EDITORIAL

GLASpaper 09 On the Edge was conceived in May 2004 when ten new member states joined the European Union (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus). Like Scotland, these countries exist on the geographic periphery of the EU. On the Edge records certain aspects of GLAS's critical journey through 8 of these 10 new member states.

Political, cultural and historic mechanisms shape our built environment and everyday lives. GLAS travelled by train from Estonia to Slovenia to investigate the social and economic conditions shaping these countries and to explore alternative ways to experience place and history.

GLAS devised four specific tasks to explore each city and gain impressions within a short time frame. These tasks established alternative criteria for looking at places and challenged the 'official' histories and cultures that are relentlessly represented on conventional tourist trails.

GLAS used the tasks to observe, follow, encounter and record each city; its urban structures, infrastructures, social relations and rituals. It is hoped that these might be used as a template for students, teachers and individuals to construct similar critical journeys.

The outcome of the Photo Reporter task has been compiled into a large fold-out poster to form a Polaroid matrix of places and activities: the architecture of the everyday.

Information gathered during the remaning tasks (Treasure Hunt, Get on the Bus, Passport Control) has been presented as a series of critical writings and graphics to encompass pertinent issues affecting the countries visited.

On the Edge presents shifting European boundaries in their wider historical context. The new eastern European 'Edge' has been reviewed from Moscow. Readily accessible European state capitals are shown to be wide open for capitalist invasion. The recent concentration of wealth has been limited to tourist trails, business districts, UNESCO heritage centres and huge, out of town shopping malls.

The erosion of existing public services and the decline in locally controlled commerce are an inevitable progression.

GLAS believes this to be a step in the wrong direction.

GLAS would like to thank the following people for their support before, during and after Levente Polyak in Budapest (www.kek.org.hu), Architect Karine Kreja in Warsaw, Ondrej

Chrobak of Display Gallery in Prague, Ivan Stanic and Maja Simoneti in Ljubljana (www. trajekt.org). Barbara Golicnik from Glasgow School of Art for helpful pre-trip advice. Thanks go to Mr Kossak for the donation of polaroid film and to John Davies for the travellers' notebooks and pens. Special thanks go to Jan Timmermann and Holger Schwarz for their dedication and enthusiasm during the trip. GLAS would also like to extend a large thank you to the Lighthouse and the Innovation Fund for their continued support.

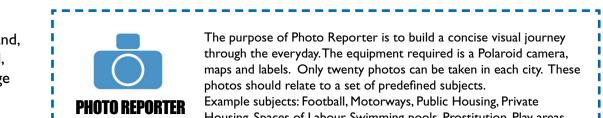
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TRAVEL TASKS

The purpose of Photo Reporter is to build a concise visual journey through the everyday. The equipment required is a Polaroid camera, maps and labels. Only twenty photos can be taken in each city. These photos should relate to a set of predefined subjects. Example subjects: Football, Motorways, Public Housing, Private Housing, Spaces of Labour, Swimming pools, Prostitution, Play areas, Hospitals, Panorama, Allotments, Café, Bus queues, Markets, Kiosks, and Nightlife. Labels can be used to make notes to describe not just

the 'what' but 'why' each photo has been taken. Maps are required to

locate where the places/people/objects have been photographed.



The purpose of Treasure Hunt is to discover and establish spaces and places known by locals. A key factory or office should be visited within each city. Locals working within these workplaces should be followed or asked to describe their journey from work to their home, nearest café, train station, launderette etc. The equipment required is a sketchbook and pen. These should be used to document a mental map of directions given, to record conversations that took place, to sketch the experience of spaces visited. The use of city maps is strictly forbidden. Bits of 'treasure' should be collected along the way (newspapers, matchbooks, launderette tokens, flowers from park).



Get on the Bus requires that a bus, tram, train, bike or boat be taken to the end of the line of a non-tourist related route. The purpose of this task is to form a subjective account of a journey through a particular part of the city. The equipment required is a sketchbook **GET ON THE BUS** and pen within which to narrate the journey. The use of photographs is strictly forbidden. The journey should be documented as a stream of consciousness rather than a full piece of text. This could be a loose collection of thoughts relating to views, smells, people, places and



The purpose of Border control is to investigate and record facts about fellow travellers. The equipment required is a set of flyers, a camera and an adjustable date stamp. The flyers should be distributed within the train carriage or bus in which you are travelling. Attempt to collect at least two 'cards' per train journey. Example facts could be: name, age, date of birth, destination, duration

of stay, reason for journey. These should be set in a passport style flyer, with a front page that gives a brief explanation of your project. As an icebreaker to starting conversation share some tea and biscuits.









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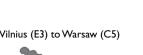
THE JOURNEY

Glasgow to Tallinn (D1) 11 2. SEP. 2004

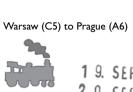


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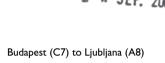














Land 43,211 sq km, water 2,015 sq km Land boundaries total 633 km (Latvia 339km Coastline 3,794 km Population 1,341,664 (July 2004 est.) Population growth rate -0.66% (2004 est.) Population Density 30.000 people per sg kn Tallinn Population 400,378 Labour force 654,000 (2003 est.) Labour force by occupation - agriculture 11%, industry 20%, services 69% (1999 est.) Inemployment Rate 10.1 % (2003) Tourism 950,000.00 visitors each year

D2 Latvia Capital Riga Geographic coordinates 57 00 N, 25 00 E Area total 64,589 sq km Land 63,589 sq km, water 1,000 sq km Land boundaries total 1,150 km (Belarus 141 km, Estor 339 km, Lithuania 453 km, Russia 217 km) Coastline 531 km Population 2,306,306 (July 2004 est.) Population growth rate -0.71% (2004 est.) Population Density 36.000 people per sq km Riga Population 747,157 Labour force 1.18 million (2003 est.) Labour force by occupation - agriculture 15%, industry 25%, services 60% (2000 est.) Inemployment rate 8.6% (2003 est.) Tourism 490,000.00 visitors each year

E3 Lithuania Capital Vilnius Geographic coordinates 56 00 N, 24 00 E Area total 78,866 sq km Area total 65,200 sq km Land NA sq km, water, NA sq km Land 77,276 sq km, water 1,590 sq km and boundaries total, 1,273 km (Belarus 502 km, Latvia Land boundaries total 1.881 km (Austria 362 km.

453 km, Poland 91 km, Russia (Kaliningrad) 227 km) Population 3,607,899 (July 2004 est.) Population growth rate -0.33% (2004 est.) Population Density 55.000 people per sq km Vilnius Population 542,287 Labour force 1.642 million (2003 est.) Labour force by occupation - agriculture 20%, industry 30%, services 50% (1997 est.) Inemployment Rate 10.3% (2003 est. Tourism 1,422,000.00 visitors each year

Geographic coordinates 52 00 N, 20 00 E Area total 312,685 sq km land 304,465 sq km, water 8,220 sq km Land boundaries total 2,788 km (Belarus 407 km, Cze Republic 658 km, Germany 456 km, ithuania 91 km, Russia (Kaliningrad Oblast) 206 km, Slovakia 444 km, Ukraine 526 km) Coastline 491 km Population 38,626,349 (July 2004 est.) Population growth rate 0.02% (2004 est.) Population Density 124.000 people per sg kn Warsaw Population 1,671,670 Labour force 16.42 million (2003 est.) _abour force by occupation - agriculture 27.5%, industry 22.1%, services 50.4% (1999) Inemployment Rate 20 % (2003) Tourism 17.950.000.00 visitors each year

C5 Poland Capital Warsaw

A6 Czech Republic Capital Prague 7 Hungary Capital Budapes Geographic coordinates 49 45 N, 15 30 E Geographic coordinates 47 00 N, 20 00 E Area total 93,030 sq km Land 92,340 sq km, water 690 sq km

and boundaries total 2,171 km (Austria 366 km, Croatia Germany 646 km, Poland 658 km, Slovakia 215 km) 29 km, Romania 443 km, Serbia and Montenegro 151 km. lovakia 677 km, Slovenia 102 km, Ukraine 103 km) oastline 0 km (landlocked) Population 10,246,178 (July 2004 est.) Coastline 0 km (landlocked) opulation 10,032,375 (July 2004 est.) Population growth rate -0.05% (2004 est.) Population Density 130.00 people per sq km Population growth rate -0.25% (2004 est opulation Density 108.00 people per sq km Prague Population 1,165,581 Labour force 5.25 million (2003 est.) Budapest Population 1,775,203 Labour force by occupation - agriculture 5%, industry Labour force 4.164 million (2003) Labour force by occupation - agriculture 8%, industry 27%, 35%, services 60% (2001 est.) nemployment rate: 9.9% (2003) services 65% (1996) Unemployment rate 5.9% (2003 est.) Tourism 5,610,000.00 visitors each year Tourism 14,402,000.00 visitors each year

B7 Slovakia Capital Bratislay A8 Slovenia Capital Ljubljar Geographic coordinates 46 07 N, 14 49 E Geographic coordinates 48 40 N, 19 30 E Area total 48,845 sq km Area total 20,273 sq km Land 48,800 sg km, water 45 sg km Land 20,151 sq km, water 122 sq km Land boundaries total 1,334 km (Austria 330 km, Croatia Land boundaries total 1,524 km (Austria 91 km, Czech Republic 215 km, Hungary 677 km 670 km, Italy 232 km, Hungary 102 km) Poland 444 km, Ukraine 97 km) Coastline 46.6 km Population 2,011,473 (July 2004 est.) Coastline 0 km (landlocked) Population 5,423,567 (July 2004 est.) Population growth rate -0.01% (2004 est.) Population Density 99.000 people per sq km Population growth rate 0.14% (2004 est.) Population Density 110.00 people per sq km Liubliana Population 258,873 Labour force 875,000 (2003) Bratislava Population 428,672 Labour force by occupation - agriculture NA, industry NA, Labour force 2.58 million (2003) abour force by occupation - agriculture 8.9%, industry services NA 9.3%, construction 8%, transport and communication Unemployment Rate 11.2% (2003 est.) Tourism 884,000.00 visitors each year 8.2%, services 45.6% (1994)

nemployment rate 15.2% (2003 est

Tourism 975,000.00 visitors each year

Henri Lefebre - The

Production of Space, 1974

MOSCOW •

'The nation is arbitrarily. Over time they shift and deflect, revealing that their positioning on the page scarcely more than a reflects not the physical features of natural geography but political motives.These are fiction projected by capricious lines which distribute space according to the exigencies of a certain the bourgeoisie onto its own historical conditions and origins ... as a way of masking class contradictions and seducing the working to the landlord's holdings; the lines of the class into a illusory national solidarity

moment – a political bargain, the wilfulness of a leader, the location of an ethnic group or a precious natural resource. No line on a map, however, is ever drawn arbitrarily. It only seems so because the motives under which it is shaped are invisible to the naked eye. Invisible but infinitely powerful. The lines and expansionist policies. It is tempting to of the map tend not to accept ambiguity or even history. Instead, they impose new relationships on to the landscape.The past is full of examples: the estate maps of eighteenth-century England which spoke of the desirability of appending common land Down Survey in Ireland which dissolved the traditional indigenous relationship to land and replaced it with new English property rights; the 19th century maps of Africa which posited a landscape bereft of culture, a blank canvas on to which colonial powers were invited to inscribe their identities; the maps of the Third Reich which showed the location of ethnic German minorities in such a way as to suggest their inclusion into an expanding Greater Germany was both inevitable and natural; the line which divided India and Pakistan in 1946 that caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people

Lines on a map are apparently drawn

The nation state is born from such lines cast of the place. In the world of commodities abstractly on to a page, its borders shaped according to the same caprices. But once drawn, its culture must be made to fit the lines of geography. States which in the past may have enjoyed only a fleeting, ephemeral existence are re-made, given a history that speaks of longevity, of legitimacy, of a culture that is unique, rarefied and distinct from the influences of elsewhere. National heroes are resurrected as are the types of architecture, food and music and other cultural phenomenon which are designated to be 'typical' of the nation. Under tourism this process intensifies as the State's uniqueness becomes its greatest selling point.

and irrevocably altered an Islamic culture

thousand years. And so on.

which had inhabited India for more than a

It also inevitably requires omissions. Thus, historic Prague is described as a Czech city rather than what it was: a city of the Austro-Hungarian empire whose cultural flowering owed everything to its heterogeneous population and its position as an intersection of Czech, German and Jewish cultures. Similarly, in Warsaw where one will struggle to find the remnants of a five hundred year old lewish culture or even the location of the largest lewish ghetto of the Second World War, while being confronted on almost every street corner with commemorations of the ethnic Polish uprising against the Nazis of 1944. In Vilnius the Jerusalem of the north – the Museum of Genocide pointedly fails to mention the fate of Lithuanian Jews and concentrates instead on the horrific experiences of ethnic Lithuanians at the hands of Soviet Russia.

In countries whose existence is owed to the break-up of a colonial power, the identity of their former rulers – most explicitly statues and monuments – is most systematically removed or suppressed. Vestiges of foreign, alien cultures are purged from the history books, chiselled off public buildings and

ethnic minorities of the present day Baltic states find themselves practically stateless. Re-located here under the economic plans of the Soviet Union, since its break-up and retrenchment they have found themselves on the wrong side of a national boundary. Unable to work in certain jobs and denied other benefits of citizenship unless they learn the official state languages of Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian, they are compelled to pay for the Soviet Union's past aggressions say that the places where they live in the city reflect this. In the vast concrete estates of the urban fringes you will often find the majority of signs are written in Cyrillic script and a predominance of Russian speaking voices. These are places the tourist seldom sees. This architecture of mass, social housing, of flat roofs, reinforced concrete and deck-access speaks of internationalism and other, discredited ideologies. A stark counterpoint to the spires, fachwerk and pitched roofs of old Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius, it is regarded with the same suspicion as its

eclipsed from everyday memory. Some

vestiges, however, are human. The Russian

But curiously, it is the quaint and picturesque old town centres which, while ostensibly celebrating the indigenous and local, most rigorously pursue the international. Here, to provide comfort to western visitors one will find the icons of luxury and familiarity: Italian coffee, French delicacies, German hospitality, Irish beer and of course, words plucked from English to convey to the tourist, the 'character' the ideology of the nation-state is infinitely

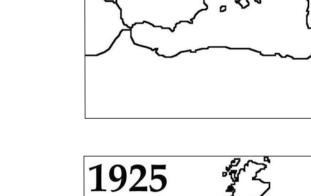
Tallinn is the Russian Empire, Riga is in the Russian Empire, Vilnius is in the Kingdom of Poland, Warsaw is in the Kingdom of Hungary, Prague is in Austria, Bratislava is in the Kingdom of Hungary, Budapest is in the Kingdom of Hungary, Ljubljana is in Austria, Malta is French, Cyprus is in the Ottoman Empire.

Tallinn is the Russian Empire, Riga is in the Russian Empire, Vilnius is in the Russian Empire, Warsaw is in the Russian Empire, Prague is in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bratislava is in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Budapest is in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ljubljana is in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Malta is in the British Empire, Cyprus is in the British Empire.

Tallinn is the Estonia, Riga is in Latvia, Vilnius is in Lithuania, Warsaw is in Poland, Prague is in Czechoslovakia, Bratislava is in Czechoslovakia, Budapest is in Hungary, Ljubljana is in Yugoslavia, Malta is in the British Empire, Cyprus is in the British Empire.

Tallinn is the Reichskommissariat Ostland (Germany), Riga is the Reichskommissariat Ostland (Germany), Vilnius is the Reichskommissariat Ostland (Germany), Warsaw is under the General Government (Germany),

Riga is the Latvia, Vilnius is the Lithuania,





Prague is in Germany. Bratislava is in Slovakia, Budapest is in Hungary Ljubljana is in Italy, Malta is in the British Empire, Cyprus is in the British Empire.

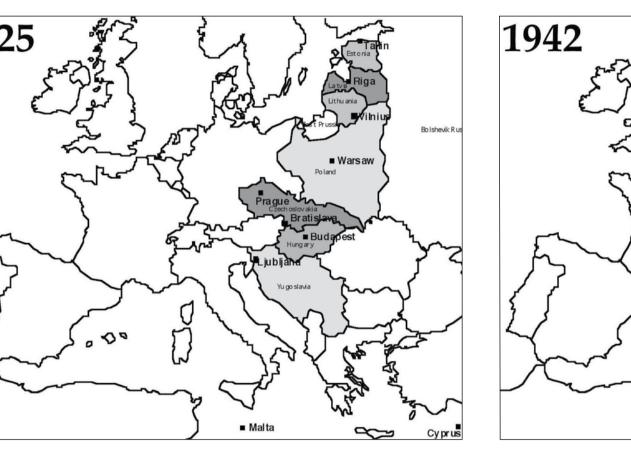
Tallinn is the Soviet Union, Riga is the Soviet Union, Vilnius is the Soviet Union, Warsaw is in Poland, Prague is in Czechoslovakia, Bratislava is in Czechoslovakia, Budapest is in Hungary, Ljubljana is in Yugoslavia Malta is in the British Empire, Cyprus is in the British Empire Tallinn is the Estonia,

Warsaw is in Poland, Prague is in the Czech Republic, Bratislava is in Slovakia, Budapest is in Hungary, Ljubljana is in Slovenia, Malta is Maltese. Cyprus is 63% Greek and 37% Turkish.

63% of Cyprus and 100% of all the rest are in the Euro-





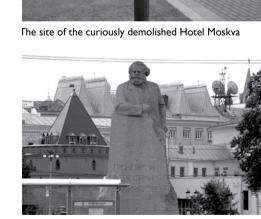






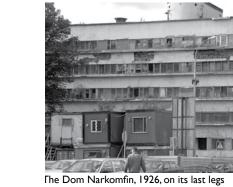








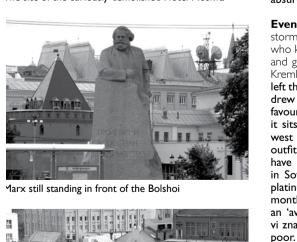




is a selection of letters written from

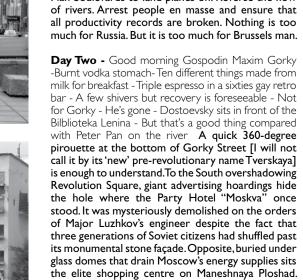












development grew into an obsession and took me of the consumer boom is as easily peeled off the back to Moscow many times. Four political regimes remains of the Soviet State as it was stuck on. Late NightTV - Pomegranate Juice - More Pomegranate later I am not at the age yet to write memoirs, but I suddenly felt older as I reminisced in the Hotel Late Morning - Mushroom pies in the 'bistro' chain

despotism". Besides which it is geographically Red Army', it is a giant semi-circular colonnade

extreme. Part of what it means to be Russian is doing the city. Moods are saturated with ruined buildings

Lunchtime - Day one - Week 80 - It is an dominate the runway-sized boulevard. After There it is, in worse shape than ever. Alert. The modern unexpected high pressure shirt sleeve day - decades of commodity deprivation the city centre masterpiece the Dom Narkomfin built in 1926, the according to a state of the contract of the same seal prototype incubator of a "new way of life" faces erasure. naywire in Russia as well - Eager for familiar tastes - that was formerly reserved for organised state. There are two reasons. The first is because there are The world in sealed mouthfuls has arrived - "Sir, would spectacles. It is now a predictable soup of historical only a few individuals who care enough about the ideas Moscow in 2004 reflecting upon some you like Dim Sum, Gyozzas or Tortellini ? - I stick to theme park and consumer outlets with all of the of the Soviet avant-garde to want to preserve the of the changes that have taken place in

Pelmeni, hollow Russian dumplings stuffed with meat coffee bars and business lunches that you would memory of a "housing commune of a transitional kind" or fish generously drenched in butter or smetana expect in a twenty first century global city. Needless The second is that it sits on a prime piece of real estate the city over the last decade, transforTwenty years have passed since I first stepped to say, when it came to embracing legalised private next to the American Embassy. "Why do you take so mations that mirror many of the chang- foot in Moscow. Like many before me I developed property, Russia did so with gigantic open arms. many photographs of that crumbling wreck?" Asked a a blind spot as I walked through the city for the On the foundations of a powerful state capitalist war veteran sitting on the broken bench in the remains es taking place 'on the edge' of the new first time. It was impossible to remain unmoved system, 1930s Chicago was spliced with laissez faire of the children's park. "Well believe it or not Sir, despite system, 1930s Chicago was spliced with laissez faire of the children's park." Europe, the former edge of the Soviet by the statues of Lenin and Marx and by the list of nineteenth century Britain, a heavy dose of Yakuza, the render falling off the brick work and the reinforcing sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. revolutionary heroes chiselled into walls. Equally and stirred. The kind of 'gibkiye, bezumni capitalism' steel bursting through the concrete frame I consider this impressive were the hammers, sickles and red stars that was unleashed transformed Moscow into a ruin to be one of the most important buildings of the that decorated the city in a superficially refreshing kleptomaniacs paradise, a 'feudo-capitalist' cocktail twentieth century." I climb up the wall at the foot of the departure from the advertising detritus of western of epic proportions and unknown taste. Bewildered neighbouring wedding cake to say farewell. In front of me capitalism. This was the way ideology worked, using citizens began to spin out of control like demented a wine tasting ceremony is being arranged in the entrance text or stone to camouflage state repression. As a wind up toys. It was pitiful to see the Professor of to a glass office block - the architectural signature of politically naïve twenty five year old I was aware of Historical Materialism selling flowers outside the global capital. Back out into Novinsky and along the old ne mantra "neither Washington nor Moscow", but 🧪 metro to make ends meet. Welcome to the new 📉 Kalinin Prospect. Cut down to the Arbat and through desperately wanted to believe that something had Russia. Look but do not taste the party snacks. They the open-air matrioshka market. Giant billboards se survived from the ten years that shook the world 🛾 are reserved for paying customers only. Continuity "Ekolegend Kottedges" with the fraudulent hookline of between 1917 and 1927. Armed with revolutionary is everything despite the fact that historical "freedom, happiness and security" emblazoned across memorabilia I returned from that first trip via Kiev, amnesia is the leitmotif of the early twenty first an image of a smiling middle class Russian family. For Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and Prague. Determined century. The roads still part like the Red Sea when the more prosperous, elite incarceration is on offer to return east as fast as possible, I started learning the sirens of authority bleep down the streets. But in one of the new retro-Stalinist "penthaus" towers, Russian and immersed myself in the work of the everything else is fragile. Licences guaranteeing whilst the superrich retire to eclectic fortified star olitical and architectural avant-garde of the 1920s. press and media freedoms are revoked as soon as houses in close proximity to nature so as to remind he relationship between political change and urban they are granted, just as the lightweight packaging themselves of their humanity. Enough for one day

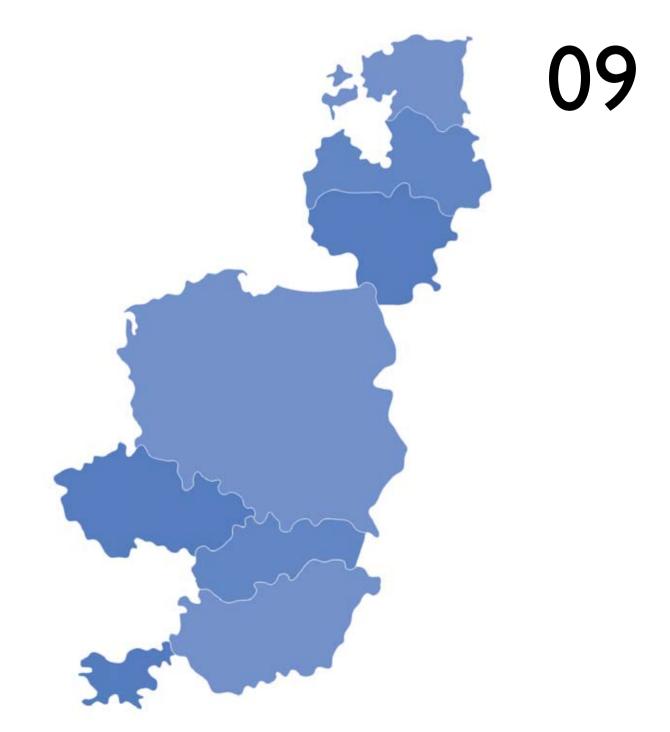
> luice - I remember Paradianov's "Zvet Granatov" Chat shows - Beslan - Putin's latest autocratic moves Rossiya devouring blinis stuffed with smoked fish. - A Baltic cold front - The weather has shaken off Smoke from roadside fireworks make passers by jump When it first opened in 1967 its three thousand the Indian Summer-Time for a treat on the metro -10.30 -1970s Nostalgia Film - Life, love and politics or bugged rooms made it the largest hotel in the - Good to see it hasn't been vandalised - Head for The Collective Farm - It makes life look so peaceful and world and certainly for its time the most ambitious Kievskaya via my favourite Mayakovskaya There is simple Can you imagine a book being published in this electronic surveillance operation. Peppered vodka something unspeakably sad and forlorn at the park day and age with the title - "Town Planning Culture clinked between us as we laughed at the fairyland of Victory on the western fringes of the city. Its in European Socialist Countries."? I think about panorama of Red Square and the Kremlin. We sombre demeanour is compounded at this time this extraordinary concept as the film lulls me into agreed that Russia would never be let it into the new of year by the first chill winds of winter blowing ideological delusion with its surreal portrayal of daily uro club. It is simply too exotic and unpredictable in bursts between the fragments of low sunshine. life as a pastoral idyll. The next programme - a drama or fragile western European sensitivities, too Dedicated to the millions of Russians who died in about hostages, Chechen terrorists and exploding prone to what imperial apologists call "Asiatic the Second World War and to the victory of the bodies, rudely interrupts this dream of another world.

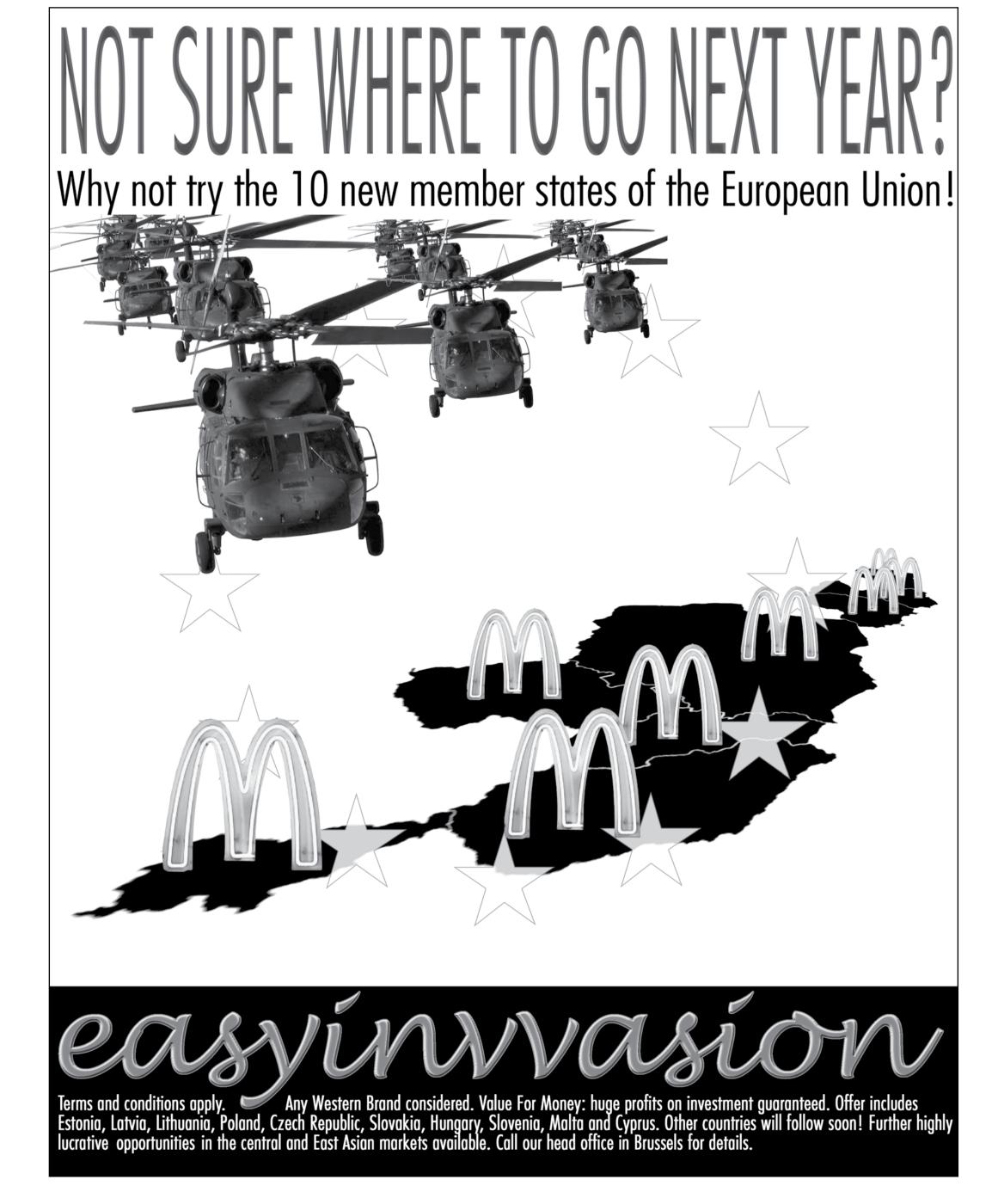
> absurd for Europe to stretch to the Sea of Japan. constructed from cold granite, concrete, and Saturday - Crisp autumn golden light paints a misty skin stone. Faced with white marble tiles it surrounds on the city - Time for some revolutionary tourism to set Evening rush hour - Bandits and businessmen a monumental obelisk and small church. Nestled my head straight - New types of teenagers born when it storm the highways - Car ride with a rich friend in the gaps between the columns polished green all collapsed are confident in their consumption. They left who knew how to play the market - Marinated garlic cannons point skywards. In the woods at the back the statue of Marx in front of the Bolshoi. Not because and gushing buffets of food not seen outside of the stand a lonely Jewish memorial and an equally lonely of the carved slogan "proletarians of the world unite" remlin [except in Paris] for a hundred years We mosque. Couples are getting married and hold on but because tourists need memorabilia, and the lion left the convoy of black bulletproof four by fours and fiercely to hemlines and bouquets. Cross-country headed orator is a great photo opportunity. All the older drew up in the tarmac forecourt of one of Putin's skiers practise their moves on giant elongated roller certainties have gone. The whole of Moscow seems favourite restaurants. A cabin of Tsarist nostalgia skates. I headed down the triumphal promenade to be galloping with a beer in the hand. Hot piroshki, it sits discretely at a junction in the forest to the towards the hoardings and lights of Kutozovski a shot, and an espresso under the gaze of Pushkin are west of Moscow. Obedient servants in peasant Prospect thinking that a funereal walk punctuated a welcome change from the austerity of food queues outfits proffering trays of sumptuous duck and fish by shiny guns and gods seemed an inappropriate and prohibition. I read an article in the paper about the nave replaced surly state employees ladling kasha way of remembering such slaughter. Once mass descendents of pre-revolutionary aristocrats trying to in Soviet canteens. Pickled grasses nibble away at murder enters into double figures it is already reclaim their estates. I get angry as they moan with acute platinum grade vodka. The bill would have been two unspeakable. When it hits seven figures it becomes memory loss about how unfairly their families were months average wage if there was such a thing as too abstract for mortal comprehension and treated by the revolutionary tribunals during the civil an 'average', that is 'middle' class. "Djonatanchick, symbolic monuments. The Second World War and war. Any one would think their Great Grandparents ran i znaete, u nas net srednovo klassa," only rich and the internal system of discipline and punishment their former lands and factories, as benevolent charity poor. It was strangely warm that night. Warm enough had scarred the history of every family that I had workers. Out of curiosity I decided to visit the museum o to sit in a silver birch forest toasting relatives and ever met. I read the names of cities liberated by the revolution, which an elderly red track suited woman riends whose names we could hardly remember. the Red Army in 1945, cities that had already reminded me was on the corner."Ah yes of course, just The chandeliers and security lights of the homes been annexed by Napoleonic, Austro Hungarian, up there on the left the old maroon pastel coloured of the siloviki and new bogative flickered through I sarist and Nazi troops and who were quickly to building. But it's not called that any more, no, now it the rhythmically arranged trees. Like the nouveau find themselves incorporated into the gulag. The the museum of recent history." The City authorities riche everywhere they are paranoid, kitsch and in grainy black and white footage of Soviet tanks had called time on time itself. Capitalist boomtowns love with spying. Who cares if the mansion looks entering Budapest and Prague replays itself, as do do not possess such embarrassing relics. Now it's a ke a Palladian villa or an outsize dacha built out of the revelations of the show trials and labour camps. dead and buried clutter of dimly lit timber and glass marble. After seventy years of enforced discretion I remind myself to stop reading tales of human cases surrounded by fading turquoise walls. The same the display of privilege and largesse has been misery. At the entrance to the tube a man who was grandmothers that had welcomed heroes in former days nungrily embraced. It might be enveloped in gangster either Chechen or Georgian was being stopped supervise it. Now they are there to usher visitors to the chic and turbo blonds but it is ostentatious in the and searched, an unfortunately common sight in souvenir shop. None of it ever really happened you know. nothing in half measures. Drink vodka in 100ml and twisted bodies. People are tense, suspicious and Saturday Night - Day Five - A visit to an old friend shots, construct cathedrals with domes that swirl jumpy after the summertime attacks. Desperate - An architect turned landscape painter - Piati-etashni

> to heaven in a myriad colours sparkling with gold. for explanations for the wave of atrocities many concrete panel housing - Fond times of carpets - The Plan boulevards to land planes on. Reverse the flow have grasped at dangerously simplistic explanations smell of oil paint - Dill, tomatoes, agurtzi, belomorkanal, of rivers. Arrest people en masse and ensure that rooted in conspiracy theory, paranoia and racism. glasses please At the end of the metro line in a station all productivity records are broken. Nothing is too Others wallow in nostalgic images of Saints and like Ulitsa Podbelskovo urban life is a brutal parody of much for Russia. But it is too much for Brussels man. Stalin. Beslan is too much for anyone to talk the privatised historical theme park in the city centre. about, but it has undoubtedly reinforced the fear Out on the periphery there are few tourists. There are Day Two - Good morning Gospodin Maxim Gorky of 'other' people. There are still a few Africans in no sharp suits and shoes, no sign of the middle class, Burnt vodka stomach-Ten different things made from town despite the petty harassment and the racist rather a chaotic bazaar of kiosks selling toxic vodka and nilk for breakfast - Triple espresso in a sixties gay retro attack on the Patrice Lumumba student hostel. Korean Lacoste shirts. Awash with alcoholic poverty par - A few shivers but recovery is foreseeable - Not Some of the once large population of international the doors to the flats have new metal covers. Kids hang or Gorky - He's gone - Dostoeysky sits in front of the comrades' stayed after the 'end' of the liberation around on threadbare roadside verges jacking up with Bilblioteka Lenina - But that's a good thing compared struggles, a few married Russian girls, and alongside a shared needle in full view of passing prams. Adrift and with Peter Pan on the river A quick 360-degree the ubiquitous Chilean flute band there is now a resentful there is a whole generation reared on the pirouette at the bottom of Gorky Street [I will not sprinkling of African and Brasilian footballers. But idea of cradle to grave state support and employment call it by its 'new' pre-revolutionary name Tverskaya] there is barely concealed hostility towards anyone that have no place in the neo-liberal economic project is enough to understand. To the South overshadowing who looks remotely Arab, Chechen, or Uzbek. embraced with passion by the siloviki. They remember Revolution Square, giant advertising hoardings hide The city centre, public transport system, and all too well the experience of a slowly disintegrating the hole where the Party Hotel "Moskva" once shopping malls are virtually Muslim free. Of course economy and the periodic "deficits" of consumer goods stood. It was mysteriously demolished on the orders many of them still live in the city. But they have and food. Now they face deprivation again. They look of Major Luzhkov's engineer despite the fact that merged into the periphery, close to the bazaars and with astonishment at the twenty-year transformation of three generations of Soviet citizens had shuffled past markets that they have run for a thousand years. Moscow from a dusty citadel of extraordinary political glass domes that drain Moscow's energy supplies sits Early Afternoon - Black bread and fried chicken shops. It seems somewhat banal to point out that the elite shopping centre on Maneshnaya Ploshad. on Novinsky Bulvar- I always liked the smell of many of the new emporia seem bereft of proletarians, To the north, banners and signs for Samsung, Italian benzene - In sight of the plaque commemorating in the same way that it is predictable that the flip side Breakfasts, VIP Slot Machines, New Collections, the student killed by a tank in the 1991 uprising of Moscow's transformation into a show case for all Universal Invest, and "revolutsia" www.ctc-tv.com, - Off to pay homage to the Constructivists again that global capitalism has to offer has been deepening social inequality. It is autumn now. Russia always explodes in autumn. If not in this one then in the next.

ONTHE EDGE FROM TALLINN TO LJUBLJA-

glaspant by the second critical writings on architecture and space





ON HERITAGE

The accession of eight Middle- and Eastern European states in May 2004 drew their respective national capitals to our 'western' attention. While cities like Budapest and Prague, and to a lesser extent Warsaw, have sat in our consciousness for quite some time, we have yet to "discover" cities like Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius in the Baltic or Bratislava and Ljubljana. They all form places that now attract international capital or in which companies like the car manufacturer Volkswagen relocate their production. They are increasingly seen as opportunities for multi-national investment and construction companies, as well as a new operational field for big architectural firms in the "Old Europe". Most of all they are developed and

marketed as new tourist destinations. While these eight capitals have many differences they also have many similarities. Each city displays economic, social, and spatial disparities between the so-called historic cores and the surrounding city of the 19th and 20th century. This is of course nothing new and is prevalent in most European cities. However, what makes this contrast in these cases even more poignant is that their historic cores are - with the exceptions of Bratislava and Ljubljana - all inscribed as UNESCO world heritage sites.

Yet it is significant that those areas, which are designated as protected world heritage sites, make up only a tiny proportion of the actual city surface of Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius, Warsaw, Prague, or Budapest. In Tallinn and Vilnius these are the medieval or baroque, partly walled town centres. In Riga it is the combination of Hanseatic old town and the Art Nouveau quarters of the early nineteenth century city extensions. In Prague and Budapest this includes the ensembles of city quarters from the 17th to the 19th century and imposing castles on both sides of the rivers Vlatva and Danube. Warsaw's completely reconstructed old town was almost entirely destroyed during the Second World War. Indeed, all of these ensembles have their architectural merit and are of historical interest.

Nevertheless for the visitor who is willing to look beyond these designated heritage zones, the question whether this protection through the UNESCO world heritage status is of actual benefit for the development of those cities in their entirety will inevitably come to mind. One might ask how more desirable and necessary developments beyond those boundaries are subsequently prevented from happening. The concentration around a core that is considered as being worthy of attention may lead to a negligence and degradation of the areas that surround it.

The areas that are designated as sites and spatial treatment of core and periphery. from any aspects that are not marketable the spatial changes. There is a further gentrification process old towns are frozen in a hyper-historical afford rising rents and property prices. Their place is taken by emerging wealthier social But what lies beyond these UNESCO trading which form an important addition classes and most of all by an armada of cores? The foreign visitor runs the risk of to the small income of pensioners or small international fashion shops, cafes, restaurants romanticising conditions and experiences. farmers; a residential housing provision that

WORLD SOCIO-SPATIAL HERITAGE GLASGOW LETTERS ON ARCHITECTURE AND SPACE meeting in Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius,

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE

2004, at its ninth session. We note that our rich and diverse socio-spatial heritage is increasingly threatened with destruction that although a traditional feature of capitalist development is a process that globalisation and neoliberal economic policies has aggravated and greatly accelerated.

Warsaw, Bratislava, Ljubljana, Moscow and Glasgow from the 12th September to the 26th September

We consider that the deterioration or disappearance of the complex social and spatial heritage fought for in the history of various political and environmental struggles constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the social history of all peoples and classes. We think that the protection of this heritage at the national level often remains incomplete because

of the scale of international forces that are threatening it and of the insufficient economic, cultural and moral considerations of the country where the heritage to be protected is situated. We consider that all international conventions, recommendations and resolutions concerning social and spatial achievements should demonstrate the importance of safe guarding these universal

We consider that the 'ignored' elements of the socio-spatial history of everyday life is of outstanding interest and therefore needs to be preserved as a part of the world heritage of humankind

achievements for all the peoples of the world, regardless of their race, class or national identity.

is incumbent on the global community as a whole to participate in the protection of the above sociospatial heritage, at the very least by striving to regulate the activities of international capital and

We think that in view of the magnitude and gravity of the persistent dangers threatening them, it

organised on a permanent basis and in accordance with contemporary means and methods. We have decided at our sixteenth session, that this question should be made the subject of an international programme that rethinks the role of heritage and the values considered important in our

We consider that it is essential for this purpose to adopt new provisions in the form of a convention to

establish an effective system of protection of the complexity and diversity of our socio-spatial heritage,

We adopt this on the twenty-sixth day of September 2004 at this convention.

respective urban histories.



of cultural world heritage receive a and hotels predominantly geared towards Poverty might be mistaken for a simple way is not entirely geared towards the privately population profits from these measures. ever-growing tourism industry. By cleansing it should be these that are to be protected used to in Britain. This inevitably fosters the unequal social the presented architectural and city history against uncontrolled economical, social and

disproportionately high level of communal, growing tourism. Designated as UNESCO of life. Nevertheless, behind the officially owned market for wealthier social groups; a national and international funds for the world heritage, these city centres — and this propagated image of all these capital cities dense infrastructure of public playgrounds and restoration of their historic building stock,. applies to a similar extent to Bratislava and one can observe numerous social and spatial social facilities; the absence of security paranoia regardless of whether the whole city Ljubljana - develop new targets within the aspects and achievements. One must ask if and constant video surveillance which we are so

local produce is on offer; places of informal heritage programme.

These are just a few examples of the social. economic, spatial and cultural achievements that through costly restoration and conservation condition. They become - as in the cases of A well developed public transport affordable will be lost in the process of "harmonisation" measures that force existing residents and Tallinn, Warsaw, or Prague - historical theme for all social groups; markets where, in contrast according to EU standards. Preserving them traditional businesses to leave as they cannot park attractions for international tourists. to mushrooming out-of town supermarkets, should be the real purpose of a UNESCO world

On The Edge Tallinn - Rigar	a - Vilnius - Warsaw	Prague - Bratislava - Bu	udapest - Ljubljana		footboll						kijaak				ollotmont.	
	shrooms on offer at market	Trains at Tallinn Station Tallinn, 13/9/4	Children waiting for trans on Kopli (street) Talling, 131919		Housing & football pitch, Pelgurana Tallin, 13 1914	Children's playground, Pelguranna Tallina, 13/9/4		Vaike Olemae.	Feries in Talling Harbour Talling, 14/4/4	Sports Club & Bar on 5htajate For Tallian, 13/9/4	kiock on A.H. Tammsaare Fee, Mustamae Tallinn, 13/9/4	Cultural Center Kullo, Mooni Tallinn (319 4	New sates housing, # Räägu, Mooni Tallinn 13/9/4	Pomoranic view of Jallinn's Obs Town Tallinn, 14 19 14	Tallinn (319)4	American Graise Ship Town stalling, 14 19 14
MARKET IN RIGA STATION HAWS, RIGA 15/9/12009	OVERS PADIO ALS ON CITY BRIDGE LIGAT 15/9 (2004)	INNEL CITY HIGHWAY RIGA 15 1912004	BW STOP PIGA 15/9/2004	GURRO POG WELCOMING CONMITTEE RIGA 15/9/2004	LATVIAN NATIONAL TEAM, MATCHET HALL RIGA 15 9 1200 9	INFLATABLE CHILDREN'S PLAYGROUND RIGA 151912004	OUTPOOR CHESS ARENA- RIGA 1517 2009	PREPAB HOUSING RIGA 15 9 2004	WORKSHOR IN BACKCOURT RIGA 15/21/2004	FOOTBALL PITCH IN HOUSING ESTATE RIGA 15/1/2009	KIOSK AT BUS INTERCHANGE RIGA 15 912004	GENERAL AUSPITAL PIGA 15/9/2004	LOTH CENTURY HISTORIES OF ACUPATION RIGA 15/7/2004	RIGA FROM THE RIVER PIGA 15/9/1 2009	RIGA AUSTMENTS RIGA 15/1/2004	Right 15/9/2004
impromptu farmers market cu Vilnius 16/9/04	ummunal mail box Vilnius 16/09/04	inner city ring road, Vilnius 16/09/04	bus stop, kiosk, bench Vilnius 16/09/04	luxury riverfront apartments Vilnius 16/09/04	football fields being redeveloped Vilnius 16/09/04	leisure festival, riverfront Vilnivs 16/09/04	nationalistic political rally, main square Vilnius 16/09/04	social howning, informal courtyards Vilnius 16/09/04	construction labour, Kaping the boom alive Vilnius 16/09/04	olympic diving centue, Moscow 1980 Vilnius 16/09/04	Kiosk Vilnius 16/09/04	School playground Vilnius 16-09-04	Vilnius 16/09/04	the walled town-historical 'truth' Vilnius 16/09/104	Courtyard Vilnius 16/09/04	riverside grænspace Vilnius 16/04/04
Parement Market Warsaw 18/09/04 Warsaw 18/09/04	ublic thoroughfare, ailway lines Darsaw 18/09/04	Planned City Boulevards Warsaw 18/09/04	Bus stop Warsaw 18/09/04	Mediterranean Luxury villas Warsaw 18/09/04	Spot the Ball Warsaw 18/09/04	Sports Park. Warsaw 18/09/04	Creen spaces between housing blocks warsaw 18/09/04	Refurbished and unrefurbished blocks Warsaw 18/09/04	Power substation Warsaw 18/09/04	Basketball Court, city centre Warsaw 18/09/04	Kiosk. Warsaw 18/09/04	Student posters in cafe at University warsaw 18/09/04	Abandoned Military fort Warsaw 18/09/04	View from the ringroad Warsaw 18/09/04	Allotment Gardens warsaw 18/09/04	Palace of culture (staling style) Warsaw 18/09/04
parint 11)	becomted manholes	Motorman dividing local district Prague 20.09.04	Commuter stop at new industrial district Prague 20.09.04	Landscaped countrands and open bulionies Prague 19:09:04	Young boys at local training ground Prague 20.09.04	Abundance & children's play areas Prague 17.09.04	Run down streets outside & city centre. Prague 20.09.04	Pre-fals housing Quiet, open spaces Prague 19.09.04	Nowly built call centres Progre 20.09.04	Private members gym Prague 19.09.04	Tourist kisk fraing tours Pague 20.09.04	Music from windows of Secondary School Progre 19.09.04	Deficed political posters (removed 30 mins later) Progre 20.09-out	View back + city Prague 19.09.04	Allotmonts next to railtraits Prague 19.09.04	Musical clock Pague 20.09.04
Vineyard in Vinohardy Use	Thure	Tourist boats to Budapest Bratislava, 21/09/04	Central bus stop war Danibe Bratislava, 21/9/04	Dream in peach, vinohardy Bratislava, 21/9/04	Footballstadium Bratislava, 21/09/04	Playground in Nové Mesto Eratislava, 21/9/04	Passage undu road Gridge Brahislava, 21/9/04	Social housing, balconies Bratislava, 21/07/04	Co-operative Vinery, Vinohardy Bratislava, 21/09/04	Shimming pool 'Delphin', Nivy Bratislava, 2119104	trait + flower stalls at tramstop Bratislava, 21/9/04	School with ping pongtables, Nové Musto Bratislava, 21/09/04	Welcome to Austria! Decidence Report and Alexandral Control Competence Report and alexandral Control Cont	Looking south over Danube Bratislava, 21/9/04	Allotment next to rail tracks Bratislava, 21 109 104	Castle Bratislavsky Hrad Bratislava, 21 191 04
Kionks at Mthikoi Bun (stavian, Budapet 23/9/4	lephants through gates ar 23/9/4	Unispice, Bunaper 23/9/14	SCHOOLCAILDREN AT Tram STOP, BWDAPENT 23/9/4	NHOUT STORY Etropean Style Afanthem, Burnapes + 23/9/4	Home Man Fraing grows Budarpest 23/9/4	Playorown in Millennium Park, Bupapert 23/9/4	Faring Pucus in THE any course, Buraren 23/9/4	Auge Apvertisement on Highrise, Burnaver 23/9/4	Car Factory Bunasier 23/9/4	run-pown Basis next to new leisure pool, Bubarer 231914	PERSI LIOSK, BUDAPENT 23/9/1	Black Flags owning Hospitals Dotsa Gyorgy, Bhravest 23/9/4	SWEDISH ELWBANY, BWDAPENT 23 9/4	Looking sowns over river Duma, Burpaper 73/9/4	COLONFIN SACOS, BWRAPEST 231914	PUBLIC BATHS BY THE CATHERRAL, BUDATEST 2319 14
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