

A - Z of WAR

# glaspaper

critical writings on architecture and space

Alongside the conventional history of architecture and urban construction as noble endeavour sits its anti-thesis. A history of architecture seen in terms of the violent destruction of buildings and cities and the development of building typologies and spatial forms that are less to do with social freedom and more concerned with disciplining human beings in ways not of their choosing. In the first instance we need think and look no further than the destruction of built environments in times of military conflict. Human and architectural history has been as much defined by extraordinary feats of violent destruction as by the creative imagination and labour of architect and construction worker. Not surprisingly in order to deal with the problems of day-to-day living we try not to dwell on this negative but real history. It is too grim and painful. It would be comforting to think that was where the discussion about the relationship between the development of the built environment and war ended. However it is not that simple.

05 / 06

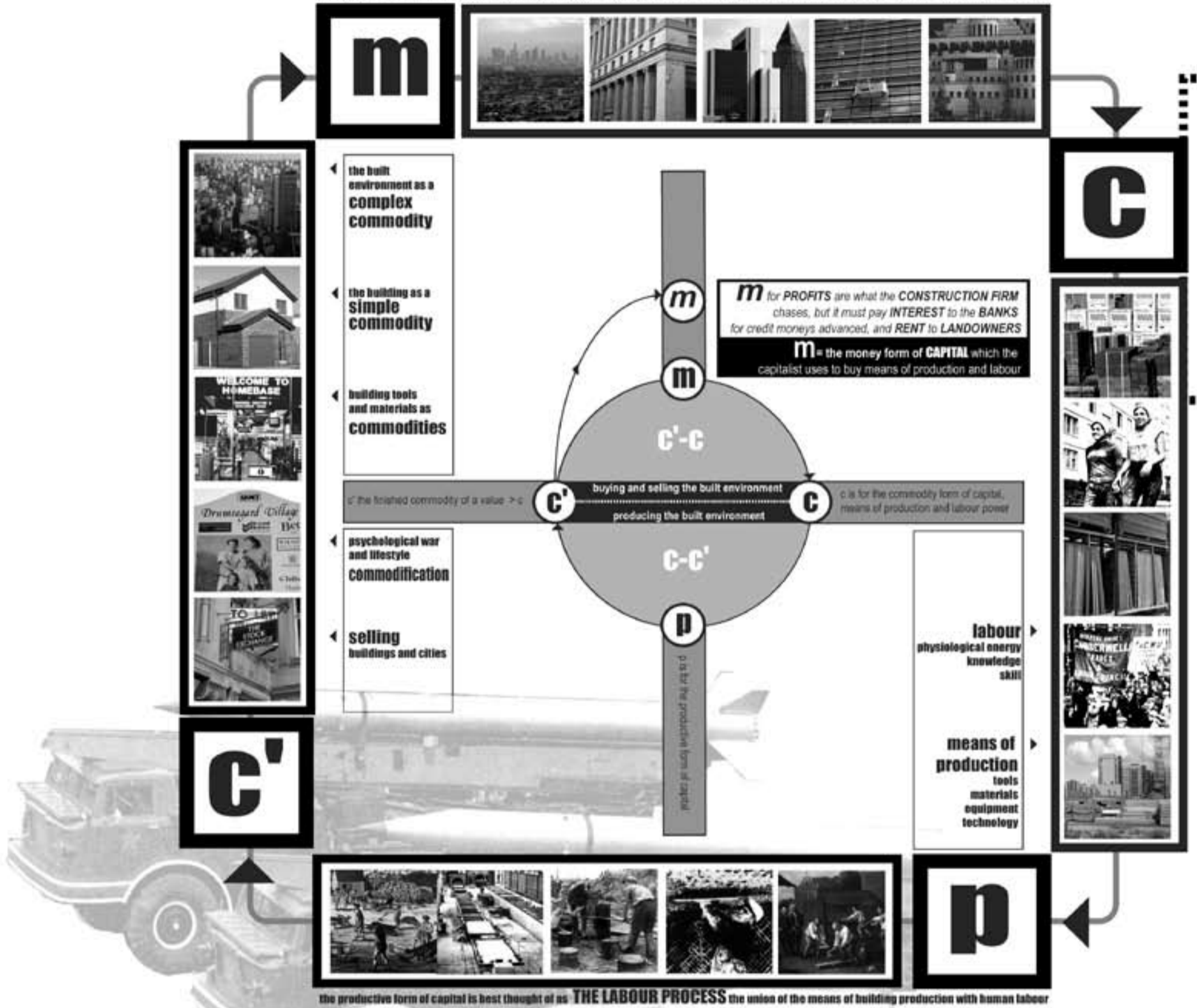
First off we have the hard architecture of war and defence that literally surrounds our cities and defines us territorially. Border outposts, observation towers, secret installations, camps, runways, bunkers, armaments factories, the Defence Ministry, the administrative headquarters of the military industrial complex.

Secondly we have the 'civilian' architecture designed for enforcing order. These are the buildings that belong to the state security services, the police and the prison system. It also refers to the urban plan that facilitates the movement of troops.

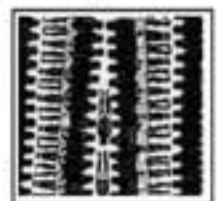
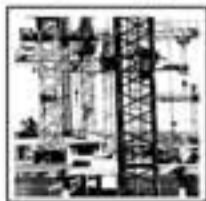
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**accumulation and the militarisation of the built environment**  
*capital is always ready to shift into another circuit, seeking contracts to build the infrastructure of the*

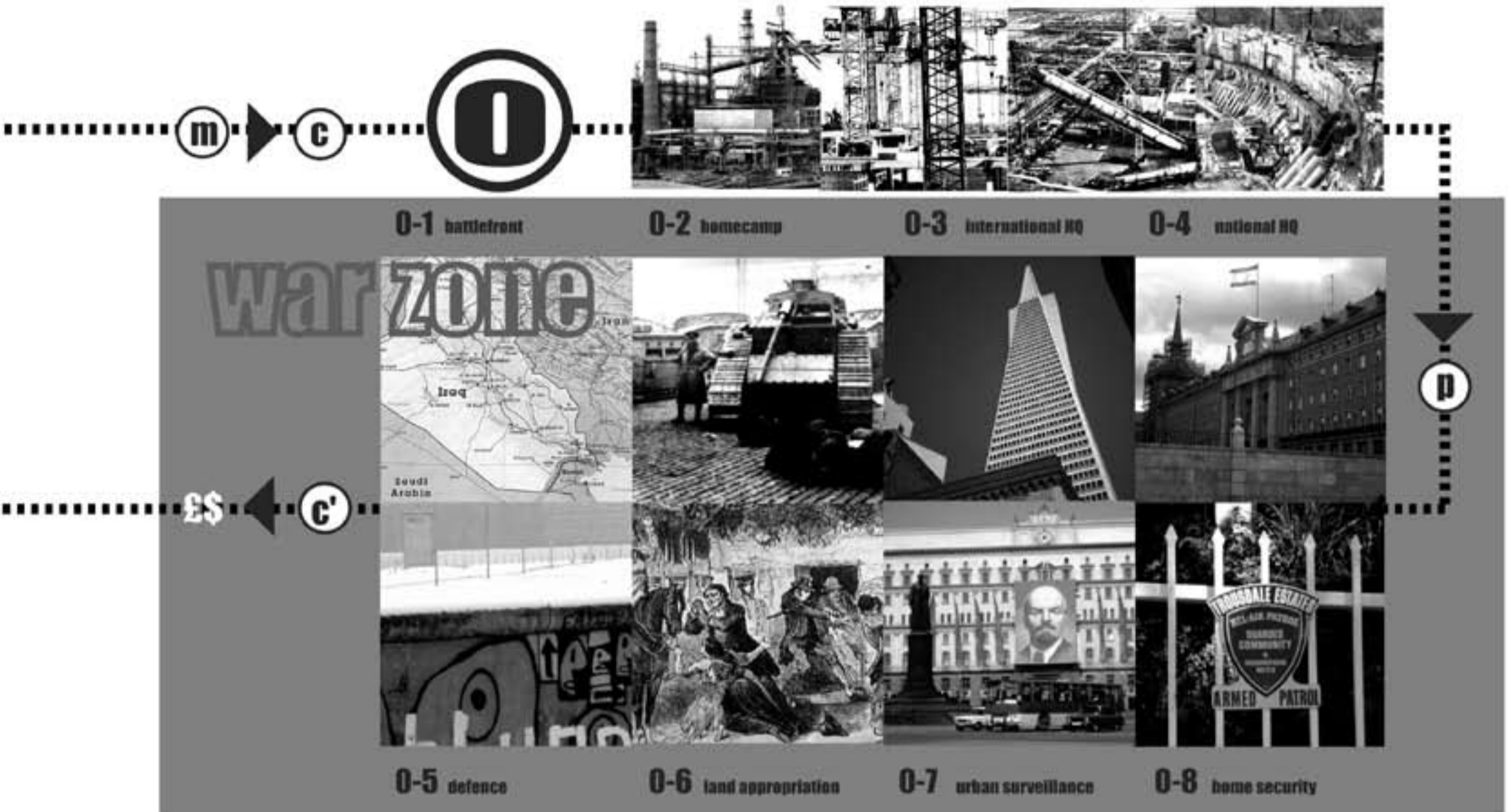
**THE ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS OF GOVERNING BUREAUCRACIES**  
 banks, offices and penthouses for landowners, construction firm directors, and the institutions of the state and finance capital



*"Exactly son, you got it. Efficiency of problem resolution, that was all that mattered. Rationalise production with a machine not a whip. Bring speed and order to labour. Discipline them on the production line, discipline them in leisure time. Housing, weapons, human bodies. It was just stuff son, stuff and more stuff still. Bring the parts to the production line, cut it up and reconstruct into comparable sized bits, wrap it up nicely in a package, fix a price tag, sell it, tick box, productivity target met, bonus, pronto. A house, a bomb, a slave, seen as a factory, same difference son, same difference."*



**ground zero in the simultaneous commodification and militarisation of space**  
*military-industrial complex, winning the contracts to build, destroy and then rebuild a country's built environment*



**THESES ON WAR AND ACCUMULATION**

**COMMODITY** Capitalist society arises from the generalised transformation of human labour including that of architects and building workers into a commodity. The capitalist production of the built environment implies the historical transformation of all aspects of the making and use of buildings and cities into arenas for the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of the commodity form. As commodities buildings have two fundamental aspects. They must fulfil some need or desire. But they are also produced as things to be sold. The house exists as 'home' and 'investment'. The battlecamp as military staging post and production opportunity for tent manufacturers. In short the built object possesses what is termed a use-value and an exchange-value.

**CAPITAL** The economic imperative of the capitalist production of the built environment is to maximise the exchange-value latent in the commodities it produces. All capitalist building ventures must look to achieve this so as to maintain and improve the rate of capital accumulation. Capital is not a thing such as money, which is just one form of capital. Rather capital as it circulates through the built environment can be thought of as value in motion. Value that expands as it moves from bank, to factory, to building site and stock exchange.

**VALUE** is best imagined as the materialisation of the abstract labour that all commodities have in common and that enables us to exchange buildings and land. This abstract labour can be understood as the expenditure of physiological energy, human labour power. This refers to our ability to think, make things and transform nature. The value of any built commodity is always related to the quantity and quality of human labour of which it is always the end result. This goes as much for the production of domestic space as for a mobile city like an aircraft carrier.

**PROFITS** When capitalism enters the built environment it has a number of investment opportunities. Building means of production like infrastructure, or items of consumption such as speculative offices and housing are familiar pre-occupations. However, when capital confronts a falling rate of profit it looks to other sectors for potential take-overs, that is, it actively seeks to commodify some aspect of social life still exempt from the commodity form. This sees modern International construction firms branch out into parallel sectors, such as land development even shopping, scouring the globe for investment opportunities and cheaper labour power.

**M.I.D** More generally however, late capitalism creates another department or circuit within which profits can be made. This refers mainly to the state sector. On the one hand we can think of the architecture of the welfare state, and on the other construction work for the military industrial complex, specifically in "Department Three, the means of mass destruction". It is not that previously war and the war machine were unsuitable arenas for capital accumulation, it is rather that in the latter half of the twentieth century, the "arms economy" became a permanent feature of modern life. Including buildings the US arms economy soaked up anything between 7 and 12 % of GDP. In Britain slightly less, in the former USSR it is estimated up to thirty per-cent.

**LABOUR** As a means to accelerate the turnover of capital and hopefully the rate of profit the labour process in the construction industry is underpinned by a type of martial law. The fenced compounds of Filipino and Pakistani construction workers in the Gulf. The militarisation of construction labour in the USSR. The Reserve Army of Labour itself. Waiting for a call up by a labour only subcontractor who demands total obedience. Then there is the whole process of industrialised building production where the dream persists of executing buildings with the same military efficiency as arms. Rigid hierarchies and chains of commands with workers organised in brigades. Promotions and bonuses awarded for loyalty and heroism. The hero of labour and the war hero were the same person.

**FEAR** Not only are their obvious profit opportunities available in the construction of the physical built environment for war, airports, transport equipment, barracks, secret headquarters, but in the potential profits that become available through the institutionalisation of fear. Homeland security and social order are the banners under which the militarisation of everyday life takes place. The war is not against terror but against peace. This sees the culture of surveillance and safety add another dimension to the whole panoptic history of disciplining the human subject.

**FORTIFICATION** The fortified condo, the fortified offices and administrative headquarters of Governing bureaucracies. Neighbourhood watch and CCTV. City cleansing schemes and soft policing. Swipe cards and restrictions on music. These are just some of the ways in which the war against peace, otherwise called security allows capital to militarise our domestic and public lives. Formally it appears as the archi-semiotics of class war. In terms of urban design it becomes manifest as the good city. The dream of the ordered metropolis resembles the purified landscape of a scorched earth. The plan of a Roman Military Camp drops onto the plan for a concentration camp. This is copied in the spatial arrangement of a modern housing estate that in turn mimics the floor plan and layout of a call centre.

**Alliance for Workers' Liberty**

www.workersliberty.org  
office@workersliberty.org  
Workers' Liberty stands against the war, against Saddam and against fundamentalist reaction. We are for democratic working-class self-emancipation from both capitalism and the grotesque parody of socialism which exists in countries like China and Cuba.

**Anarchist Youth Network**

UK and Ireland  
www.anarchistyouth.net  
info@anarchistyouth.net  
The AYN is the only revolutionary youth group in the UK set up independently by young people for young people and not as a recruiting ground for a political party. It is a fledgling non-hierarchical collection of anti-capitalist individuals and groups.

**ARROW**

Active Resistance to the Roots of War  
www.justicenotvengeance.org  
Arrow is a non-violent direct action group affinity group formed in September 1990 to oppose the Gulf War.

**Artists Against the War**

artistsagainstthewar.org  
artists@stopwar.org.uk  
We are a collective of artists, writers, actors, film makers etc whose aim is to inject art, colour and creativity into the anti war movement. We meet every Sunday 2pm in the Foundry pub just off Old Street EC1

**Bare Witness**

www.barewitness.org  
info@barewitness.org  
Naked protests against the war

**British Asian Youth Alliance**

The Voice of Young British Asians  
www.britishasian.f9.co.uk  
SophiaShah@usa.com  
A National Youth Organisation representing Young British Asians- We believe that Peaceful diplomatic and other non violent means should be explored and the Bombing should halt to allow humanitarian aid to get through before winter sets in.

**Campaign Against Arms Trade**

www.caat.org.uk  
enquiries@caat.demon.co.uk  
The Campaign Against Arms Trade was set up in 1974. It is working for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade, together with progressive demilitarisation within arms-producing countries.

**Che Leila**

Youth Brigades  
che\_leila@hotmail.com  
Organising regular delegations to Palestine, Iraq and Colombia, Che Leila is a non party-affiliated organisation in Britain which provides support to the international movements fighting imperialism, the source of poverty, hunger, destitution and humiliation in oppressed peoples countries.

**CND**

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament  
www.cnduk.org/welcome.htm  
enquiries@cnduk.org  
CND campaigns non-violently to rid the world of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to create genuine security for future generations. Branch offices: London, Yorkshire, West Midlands, Colchester, Scottish, Irish, Christian, Student Network.

**Disobedience**

www.disobedience.org.uk  
disobedience@riseup.net  
Disobedience is an open network made up of diverse groups and individuals. They invite all groups and individuals to join in taking action to stop this war & start the peace.

**Eclipse**

www.eclipsereview.org  
eclipse@sussex.ac.uk  
An internationalist journal of analysis and

comment dedicated to uncovering and examining the origins and implications of the world crisis through which we are all living. Produced monthly by staff and students at the University of Sussex.

**Globalise Resistance**

www.resist.org.uk  
office@resist.org.uk  
Globalise Resistance brings together direct action activists and organisations from many strands of the anticapitalist movement: environmentalists, socialists, anarchists, trade unionists, students and others who are opposed to the global growth of corporate power.

**Gloustershire Weapons Inspectors**

www.cynatech.demon.co.uk  
info@gwi.org.uk  
A newly formed group (Sept 2002) of concerned citizens who aim to eliminate weapons of mass destruction from Gloucestershire.

**GreenNet**

www.gn.apc.org  
info@gn.apc.org  
GreenNet is a not-for-profit collective dedicated to supporting and promoting groups and individuals working for peace, human rights and the environment, through the use of Information and Communication Technology.

**Greenpeace UK**

www.greenpeace.org.uk  
info@uk.greenpeace.org  
Greenpeace is an independent non-profit global campaigning organization that uses non-violent, creative confrontation to expose global environmental problems and their causes. They research the solutions and alternatives to help provide a path for a green and peaceful future.

**Humanist Movement**

Non Violence and Human Rights  
www.new-humanism.net  
newhumanism@onetel.net  
Working against Violence, not only physical but also economic, racial, religious, psychological, etc. Anti-discrimination projects in London. Health, Education and Development projects in Africa and Latin America.

**Independent Media Center**

www.indymedia.org  
Indymedia is a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage. Indymedia is a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth.

**Information War Network**

www.InformationWar.org  
heiko@easynet.co.uk  
Information war is an organisation dedicated to battling with the international militarists in the field of Information. To this end we monitor the news and broadcast TV, audio and text via the web to counter the propaganda of the militarists and the mass media.

**Young Muslims UK**

www.ymuk.com  
info@ymuk.net  
A nationwide Muslim youth body mobilising the community to oppose this senseless neo-colonialist war

**Kein Mensch ist Illegal  
no one is illegal**

www.contrast.org  
Activist network in almost every bigger city all over Germany. The no one is illegal manifesto was published in summer 97 in Hybrid workspace at documenta X

**Neighbourhoods Opposing War**

www.now-peace.org.uk  
mail@now-peace.org.uk  
Neighbourhoods Opposing War is a national group which is focusing anti-war action on U.S bases, esp in the North of England.

**Network for Peace**

www.networkforpeace.org  
nfp@gn.apc.org  
Network for Peace aims to provide the networking function of the National Peace Council, now defunct. NFP keeps members in touch with each other and provides a platform for information sharing and publicising events. Website updated weekly with lists of activities.

**No border**

www.noborder.org  
The no border network is a tool for all groups and grass root organizations who work on the questions of migrants and asylum seekers in order to struggle alongside with them for freedom of movement, for the freedom for all to stay in the place which they have chosen, against repression and and the many controls which multiply the borders everywhere in all countries. This network is different from lobbying groups and NGOs because it is based on groups of grass root activists and intends to stay so.

**NSPS**

NGO staff for a Political Solution  
groups.yahoo.com/group/ngostaff4polsolution  
This network or NGO staff and their views (not the views of our organisations in a corporate capacity) has been set up to mobilise against a military response to the atrocities of September 11th, in favour of a political solution.

**Open Democracy**

www.opendemocracy.net  
info@openDemocracy.net  
Open Democracy is committed to originality and truthfulness, it is set up to help people come to their own views, rather than selling a specific perspective. It is an independent space for the diversity of ideas and experience.

**Open Europe**

copote.kein.org/mailman/listinfo/openeurope  
openeurope@coyote.kein.org  
The Openeurope list is dedicated to discussions about the fortification of Europe and possible counter strategies. This practical approach, to coordinate actions as an expression of a fundamental critique of EU migration politics, is central to the noborder project.

**Operation Desert Rescue**

www.desert-rescue.org.uk  
desertrescue@tiscali.co.uk  
Campaign to highlight humanitarian consequences of war on Iraq, especially impact on children who are half of the population. Through the media, we aim to swing public opinion decisively against a war. In May 2002, UN unanimously pledged "to protect children from the horrors of armed conflict".

**Peace Brigades International**

www.peacebrigades.org  
info@peacebrigades.org  
Peace Brigades International (PBI) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) which protects human rights and promotes nonviolent transformation of conflicts.

**Peace Plan Group**

www.peaceplangroup.assets.org.uk  
Ste@peaceplangroup.assets.org.uk  
By providing an alternative to military action, the PPG aims to conduct a constructive means of protest through apolitical non-aggression strategy and policies, with a commitment to Global Social Responsibility

**Peace Pledge Union**

www.ppu.org.uk/  
info@pu.org.uk  
Main secular pacifist organisation in Britain; produces the white poppies; British affiliate of WRI (War Resisters International).

**Palestine Solidarity Campaign**

www.palestinecampaign.org  
info@palestinecampaign.org  
Campaigning for Palestinian Human Rights

**Polemicists against the War**

leftopenpolemic@yahoo.co.uk  
We are a group of lefts committed to open polemic, and are also against the war. We believe that open polemic can be used as a vital tool in stimulating discussion on the net.

**Sans papiers**

www.bok.net/pajol/  
Website of the french sans papier movement. The ongoing struggle of undocumented people started in March 1996, when 300 migrants occupied a church in Paris and brought their case to the public.

**Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament**

www.banthebomb.org  
john.ainslie@banthebomb.org

**Socialist Alliance**

www.socialistalliance.net  
office@socialistalliance.net  
The main organisation of socialists today. Made up of individual members and affiliated groups.

**Socialist Resistance**

www.socialistresistance.net  
contact@socialistresistance.net  
Our Aims are to build the Socialist Alliance as an alternative to New Labour. We are a broad group made up of comrades from the ISG, SSN and individual activists in the Global Justice movement and the Socialist Alliance.

**STOP THE WAR COALITION**

www.stopwar.org.uk  
office@stopwar.org.uk  
The national coalition for organisations and individuals organising to stop the war.

**The Student Campaign Forum**

in the colleges and on the streets  
www.studentcampaignforum.org.uk  
scf68@hotmail.com  
We are a new, open and democratic student group, linking action on the ground with the fight for a campaigning, democratic NUS. We act for equality, civil liberties and human rights here and abroad, for a sustainable environment and against the growth of the far right in Britain and across Europe.

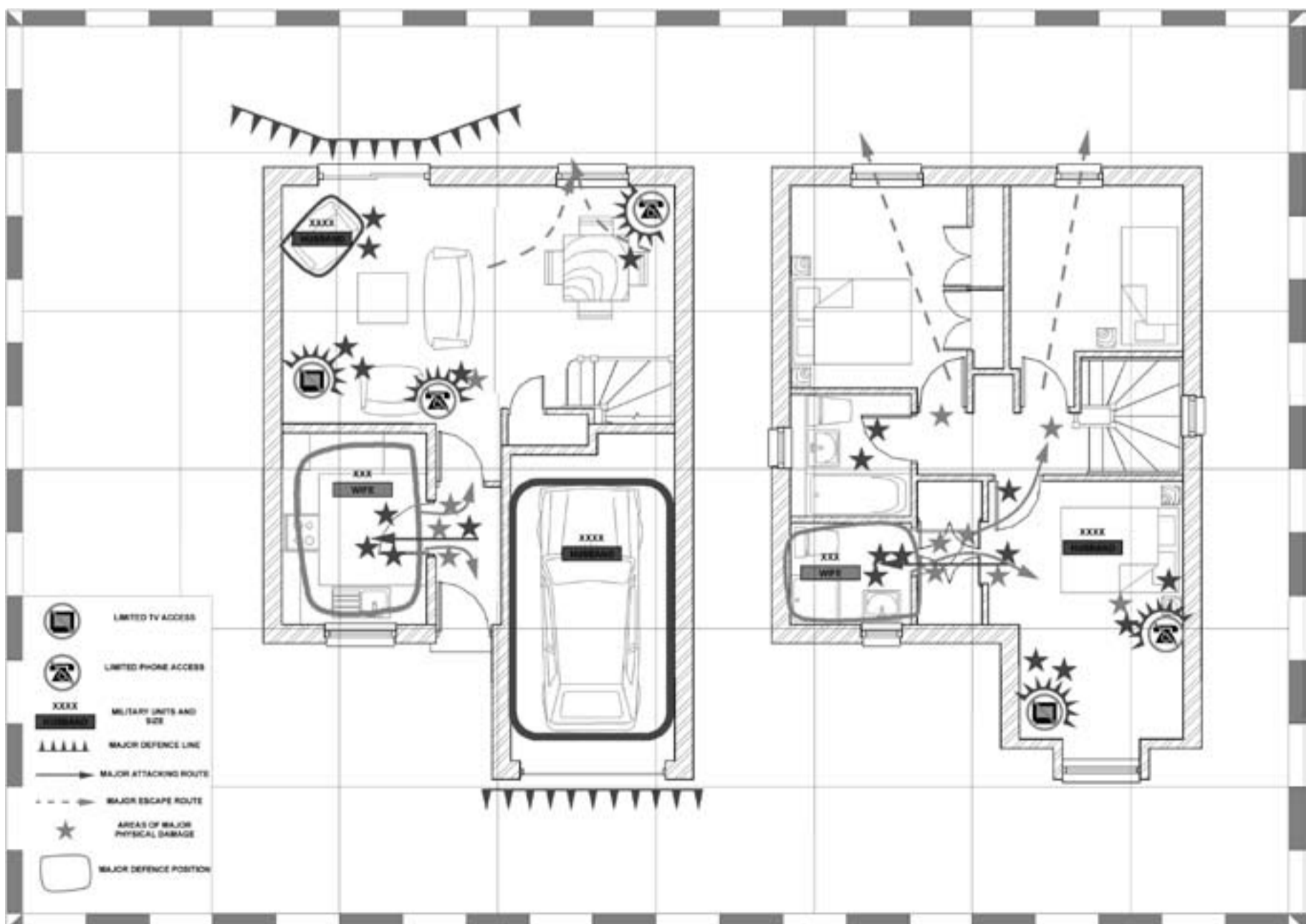
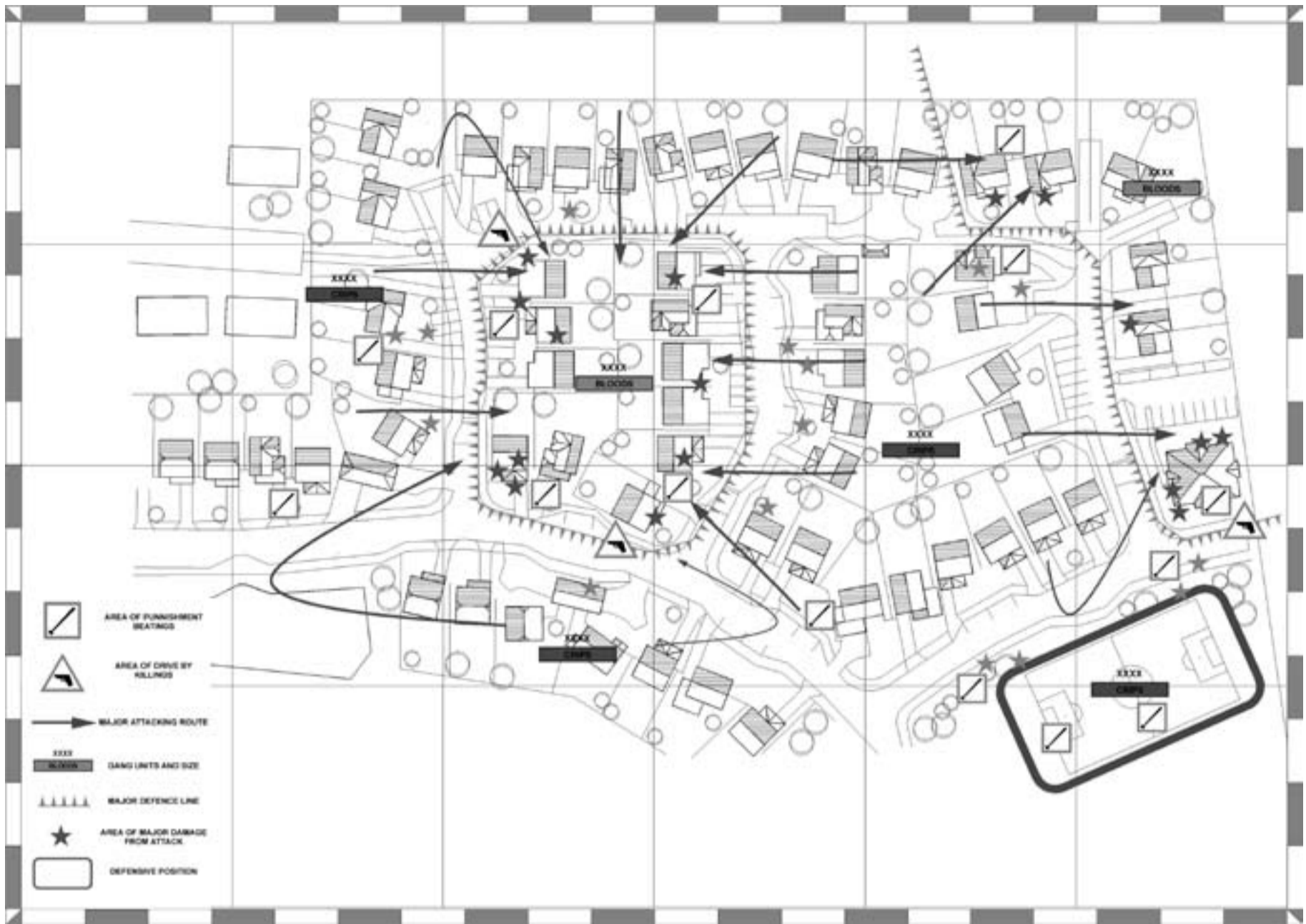
**The WOMBLES**

www.wombles.org.uk  
wombles@hushmail.com  
The White Overalls Movement Building Libertarian Effective Struggles exists to promote anarchist ideas, libertarian solidarity, autonomous self-organisation and humour. There is no leadership; everyone involved participates equally in its organisation and actions.

**Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**

WILPF UK  
www.ukwilpf.gn.apc.org  
ukwilpf@hotmail.com  
Active in 45 countries worldwide, including Palestine and Israel, WILPF was founded in 1915 and works towards a peaceful resolution of conflict and total, universal disarmament. We campaign on peace, human rights and economic justice issues.

The above groups and addresses were selected from the Stop the War Coalition Webpage and from the book "Anti Capitalism - Agenda to the Movement". This list is by no means complete and G.L.A.S. would be happy to receive further suggestions.



# RADIANT CITY CAN EMERGE

THE ARCHITECT, MONSIEUR LE CORBUSIER PRESENTED HIS DESIGN FOR THE GAS WAR FROM THE AIR.

From our War and Architecture

Monsieur Le Corbusier, one of Europe's most celebrated architects, designer of numerous modernist buildings and visionary urban plans has once again amazed both the professional world as well as the general public with a proposal that will once and for all save our cities from destruction and the horrible effects of a gas war from the air.

In his latest publication 'THE RADIANT CITY' he describes in detail the ideas of his design of a city that will be unlike any that we know until today. A city that is prepared for the threat that might come from the air, a city in which buildings will resist the ruinous powers of bombing and will give its inhabitants a secure from poisonous gas attacks. A city that will truly remain a Radiant City after the next war.

Exclusively we print here some extracts from his book 'THE RADIANT CITY' to let the master of this plan speak for himself.

AND IN THE spite of everything, I believe "that the day will come!" Here's something to reassure us! We are promised new joys!

The magazines and newspapers are full of pictures and descriptions. And the poison gas factories work to build up huge stocks. The chiefs of staff announce: "Not one existing city will be spared: fire, collapse, death by gas. Nothingness! the city razed to the ground!"...

Five years of war. Fifteen years of panic, crises, disasters, and despair. The twentieth year, there is revolution everywhere: all that remains is to enter an expiring civilisation and buy more picks and shovels and brooms to demolish, then sweep away the debris. Clean up and build. Build the modern era. Raise up the machine-age civilisation. See, understand, decide, act. Will fear (the air war) be the providential key which, once wound up, will

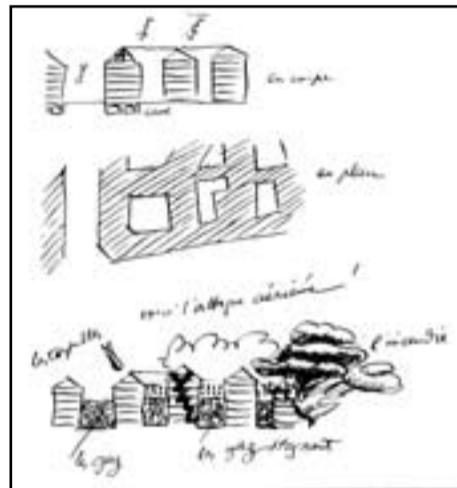


Illustration by Le Corbusier of the potential damage to the present day city

start necessary action?

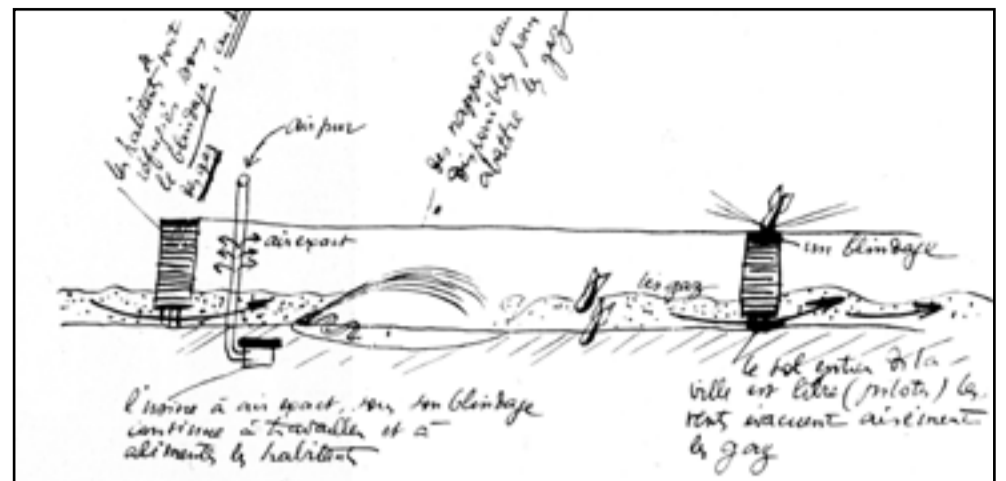
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The facts of the case are unequivocal: here are the present day cities. Where are the inhabitants? They are dead! They didn't even have time to flee, for the attack was unpredictable.

What must be done, to hold out against war from the air? Here is the gist of the unexpected verdict made known by the chief of staff:

"Given the present state of city planning, only those cities which are conceived along the lines of the Radiant City are capable of emerging victoriously from an air war. Because in the Radiant City, 100% of the ground is free and only 5% to 12% of the surface has buildings on it; now, those buildings are 'on pilotis', which means that air circulates, that there is continuous space, that the wind will be able to dissipate the gas.

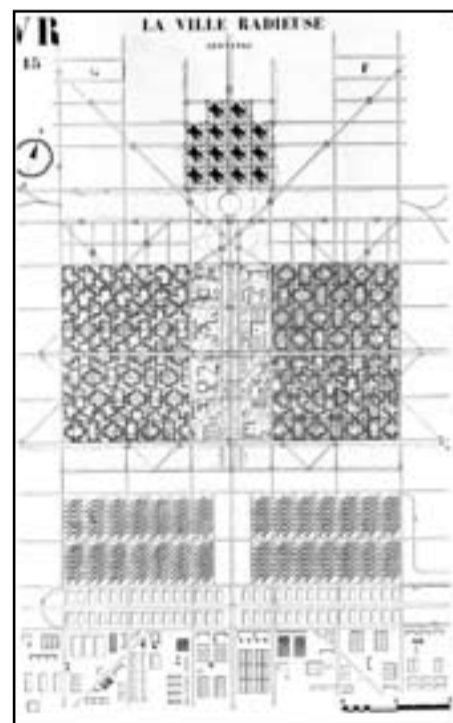
"Apartment buildings



Sketch by Le Corbusier showing the defensive qualities of the RADIANT CITY

in the Radiant City are 50 meters high; thus a number of floors are situated above the gaseous mass; the inhabitants will take refuge on the upper floors and no longer in cellars made specially impervious to gas. Besides these casemate installations do not exist. And how could they be installed in sufficient numbers to shelter the population of a big city? Moreover: if gas should happen to infiltrate into the underground shelter ... then it becomes a tomb.

"Densely populated buildings covering only 5% to 12% of the city's surface can, with a normal expenditure, be



The Plan of the Radiant City by Le Corbusier

equipped with bomb-resistant armoured platforms (roofing); and on the last floor there can be shock absorbing devices to take care of falling projectiles. ...

"In the Radiant City type of city, the danger of fire is eliminated; the scattered arrangement of

buildings considerably limits the effectiveness of bombs; damage is limited solely to places with a direct hit.

"Finally, everywhere in the Radiant (green) City, 88% of which is made up of parks,



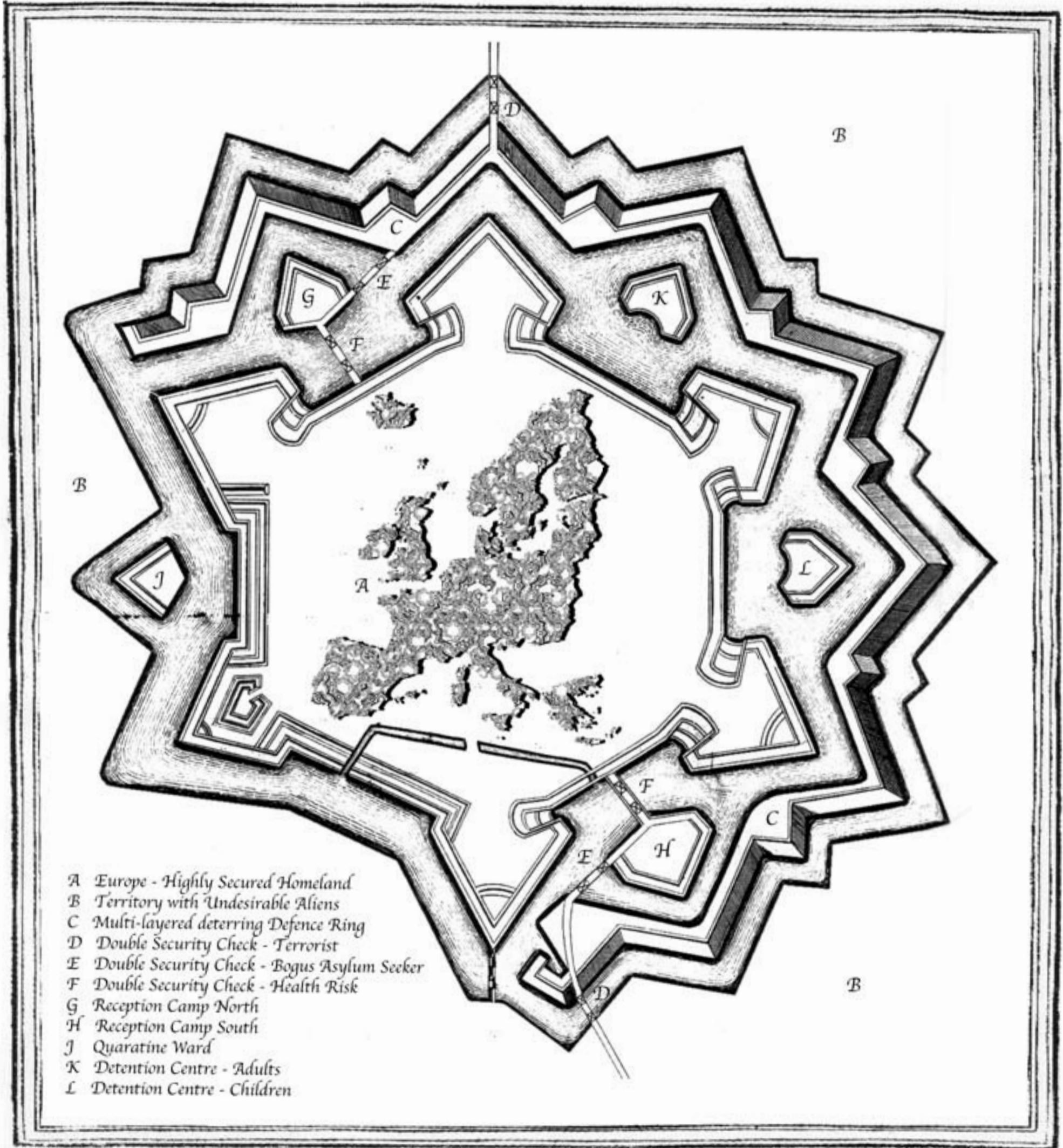
Monsieur Le Corbusier in front of his plans for the Radiant City

there are open-air swimming pools; hydrants can direct this water in streams to smother the layers of gas."...

\* \* \*

Through the evocation of horror, attention must be attracted, public opinion mobilised at last, the power of decision torn from negligent city fathers; the obscenity and infamy of war must become the pretext for rallying enterprising souls and overthrowing secular customs, and be the herald of the Radiant City.

These are the words of the





Estimating the full cost to the British government of its garrison in Ireland is a difficult exercise. However, one estimate commonly accepted is from COSTS OF WAR AND DIVIDENDS OF PEACE, published by West Belfast Economic Forum.

It produced a 25-year (1969 - 1994) total cost figure of £18.205 billion (August 1994).

'The British Military Garrison in Ireland' - Sinn Fein



# The Derry Index

Derry is one of the longest continuously inhabited places in Ireland. The earliest historical references date to the sixth century AD when a monastery was founded there. Currently the City has a population of almost eighty thousand people, with the make up of that population being approximately 60% Catholic and 40% Protestant. Throughout the last twenty-seven years there has been a constant military and police presence in the City, and in the North as a whole. It is estimated that during that time the British Government has invested just over 18 billion pounds in maintaining the security forces. When the Troubles erupted in Derry in 1972, the people were never given an opportunity to decide how this funding would be spent. The possibilities may have surprised some people.



Number of three-bedroom houses that could have been built over twenty-five years **2.86 million**.....

Amount of money that the average household could have spent a week on food and necessities throughout the duration of the Troubles **£345**

Just over **1** Millennium Dome a year could be erected somewhere in the North for 28 years

**9**

Number of Lottery tickets / week which the entire population of Northern Ireland could buy for a quarter of a century

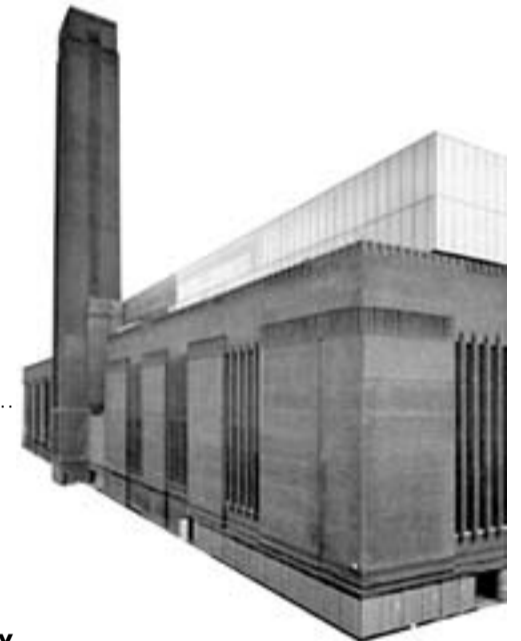
**666.666** Clergy could be paid with the same amount of money

Number of pubs/restaurants that may have been built and run in the twenty-five years **7.200**

Londonderry could have been provided with **4.500** Theatres and Art Galleries

The equivalent money would heat over **350.000** homes for the twenty-five year period

Qualified nurses that could have been employed per year over a period of twenty-five years **36.000**.



Number of versions of the Tate Modern that could be built in Derry **133,33**.....

Derry's Magee University could have benefited from **360** completely new campuses

With the current rate of unemployment in the North of Ireland, every individual signing on would receive **3 times** their current benefit

If teachers were to earn **£45,000** per annum there would still have been enough money in the Security fund to employ .....

With an average of 1,5 million people in the North of Ireland, every man, woman and child could afford to obtain a new computer every **2** years for the length of the Troubles

Annual number of Full Time University students could have been put through the Education system, without paying loans or student fees **90.000**

Number of fully equipped hospital units that could have been built throughout the Province **257**

Number of schools that could have been provided throughout Northern Ireland **900**

Books for education that could have been bought within the same period **600 million**

Number of doctors and surgeons that could have been employed during the same period **515.000**

Derry City's football team could have purchased just fewer than **428** versions of Ronaldo or Zinedine Zidane.....

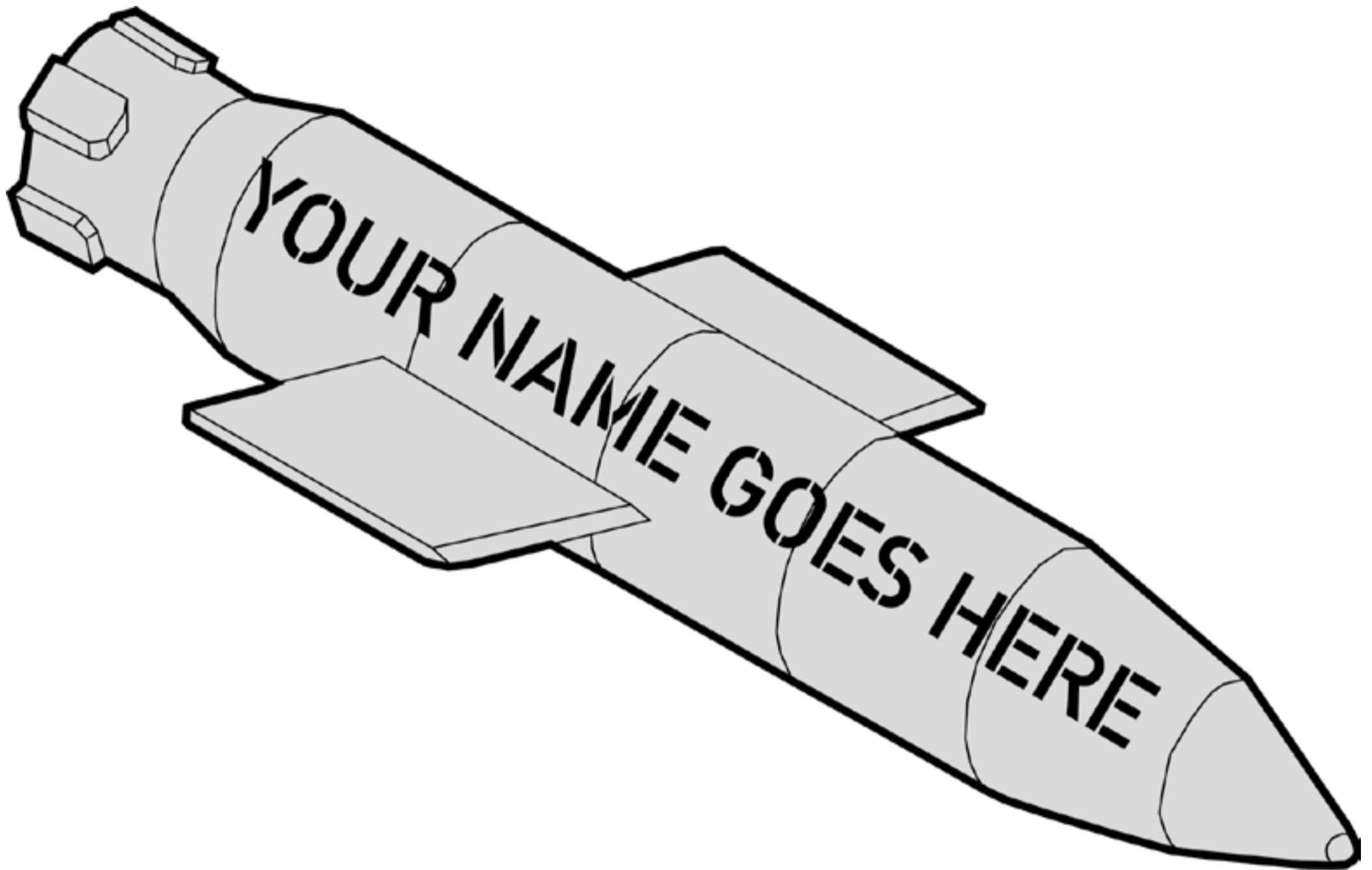


There is no doubting the very obvious cost that the security situation has inflicted on the people of Northern Ireland. Death, violence, damaging of property and economic instability are resounding effects of dissident behaviour and over zealous control tactics. As this alternative History has pointed out, there could have been many avenues and means by which the equivalent amount of money could be spent.

Now as the security situation changes yet again, the process of the last three decades must be evaluated. The legacy of the Troubles must not be the decaying remnants of the 135 British Army Installations, neither should it be the glorification and commodification of the 161 RUC outposts. Questions should be asked as to where exactly the money went, and answers sought as to why it was channelled there and not elsewhere throughout Northern Ireland.



# Call-up to rebuild Iraq



## Damian Arnold & Robert Booth

Fifteen architects and consultants with design capability are on a list of firms drawn up by the British Consultants & Construction Bureau for the reconstruction of Iraq.

With war in Iraq a certainty as *BD* went to press, BCCB chief executive Colin Adams called for more practices with a history of working in Iraq to join the list to help repair damage caused by US and UK bombing.

Architects on the list moved quickly to deny "ambulance-chasing" as others warned that it

was too soon for firms to be showing an interest in Iraq.

Charles Hughes of Miller Hughes, who worked on two major regeneration projects in Baghdad between 1980-85, told *BD*: "I loved my time in Iraq and would love to be involved again in some way to do something for its people. There is always the fear that you will be seen as an ambulance-chaser but if you leave it too late all the contracts are gone."

Other firms said that they were already looking at reconstruction work independently. A spokesman for Atkins said:

"Iraqi consultants and developers have contacted us regarding potential opportunities."

But two veterans of Middle East work contacted by the bureau, Levitt Bernstein and Llewelyn-Davies, said they were not yet interested in pursuing opportunities in Iraq.

Llewelyn-Davies director Ken Cook warned that there could be little work for architects in the early stages of reconstruction. "Any architects interested in reconstruction will have to think longer term," he said. He added that Iraqi architects would return from exile to help repair housing

and foreign architects should aim at more specialised contracts such as hospitals and airports.

Separately, HLM chairman Chris Liddle said his firm would be interested in working in Iraq, but added: "All of us feel traumatised by the events and we have to wait and see what transpires."

The BCCB is expected to play a pivotal role promoting UK firms in reconstruction of the region.

"We are working out which companies have the design capability to work there as and when it is the right moment and have found there is a great deal of enthusiasm for this," said

Adams. "We have contacted our members by e-mail, including all those who have worked in Iraq in the past."

BCCB has been in talks with the DTI's Trade Partners UK at which it put the case for needing much more government support to boost firms wishing to work in Iraq.

"Some element of financial kick-starting from the government is needed," said Adams.

Commenting on reports that US firms had already stitched up the main \$900 million (£575 million) reconstruction contracts from the United States Agency

for International Development (USAID), Adams said there were "grounds for optimism" regarding the opening up of subcontracts. He urged UK practices not to be discouraged from getting involved.

"There's too much being made of this being a mad scramble," he said. "It won't work like that. Experience leads us to believe this will be a 10-year programme. You are not going to win a decent rebuilding project by standing on the doorstep shouting 'me sir, me sir'. You will need to know the area and have experience."

**Leader page 8**



*the ascent of a man - how to transform a boy into a warmonger*

1 "total immersion" in the language of conflict      2 make war natural by making killing fun

3 Naturalise war through architecture and play

**CHILDHOOD**

**1**



**weapons/skills**

toy-soldiers.tanks.aircraft

**games**

"war".military history

**environment**

bedroom.garden.playground

**2**



swords.guns.daggers.grenades.bows.arrows.spears

staged events:"cowboys + indians"

yard.garden.street

**3**



sticks.stones.knives.fire.water.trapping.orienteing

institutions:scouts.boys brigades.young offenders

huts.barracks.nature

**ADOLESCENCE**

**1**



**weapons/skills**

bombing strategies.guerilla warfare.assasination techniques

**games**

playstation

**environment**

virtual screen.domestic

**2**



the body

martial arts

clubs.streets

**3**



bottles.razors.knives.guns.alcohol

gang war.making territory

night clubs.neighbourhoods.urban blocks

**ADULTHOOD**

**1**



**weapons/skills**

survival techniques

**games**

sport

**environment**

fields and forests

**2**



telescopes.cameras.spying paraphenalia

neighbourhood watch

windows.corners.passages.concealed-open spaces

**3**



ideology,legitimising a culture of violence

tourism

the city.fields.seaside.airshows.naval-army displays

**R E S E R V E   A R M Y   O F   L   A B O U R**



Similar to all other sectors of a capitalist economy the building industry is subject to fits and starts, booms and slumps, sudden expansions and contractions. The industry lives in fear of economic downturn. For good reason. A slump can develop into a major recession as in the late nineteen twenties and seventies. The immediate impacts of fluctuations in building activity are seen in employment levels. Boom time in the construction industry and employment levels can rise. When orders are abundant architects are in work. When recession hits, the office shrinks and the Christmas bonus is cut. Such instability and cycles of boom and slump demands an elastic workforce that is shed with technological innovation and can be abandoned by the flight of capital to another army of cheaper and hungrier workers. When business is good a convoy of vans circulate around early morning intersections picking up the ready army of labour ready, waiting for the labour only sub-contractors cash in hand, laid off at a moments notice when orders dry up. At the bottom off the chain of labour command, the reservists can never be sure when they will be called to the front or demobbed to the dole queue. To cope with capitalisms inherent tendency to slumps and crisis a casualised workforce is seen by some to be the ideal social form of labour. To camouflage the creeping insecurity and casualisation of labour,

linguistic tricksters invented the concept of 'flexibility'. But for most low paid workers this has meant the abandonment of secure employment, a deterioration in working conditions, holiday and sick pay, and in some workplaces bans on Trade Unions. The building industry in particular has been notorious for casualised working conditions. It has also been one of the principal sponges for unemployed labour historically recruited for infrastructural works by state and capital. Slaves and prisoners laid roads in antiquity and twentieth century Europe, unemployed workers recruited into the National Workshops dug the foundations of Napoleonic Paris, poverty stricken peasants arrived in carts to construct Brasilia, immigrant Irish labour built Georgian London and the modern motorway system. In brief capitalism and the modern capitalist building industry requires a reserve army of unemployed labour and a casualised employed workforce so as to cope with the economic instability caused by "violent fluctuations" in the movements of capital.

See **Marx**, Karl, Capital, Volume One, The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation, Section III, Progressive Production of a relative surplus-population or Reserve Army of Labour, 1867. See **Mandel**, Ernest, Late Capitalism, The Permanent Arms Economy, Verso, 1999 (1972)



Jonathan Charley





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extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras

AAA - anti aircraft artillery  
 AV-8B - Harrier V/STOL Harrier  
 Avenger - TBF torpedo bomber  
 Buccaneer - Blackburn strike aircraft  
 Fish - torpedo  
 Hawkeye - Grumman E-2 early warning plane  
 Hellcat - Grumman F6F fighter  
 Hornet - F/A 18 jet fighter  
 Intruder - A-6 attack aircraft  
 Liberty - shore leave

MAD - Magnetic Anomaly Device  
 Panther - F9F fighter  
 Phantom - F-4 fighter bomber  
 Prowler - EA-6 attack aircraft  
 SAR - search and rescue  
 Seafire - Supermarine fighter  
 Sea Fury - Hawker fighter  
 Sea Venom - DeHallivand fighter-bomber  
 Torpecker - Torpedo bomber  
 Wildcat - F4F fighter  
 Zero-Sen - Mitsubishi A6M fighter

extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras - extras



*going ashore!*





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Fight against Infection - Invisible Mites -  
Hidden Carriers - Cross Contamination

Showing May 30th  

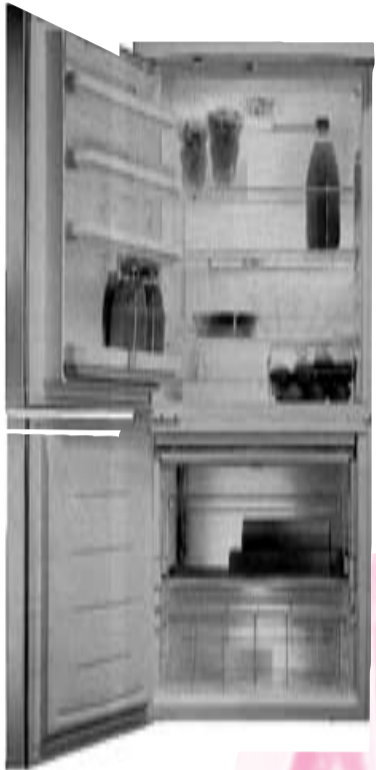
Your Government has established strong anti-immigration tactics and procedures. Your Council has installed numerous CCTV cameras around your city. Your house builder has arranged your home within a cul-de-sac formation. You've installed a burglar alarm, 3 locks on your door and complex locking mechanisms to your windows. You are safe and secure in your home, your fortress. Your family is protected from the unknown intruder. Or are they?

Could there be hidden threats within your home? Perhaps lurking on every work surface and door handle there lies another threat to your modern, sanitised life of privacy and division. Something you cannot see or hear. The invisible intruder. Bacteria. The Dust Mite. The Super-bug.

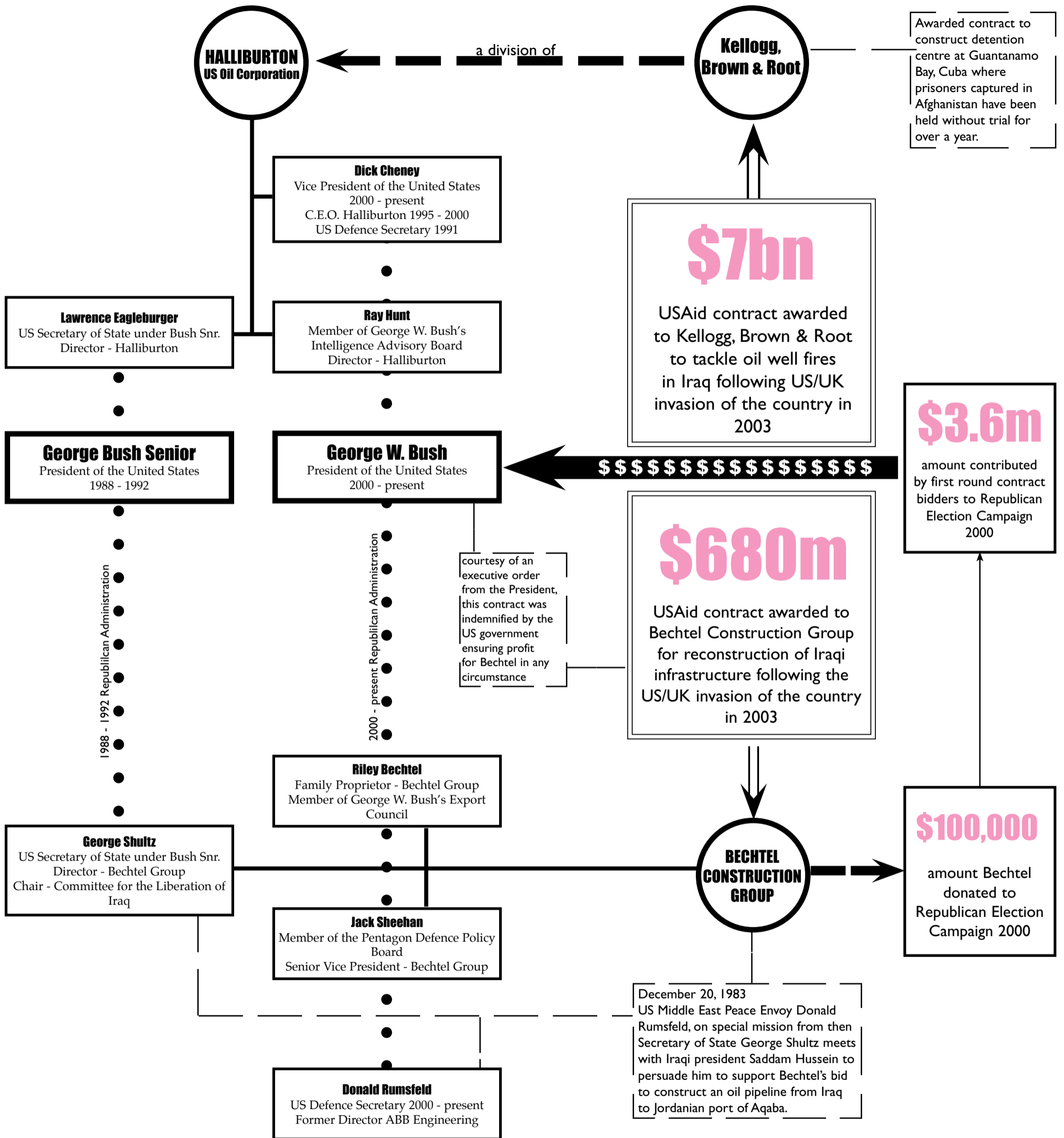
Fortunately multinationals and marketing experts are at hand. With a monopoly on all major cleaning goods and careful advertising strategies they can provide a huge variety of products to protect you and your family from persistent attack. These products are constantly re-designed and packaged (powder, liquid, capsules, spray, wipes) to suit all areas of your home that could be prone to invasion.

The ongoing question will always be, 'Have you covered all bases?'

# “After total war can come total

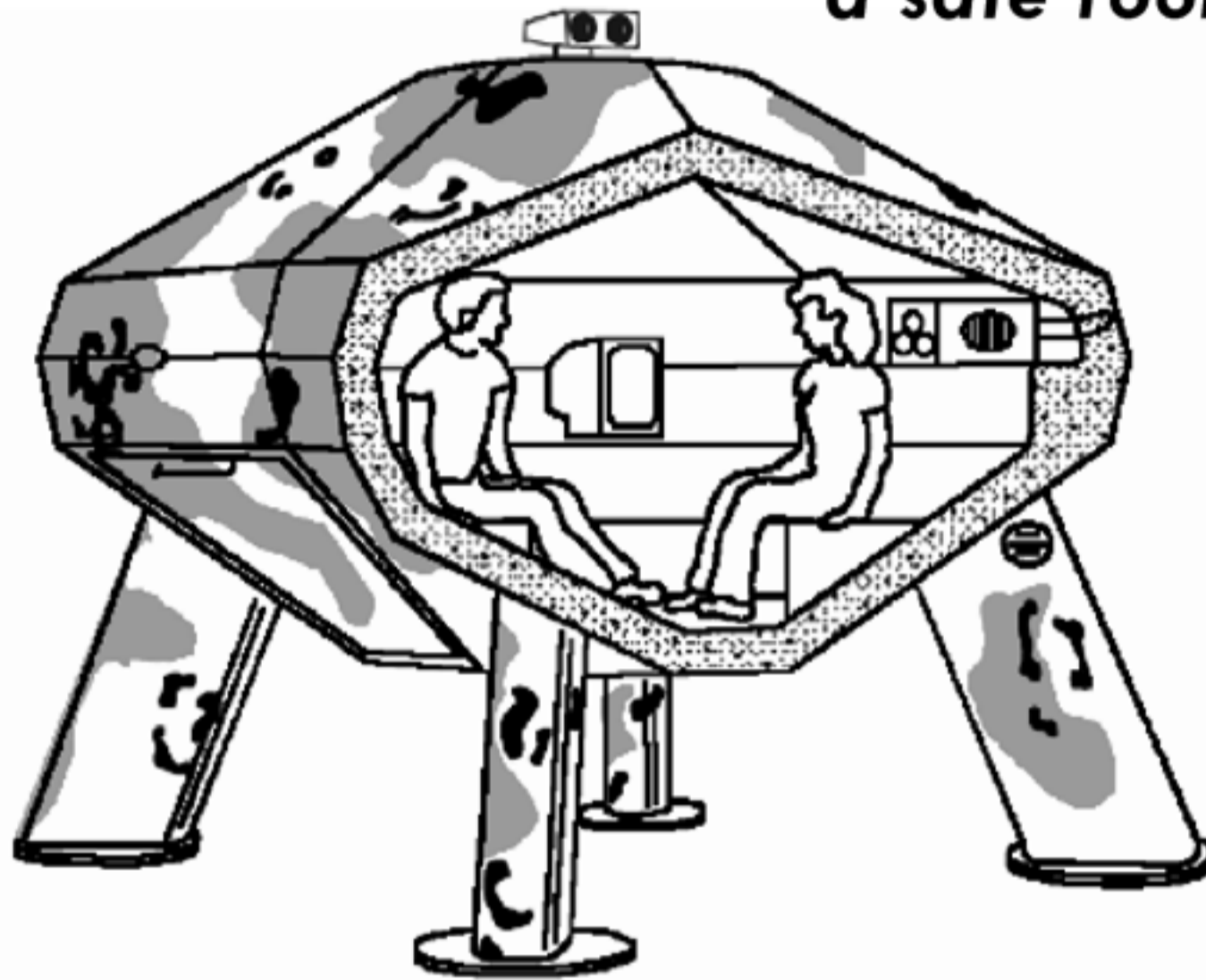






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*'I couldn't believe how cute it looked sitting out there in my garden, the kids love it!'*  
Stuart M., Chester, New England

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Bruce A., Cannock, Nevada

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# tactics for spatial Resistance

meet



**underground, in the office, on site**

Factory workers, Moscow, 1917

organise



**trade unions, workers and citizens committees**

Brigade of anarchist building workers, Spain, 1936

march



**through the streets and squares**

Workers on the move, Scotland, 1820

barricade



**strategic routes and pathways**

Workers build barricades, Moscow, 1917

occupy



**key buildings and institutions**

Severn Pool occupation, Glasgow, 2000

strike



**against unjust employers and practice**

'Strike' Red Glasgow, 1919

appropriate



**all means necessary for the production and use of buildings and cities**

Reconfiguring urban space, Paris, 1968

transgress



**the boundaries of bourgeois morality and taste**

Street Art Action, Winter Palace, Petrograd, 1920

transform



**the labour process in the interests of workers and communities**

All Russian Congress of Factory and Shop Stewards Committees, 1917

shatter



**the illusions of capitalist justice**

Burning Police Station, Moscow, 1917

build



**social condensers for our time**

Campaign to Defend Public Housing, Glasgow, 2000





*But what were the biggest architectural events of the last one hundred years? When the IRA blew up the City of London? Or when the Israeli State bulldozed the homes of Palestinians? When Bolshevik militants detonated churches? Or when African Americans burnt L.A? When the fires swept Dresden? Or was it the shredding of the twin towers? The precision bombing of ancient Mesopotamia? Perhaps it was when Chernobyl exploded and poisoned the earth? Or when fifty years before that the Nazis scorched the Ukraine on the eastern front? When Plymouth, Coventry, Nagasaki, Saigon and all those other places were carpet bombed? When buddha was erased from the cliffs and a country was dragged back into the stone age? The beached Brazilian slave fort flickering in the palmed sun, the piled stone sculptures of the graveyard of the Prague ghetto, the obedient slave, the loyal serf, the free wage worker. With a squint in the eye all can be remembered as pretty pictures. And all these moments of tragedy became postcards of our time. Something for the flaneur to send home.*



**militarism**

*n.* an excess of the military spirit ; domination by an army, or military class or ideals ; belief in such domination ; a tendency to overvalue military power or to view things from the soldier's point of view.

"There is no abuse of power, for always and everywhere power abuses."

**Henri Lefebvre**

"If the city has its origin in warfare, it implies that, being an urbanist, I am supporting war."

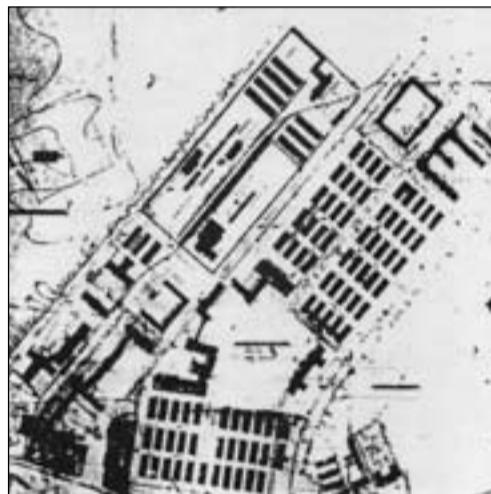
**Paul Virilio**



*Every preparing defence activity and its deterrent effect is just the other side of the war medal. Defence is part of the war not prevention of it.*

**control**

*n.* restraint ; authority ; command ; regulation ; a check ; a means of operating, regulating, directing or testing ; a station for doing so ; a disembodied spirit or other agency supposed to direct a spiritualised medium.



*As soon as states were formed, war has been developed as an organisation and economy of the territory, as economy of money and technology.*

"The effort of all established powers, since the experience of the French Revolution, to augment their means of keeping order in the street has eventually culminated in the suppression of the street itself"

**Guy Debord**

*Design is the technique of ordering action within space according to the demands of those paying for it.*

**territory**

*n.* possession in land ; the whole, or the portion, of the land belonging to the state ; part of confederation with organised government but not yet admitted to statehood ; a dependency ; a region ; a jurisdiction ; an area that an animal or bird treats as its own.

**weapon**

*n.* any instrument of offense or defence.

**discipline**

*n.* training designed to engender self-control an an ordered way of life ; the state of self-control achieved by such training ; a branch of learning or field of study ; subjection to control ; punishment.

"Logistics is the process where the potential of a nation is transferred onto its armed forces, in peace times as much as in war times"

**Pentagon Statement**

*Space is political, even more so when the political is absent. The deliberate suppression of political importance from the public realm is a strategy to make political struggle unlikely if not impossible.*



"Militarism is not only a means of defence and a weapon against the external enemy; it has a second task, ... , the task of protecting the prevailing order, of supporting capitalism and all reaction against the struggle of the working class for freedom"

**Karl Liebknecht**



*We have to come to a new understanding of the term militarisation. Without a language to describe contemporary forms of control and repression within our society and our cities a critique is impossible.*

# GET THE LOOK

## The high street



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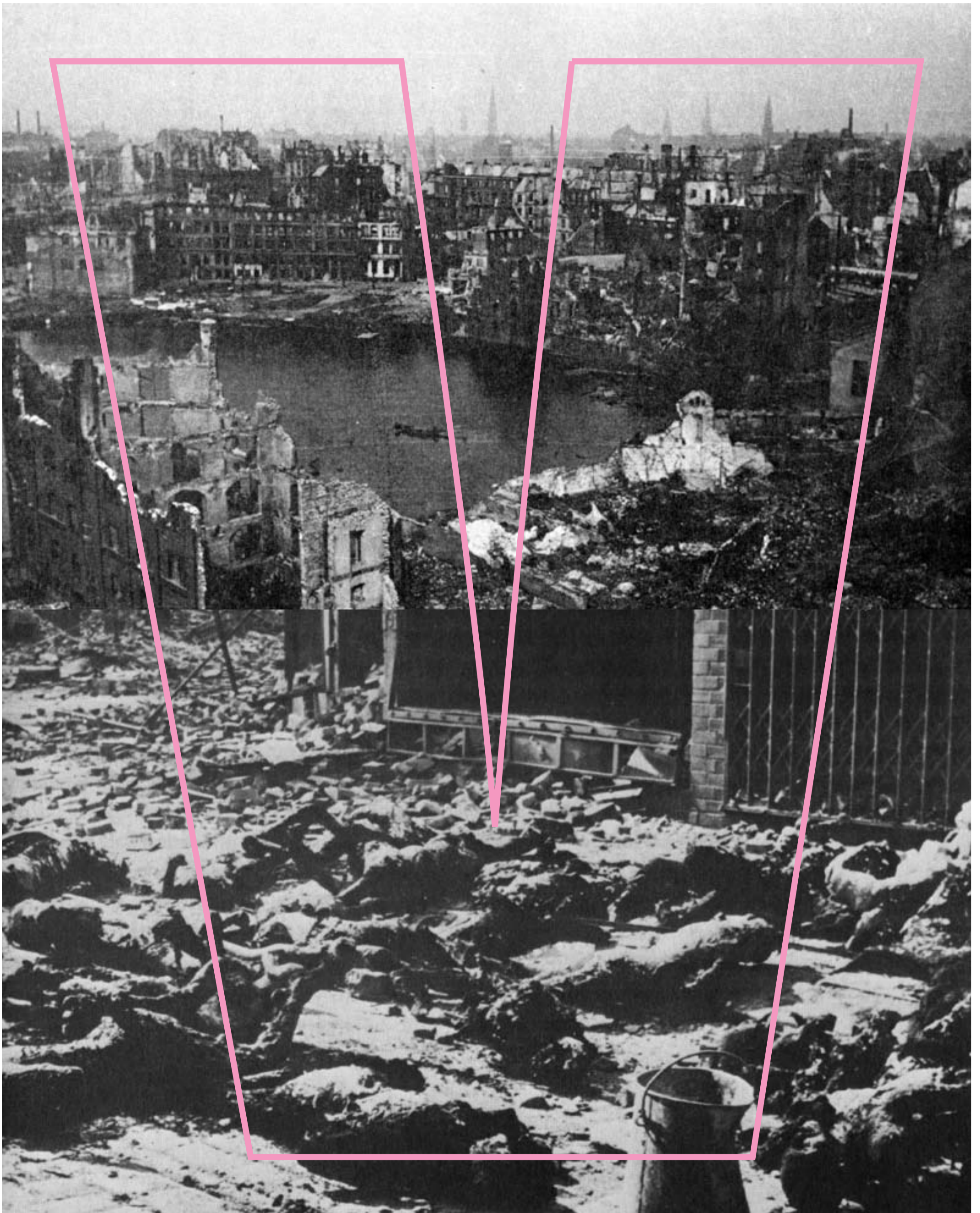
**Private War**  
Make a statement with a fashion  
evergreen. Get geared up with  
**Front**, the military inspired parka  
for your personal Blitzkrieg.  
High-end urban guerilla wear for  
immediate use in direct action.  
From leading Designer labels,  
branches worldwide.

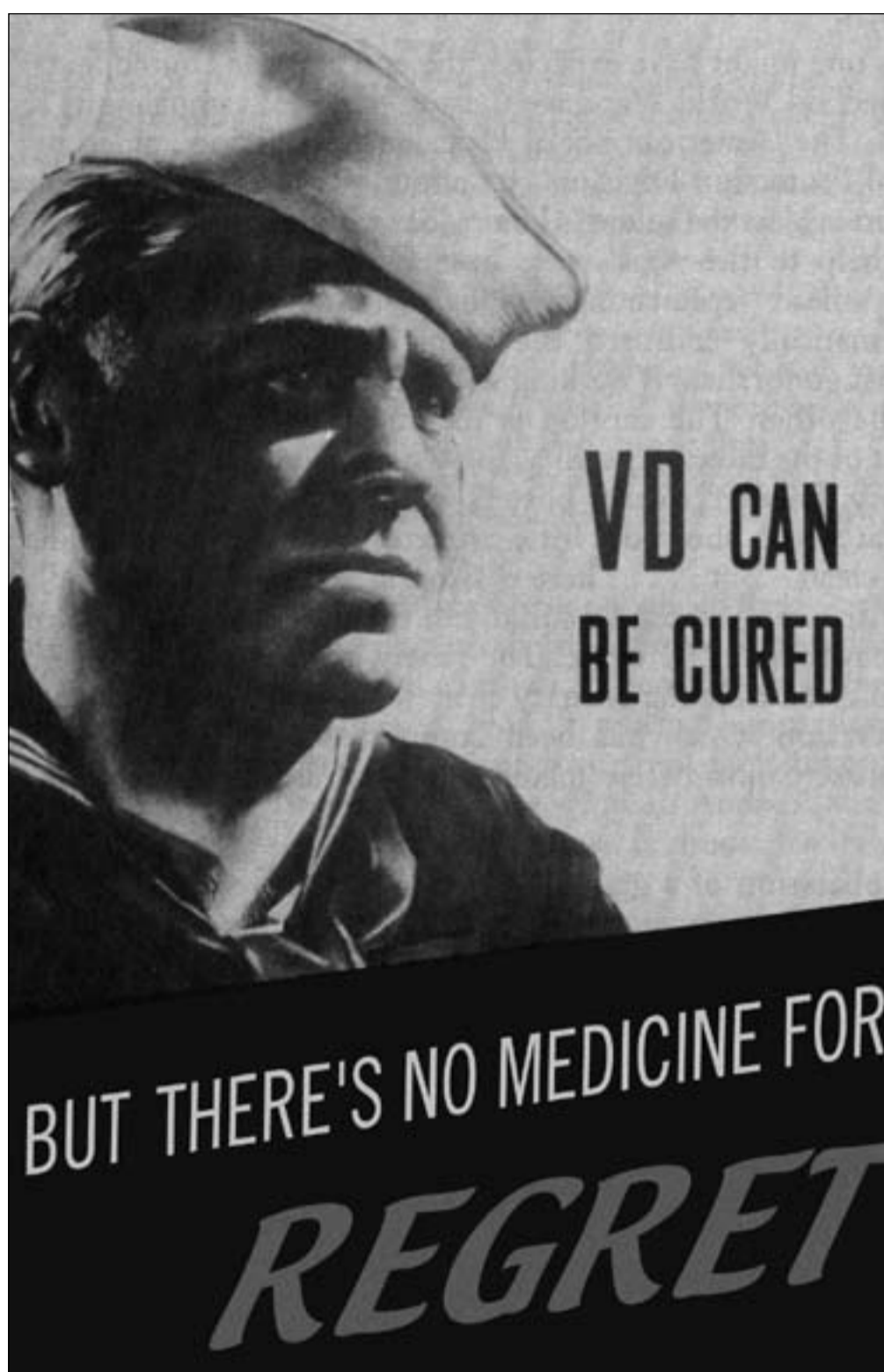


**Authentic** battle proven,  
tried and tested multi purpose combat bag;  
as seen on television and in newspapers.  
Ultra-realistic touch, bags come complete  
with imprint of owning soldier's name.  
Ideal constant companion for  
fashion groupies who want a  
personal touch. From flee-markets,  
army and second-hand shops  
worldwide or contact your  
National Army direct.



**Negotiator.** 1940s style prêt-à-porter remake of long time  
classic. Definite fashion partner for business as well as the  
intellectual battle of everyday-life situations.  
For stockists refer to above.





While the old platitude states that the first casualty of war is the truth, experience has shown us that conspicuous amongst its subsequent victims are women and children. But as well as forming the majority of the anonymous ranks of so-called 'collateral damage', for women, the presence of a hostile occupying force often holds more particular horrors. Torture, rape and other sexual abuses have been women's experience of war for generations as successive armies exacted an asymmetrical and gendered revenge on female populations. Even when attempts have been made to control, manage or redirect this sexual aggression, the critical mass of a large army has often had untold consequences for the female civilians of occupied countries or their nearest neighbours. The transformation of Bangkok and other East Asian cities into some of the world's most notorious fleshpots, for example, must be considered in the context of their re-designation as areas of rest and recreation for the American military machine during, and immediately after, the Vietnam and Korean wars. American imperial presence, therefore, lies at the root of a trade in flesh and child prostitution which today is augmented by western sexual tourists whose dollars, against a backdrop of extreme rural poverty and arrested development, often effectively underwrite the local economy.

The relationship between war, prostitution and sexual abuse in the 20th century, does not represent any radical, new departure. Instead, just as American expansionism occupies the vacated space of the British colonial project of the 18th and 19th centuries, the 'sin cities' of Bangkok etc. provide an echo of a previous wave of urban areas designated as 'pleasure zones' to entertain dissolute imperial troops. Among these Dublin was one of the most conspicuous, its reputation as a city of vice world famous from the Napoleonic Wars until the early years of the twentieth century. It was during the former conflict in the late eighteenth century that the notion of biological warfare began to be considered in detail. But here the concept of disease as a deadly weapon had a very particular focus. Contemporary military theorists suggested that syphilis had been introduced by Napoleon to undermine the fighting capacity of the British Army. The measures introduced to deal with the problem were required to address the results of military profligacy while still allowing troops to vent their sexual frustrations. Prostitutes and working class women increasingly became the focus of military sponsored medical intervention. Placed under surveillance, so-called 'irregularities' in the sexual behaviour of women could result in compulsory, involuntary medical examination and, if found to be infected with venereal disease, subsequent incarceration. Soldiers, sailors and air-men were not subject to such measures.





WOMEN OF BRITAIN  
**COME INTO  
THE CLINICS**

TRADE WITH NEW CHESTS! ENHANCED POSTERIOIRS WITH BUTTC  
IMPLANTS!

# Career Paths to Construction

# 17

**“Aged 13 to 17? Want to discover more about the British Army? You’ll find it all here at Camouflage. The site is packed full of helpful facts, career advice, free downloads, competitions, and special offers. There’s Army info, news, features, diaries, games and quizzes available to all. Then if you like what you see, register for FREE access to our Member’s Area, with more in-depth info, games, events and loads of extra benefits.”**

Excerpt from British Army Website 15.05.2003  
[www.mycamouflage.co.uk](http://www.mycamouflage.co.uk)

aviation groundcrew specialist  
 gunner  
 infantry soldier  
**SURVEYOR**  
 mounted dutyman  
 tank crewman  
 ammunition specialist  
 armourer  
**BRICKLAYER AND CONCRETER**  
 aircraft technician  
**CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS TECHNICIAN**  
**DRAUGHTSMAN**  
 aircraft technician  
 area systems operator  
 avionics technician  
**BUILDING AND STRUCTURAL FINISHER**  
 combat engineer  
**DESIGN DRAUGHTSMAN**  
 electrician engineer  
**HEATING AND PLUMBING ENGINEER**  
 marine engineer  
**PIONEER**  
 radio systems operator  
 regimental specialist  
 special operator  
**SYSTEMS ENGINEER TECHNICIAN**  
 vehicle engineer  
 geographical terrain analyst  
**INSTALLATION TECHNICIAN**  
**METALSMITH**  
 plan operator  
 mechanic  
 recovery mechanic  
 signals electrician  
 technical storeman  
 radio operator command  
 military intelligence supply controller  
 radio systems operator  
 air dispatcher  
**CARPENTER AND JOINER**  
 petrol operator  
 postal and courier operator  
 sea man  
 vehicle specialist  
 chef  
**GEOGRAPHICAL PRODUCTION TECHNICIAN**  
 ammunition technician  
 movement controller  
 biomedical scientist  
 combat medical technician  
 dental support specialist  
 operating department practitioner  
 radiographer  
 veterinary technician  
 clinical physiologist  
**ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNICIAN**  
 health care assistant  
 pharmacy technician  
 dog trainer  
 linguist  
 mounted gunner  
 royal military police  
 musician

Britain has been criticised in a report which identifies countries that routinely recruit child soldiers. The Child Soldiers Global Report, identifies the UK Government as the only country in Europe that still recruits 16-year-olds, and routinely sends soldiers as young as 17 into battle. It says aggressive advertising campaigns and recruitment drives have helped boost the ranks of young soldiers.

Excerpt from BBC Website 12.06.2001, [www.news.bbc.co.uk](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk)



Gangland A666



Racketeering  
kidnapping  
drugs and  
extortion



**Caution  
Sniper at work**

PEDESTRIANS  
LOOK OUT

Area of  
Designation  
  
Next  
2 Miles

continued from front page

Thirdly we have the rapid emergence of surveillance technologies in civilian life. CCTV, swipe cards, camera recognition techniques, tagging, and neighbourhood watch are all spin offs from military research as is of course the computer itself.

Fourthly we can think of the culture of fear that is increasingly affecting public life most evident in the move towards 'protected' privatised services and 'softly' fortified living environments.

Fifthly we can think of the relationship between war and leisure. From games of cops and robbers in the street, to obliterating people and buildings on a PlayStation in the bedroom, to wearing combat gear for fun.

There is more: the gang "war", the illegal occupation of other peoples land and property.

What this all indicates is that the connection between war and the built environment is not something that we encounter only in times of conflict such as in the bombing of Baghdad. In very real ways military concepts of spatial organisation, techniques of physical and psychological destruction, patterns of military style authority and order have permeated our every day life and it's physical and spatial organisation. Hence the theme of War, and more specifically the militarisation of everyday life.

As a contribution to the debate glaspaper 05/06 is organised as an A-Z. Although not comprehensive it tries to indicate through twenty-six posters a number of ways in which we can understand or view the relationship between war and architecture.

Special thanks go to photographer Claire Wheeldon who has kindly given permission for the reproduction of her 'Childhood Institution Series'.

In September 2003 glaspaper shall be relocating to Berlin for two weeks. In that time we will produce a special issue that will be distributed in October. Any comments or contributions towards this unique event are welcome.

glaspaper relies entirely upon the generous support and encouragement of our readers, friends and supporters. Producing a regular journal without the intrusive presence of advertising allows Glaspaper to represent a unique voice in Scottish publishing. Your continuing support is valued. If you would like to receive Glaspaper regularly or wish to support us in any way, we can be contacted via the postal or web address below.



*GLAS is a co-operative of architects, teachers, writers and urban activists*

*GLAS is committed to fighting all manifestations of socio-spatial inequality, exploitation and deprivation*

*GLAS produces multi-media critical works and design ideas that promote a radical social and political rethinking of how we make and experience buildings and cities*

*GLAS is engaged in a critique of the capitalist production and use of the built environment*

*GLAS is committed to the dissemination of it's ideas to as wide an audience as possible, exploring a broad range of communication techniques*

*GLAS aims to offer free advice and assistance to individuals and social groups engaged in struggles to transform their environment*

*GLAS is organised around the political principles of temporary existence and of collective selfmanagement and ownership of assets and ideas*

**G.L.A.S. are**

Rosalie Adams, Allan Atlee, Judith Barber, Jason Bell, Gary Boyd, Jonathan Charley, Alistair Clements, Tony Dunworth, Florian Kossak, Carole Latham, Alan Pert, Tatjana Schneider, Adrian Stewart.

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