people from filming if they need to, or they can do their violence out of sight. Other people thought it was important to be on good relations with the media so as to get 'good publici-

ty'. The ambiguity of this attitude was illustrated when a squatter recognised a press photographer as somebody who had lived next door to a house some of his friends had squatted. The photographer had conducted a campaign of harassment against the squatters, eventually succeeding in getting them evicted. At Stamford Hill she had been telling everyone (in order to make her job easier) how much she supported squatters.

The eviction of the Pullens Estate in South London in 1986 received far less publicity, but this did not prevent a very effective resistance (although it's true that circumstances were somewhat different).

There are now many estates in London like Stamford Hill where squatters and tenants live side by side. With the coming of Poll Tax, deregulation of rents and privatisation of council housing (HAT schemes etc) squatters, council and private tenants alike are going to have a common interest in resisting these measures. Whether this will be translated into a new collective organised resistance remains to be seen.



Hard hat: A council bailiff wearing an ironic message.

OM SWEET OM

- A cautionary tale of Stonedhenge, Convoys, Mutoids etc.

Streetlife in general and any large social gatherings other than those directly linked to and mediated by consumption are looked on with extreme suspicion by the British state, and they consciously plan and organise the environment to discourage it. Open spaces such as the public squares in Continental towns and cities where people go to simply hang out, meet and socialise - with no particular consumer activity such as alcohol, music, or sport needed as a justification for being in a large public congregation - are hard to find over here. Increasingly, if you wish to occupy any space, you must buy the right to do so.

The free festivals on rural squatted land in the 1970's were largely an extension of the London mass squatting movement of that time. The initial participants being mainly rural hippies and London squatters, these events were an extension of a lifestyle organised around resistance to work and living outside the confines of the isolated family structure. At first, at least, these festivals were a chance for unemployed people and single parents to have a cheap break from the city. Festivals gave parents and kids a safe, spacious environment in which to live more independantly of each other, free of many of their usual restrictions such as social isolation in the family unit, the pressure of living in confined spaces and the necessity of constant parental supervision.

The first few annual Stonehenge (and other early) festivals were made up of 200-300 people and the intrusion of the market was consciously kept to a minimum - food was collectively aquired and shared, and those who couldn't pay didn't have to, and what entertainment there was (music etc) was informal and spontaneous - in contrast to later developments. At this stage drugs, which were later central to the festival's economy and its social life, were usually either freely distributed or sold without profit and the consumption of drugs was not so fetishized as it later became.*

As the festival grew each year, it went on longer, expanded in size and became more and more dominated by market forces. The role of music and bands became elevated to a dominant position, with various stages showcasing rock music competing for attention. The mass of festival goers were reduced by this to a passive audience - the technology of the musicians and stage crew was inevitably beyond their control in the hands of an elite few (access to backstage and onstage was restricted) and the only role left was to passively 'dig the sounds'. The flow of information of general interest became reduced to 'public announcements' monitored through the PA system of the main stage. It was impossible to escape the constant noise of the PA's while on the festival site. All this was accompanied by the appearance of large areas occupied by traders in their stalls and vans selling a variety of goods.

As the summer festival circuit developed in various parts of the country, it became possible to

spend the whole season travelling from one event to the other, and this contributed to the formation of permanent travelling groups, some of whom in looking for means of survival further developed the festival economy by selling food, drugs, etc at a profit. As these groups multiplied, the press started to mythologise the most combative elements as the 'Convoy', although there had been many travelling groups in existence well before the Peace Convoy itself formed.

CR@SST@F@RI@NISM

By the late 70s/early 80s, young punks were a regular presence at the Stonehenge festival as well as on the London squatting scene. Although punk in general was anti-hippy, the anarcho-punk band CRASS and their influential lifestyle politics was largely an updated extension of the earlier 'hippy' festival and squatting scene of which they'd been a part before their punk mutation.

In the last few years of Stonehenge there were 40-50,000 people attending an event that went on for a month, and the free market ethic became completely dominant; with signposts pointing to dealers of the drug of your choice, it was like a



surreal scene from some extreme right-wing libertarian fantasy - an economy with no constraints. Hundreds of thousands of pounds must have passed hands in drug transactions.

Its unclear why the state allowed it to continue and expand for so long, but in at least one instance their motives later became clear; in 1976, after the massive (brutal and controversial) suppression of the 1974 Windsor Free Festival - which was located in the Great Park in the Queen's back garden - Sid Rawles, self-appointed hippy spokesman/politician, negotiated the use of Watchfield, a disused airfield in Berkshire, as an alternative site. As later recounted by one of the cops involved, ** this festival was used as a starting point for Operation Julie, which succeeded in infiltrating and smashing the major LSD manufacturing organisation in the world at that time.



When the state finally suppressed Stonehenge in 1985 the seasonal economy that the travellers had come to depend on went with it. One faction adapted by moving back to the city and began occupying large empty industrial spaces where they could live and gain an income by charging people to come to cultural/entertainment events that they staged. The Mutoid Waste Company incorporate displays of their junk sculpture made from industrial debris into the warehouse parties they put on; like any 'commercial' club, they have bouncers on the door and charge upwards of £5 per head for the use of this squatted space. Like avante-guard art in general, which is commonly a launching pad for what will become most profitable and fashionable, the Mutoids have capitalised on their 'alternative' beginnings - they were recently paid £14,000 to design a Dutch lager advert and had their sculptures displayed at Jean Michel Jarre's Docklands concert extravaganza, including exhibits in the royal box.

The festivals retained all the strengths and limitations of the 'counter culture' that produced them. While some saw themselves as the conscious inheritors of the 17th century Digger experiment in mass land occupation and collective living, co-existing with this were the usual confusions and illusions associated with alternative lifestyles. The retreat of some into such lost causes as mysticism and the escapist use of drugs encouraged the belief that within the confines of the festival site (or even of your own head) a 'liberated zone' had been created.

It's true that for ten years at Stonehenge the cops were prevented from policing the festival and on occasions were attacked and thrown off site (the only way left for them to regain control was complete suppression or recuperation) but Capital has more subtle means of maintaining its dominance. The absence of a sustained practical critique of commodity relations led to its inevitable consequences.

The squatted centres that emerged on the London squatting scene at around the same time as the festivals went through a similar process of commercialisation. In both cases the original attempts to reclaim and transform the use of space by freeing it from the dominance of the market were progressively suppressed by market forces re-asserting themselves and once more dominating social relations.

* By citing these positive aspects, it is not intended to romanticise or ignore the limitations of the earlier festivals (in some ways they always resembled self-managed holiday camps or 'leisure colonies' for the poor and marginalised) but just to illustrate their development as one whole process.

** See 'Busted' by Detective Richardson, one of the books written by undercover 'hippy cops' involved in the operation.





REBUILDING WORKERS

The reorganisation of the city and the housing market is not an isolated or arbitrary act - it is part of the restructuring of production, capital's attempt to reimpose the conditions for profit. Through the growth of both capital's need for profit, and the struggles of the proletariat, every aspect of life has become the scene for struggle between the two sides. This restructuring is imposed against us by means of new technology and crisis.

'New Technology' ie automation has been developed and introduced to force greater productivity out of workers, to break up concentrations of workers and work methods which workers had used to develop their struggles, and to create a 'reserve army' of unemployed to recreate a demand for work. The restructuring of housing is introduced to break up concentrations of proletarians, and so methods of tenants' struggle, and to recreate demand and competition for artificially scarce housing, against collective struggle over conditions and forms of housing, also to reimpose work. In production, the growth of struggle up to the 78/9 Winter of Discontent was met with crisis, capital disinvestment (encouraged, sometimes forced by the state) closing less profitable businesses or parts of businesses, to make room for the stronger ones to grow, and to make workers accept cuts. Struggles in housing, leading to restrictions on rent, minimum quality levels and increasing demands for services, as well as increasingly massive arrears, were also met with disinvestment (enforced on local authorities by the state), making room for today's redevelopment, as the value of properties fell below the value of the land they stood on. And the two spheres are obviously interconnected - firstly simply because it is proletarians who are attacked in the factory and on the estate, but also because it is often those areas where production has been closed down, that redevelopment is attacking our housing - ie Docklands.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE URBAN JUNGLE

The first stage of the current geographical restructuring took the form of moving industry out of the inner cities, where the concentration of proletarians had dangerous effects on discipline and profits; capital-intensive production was moved to the suburbs and New Towns, taking with it the

'better' workers, to isolate them geographically and with 'better' conditions, while labour-intensive production was moved to countries where imposed lack of resources and brutal regimes ensured, at first, high productivity and low wages. Of course industry took with it all its contradictions, and so spread struggles, in particular against work and the noxious products of capitalist industry in the '3rd World' (for example the Union Carbide chemical plant at Bhopal, India, where a leak in December '84 left 3,000 dead and is still causing fatal illness and disability - not that industry in the West is harmless) and against the increased alienation of New Town 'life'.

And in the inner cities this led to a greater concentration of 'undesirables', who, instead of reducing their demands to attract jobs, increased their demands, and where possible their consumption through direct appropriation (from shoplifting to looting, squatting etc). Such work as was offered was accepted only temporarily, casually and off-the-cards, so the division and competition between waged and unwaged proletarians, that the state tried to develop, essentially failed to materialise. Instead the conditions were created for communication, through action, of all those sectors marginalised by the economy, women, black people, the unemployed etc, along with those employed in the growing bureaucracy and 'services' meant to control this marginalisation. This is not to say that divisions were destroyed, but that, for example, the struggles for council services and council jobs became increasingly joined.

So one strand of the state's attack on the development of struggles in the cities has been the dismantling and restructuring of those bureaucracies that, while trying to control these struggles, began merely to tail-end and throw money at them. To some extent their money succeeded in redividing the various sectors, by funding particular separate projects (so mapping out separate political space - various committees and sub-committees - and geographical space - various centres), but this was not only expensive, but led to 'leapfrogging' demands, similar to those of different sectors of workers in the '70s. So, the abolition of the GLC and other metropolitan councils, and the restriction and privatisation of local council services, with the Community Charge introduced both to make the poor pay more, and to make residents add pressure to cut costs, to break the unity of pressure for more resources, from workers and local proletarians. We also see a major restructuring of the DHSS, which had become a focus of struggle - despite the obvious objective division between workers and claimants, the massive staff turnover (nearly 100% a year in some London offices) meant roles were often exchanged, and the struggles of the two 'sides' reinforced and developed each other. Claimants str-

TAKING THE SPACE TO BREATHE

The threatened arrival of a ship carrying chemical waste to Manfredonia in South Italy led to a mass revolt by the people of the town last autumn. First came mass demonstrations, then a general strike, and then; FIRES, STONE THROWING, SHATTERED SHOP WINDOWS CLASHES WITH THE POLICE: THE TOWN HALL TAKEN BY STORM IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF UPRISING. 8 WOUNDED (5 COPS) AND MANY BRUISED. STREETS BLOCKED EN MASSE. DISMISSAL OF LOCAL COUNCIL. (Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno 30.9.88). After five days the total blockade of the town by the people was broken at dawn by 1,300 cops who militarily occupied the town, but the strikes, particularly by schoolkids and workers at the chemical plant continued (though the plant management tried to divide the workers from the rest by laying off hundreds), and the demonstrations grew, joined by people from the rest of the area. The ship eventually left the area and has since been moored off Sicily waiting to dump its poison load elsewhere.

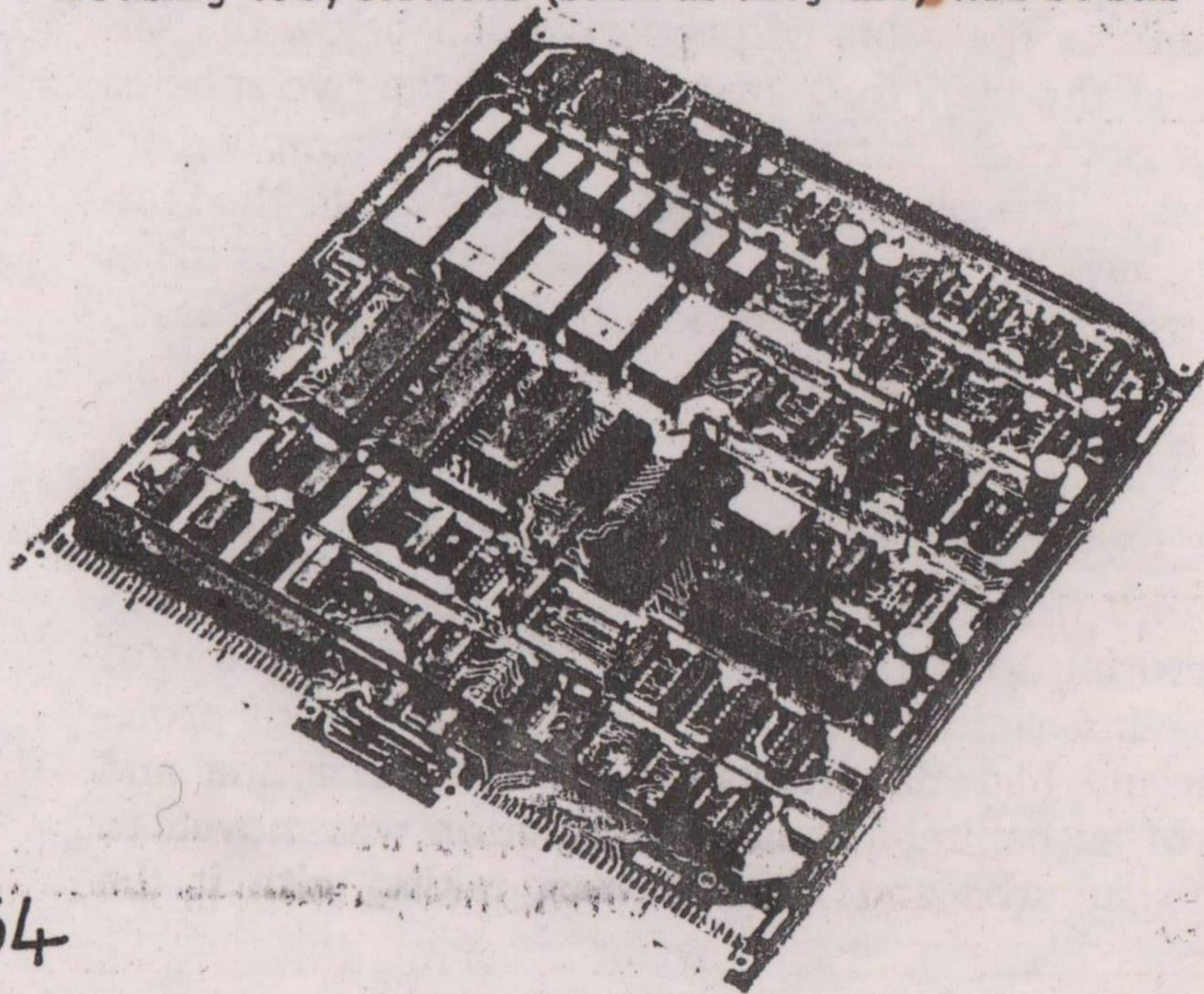
The revolt came after years of growing fears for the environment, and the town's main industries, tourism and fishing, from the pollution of the chemical plant ENICHEM. The normal emissions are already cause for concern but a series of accidents, including fires, clouds of ammonia etc, and the fact that the town is on a geological fault have increased the fear of total disaster. The plant was part of a plan from the early '70s to industrialise the South, supposedly to improve the economy there, but with the only other plant in Manfredonia closed down years ago, with only 200 of the 1,100 employees of the plant coming from the town, with the products of the plant totally irrelevant to local needs, with the fall in employment in tourism due to pollution and with registered unemployment at 40%, the people of Manfredonia have seen that for the state and the bosses their town, and most of the South is useful only as a poison rubbish dump.

'The most contented are the schoolkids. They would like a poison ship every year' (Puglia 19.10.88)

uggles pushed workers to struggle for compensation for the pressure, and for increased unprofitable security, and to become aware of their position, while their struggles further encouraged claimants. To break this cycle, the DHSS is to follow industry out of the cities, with clerical work centralised in clerical factories, probably in New Towns leaving only local enquiry desks. Other offices are also being moved out, because the cities, especially London, have become too expensive for them - the massive rent in London not only means they have to pay more for office space; but also for workers who demand more to cover the higher costs. Bank

clerks now receive up to £3,000 a year London Weighting to attract them. Communication technology now allows control to remain concentrated in the city, while general administration downwards can be shipped out, potentially even to South Korea. The concentration of office work in London is also a problem for the bosses because workers take the opportunity to move around, gaining some power over how, where and when they work. While bosses benefit from being able to employ temps when needed, with no responsibility for them when they're not, they lose through their better permanent staff leaving for the attractions of temping. But while moving out of London might find them a captive unskilled workforce, skilled office workers will continue moving to London as long as the job market remains concentrated there.

But more far-reaching is the way the inner-city proletariat's methods of survival and reducing work have been used to restructure production - while casual, temporary and off-the-cards work have been means of resisting the total domination of work over life, they have also been the means for regenerating capital, from the base. The new, 'post-assembly line' structure of production is basically made up of increased high-tech concentration at the centres of production, in energy, distribution and control, with a base of difused, small-scale production and services. In fact it is the model of the building industry that is being imposed, with multi-national corporations controlling labour through a series of subcontractors, except that the homemaker, blinding herself for the M&S clothes rack is not brought together with others on site. There is the same hierarchy of technology that leaves the actual producers under the most archaic and primitive conditions. It is the workers of the submerged economy who will be used to break up and privatise the services that have been part of the growing struggle of the urban proletariat, replacing full-time, secure and better-paid workers, except for a few technicians and foremen. Cycle couriering, among the most popular and trendy sectors of casual, off-the-cards work, started during a post office workers strike in the '70s, and poses an obvious threat, along with more technological communication, to any future action by post workers. In housing too, services (such as they are) will be sub-

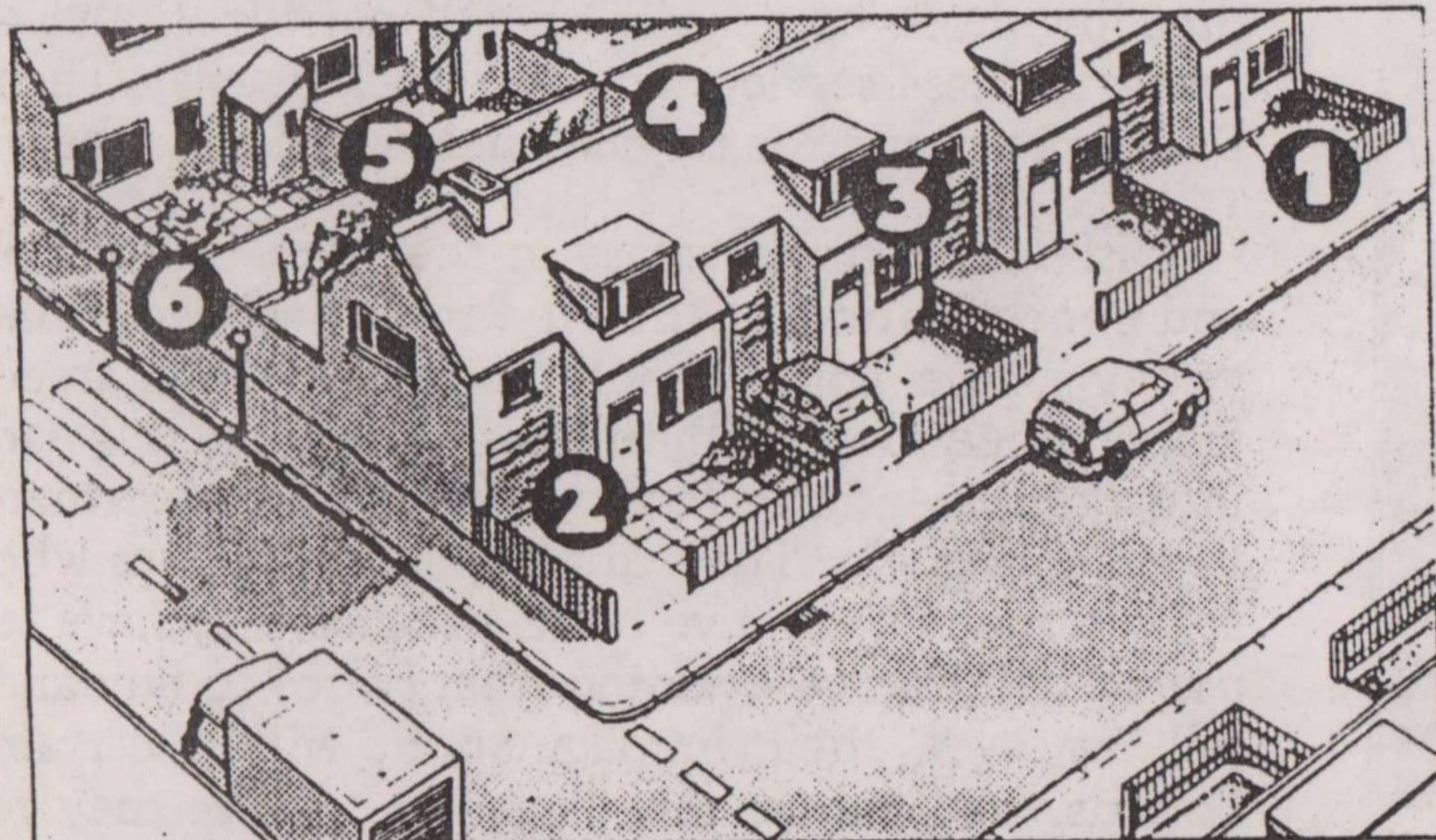


contracted out, while many housing associations, small landlords etc will effectively be subcontracting their work of rent collection and control from the banks etc who will be the real landlords, and often further subcontracting this work to agencies. Each level will be forced to maximise profits for their superiors, or lose the contract.

HOW'S THE HOMELESS?

The division of labour of this model of production will also be imposed as a division of forms of housing; the high-tech production centres need a core of skilled workers, who are encouraged, and often helped to get a mortgage, to keep them stable, dependant, and less likely to take their on-the-job training elsewhere. The state has been suggesting that companies build homes for their workers, so that control can be extended outside the workplace, but they have been wary, partly because struggles against the company as landlord would tend to spread to struggle against the company as boss, and vice versa. However companies have been helping to finance housing association developments in exchange for some of the houses going to their workers, so they extend control while hiding behind the housing association. For those at the bottom end of the labour market, those in the decentralised, subcontracted sectors of production, the imposition of greater housing insecurity will help impose mobility, and flexibility in what jobs we'll take to pay the rent. Increasing housing costs and other measures will on the one hand enforce the family, chaining women and young people to the 'home', where if they find nothing else they'll be fodder for homework or other extended family/community sweating, or on the other hand, if they escape all this they'll have to work even harder, often for some 'godfather'- some pimp, Fagin....

It is building workers who are amongst the most mobile, brought to the South East from Ireland and the North to build these great new developments while living in squats or hostels, and if possible returning to the families for weekends. They have also been the most mobile across Europe, which, with the greater integration of the European market in 1992, and increasing restrictions on migration from outside, will probably increase. While construction is best suited for this large-scale mobility, needing large numbers of workers for a one-



1. Individual front gardens encourage responsibility
 2. Integral garages cut down thefts
 3. Windows facing street make observation easy
 4. Mixed housing encourages social integration
 5. Proper fences create sense of privacy
 6. Back walls at least 6' high cut down easy access

THE HIDDEN COSTS OF BUILDING

Deaths caused by construction work.

1981	'82	'83	'84	'85	'88
140	148	162	137	152		157

Major injuries:

3624

According to the state Health and Safety Executive, 517 of the 739 deaths ('81-'85) could have been avoided by management action.

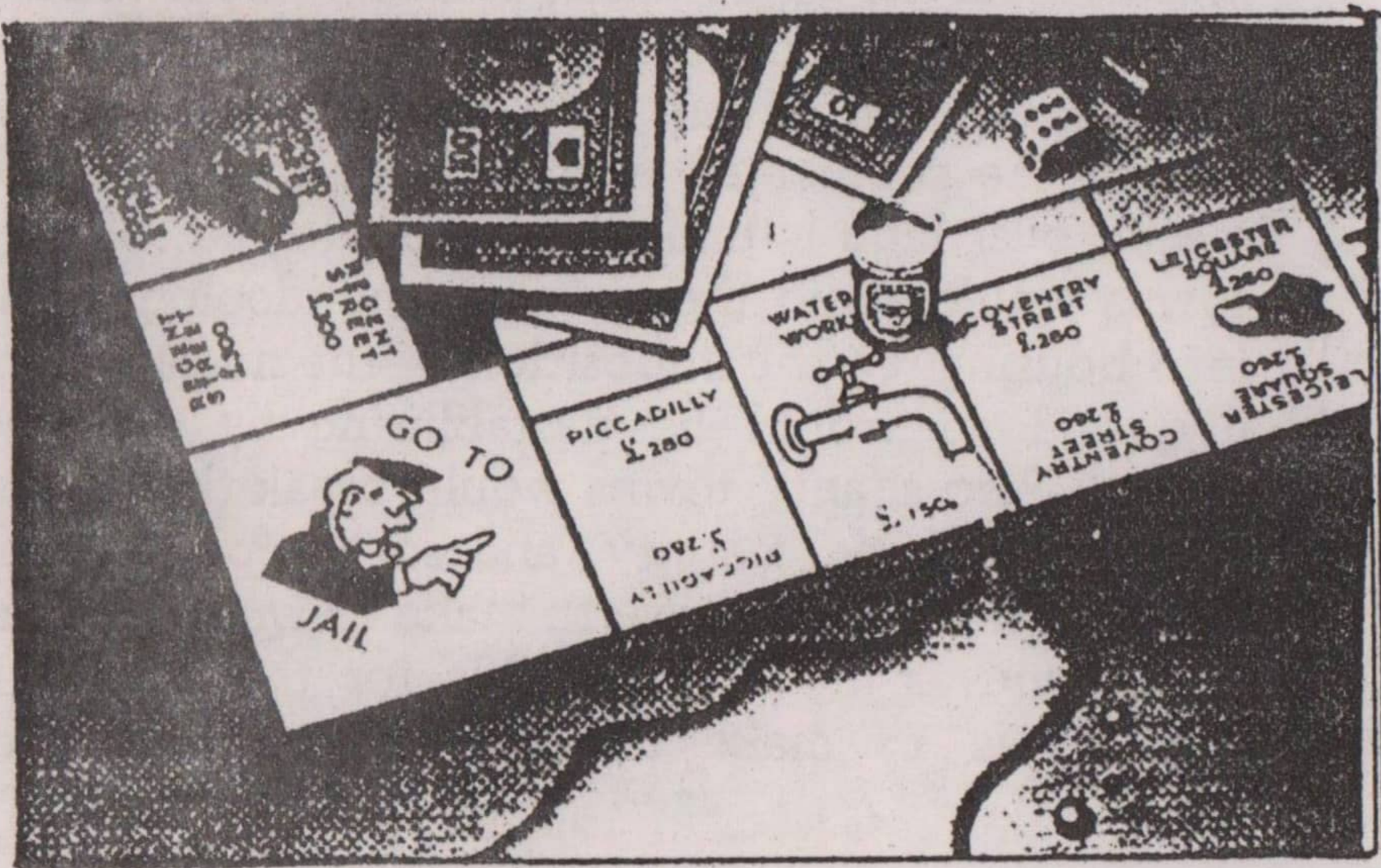
Of the 8272 sites visited by the HSE in 1988, 2046 (24.7%) were issued with prohibition notices on the grounds of 'a risk of serious injury.' Despite expectations it was the larger sites that were the worst offenders. The HSE found that they weren't notified of 65% of sites that they should've been. And that's the ones they found.

off job, there are other areas of production that could be increasingly seasonalised, using mobile workers to get rid of any fulltime workers, so forcing them to mobilise in turn.

While the 'guestworker' form of mobility had the advantage for the 'host' state of imposing much of the cost of reproducing labour power onto the 'guests' home state, the new internal flexibility imposes responsibility back onto the workers selves. Subsidies for survival are cut back, training is increasingly mortgaged and costs rise. This re-imposition of survival turned working off the cards for a bit extra, into working more, for less, with no guarantees, with increasing numbers of people setting up or taking part in small-scale business, drug-dealing, culture-dealing, servicing etc. While some people have 'made it' out of the submerged economy, and others have submerged with it, most will still only do as little as possible to survive, spending more time on their 'social reproduction'. In other parts of the world this strata is found in various forms of shanty town, where the cost and responsibility of housing and services are also directly imposed on the inhabitants, but this doesn't mean we'll see shanty towns in Britain. With land value so high, especially round the cities, where the services of the submerged economy are most needed, taking over land is unlikely to be allowed. Shanty towns would avoid the divisions and ideology built into housing, eg the imposition of the nuclear family, and so would be destabilising by allowing escape. Also shanty towns would break the imposition of housing scarcity, and so the pressure to make us work. They have to make us work for ourselves, and as much as possible for them as well. They have to make us work more and more.

THE ABSURDITY AND REIMPOSITION OF WORK

It seems absurd, on the face of it, that the introduction of new technology should help create a situation where sweatshops and primitive home-working are on the increase, that labour-saving devices should lead to more intensive and extensive labour, but it is partly because of this absurdity that it happens. The obvious fact that we now live in a situation where we can now produce what we need with the minimum of time and effort, is one reason for the increasing resistance to the imposition of work, which was shown in part in the growing absenteeism, sabotage and wildcats of the '70s. For capital, though, production is not for the social needs of humanity - its for profit, which is made out of getting workers to produce more value than they receive in wages. New technology can increase the bosses' problems, because they have to pay more for the machinery, while the total production, though increasing in quantity does not necessarily increase in value, as each product, taking less time and energy to produce, contains less value. Those who can't afford the new technology, who bought a few old sewing machines with their redundancy pay, have to sweat their workers even harder to compete, while those who can still have to cover the increased cost. To help deal with this situation, efficiency is increased to ensure that production is as profitable as possible. New technology, and those 'freed' by it from direct production, are put to work in supermarkets, bureaucracies, banks etc, to control production and distribution, and to control other workers, which has now become the same thing. Essentially, efficient production and distribution now means merely that, despite the potential abundance of our production, we can not get access to it without working for it, ie without defending the bosses' profits and our own dispossession that they are dependant on, even if this means destroying food mountains while millions starve. We have to be made to work, even if the only work left is making everyone else work, and the more obvious the contradiction between new technology and increased exploitation (the forces of production and the form of production) becomes, the more work it takes to impose work.



The increase in 'efficiency' requires an increase in the concentration of control. Increasing stock-market takeovers mean that more sectors of the economy are controlled by less companies, increasing the possibility of planing over buying, selling and investment, and increasing the possible amount of investment in new technology. It also means that problems of lack of planing (or the impossibility of adequately planing this system) can be forced onto the small-scale producers - for example large clothing outlets can set the price at which they'll buy from sweatshop owners, and often only pay for what they actually sell, so taking the profits and passing on the losses. Concentration also reduces the costs of distribution and increases the speed of circulation - the value of a commodity is useless to the bosses until it has been realised, ie sold, so that it can be reinvested to make new profits. Geographical concentration means that resources and services can be shared, so reducing costs, and increasing the value of each building through its proximity to the others - eg a concentration of shops will attract more shoppers than they would individually.

Since the crisis/disinvestment from the '70s, and then with the Big Bang and privatisation, capital has been increasingly concentrated in the stock-market itself, rather than being connected to any particular enterprise. While the old conservative regime worked according to school ties and directed money towards seemingly secure, known companies, the new yuppie regime moves money around for a quick profit, reacting quickly to the state's manipulation of money (thinking they're doing it all for themselves) and waiting for the right price for their grandmothers. In part this is the normal speculation found when finance capital increases without there being room for it in production (because the 'boom' is caused by cutting back unprofitable production, not increasing profitable production), but also it's a further stage in freeing capital from any ties, so it can seek profit and leave losses behind (so making the market more volatile and intensifying crises). And as the speed of circulation of money is increased, along with other commodities, the city is concentrated, both in itself, and into the world market - the rising height of the City increases satellite communication with Wall St and Tokyo, and so integration into the 24hour stock market. The concentration and growth of the stock exchange is joined by the growth of its services, and then by those companies that benefit from proximity to these services and the stock market. Then the workers, and the services and facilities for them.

It is out of this increase in the work of control and concentration of the city and its services, that yuppies have come about. They have been freed from production without being dumped instead into the increasingly factory-like offices, supermarkets, schools etc. They think they're the ones who are productive, creative even, because they have to use their initiative deciding what (who) to buy and sell, or even their imagination, within certain bounds. They're on their way up because they've accepted capital's logic - that if you want something

you go out and get it, and screw everyone else. They may be dependant on a wage, like us, but they not only control the labour of those forced to sell it to their particular company, but also either control the products of the labour of others, or try to control us through their media etc. They follow the concentration of the city, and are part of the deconcentration and squeezing out of the proletariat, buying property at prices that locals can't afford, and so opening up areas for new concentrations of supermarkets, wine bars etc.



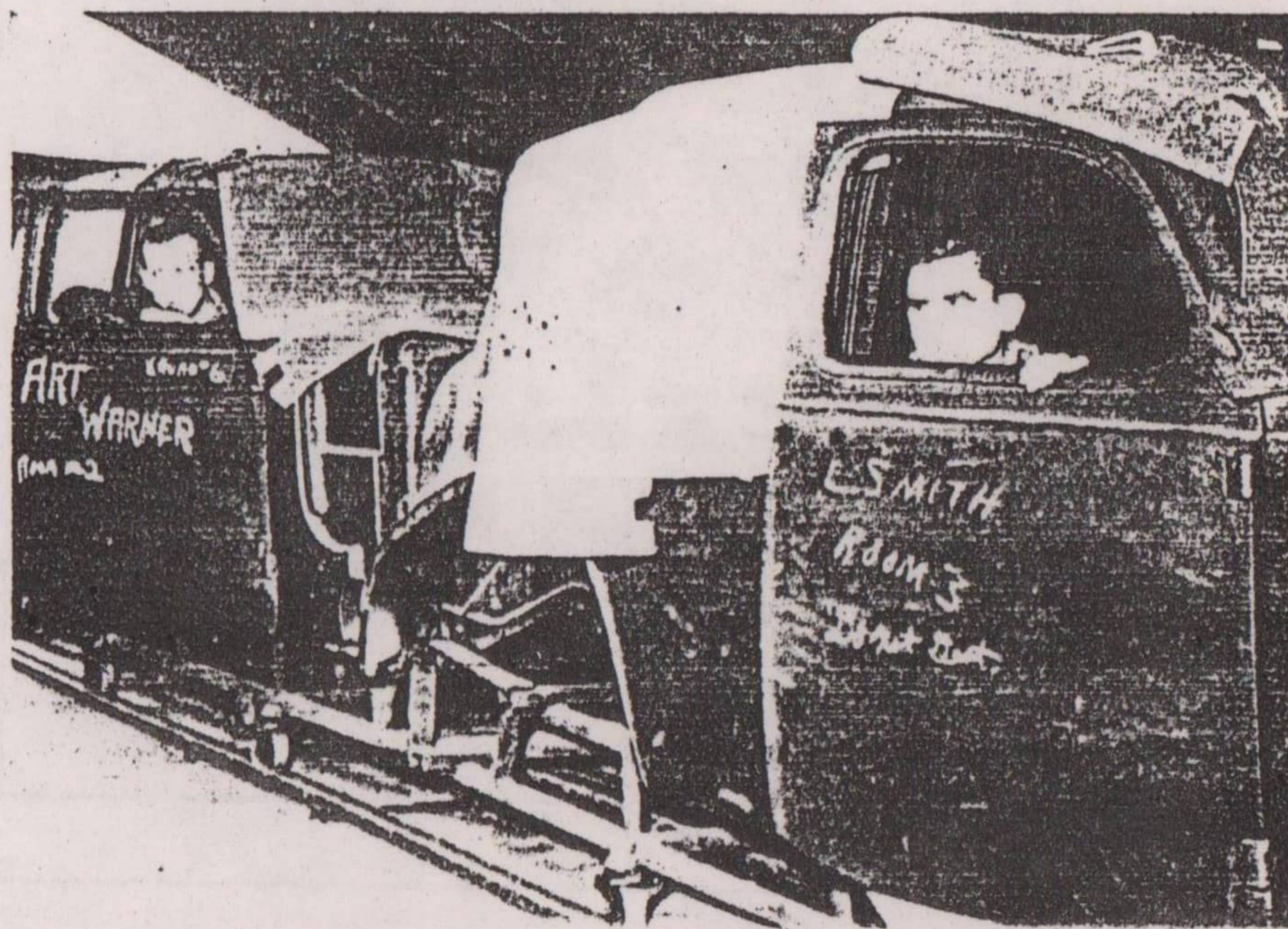
Philip Wolmuth

SPACE COPS

The state supports this concentration of the city, first through enforcing disinvestment in housing, industry, the docks etc, then economically with tax concessions, development grants, its quangos seizing then selling off the land..... and then by policing. The greater the concentration of capital, the greater the potential damage caused by proletarians, especially youth, hanging around with no particular reason to be there, or anywhere else. In Coventry they pass a byelaw banning drinking in the shopping centre, in Birmingham cops round up anyone in town who looks like they should be at school, everywhere football fans are herded like cattle and about to be guineapigs for ID cards....

The more they develop, the more they destroy what seemed ours - 'our' pub makes way for an office development, or won't let us in because they want 'better' customers, our old playground is flattened and landscaped to fit the development, the corner shop becomes an art gallery, 'our' team shows its true colours as big business..... The more they alienate us from our environment, and so increasingly restrict what we can do, the more they have to police us, and the more they police us, hassling anyone who doesn't do, or doesn't look the type to do (adding new life to Sus) what they are meant to in that particular place, the more likely is an explosion of our anger.

Some shopping/entertainment complexes are being built out in the country, to ensure that only those who'll participate properly will go, with kids escorted in the family car, and no locals to disrupt business, but these developments will need workers, and will attract services and maybe some industry, and so once more a proletariat to work but not participate. On the other hand, bringing the Theme Park from the country to Battersea, will attract young people without their parents and often without the money to pay for the 'fun', so greatly increasing the need for policing. The vague plans for the Kings X development talk of a 24 hour environment (the area already is for the local dossers, but its not designed for them, or for the other local residents who will be priced out of the area by it) of homes, offices, shops and entertainment. To ensure the safety of the homes and offices, the policing will have to be built in - the right clientele will have to be attracted to this entertainment, meaning it will have to be individualising, sit down and watch/listen/drink and leave quietly culture. Apart from the policing, this culture is more easily valorised, as its individually consumed and you can't take it home with you, except as ideology to spout at dinner parties. On the other hand they're getting so paranoid about crowds, they're even clamping down on acid house parties, the greatest idea in mass control and individualisation since the London Underground. As all space in the cities is taken up by culture that makes money and the culture of making money, those who don't have the money and don't want the culture have to find our own space, and ways to keep it.



It isn't just that the redevelopment is built against us, that we have no control over it - it is a concretisation of our lack of control and alienation, in the same way that the factories and machinery we produce confront us as alien, as our controller. More and more the city is a monolithic temple to the power of money over us, as the pyramids were to the power of the pharoes over the slaves - and like the servants of the pharoes, we are buried alive inside it.

CONCLUSIONS

It would be stating the obvious to say that we're being squeezed out of the inner cities by capital's redevelopment and its lackeys, the yuppies. But there are restrictions on them. First there's us - there's only a certain amount of squeezing we'll take before we start really pushing back. Secondly they do need us - the city will directly need cleaners, couriers, shopworkers, even a couple of tube drivers.....(and the rest of us they need to make the profits to sustain the city) so we do have the power to fight, in our workplaces, in our communities, on the streets. Thirdly, the redevelopment can only continue as long as the market allows - there is a finite demand for new office space and expensive housing (there is a finite amount of posts in the labour market for yuppies) - and as long as the economy can afford it - the continued redevelopment relies on the continued squeezing of more and more profit out of us, and our sisters and brothers throughout the world. Even speculation and credit are only speculation on our future profitability. Though capital always tries to escape its material basis, it can not escape and the higher its flight, the more severely is it brought down to earth. The city, built out of non-existent money, exists more and more from buying and selling not-yet-existent commodities, on the assumption that they'll somehow manage to keep forcing them out of us.



David Hoffman



Assuming that the redevelopment does continue, the most logical way for them to deal with us would eventually be to remove us to the outskirts of the city. At present there don't seem to be any plans for us at all, partly because of the state's proclaimed belief that the market can solve everything (with an 'occasional' push in the right direction), but possibly also so that when enough pressure has been put on us, we'll be happy with any arrangement they come up with, rather than the streets. Many Continental cities and some in Britain (eg Glasgow) have been through restructuring with the result of high-rise ghettos surrounding the cities (or isolated reservations on the outskirts) where workers are available to sell their services, or do their own thing until they're called up. Despite the proximity to the city and the continuous link around it, the ghettos are isolated because transport is directed to the centre, and costs. While the city will be directly connected to the other side of the world, we'll have even greater difficulty reaching the other side of the city.

Wherever we end up, it'll be at the bottom again, the bottom of a pile that we built. The more we produce, the more we produce our own dispossession, because we reproduce a system that depends on our dispossession to make us produce more. As long as we have nothing, they'll make us build their palaces, in exchange for the rent for slums.

Construction

Value and volume of output

£ million

Year	Value of output								Repair and maintenance		Volume of output 1980=100 seasonally adjusted	
	Total all work	Total new work	New housing for		Other new work for		Total repair and maintenance	Housing	Other work for			
			Public sector	Private sector	Public sector	Private sector			Public sector	Private sector		
1981	21 547	12 354	1 222	2 516	3 572	2 382	2 662	9 193	4 568	3 026	1 599	90.5
1982	22 540	12 629	1 021	2 899	3 671	2 087	2 951	9 911	4 970	3 285	1 656	91.9
1983	24 343	13 396	1 120	3 729	3 729	1 850	2 967	10 948	5 622	3 548	1 777	95.7
1984	26 203	14 192	1 077	3 831	3 833	2 342	3 110	12 011	6 251	3 746	2 014	99.0
1985	27 850	14 921	918	3 848	3 786	2 848	3 520	12 930	6 809	3 800	2 321	100.1
1986	30 123	16 286	842	4 697	3 888	2 632	4 226	13 837	7 427	3 768	2 642	102.8
1987	34 580	19 066	933	5 812	3 870	3 204	5 247	15 515	8 360	4 042	3 112	111.6

Source: Department of the Environment

SHORT-LIFE HOUSING

The following leaflet was distributed anonymously door-to-door to properties managed by Short Life Community Housing, one of North London's largest short-life groups. 'Short-life housing' is property temporarily licenced to groups like SCH (at below market prices) until the owners (usually local councils) want to repossess it in order to sell or renovate. Licencees do not have the same legal rights and protection or guarantees of rehousing as tenants (although recent legal interpretations have made the distinction between 'licencee' and 'tenant' somewhat uncertain.)

SCH themselves have recently stated that "the Housing Finance Bill, which will be law in 1990, will force local authorities to make a capital return on their short life properties, this means they will have to charge a rent on their short life properties, and this will be on top of the rent charged by SCH and Poll Tax. Short life will become the worst and the most expensive form of housing."

The tactic of using licencing to divide a squatting movement has also been used in such places as Berlin and New York.

SCH - CAREERISTS IN THE BUSINESS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The squatting movement of the 1970's contained a number of middle-class activists within it, many of them the future bureaucrats of their generation, and it tended to be these people who became most active in organising short-life groups and co-ops to negotiate deals with local councils for property to use as short-life housing.

For the councils, short-life housing was a convenient way of appearing to be generous and reasonable to the needs of squatters. It was also a means of making profitable otherwise unusable housing, and of keeping it in better repair. But perhaps most importantly, it was a means of gaining influence and control over a section of those forced to struggle for housing, and using this influence to suppress and divide the struggle.

Large short-life organisations such as SCH gradually developed a bureaucratic structure run mainly by middle-class professionals, who were quick to recognise a new job market for their class. For many SCH non-manual workers, SCH has been a useful step in their careers, and they have left SCH to go on to a higher bureaucratic position. For years these bureaucrats did themselves and their friends many favours in the form of allocating the best housing to themselves. This became so obvious and such a scandal that SCH was forced to pass a ruling that none of their workers could apply for housing to SCH. It must also be part of the reason why SCH, particularly Hillview Estate, is so full of cliques and yuppies.

A founder of SCH tells why short life groups were encouraged by the state:

"With municipalisation you had councils buying up housing to then let to people on the waiting list and to homeless families. Because there wasn't housing to rent there were a lot of desperate people and squatting became quite a major thing. A lot of it went on in property owned by local authorities."

"Those are context things and the government became increasingly worried about unbridled squatting and about the lifestyle that supposedly

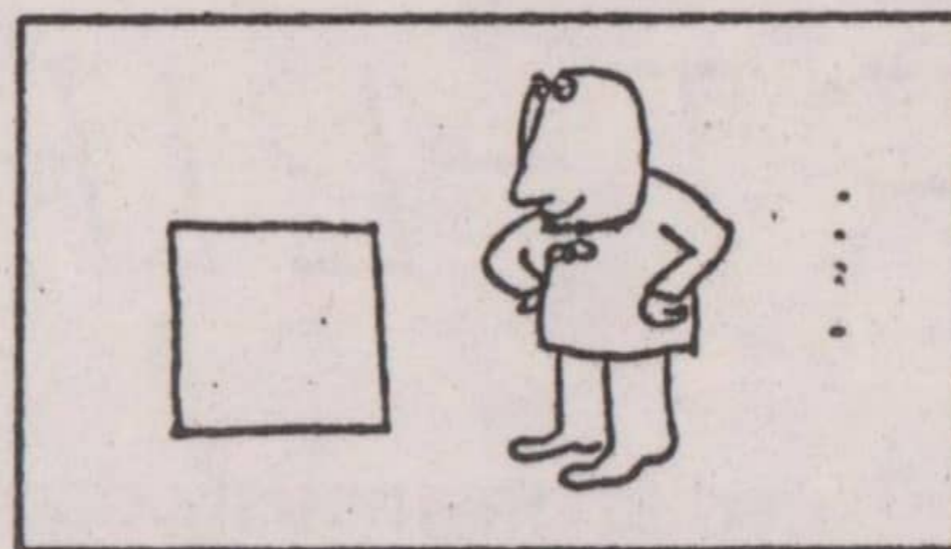
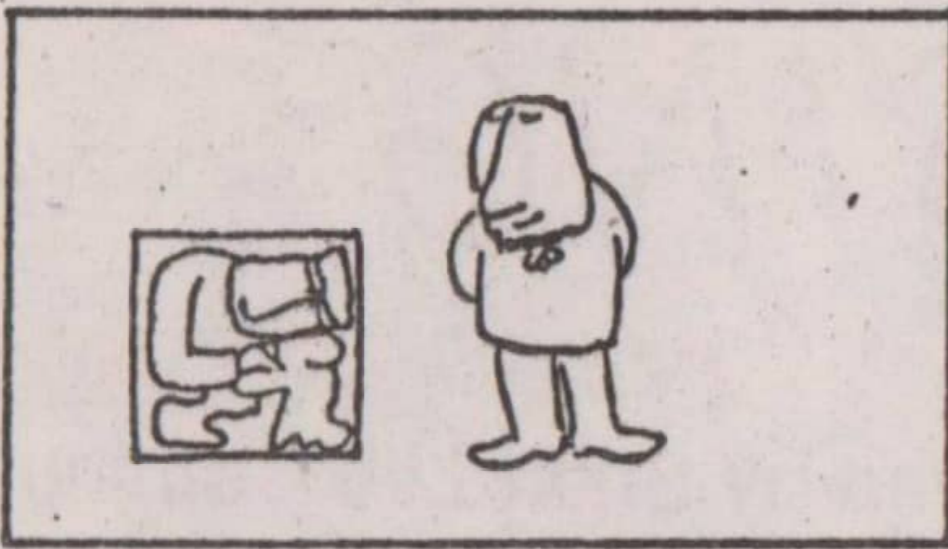
went with it and all that sort of thing. There was a general panic and hysteria about squatting. So even Tory councils, while not agreeing to municipalisation, were prepared to make deals with what they thought were credible organisations to ensure that there was some short term use of empty housing."

From SCH News.

Precisely because the SCH bureaucracy and its supporters is such a middle-class stronghold, working for its own class interests, class is one of the most rarely used words in their vocabulary. They will talk about every kind of social grouping except the fundamental one of class. "Positive discrimination for minority groups" is one of their favourite distractions - a way of slightly re-arranging who suffers most from what is an artificially induced scarcity of housing. (It's often middle-class people who can well afford market prices for housing that benefit from this policy.)

Squatting has been a practical criticism of the fact that mass homelessness can exist side by side with thousands of empty dwellings. It was necessary for the State to defuse the threat of the squatting movement by creating institutions that could bring it partially under State control. They could then bear down all the harder on unlicensed squatters and justify it by saying that only the "responsible and organised" squatters deserved any help. And those housing activists who were willing to function as an extension of the local state housing bureaucracy were soon to be seen doing the council's dirty work of securing properties with steel doors to prevent squatting in "their" co-op property. Of course the short-life groups still express their solidarity with squatters, but only as official policy. In practice, their role is directly opposed.

Short-life groups were originally dependant on the council for property and finance but now in a changed political and economic climate, their usefulness to the local councils is reduced and they



are gradually being forced to function without state subsidy. This means that they must become profitable businesses in the marketplace. So if, for instance, the workers of SCH are to be able to maintain the wage levels they've become accustomed to (£6 per hour), they must enforce some very large rent increases very quickly. (Already, in 1987 some rents went up 94%, and this must be only the first of many sharp rises).

The SCH management sometimes complain that very few members ever attend the monthly General Meetings to exercise their "democratic rights" and "have a say" in SCH decision making. This is a convenient excuse which they use to dismiss criticism of their activities, but the fact is that most members have no interest in participating in what they know from experience to be a clique of corrupt, self-serving, careerist scum. Despite all the "co-operative" bullshit, the relationship between SCH management and licencees is a standard landlord/tenant one. There is no more "democratic participation" than you get from being a member of the local library. The main reason SCH workers are such regular (if inattentive) attenders of meetings is because they are paid £6 an hour to be there.

The future for SCH is uncertain. The main possibilities are:- the council may simply take back all or most of its properties from SCH. SCH would

then have to find other sources of property from the private sector if it was to survive. They have already started exploring this kind of arrangement. With Camden Council in deep financial crisis, they are already selling housing property to make quick cash, and such SCH estates as Hillview and Gray's Inn Buildings would bring in several million pounds if sold to property speculators.

Any effective resistance to large-scale council evictions (with little or no prospect of rehousing) of SCH licencees would probably be difficult - partly because SCH management will always attempt to keep "resistance" within their control and to limit it to "reasonable and legal" activities of polite pleading negotiations with the council. SCH do not want to jeopardise their working relationship with the council, for this would endanger their high wages and their careers. Another consequence of this situation would be the rapid flight of the yuppie artist/professional elements who could afford to buy themselves out of the squeeze.

Whatever happens, SCH rents are bound to keep rising steadily (probably in line with SCH wage rises) and SCH could become either exclusively an extortionate slum landlord or a housing agency for yuppies. At the moment, it is a bit of a mixture of both.

June '88

STUCK

'You'll be[^]here tomorrow when the developers have long gone'

AN amazing once-in-a-lifetime exhibition was launched on Monday that could change all our futures.

For it has opened the mysterious world of the professional developers and planners to the ordinary man and woman on the street.

And the amazing art show resulting from the visions of today's kids — tomorrow's community — will stand as evidence to what they wanted and what they got when King's Cross is rebuilt.

The eventual launch of the exhibition is doubly amazing as it was achieved

without a penny being sought from central or local government.

Instead the organisers of the King's Cross 2000 competition and exhibition relied on their own hard-work and determination to provide today's kids with a voice.

A voice that now resounds with vitality around the majestic Midland Grand Hotel that stands above St Pancras Station.

Camden Town Area Committee Chairman, Terry Hargrave was described by schoolteacher and fellow organiser Marion Kamlish as the "brains" behind the competition —

and herself as the "brawn".

But Mr Hargrave responded to the praise by saying, to the amassed entrants: "All you kids are talented, today's exhibition proves that, which is more than can be said for my generation, YOU are the hope of the future."

Mrs Kamlish made a heartfelt plea on behalf of the kids who had spent months embroiled in "re-building" King's Cross.

She said: "One child asked me 'if I win will my scheme get built?' I had to say no. But perhaps the developers will take some of your ideas on board."

She continued, "The bricks in the hotel we stand in were made by seven to nine year-old kids — they had a part in this development then. And now you will be able to walk past King's Cross in the future and say 'I was a part of that. I helped build King's Cross'."

And many old faces have returned to the hotel where they once worked as chambermaids, smiths and stokers.

Exhibition organiser Terry Hargrave said: "It's been wonderful the way this has united the community. Old faces have re-appeared to show their kids where they once worked and described what it used to be like. Just think the kids displaying here will be doing that in the future. It's full circle. They don't have many fond memories of working here but they love the building and now the exhibition."

Unsurprisingly, the standard of work on display has "fooled" some visitors into thinking that the exhibition is the developer's official version. But the organisers inform them of the London Regeneration Consortium's exhibition whereabouts.

NOTES ON THE CITY.

"Men can see nothing around them that is not in their own image; everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive."
Marx.

Within capitalist space we sleep, work, travel and, apparently, live. It is "the unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all material objects are located" (Collins English Dictionary). Far better would be: "the unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all material objects are arranged." It is not by chance that many things are 'located' in the city.

Under capital, humans are mediated by commodities. "From the moment that men in any way work for one another, their labour assumes a social form. But the mutual relations of the producers take the form of a social relation between the products." (Marx, Capital vol I.) Dead labour rules the living. The factory line worker works at a speed determined by the conveyor belt. Workers are reproduced as labour power by their families.

The examples are endless.

Thus the arrangement of material objects, ie commodities, including humans (as actual and potential labour

power), is also the arrangement of activities as well - one works here, sleeps there, buys from a set place, does not trespass on these grounds.

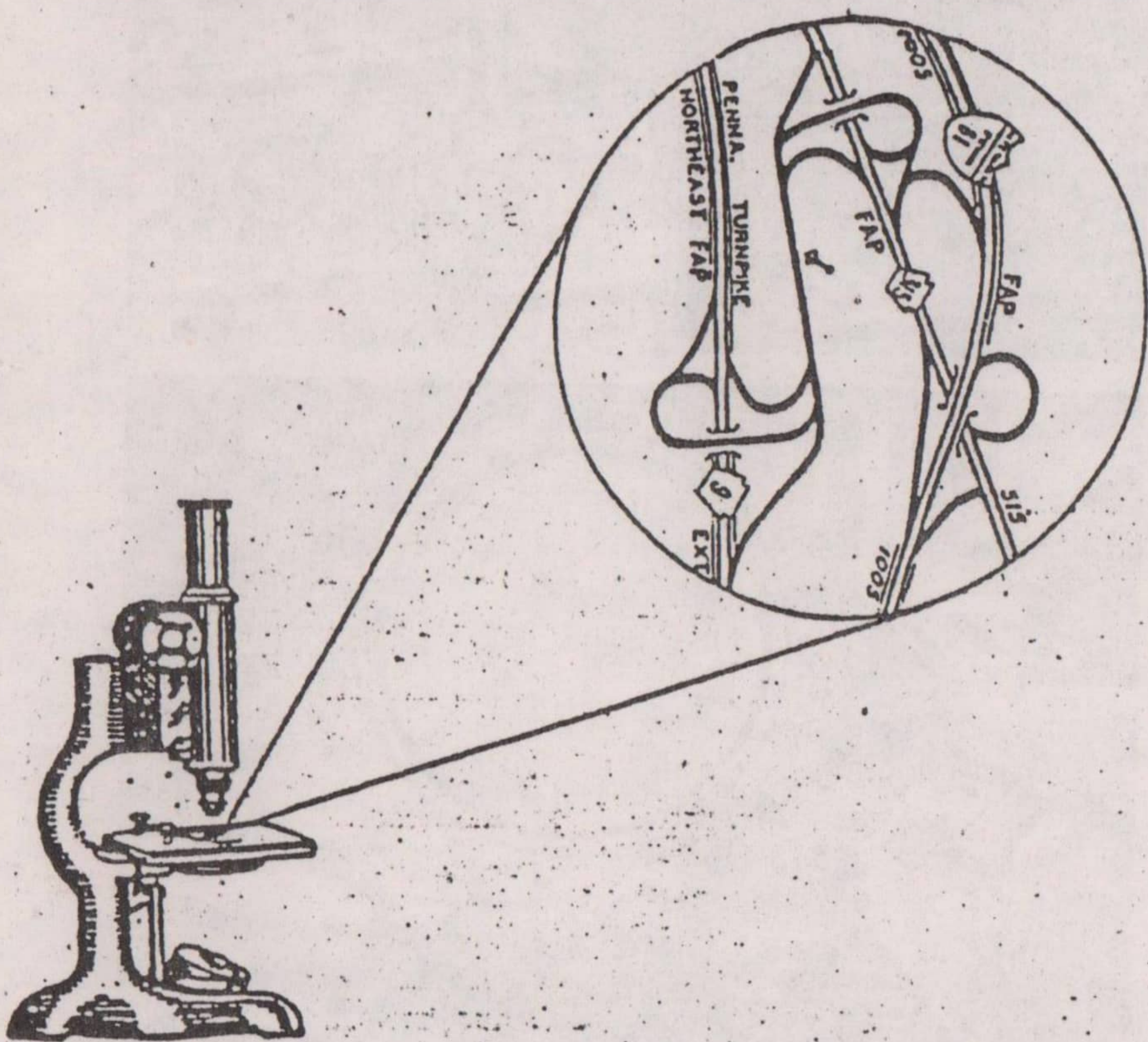
This "unlimited three-dimensional expanse" is capital's workspace. But not quite. It is not a fait accompli, it can, has been, and is, limited - there are other ways of living. Capital had to conquer space, and is continually doing so, in terms of expansion (the 'discoveries' of America and the moon), and in terms of intensified use, eg round-the-clock mining. Most importantly, we contest space, envisaging a different life. From the enclosures to the modern city, we have fought against capital. At every turn of its thought it has had to take account of our resistance. Only from this class perspective can the city be understood (and therefore fought).

ENCLOSURES

*The law is hard on the man or woman,
Who steals the goose from the common.
But the greater thief the law lets loose,
That steals the common from the goose.*

To know what "speaks to us of ourselves", it is necessary to go back to the genesis of capitalism, the phase of 'primitive accumulation.' Marx calls this 'the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production.' (Capital, Vol 1) This polite phrase could be put another way: "... Conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in short, force..." (Marx, ibid) With the confiscation (enclosing) of common land and subsistence holdings, deforestation, etc., the concentration of and revolution in agricultural production provided a stable platform for capitalism. It turned land into capital, commodity and private property; it overturned feudal relations; and it 'freed' the peasantry from the land.

Many factors played a part in this process. The manufacture of wool: "Arable land, which could not be cultivated without people and families", was transformed into pasture, "easily rid[den] by a few herdsman." (Marx, ibid.) The Reformation of the Catholic church in the sixteenth century destroyed a major land owner. The churches estates were distributed (free or at knock-down prices), merged into larger units and the hereditary sub-tenants (peasants) driven out. "The



MICROSCOPIC ENLARGEMENT
OF VIRUS LINKED
TO THE SPREAD
OF PROGRESS

property of the church formed the religious bulwark of the old conditions of landed property. With its fall, these conditions could no longer maintain their existence." (Marx, *ibid.*) In the seventeenth century, after the fall of Charles I, church, crown and royalists' land was similarly taken from both owner and tenant. As soon as profit was smelt amongst the fish, the sea-shore was expropriated.

"The worker could dispose of his person only after he had ceased to be bound to the soil, and ceased to be the slave or serf of another person.... Hence the historical movement which changes the producers into wage labourers appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom.... But on the other hand, these newly freed men became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal governments." (Marx, *ibid.*)

THE MAKING OF THE PROLETARIAT

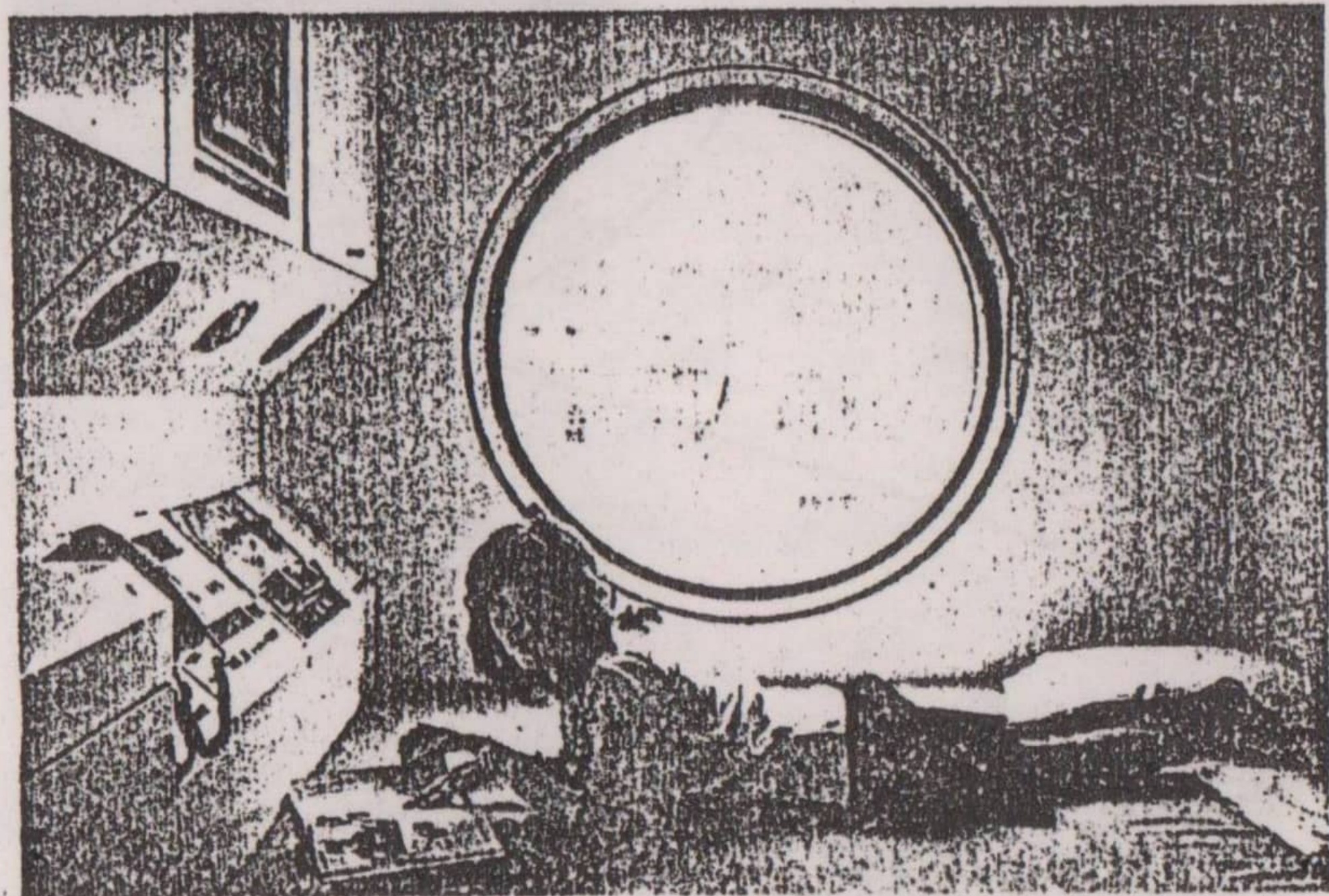
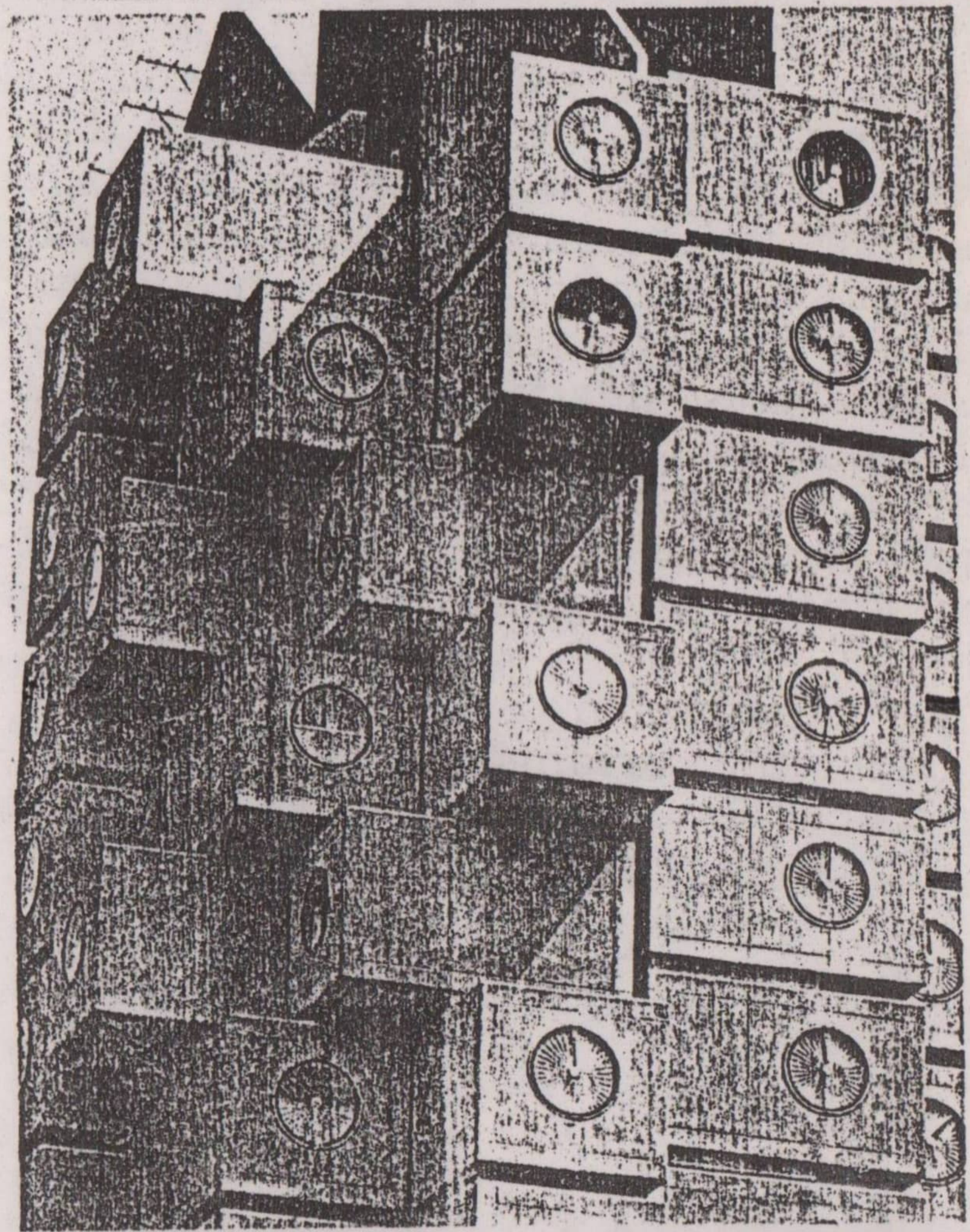
As capital saw it, the only option for the dispossessed peasants was to move in orbits around factories and manufactures. Even if this transition wasn't going to be smooth, where else was work, and so subsistence, to be found but in the cities?

But the ex-peasantry had ideas of their own, quite contrary to this 'progress'. Many went to the forests, enriching ballads of 'Robin Hood' with detail. There was a vast increase in the number of vagabonds and beggars. Those that did go to the cities were attracted just as much, if not more so, by the prospect of a dishonest living, as by an honest one.

This is not to say that the enclosures were a *fait accompli*. Throughout the country, peasants presented petitions or took out lawsuits (often financed from a common fund). When these failed, the discontent (now also with 'justice') took the form of rioting.

The English Civil War was a crucial part of peasant resistance. Between 1640 and 1660, things were as bad as they had been before and would be after the restoration. The enclosures, accumulating process continued unabated (fuel was added by Royalist land coming up for sale). What makes

this time so important was the rampant resistance, right across the country, that flourished during the transition between one order and another. The poor openly seized corn and the kings deer. Squatters built their homes regardless of who owned the land. Movements like the Diggers espoused an agrarian communism, claimed all the land as the peoples, and formed collectives to cultivate it. This was a direct confrontation with the emerging capitalist order. Cromwells government fought hard against the very people that had brought them to power (for instance, the rank and file of the New Model Army), and got the support of frightened conservatives, as the lesser evil.



Above: capsule living, a showpiece of the Ginza district. Tiny cubicle apartments are promoted as a possible answer to the desperate housing shortage. But the cost of each unit in this custom-built complex is more than 5.5 million yen (£10,000) or a monthly rent of £100. While trendy designers debate whether the Japanese nuclear family will accept capsule living, less than 50 per cent. of the population of Tokyo, the largest and most expensive city in the world, have a sewerage service to their homes or flats.

All was not lost with the defeat of the peasant movements. Although capitalism had turned the peasants into wage-labourers, the peasantry-cum-proletariat were as restless and antagonistic as ever. They now adapted their resistance to the new terrain. And capital found it had to continually fight for dominance, using inherited mechanisms from feudalism, similarly adapted.

THE TOWN AND THE COUNTRY

At the time of the expropriation of the land "the town already is in actual fact the concentration of the population, of the instruments of production, of capital, of pleasures, of needs, while the country demonstrates just the opposite fact, isolation and separation." (Marx, 'German Ideology.')

The antagonism between town and country was essentially a division of labour. What took place in the town didn't happen in the country. Towns developed as markets, for merchants to sell their wares, to trade directly with other towns/markets, and so on. Soon a division of labour took place between towns, each exploiting the predominant branch of local industry - wool from here, porcelain from there, ships from Amsterdam, etc. "The division of labour between the countryside and the city is the historical basis of economic development. As industry evolved in the towns and the cities, labour was drawn from the land, while the labour force which remained was forced to produce more foodstuffs and raw material to support the urban population. The historic divisions between town and country therefore anticipated the divisions between the 'developed' European powers and the producers of raw commodities in the third world." (N. Rowling - "Commodities") It must be added that this is a simplification - the 'third' world is often being urbanised without the corresponding industrialisation.

This antagonism also revealed the conflict between doomed feudalism and resurgent capitalism. Many of the great European trading cities (Venice, Antwerp and Amsterdam) evolved outside the jurisdiction of higher, feudal authorities, or at minimum had a degree of autonomy previously unknown. Despite

43 the churches condemnation of usury, money was needed to finance extravagant court lifestyles and bloody wars, and it was merchants who could provide it, at exorbitant interest rates.

It was in the towns that the investment necessary for industry could be found. It was in the towns, and through the trading chains that the towns had forged, that the produce could be sold. With industry established there, the town had a voracious appetite for labour, the only commodity the displaced peasantry had to sell. Everyone knew that, but it was also the only market for it.

City life became the dominant mode of life. Between 1500 and 1650, the population of London increased eight times over and although doubt as to the methods used to produce this statistic is legitimate, it doesn't seem to have been thought implausible at the time.

"The existence of the town implies.... the necessity of administration, police, taxes etc.; in short, of the municipality, and thus of politics in general" (German Ideology p69) Although the owner could control the workers within the factory, through threats, sanctions and physical violence, all 'granted' by law, and indirectly control workers outside the factory, this could never be enough. The criminal elements, workers who aren't working, also had to be controlled. Although Marx talks of 'police' it must be remembered that this isn't just the police force, but the general mechanisms for regulation and control.

LIGHTING

Street lighting is one example of the policing of proletarians by city authorities, first feudal and then capitalist, the latter inheriting municipal agencies and using them towards similar (but not identical) ends. Even as early as 1475, King Ferrante of Naples characterized narrow streets as a danger to the state (Mumford.). By removing the dark, by enabling observation, it strengthened the order, regimenting the third of the day where it had not been. This was not simply shedding light onto the criminal underworld, to suppress 'anti-social' activities, but to spread order - work - as a replacement.

In ancient Rome, "the brilliancy of the lamps at night often equalled the light of

day" led to the citizens that "have 44 with the oppressive function of the police...." shaken off the tyranny of sleep.... with us night differs from day only in the king of lighting. Trades go on as before; some ply their handicrafts, while others give themselves to laughter and song." (Mumford, City in History, P248-9) Mumford then draws a parallel between 'commercial spirits': "For one notes that it is with the multiplication of street lights and show-window lighting that the new commercial spirit announced itself in London early in the nineteenth century. This was so marked a change that the fatuous Prince von Puckler-Muscau could imagine, as he passed through London the night of his arrival, that a special illumination had been ordered in his honour."

Well the Prince might have thought that - capital hadn't so much dawned as broken the Suns monopoly, so that we may choose the light in which to see and nourish ourselves. It was a part of the ceaseless dynamic of capitalism: class struggle. Whereas in Feudal times peasants worked according to time determined by the weather and season, and in the towns the curfew between sunset and sunrise, capital, in its enclosed environments, the City on the one hand and the factory on the other, could now lengthen the day to "conquer sleep." As was said above, depriving workers of the land led not only to wage-labour, as the capitalists desired, but also to widespread vagabondage and crime as an alternative to wage-labour. Now, street lighting was to diminish a proletarian refuge, the dark, and establish 'order':

"Early ordinances [in the 16th century] to light the private houses were accompanied by other measures taken to create order and lawful conditions in the streets, such as pavement prohibitions to dump garbage, and anything else that might inhibit traffic. Through these reforms emerged the street, in its modern sense: a public place for the flow of traffic."

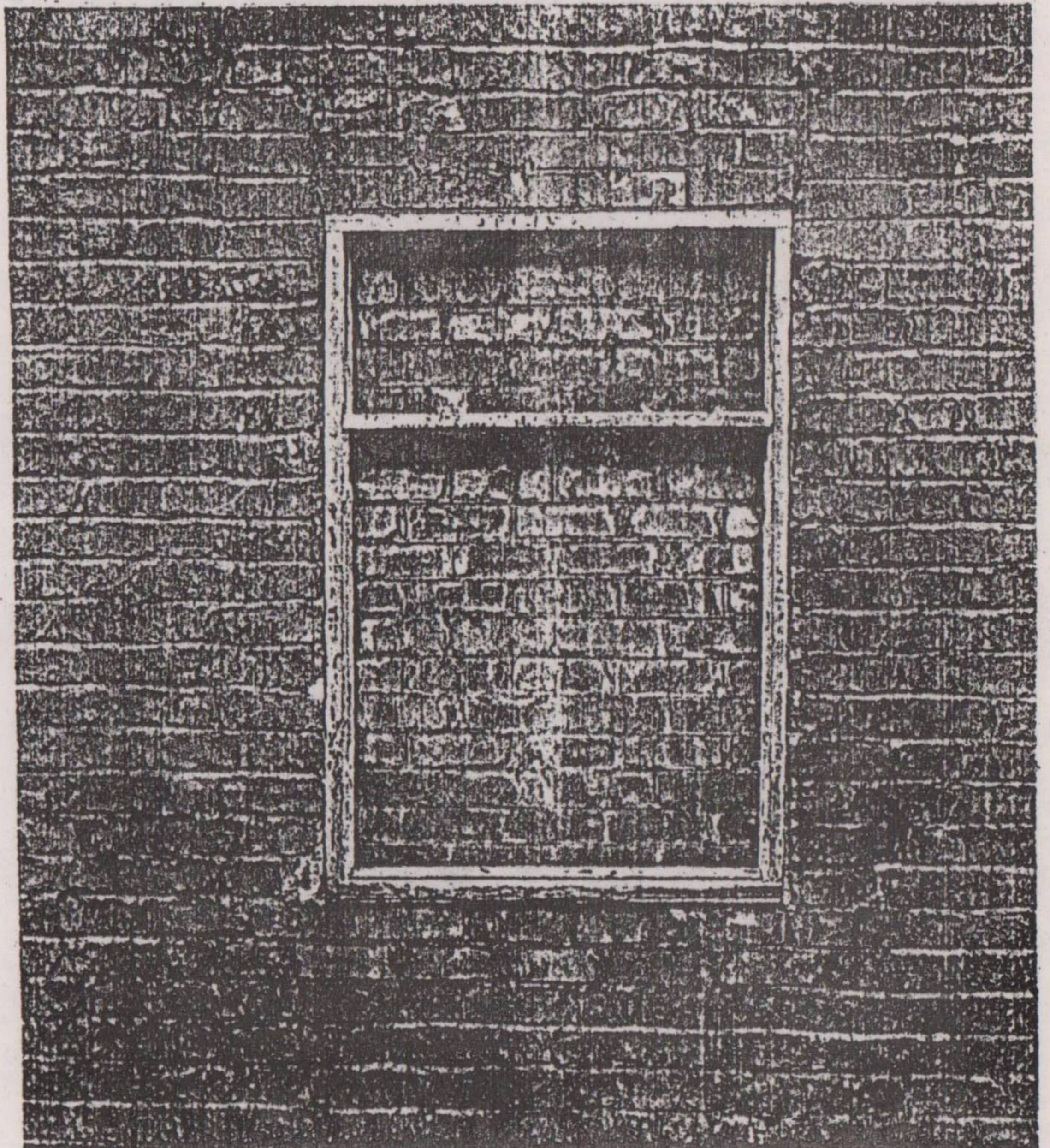
"'Police' in that period still had the old function of general administrations, but soon, and particularly in France, they were to be seen as the executors of absolutist power, control and repression. Thus all the 'technical' measures taken by the police to create hygienic and orderly conditions in the city became closely associated in the popular mind

with the oppressive function of the police...."

The fact was that these suns burned brightly only in the eyes of enthusiasts - for the most part, lamps were just candles in glass cages.

There are many metaphors on light and dark: the shining light of civilization and darkest barbarianism, virginal white and debased black. In 1889, W.H. Lever, to improve the motivation and discipline of his workforce, started Port Sunlight on the Merseyside, building cottages and houses in mock Tudor style to house the employees of his soap business." Washing whiter than white. It is easy to see the capitalist order being invoked. The proletariat saw things differently. In revolutions and upheavals, wherever order broke down, our actions showed how well we understood this:

"In July of 1789 [in Paris], two of the most unpopular representatives of the old regime, Foulon and Berthier, were killed by being hanged on the lantern at the Place de Greve, the traditional execution square. The lantern's physical shape made it useful as a gallow, while other pieces of public furniture available for that purpose - trees, shop signs, and inn signs - went unused. There is some proof for the assumption that to "lanternize" the victims - as it became known - was an act of symbolic revenge: the inversion of an instrument of police control into an instrument of revenge."



There are many other accounts of lantern-smashing from the nineteenth century; in the July revolution of 1830 "the people raged through the streets, smashing the lanterns, calling upon the citizens to take part in the fight, swearing revenge." It was also a practical measure in street fighting, forcing state troops to abandon now-unsafe (for them) streets. It must also be said that at times we didn't understand this - the insurrectionaries of Berlin in 1848 themselves illuminated the streets and "due to it nobody escaped the shots of the soldiers."

Something that we take for granted nowadays, something as banal as street lights (!), was fought over, as a part of proletarian resistance to ever-intruding capital. This resistance developed with the city - as a new control was introduced, the battle recommenced. Now lighting is so commonplace, we can be forgiven for not seeing this history, that it had to be made. The New York blackout riots of '76 show that the memory can come flooding back. And the fight continues, in that capital now seeks to introduce a 24 hour space - round the clock work in mines, and in the Kings Cross redevelopment: "We do not want to have a site rigidly divided between office, housing, shopping and leisure zones. By mixing together these uses we can give the area a sense of place which is more attractive to all its users. It will also mean that the whole development has a life which extends beyond working hours and the working week." Geoffrey Bradman, whose Rosehaugh group are the backbone of the London Regeneration Consortium.

THE CAPITALIST CITY

Feudal cities played a germinating role in the rise of capitalism, and was transformed by it. Where industry nested in already existing towns, attracting workers, housing came from existing stock. Unscrupulous landlords crowded families into slums, charging exorbitant prices for their properties, the factory owners looked after discipline within his own buildings, and municipal authorities took care of the streets and utilities.

But after the triumph, capital had to create its own towns and cities, around its own prerogatives. The first industrial

45

new towns, started during the industrial revolution, often on the sites of small villages, were entirely centred around production - the whole reason for the workers to be there in the first place. The owners of the factories, mills or mines were frequently owners of the housing - hastily erected, unsanitary cottages, with no facilities for the occupants. Indeed the only facilities in towns such as these would be directly connected with the industry - eg. roads were for transporting produce to and from the town. Supplies for the workers, food and water, would be monopolised by the company, who would make a tidy sum on the sale of such staples. Some companies went as far as paying wages entirely in tokens that could only be redeemed at their shops. The rent was deducted from the workers' wages, amounting to another profit for the owner, and provided insurance against trouble-making, any disobedient worker losing not only livelihood but also home, however bad it might be.

For both new towns and old towns, the housing had to be close to the work-place; within walking distance. With mobility made possible by public transport, the railways and eventually the motorcar, this was no longer required. With a variety of laws ensuring basic rights as to sanitation and education, the expansion of company towns to being real social towns with more than one industry, etc. company housing declined.

This led to the state taking over the company's role of 'provider of housing' and regulator of workers. The laws it passed were not done so out of benevolence but as a stabilising influence for capitalist society. The ill health caused by the companies, in industries that employed workers, many just children, for up to 16 hours a day, 6 days a week, in atrocious conditions, and then continued the torture in shoddy hovels for the remaining 8 hours, led to a labour force that was sterile, diminishing and exhausted, not to mention rebellious. The state, growing out of the city authorities rather than feudal monarchies, protected the worker only in so far as the worker could continue to work.

THE STRATIFICATION OF THE CITY

The city is the physical manifestation of the social order; not only in buildings (which, being concrete, cannot respond to every slight change in economy or policy) but in the inhabitants and their social relations. Some districts are occupied primarily by workers, the housing is at a price they can afford, the facilities and services offered at a standard and price to match their wages. Other areas are full of mansions; the docklands district is being gentrified (getting a new railway line in the process); other areas aren't residential at all, but are industrial, business or shopping districts; the city is stratified, separating the classes and fostering internal divisions. But where people live and where they work are not the same. And where they live and work today, they may not tomorrow. With city life being considered unhealthy, frantic and polluted, those who could afford it moved out and commuted in. At the present time, after the 'greening of cities', the flow is in the opposite direction - the inner cities are being gentrified, and the previous inhabitants are being shipped out to New Towns, such as Milton Keynes.

The city is hierarchical; not statically but dynamically.

(No less than internal city travel, mass international labour migration is crucial. For countries like Turkey and Vietnam,

the major export is labour, cutting wages abroad and supporting the home economy through an injection of foreign currency. For migrant labour, conditions are invariably appalling. And national migration, from region to region, is also a form of capitalist structuring of the working class. The division of labour within the city and the division between city and town, country and country, 'first', 'second' and 'third' worlds are essentially the same process.)

The fight over movement is that capitalists want a proletariat that will move, stand still and dance as they are directed to; a proletariat that will "get on its bike" to look for work, accept any conditions, relocate to wherever it is found, and then stay still, working hard. A proletariat that is spatially malleable is one that is economically and politically malleable - in short, defeated. Where a country is short of labour, or where the workers are strong enough to diminish profitability and 'competitiveness' (how hard can you exploit your employees?), a malleable workforce must be imported. However, the IWW showed that being mobile is not the same as being malleable - the form that their struggle took was in response to the conditions imposed by capital.



The Burning of Newgate on the night of 6 June, 1780

TRAFFIC

".... to create order and lawful conditions in the streets, such as pavement, prohibitions to dump garbage, and anything else that might inhibit traffic. Through these reforms emerged the street in its modern sense: a public place for the flow of traffic."

What is traffic? First and foremost, the circulation of commodities. The underground system of every city in the world is geared to getting people, as labour power, to and from the foci of the city, ports, business districts etc, the points where there is work to be found. Goods have to be moved from point of production to point of consumption. Crowds must be assembled at entertainments, shopping malls, wedding processions etc.

The car itself is important both as use and commodity. "The automobile has created business, and business is constantly developing the automobile, and no limit to this development can so far be seen." (Le Corbusier in the '20's) The 'freedom' it offers, as any advert for the latest trivial changes will show, is a freedom of movement as desired by capital. Getting to work quicker! Letting off steam (or exhaust)! The dominance of the car has reached saturation point - there is such a concentration of automobiles in London that the average speed is 11 mph. (One advert portrays its product as escaping traffic jams, magically finding an alternative route to the business meeting.) Every major city has a traffic problem, despite car-centred planning - planning that puts traffic circulation above habitation, cutting roads through any obstacles.

However, the car is most important not in itself but as a method of moving workers, which is the crux of traffic. Commuting, travel to and from work, is unpaid labour. It is necessary for the production process to function smoothly. "Business demands that hundreds of thousands of travellers must at 9am find themselves right in the very heart of the city where business is carried on." Underlining this, the army was called in to break the transport workers strike in Paris recently.

The infrastructure (roads, railways etc) of a country is of exceptional importance - the colonisation of America without the railroads is unimaginable. But it is a problem - the flow has to be maintained,

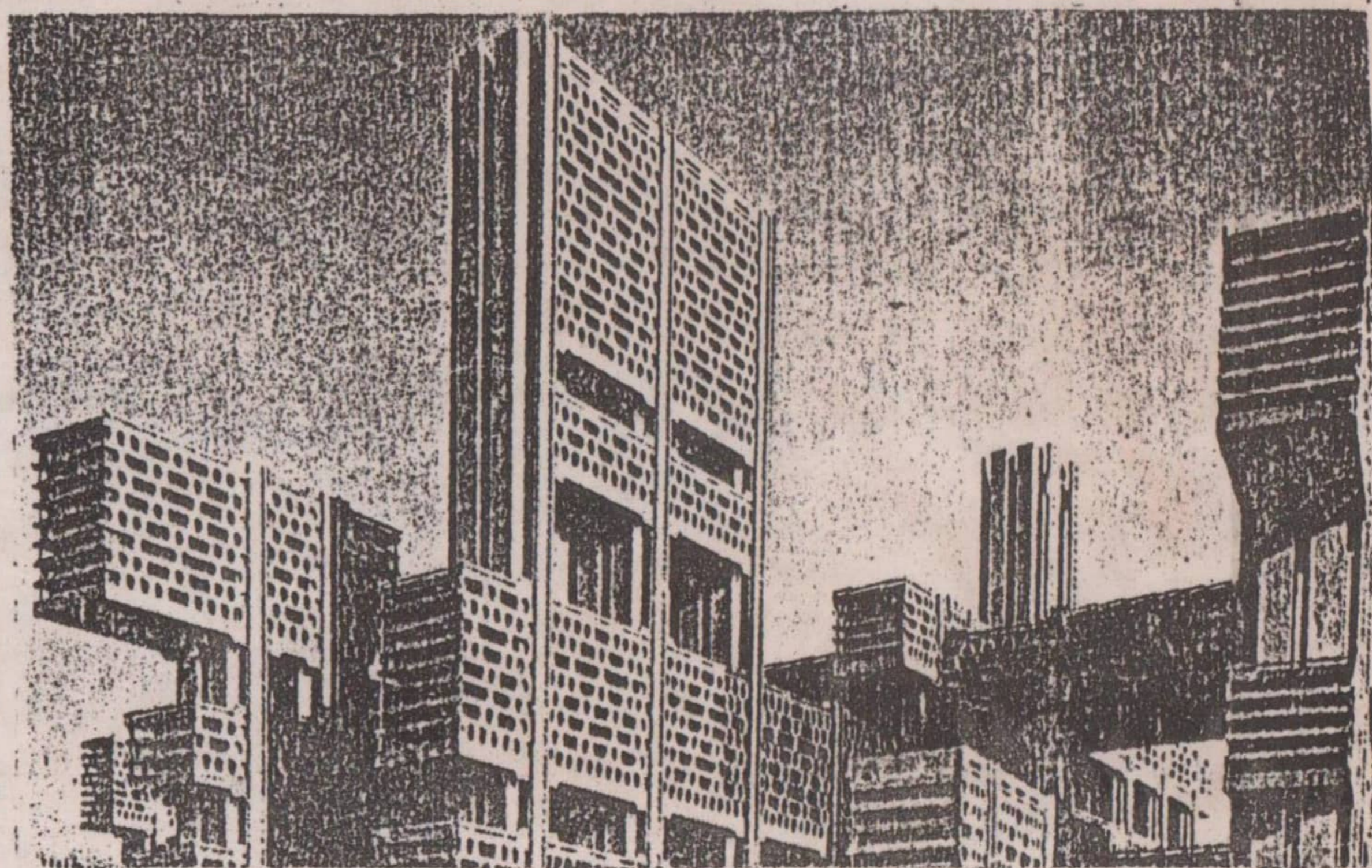
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preferably enhanced. An understanding of this entailed can be found through scrutinising capitalist planners. Although Le Corbusier is linked with visions of tower-blocks, concrete and uniform apartments, there is more to be found in him than archetypical modern architectural aesthetics.

Traffic was a major preoccupation with Le Corbusier. Paris at the time was suffering it - the trees along the boulevards were shrivelling up and dying of the exhaust, the casualties from accidents astronomical. Curbed-parked traffic is "traffic killing traffic."

Talking of Paris as it was then: "The only great avenues for traffic were laid down by Kings for their coaches! a singular example of foresight and energy and civic pride leading to action, and it saved the city." No doubt Nostradamus foresaw Renault. Le Corbusier then pays homage to Haussmann, who levelled large tracts of that city after the suppression of the Commune. "Does it [Paris] not exist merely as a consequence of his daring and courage? And in destroying chaos he built up the Emperor's finances!" He turned "noisome and infected parts of the city into magnificent ones." This was a qualitative revaluation, upgrading slums. His surgery, cutting roads through the heart of Paris, less easy to barricade and enabling armies to manoeuvre had the side-effect of "Modern motor traffic in Paris today is only possible thanks to Haussmann."

To remedy this, Le Corbusier invented the multi-storey carpark; "We must create vast and sheltered public parking spaces where cars can be left during working hours." His cities were rigidly hierarchical, organizing (according to class) for the smooth running of trains and cars taking workers to work. Central



to Le Corbusier's plans was the "factor of speed which must be safeguarded at all costs" as "the more rapid this intercommunication, the more will business be expedited." In his plans this meant that "the corridor street has had its day" and the new street is "a sort of extended workshop." His traffic system includes one way routes for pedestrians. In his dreams, all roads led to Rome; they converged on the city centre. Of course, this is the only place anyone would need to travel to and from. Le Corbusier in the city, Taylor in the factory.

Counterpose this to: "Starting on April 1 1970, the truck-drivers of Cleveland occupied the streets and main thoroughfares in and around the city for the duration of thirty days. This was the first mobile occupation of its kind.... In deciding to sustain the circulation of food and medicine, for example, the drivers were taking an initial part in regulating the affairs of the entire city." (Diversions 1, 1973) Apparently they laughed en masse upon hearing that 'their' union leader Presser (of the Teamsters) attributed their activity to "a hard core of 200 or more communists."

CONCLUSION

To talk of space is to talk of Capital as totality: nothing lives outside it, everything is integrated into it. For capitalist production, capitalist circulation is a prerequisite. For work, space must be organized. In truckdrivers' strikes especially, (eg the Winter of Discontent, Cleveland USA 1970), a grasp of these matters has been shown: capitalist circulation was disrupted, the organisation of space was disrupted, work was disrupted. A new organization and use of space was (partially) created.

The characteristics of capital are stamped all over the city - the city played a major role in the genesis of capital. The organization of the population and the efforts against being organized for ourselves can all be seen around us. And the city is mirrored on a world scale: the international organization by division of labour.

Town-planning is an active agent. In dealing in very pragmatic terms, it takes from many intellectual disciplines:

48 economics, sociology, psychology, aesthetics. "Where must they live? How must they live? And how must they bear it?" A critical town-planning is only one that has a better arrangement of hell's furniture. A concrete tower-block is not repellent because it is grey or big, but because of the whole organization it implies and enforces. The planning agenda is set by capital: the first new town, Letchworth, 1920, didn't include a pub in the original designs!

Town-planners have only interpreted the city; the point is to transform it. Humanity won't be happy until the last bureaucrat is hung with the guts of the last capitalist, FROM A LAMP POST!

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The City: Heaven or Hell?



Other Publications available (please leave payee blank on any cheques and P.O.s):

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Also numerous leaflets available.

HOUSING ADVICE:

HASSL, 5 Britannia St, WC1.

Advisory Service for Squatters (359 8814), 2 St Pauls Rd, N1. (Phone before visiting)

Women's Aid, 251 6537 (Advice and refuges for women)

Construction Safety Campaign (Tony O'brien), 72 Copeland Road, London SE15

Midnight Notes, Box 204, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130, USA.

Since the birth of capitalism its development has been dependant (among other factors, of course) on the forced appropriation and exploitation of social space and its reduction to a commodity - from the theft of common land 'at home' to the whole imperialist programme worldwide.

And now, even though the squats, council estates and fragilely mortgaged homes we occupy cannot be considered 'ours', this terrain is also under attack from all sides. By a series of seemingly gradual steps (whose outcome is vague even to them) the State is trying to present homelessness/housing insecurity as an individual problem, in order to mask the fact that their new forms of attack on us are part of a global economic restructuring.



NEWS FROM
EVERYWHERE

CAMPAIGN
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LIFE