

An architectural and political manifesto addresses a specific politically engaged meaning of alternative practice understood as anti-capitalist resistance.

The Glimmer of Other Worlds: questions on alternative architectural practice

Jonathan Charley

'The Glimmer of Other Worlds' was first written for the Alternate Currents conference at the University of Sheffield in Autumn 2007. It was prompted by my experiences as a teacher attempting to explain to students what the idea of an alternative to capitalist architectural and building production might mean.

It struck me that one way to address this was to ask a series of questions that are typical of the kind I have been confronted with over the years. Each question and answer is accompanied by an image and preceded by an excerpt from a series of stories I am writing on the spatial dynamics of the Russian Revolution.





Marx in front of the Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow

“Architects of the world unite!”

Can there be a greater spectacle or drama than the seizure of a city during the midst of a major protest or rebellion? St. Petersburg, a metropolis framed by a skyline composed of glistening cupolas and belching toxic chimneys, sways with intoxicated expectation that a rent in time is about to appear. The cobbles crack with the sound of falling statues. Horses dangle from lifting bridges. Barricades mesh across streets. A panic-stricken government official searches for his nose and briefcase. Jealous civil servants, Francophile aristocrats, and vengeful generals are feverishly engaged in settling accounts, closing their shutters and securing safe passage out of the city.¹

Q1

What is meant by the phrase alternative or alternative practice?

Alternative or alternate are politically neutral words that suggest something to do with notions of difference, opposites, or choice. Like any words they acquire their meaning through context and association such as in the expressions the *alternative society*, *alternative medicine*, or *alternative technology*. Here I want to deal with a very specific politically engaged meaning. *Alternative practice* understood as *anti-capitalist practice*. By this I mean a way of doing things, including making buildings, which is not defined by capitalist imperatives and bourgeois morality. This has two aspects; first, in the sense of resisting the environmentally damaging and socially destructive aspects of capitalist urban development; second, in terms of engaging with embryonic post capitalist forms of architectural and building production [1].



Squatter Camp in Sao Paulo, Brasil

“The trickle down theory of capitalist urbanisation”

2

Murderous young men and women are hopping over the walls of back courts and thousands of subterranean proletarians with molten metal teeth pour out of the yards and factories, all of them searching for redemption. It is a perfect stage set for the outbreak of a revolution, its illuminated enlightenment boulevards poised over rat infested basements. Till the moment before the cannon roars it continues to parade its cathedrals, boulevards and illustrious terraces with a Potemkin-like contempt for the rest of the city. The flâneur, the prince, the banker, and the priest cannot believe that the history of their fundamentally implausible city has entered a new phase in which they will be relegated to bit parts.

Q2

But aren't you swimming against the tide, against received wisdom?

We should always be sceptical of received wisdom, or in its rather more dangerous guise *common sense*, which is often little more than 'naturalised' ideology. One example of this is the 'common sense attitude' that socialism is finished and that human civilisation ends with the combination of free market capitalism and liberal parliamentary democracy. It is a conclusion reinforced by the ideological consensus sweeping across the political parties that neo-liberal economic theory is the panacea for the world's ills.

Such 'ideological common sense' resembles a powerful virus that attacks the nervous system destroying the powers of reason. Such is the germ's strength that it induces a dream-like state of narcosis in the corridors of power. The rallying cries of dissent become ever more ethereal and faint. The memories of ideological disputes about *alternative* worlds or concepts of society that had dominated political life in earlier generations become increasingly opaque until they take their place alongside the myths of ancient legend. Showmen and peddlers of bogus medicine sneak along the passageways and slide into the vacant seats of philosophers and orators.

Investigative journalists and rebel spies cower in the shadows. They are visibly terrified, as if haunted by Walter Benjamin's comment that one of the defining features of fascism is 'the aestheticisation of politics'.² Surely this cannot be happening here? But it is, and in the Chamber of the House applause indicates that the garage mechanics are all agreed, there is no doubt that the engine works. The differences of opinion revolve around what colour to paint the bodywork and which type of lubricant should be used to ensure the engine ticks over with regularity and predictability. This is a profoundly depressing situation and we should neither believe nor accept it [2].



Third Reich Air Ministry Berlin

“Architects, don’t work for dictators and repressive regimes”

3

A detailed map of the city is laid out on the table. Hands sweep with a dramatic blur across the streets and squares. One of them picks up a fat pencil and begins to draw on the paper. The fingers compose two circles, one at a five hundred-metre radius from the Winter Palace the other at a thousand metres, and proceed to plot a series of smaller circles indicating the key places and intersections to be targeted in the coming insurrection. Strategic crossroads, the railway stations, the post and telegraph offices, bridges, key banking institutions and the Peter and Paul Fortress – the map of the city becomes a battle plan.

Q3

But this is all politics, what about architecture?

There are exceptions, but historically architects have tended to work for those with power and wealth. It was in many ways the original bourgeois profession so we should not be surprised that many a professional architect is happy to be employed as capitalism’s decorator, applying the finishing touches to an edifice with which they have no real quarrel. As for the would-be rebel, even the architect’s and builder’s cooperative fully armed with a radical agenda to change the world for the better is required to make compromises in order to keep a business afloat. All alternative practices working within the

context of a capitalist society still have to make some sort of surplus or profit if they are to survive in the market place. This said there are ethical and moral choices to be made. It would be comforting to think that the majority of contemporary architects’ firms would have refused to design autobahns, stadiums and banks with building materials mined by slave labourers in 1930s Germany. How is it then that seemingly intoxicated by the promise of largesse and oblivious to the human degradation and environmental catastrophe unravelling in the Gulf, architectural firms are clambering over bodies to collect their fees from reactionary authoritarian governments and corrupt dictators who deny civilian populations basic democratic rights? Why is it that so many firms in order to satisfy a ‘werewolf hunger for profit’ are happy to ignore the labour camps holding building workers in virtual prison conditions? There is no polite way of describing what amounts to amnesiac whoredom. But on this and other related matters the architectural and building professions remain largely silent, an unsettling quiet that is paralleled in Britain by the absence of any socially progressive movement within the architectural community that questions and confronts the ideological basis of the neo-liberal project [3].



Wall Graffiti, Glasgow

“Architect, are you..?”

4

Tearing up the theatrical rulebooks on the relationship between actors and audience, workers transform the steps of the Winter Palace into what looks like a set from an Expressionist film. A giant three-dimensional version of Lissitzky's print 'red wedge defeats the whites', a collision of cubes, pyramids and a distorted house are constructed to camouflage the pastel blue stucco facade. This is the stage on which the revolutionaries re-enact the occupation of the Royal Palace and the arrest of Kerensky's provisional government on a nightly basis with a cast of thousands. Something special had been unleashed. It makes perfect sense. 'We workers will no longer listen to our bosses in the factory, so why should we listen to them in the art salons and galleries? Away with the grand masters, away with the worship of experts, art into life, art into the street, the streets are our palettes, our bodies and tools our implements.'

Q4**But isn't the left dead and aren't you trying to raise ghosts and spectres?**

There is perhaps an element of necromantic wishful thinking. It is probably true that the left in Europe despite the anti-capitalist movement has scattered, punch drunk and still reeling from the ideological battering ram unleashed against it. Like whipped

autumnal leaves spread across the fields after high winds it waits for a rake to pile it into a recognisable and coherent shape. But new alliances form at the very moment when all seems lost. The reclamation of the lost, buried, and hidden is the subject matter of archaeology. But we also need to conduct a careful archaeological dig to reclaim the oft forgotten historical attempts to forge an alternative to capitalism. Central to this project of rebuilding opposition is to rescue the word socialism from its association with the violent state capitalist dictatorships of the former Soviet bloc. With careful scrapes and incisive cuts our archaeological dig reveals a library full of eminently modern and prescient ideas like equality of opportunity, social justice, the redistribution of wealth, the social ownership of resources, concepts that are easy to brush off and reinvigorate. The excavations continue and we discover that anarchism far from its infantile representation as an ideology of chaos and disruption, offers other extraordinary ideas that can be added to the library index. Infused by a resolute defence of individual liberty, it speaks of self-management, of independent action, of autonomy, and of opposition to all forms of social power, especially that wielded by the State [4].



Billboard, Glasgow

“The miraculous appearance of no-place like home”

5

Comrades, take the time to read, digest and enjoy the declaration on land. Savour these words, ‘the landowner’s right to possession of the land is herewith abolished without compensation’. Does that not sound magnificent? It is not poetry in the sense of Pushkin or Lermontov, but it possesses a timeless lyrical quality. We have achieved something that no other people in human history have managed. We have socialised the land on behalf of all of society’s members at the same moment as occupying all the key buildings of the State and Capitalist Class. It is an act that if it were to all end tomorrow would nevertheless resound through the ages like the tales of Homer and Odysseus.

Q5

But I’ve heard it all before, capitalism this, capitalism that, shouldn’t we just accept that the best we can do is to ameliorate the worst aspects of capitalist building production? I can see why one might become anti-capitalist, but shouldn’t we learn to accept that’s just the way the world is?

That is indeed how the world is. The question is do we think it should be? Is the capitalist system really the best way of handling human affairs and organising how we make and use our buildings

and cities? It is true that capitalism has proved to be remarkably resilient and even in moments of profound economic crisis has managed to restructure economic life so that capital accumulation can recommence. Yet it remains dominated by the contradictions that arise from a social and economic system based on the private accumulation of capital and the economic exploitation of workers. It is a three hundred year old history disfigured by slavery, colonial domination, socio-spatial inequality, and fascism, scars that are viewed as aberrations arising from some other planet, rather than what *they are*, structural features of capitalist economic domination. Despite this history of social and psychological violence, we are told that the organisation of a *mythical* free market in land and building services and the relentless commodification of all aspects of the built environment are the best ways of building our villages, towns and cities. Simultaneously, attempts to provide a critique or offer *alternative* models for social and economic development are dismissed as the utopian dreams of the sleeping dead [5].



CCTV Camera, Glasgow

“Exploding myths - Don’t believe the hype”

6

What we have achieved through our proclamation represents a continuation of the struggles of French revolutionaries to give the idea of a commune, and of communal property a modern urban character. And they in turn were indebted to English revolutionaries a century before. It is comforting to think that a full 265 years before our declaration on land nationalisation, the Diggers as the militants liked to call themselves intended once and for all to ‘level men’s estates’. On a spring Sunday in 1649, a small band of revolutionary soldiers declared the abolition of the Sabbath, of tithes, magistrates, ministers and the Bible. Proceeding to collectively dig local wasteland, they loudly proclaimed that it was not a symbolic action but a real assumption of what they considered to be their rightful ownership of common lands. It was a radical vision of the future in which neither God nor powerful property owners had a place. Agricultural production outside London would have been collectivised in the common interest and a programme launched to build schools and hospitals for the poor throughout the country.

Q6

So what are the main contradictions within the contemporary built environment that we should try and tackle?

A by no means exhaustive list might begin as follows:

1) The private ownership by capitalists of the means of building production. 2) The unstable character of urban development and the employment insecurity

of workers that results from the endemic cycles of boom and slump within the building industry.

3) The history of ‘geographical’ uneven development and socio-spatial inequality. 4) The divisive patterns of social segregation that result from the privatisation and fortification of land and buildings. 5) The way in which the commodification of everyday life exacerbates our alienation from nature, each other and the products of our labour. 6) The subordination of social need and the environmental destruction caused by capitalists prioritising profits over all other requirements and desires. 7) The tendency towards the homogenisation of architecture as building producers economise so as to maintain the rate of profit. 8) Ever increasing levels of spatial surveillance and control designed to create a ‘purified city’ and ensure that the process of capital accumulation remains uninterrupted. All of these characteristics and others that we could add to the list are accepted as a price worth paying and would have been more than recognisable concerns to social commentators a hundred years ago. (It is worth remembering that in the nineteenth century the construction industry was one of the test beds for laissez-faire economics.) The purpose of criticism then is quite simple – to challenge capitalist hegemony and to open up the imagination to the possibility of a liberated concept of labour and space [6].



Govanhill Pool Occupation, Glasgow

“Architects, say no to privatisation, defend public services”

Here in Russia, some workers and peasants have interpreted the new laws quite literally and have appropriated buildings, land and machinery in a quite spontaneous manner through direct action. Take for instance this proclamation nailed to posts and hoardings in the Ukraine ‘To all the workers of the city and its environs! Workers, your city is for the present occupied by the Revolutionary Insurrectionary (Makhnovist) Army. This army does not serve any political party, any power, and any dictatorship. On the contrary it seeks to free the region of all political power, of all dictatorship. It strives to protect the freedom of action, the free life of the workers against all exploitation and domination. The Makhnovist Army does not therefore represent any authority. It will not subject anyone to any obligation whatsoever. Its role is confined to defending the freedom of the workers. The freedom of the peasants and the workers belongs to themselves, and should not suffer any restriction.’

Q7
How do I begin to think about different forms of practice?

The first thing is to draw a map or a matrix of the things you think are important and locate yourself within it. Capitalism might appear relentless in the ingenious ways in which it carves up the world, but so are our abilities to resist it. If generally speaking the ruling ideas of any epoch tend to be those of the ruling class, there have always been other histories. These are the unsung stories of individuals and social classes engaged in the struggle to realise the hope that *another world is possible*. Where one looks for inspiration tends to be idiosyncratic, very much a journey that has to do with what you read, where you

travel, who your teachers are and your identity in terms of race, class and gender. These are all lenses through which a view of the world is either clarified or obscured. One way of thinking about forms of resistance is to compose a simple map of a capitalist economy that describes the process of production and exchange through which the built environment is made and comes into use. This is helpful because it allows us to locate and plan strategies for alternative practices in a coordinated and coherent fashion. So for instance, if we think of the ‘sphere of production’, we might discuss the struggles of architects, building workers, and planners to organise and envision a different way of making buildings and cities. If we think of the ‘sphere of exchange and consumption’ we might look to the struggles by tenants, users, and consumers to manage and use our built environment in a non-capitalist manner. Implicit in this model is that we place the activities of architects within a broader context and indeed it is fairly meaningless to talk of an ‘alternative architectural practice’ that is anti-capitalist unless it takes into account that what an architect does is only one small link in the chain of command by which buildings eventually emerge out of the ground. An example in Britain of how this might be realised can be found in the activities of Lubetkin, Tecton, and A.T.O. They endeavoured to produce an architecture of social commitment that was meticulously designed and engineered. They worked closely with tenants and other organisations in the building industry and simultaneously engaged with the struggle against fascism [7].



Early 20th century municipal architecture

“Rebuild an architecture of social commitment”

8

And so Comrades, we have a unique situation on our hands. We have the very real opportunity to fundamentally rethink what we understand by urban construction. The land has been nationalised, the operations of the real estate market and the phenomena of differential rents have been abolished, building workers have expelled the contractors and set up democratic workers' collectives on site and in factory, the bourgeois state has been smashed – and so we can now turn to the vexed question of what we should build on the ruins of the capitalist city? There are it seems two immediate ways of addressing the problem. The first is a directly political and economic issue that concerns questions about the ownership and control of how buildings will be produced and used. The second is a qualitative question that concerns what types of buildings and spatial organisation we should be thinking about and what form they might take.

Q8

So where do we look for alternative models to the capitalist production of the built environment?

I think that it is timely that we critically reflect on the legacy of social democracy and historical moments when the socialist movement has been strong enough to tip the balance of the ‘use-exchange’ value of the commodity in favour of social need. In twentieth-century Britain there were two periods worth recalling. The first was the epoch of municipal socialism a hundred years ago manifest in the architectural programmes of Local Authorities. In London this gave birth to the first significant experiments in the production of rented social housing. In Glasgow it brought about the construction of an extraordinary network of public and social facilities across the city that included

bathhouses, schools, and libraries. Emboldened by the growing strength of the Trade Union movement, it was the first time that the state had directly intervened to regulate and sponsor the production of buildings with an explicit social mission. The second period coincided with the foundation of the Welfare State and the post Second World War national programme to build a new infrastructure of educational, social and cultural facilities. While we might question the quality of some of the architecture, the level of social commitment among the architectural community contrasts sharply with the opportunism that dominates the profession today. Many a forgotten hero and heroine threw themselves into the task of building a New Britain and however misguided some of the results might seem, it is difficult not to be moved by their sense of idealism. However, as we know from the ideological assault on the legacy of the Welfare State by both Tory and Labour administrations over the last twenty years, the gains that are fought for sometimes over decades can be quickly unravelled. All attempts to ameliorate or develop alternative practices within the context of a capitalist economy eventually come up against this contradiction. Despite this, voices can still be heard from the frontier making demands for the democratic social regulation of how we make and use our built environment so as to tip the balance of commodity production in the interests of disenfranchised users and social organisations. Listen closer, and you will hear distant echoes of other more radical voices, which from the edge of the wilderness still dream of the socialisation of land and the building industry [8].



Decapitated Saints, France, 1789

“Architects, destroy the symbols of injustice and oppression”

9

In front of us we have a programme for a decentralised ‘disurbanist’ type of spatial development. What would happen if these plans were implemented? The idea of the monumental construction of a capital city would be consigned to books dealing with the urban history of class societies. Moscow would still remain the symbolic heart of the country, but the social and spatial contradictions that dominate the capitalist built environment would be eradicated. For the first time in human history, the connection between political power and urban construction would be smashed. It also suggests a quite different agenda for the design of individual buildings. It implies an architecture that emerges out of concerns for infrastructural networks, temporality, flexibility and mobility. It suggests ideas about architecture and urbanism that are open-ended rather than closed, changeable rather than static, and which celebrate chance, liberty and fun, an architecture that is no longer obsessed with formal canons but thinks about strategic programmes, kinetic buildings, and about an urbanism born out of an understanding of social and technological change.

Q9

So where do we look next?

Everywhere and anywhere. I have focused on four of the more profound European attempts to challenge capitalist hegemony, so as to unravel the architectural or building programmes within them – the English revolution of the seventeenth century, the French revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the Russian revolution in the decade after 1917 and the Spanish revolution in the mid 1930s. These are known primarily as political and social revolutions. However, all of them were implicitly spatial and opened up what Henri Lefebvre referred to as an *oeuvre* on a different world in which the tactics of ‘spatial resistance’ were transformed and developed. Tactic one involves organisation – the exchange of ideas, the draughting of texts and manifestos, and the forging of bonds with fellow travellers. Next comes action – the organisation of strikes and the occupation of land and property as a prelude to the seizure of the city and its institutions. Third comes preparation – drawing up plans for new building programmes and forms of social and spatial organisation. Fourth comes construction, the development of post-capitalist labour processes and the practical task of converting the dream world of limitless possibilities into a something material, real and practical [9].



Plaque to the French anarchist, Montmatre, Paris

“Keep the memory of other realities alive”

10

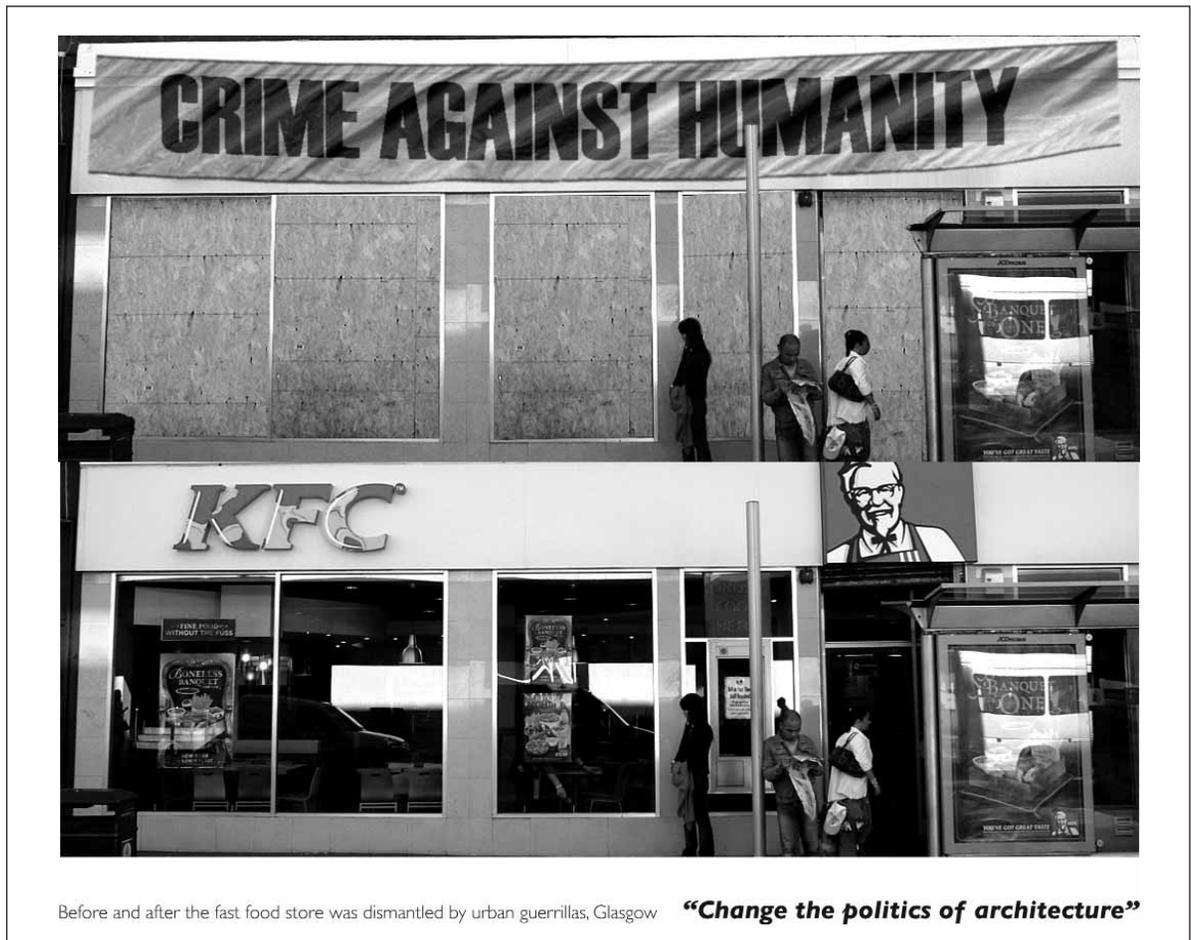
Comrade Aleksei Gan, perhaps you would like to comment on these plans? ‘Most certainly, they are worthy but still a little timid. We should not be content with half measures, we should unequivocally demand the complete democratisation of planning and the development of new forms of artistic labour in which the revolutionary festival, would be re-conceptualised as a mass urban action. Imagine, my friends, an event in which the entire proletarian masses of Moscow would be able to enact their own vision of the Communist city of the future in real space-time, filling not only the entire city of Moscow but even its outskirts.’

Q10

But hang on a minute, all the experiments you refer to failed! In fact one might argue that the most lasting legacy in terms of socialised building construction did not come from Russia, it came from Sweden.

Yes and no. You are right that the achievements of the Scandinavian countries in prioritising social need, in building integrated transport systems, childcare facilities and good quality rented accommodation puts a lot of what we build to shame. However, it is a type of social democracy that many find rather uncomfortable and disturbing, even spooky – too sure, too right, too regulated, too ordered. In contrast in the Barcelona of 1936, or in Paris in 1871 we find something very different in which carnival, joy, freedom and self-determination are the goals of political struggle rather than sensible administration. As Henri Lefebvre reminds us, people fight revolutions to be happy not to produce tons of steel. The question of failure and failed experiments is an interesting one. For instance, much has been written about the Paris Commune.³ Manuel Castells called it the most repressed rent strike in history.

Lenin and Engels thought of it as the dictatorship of the proletariat in action.⁴ Guy Debord considered it the only successful example of revolutionary urbanism to date, arguing that although it ended in slaughter, for those who lived through the six months when the communards controlled much of the city it was a ‘triumph’ in that they gained an unprecedented insight into how everyday life might be organised in a non-capitalist manner.⁵ George Orwell was similarly effusive in his praise of the situation in Barcelona when anarchists took over the city, creating not another form of state power but an opening on a quite new world of creative possibilities.⁶ Like the Paris Commune there was no reported crime in Barcelona and similar to the actions of French communards, workers inspired by a libertarianism firmly rooted in the tradition of Bakunin and Kropotkin, had actively begun to experiment with self-government and forms of self-management before the city fell to the fascists. Although in recent times nothing quite as radical has happened in Britain, there have nevertheless been many experiments in independent self-government; from the setting up of workers councils to organise daily life during the General Strike of 1926; to the communes and co-operatives of the late nineteenth century and the post-war counter culture; to the peace camps of the nuclear protest campaign; and to the more recent sit-ins and occupations of the environmental movement. In their different ways they all began to draw a different ‘architecture’ of Britain. That such movements fail to achieve their aims does not alter the fact that through such actions the idea of a different political space is kept alive [10].



Before and after the fast food store was dismantled by urban guerrillas, Glasgow **“Change the politics of architecture”**

11

Let me explain. The social condenser is conceived as being a part of, or all of, a building or complex, in which the development of a new way of life and of collective and co-operative organisation would be encouraged, an environment in which women in particular would be liberated from the burdens of domestic labour. As such a collective laundry, a childcare establishment, as well as the more general categories of the housing commune or workers' club, can be considered as social condensers. Such a theory stresses the transformative and educational possibilities of architecture. As Lissitsky has commented, 'it is to the social revolution, rather than to the technological revolution that the basic elements of Russian architecture are tied'.

Q11

But what has any of this really got to do with architecture?

Everything. Political movements that create an opportunity to experiment with new forms of social organisation are implicitly spatial. It is true that in both Barcelona and Paris more obviously spatial events took place – toppling monuments, changing the use of churches, occupying factories, taking over theatres, and organising rent strikes. But in the long term if they had succeeded and lasted beyond their few months of existence, such forms of government would have opened up quite new possibilities for both imagining and making architecture. Successful social revolutions are automatically spatial

revolutions that create new pre-conditions for the production of architecture. This is both organisational in meaning, in the sense of co-operatives of builders, architects and tenants (e.g. the idea of socialism as a network of collectives and co-operatives), and object orientated in the imagination of new types of buildings and forms of spatial organisation. The most sustained attempt to do this was in the Soviet Union in the decade after the Bolshevik revolution. Unlike in Spain and France opportunities arose not just to 'negate' capitalism but to spatialise a socialist democracy, to organise a socialist building industry, and to create and carry out socialist programmes for architecture. Building workers actively campaigned to abolish the wages system, to eradicate Taylorism, to dismantle 'one man' management and to develop a labour process based around production communes. Architects designed sophisticated housing communes that liberated women from domestic labour, workers' clubs for Trade Unions, and settlements that contradicted the idea of a city of concentrated political power. The fact that by the end of the 1920s the programme of the Soviet avant-garde had been largely destroyed does not diminish its significance. It is there to remind us that to engage politically with the idea of *another world is possible* is a pre-condition of imagining 'another architecture' and a genuinely *alternative practice*. Architecture is already political; the point is to change its politics [11].

Notes

1. My *Fragments of a Moscow Diary* are an unpublished series of stories that document my 20 years of visiting and working in the city from 1984 to 2004. It comprises four separate chapters; *Kolya's Memoir, 1900-1953*, the memories of a building worker; *Conversations with Dima*, an architect who descends into madness; *Postcards from the Last Soviet Tourist*; and *Lecture to Socialist Architects Part I, II, and III*. These are all fictional pieces based on archival research and real events.
2. 'The logical result of Fascism is the introduction of aesthetics into political life'. Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1985), p. 241.
3. The Paris Commune in particular is one of those events that every political theorist and essayist has at some point passed comment on. It has generated dozens of books and thousands of pages that endeavour to capture its essence and legacy. To this day opinions remain divided not just between the political left and right but within the left itself. Although during its brief existence the Communards never had time to actually build anything, like all such insurrections and social movements it was implicitly spatial. What I call the 'spatial tactics of political resistance'
4. included such things as the occupation of the city, the organisation of rent strikes, the construction of barricades, the demolition of symbols of oppression and the appropriation of buildings to hold workers' meetings. For a useful anthology of left wing analyses see *The Paris Commune of 1887. The View from the Left*, ed. by E. Schulkind (London: Cape, 1972). For some of the longer well-known works see Walter Benjamin, 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century', in *Reflections* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), pp. 146-162. M. Bookchin, *The Third Revolution, Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era*, Vol. II (London: Cassell, 1998), pp. 192-251. P. Kropotkin, *The Commune of Paris, 1880* (London: Freedom Pamphlets, 1895).
5. V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution. Experience of the Paris Commune, 1871' (1918), in *Selected Works* (Progress Publishers: Moscow, 1977), pp. 286-299. K. Marx, introduction by F. Engels, 'Civil War in France', in *Marx and Engels, Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, ed. by L. Feuer (London: Fontana, 1969), pp. 389-430.
6. G. Debord, A. Kotanyi, R. Vaneigem, 'Theses on the Paris Commune', in *The Situationist International, Anthology*, ed. by K. Knabb (California: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981), pp. 314-317.
6. Equally controversial is the legacy of the Barcelona commune of 1936. George Orwell visited the city during this period and published his thoughts in his *Homage to Catalonia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), originally published in 1938. For a good introduction to the history of anarchist thought see Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: The History of Anarchism* (London: Fontana, 1993). For reprints of original anarchist manifestoes from the Spanish Civil War, see Daniel Guerin, *No Gods, No Masters, An Anthology of Anarchism*, vol. II (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1998).

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